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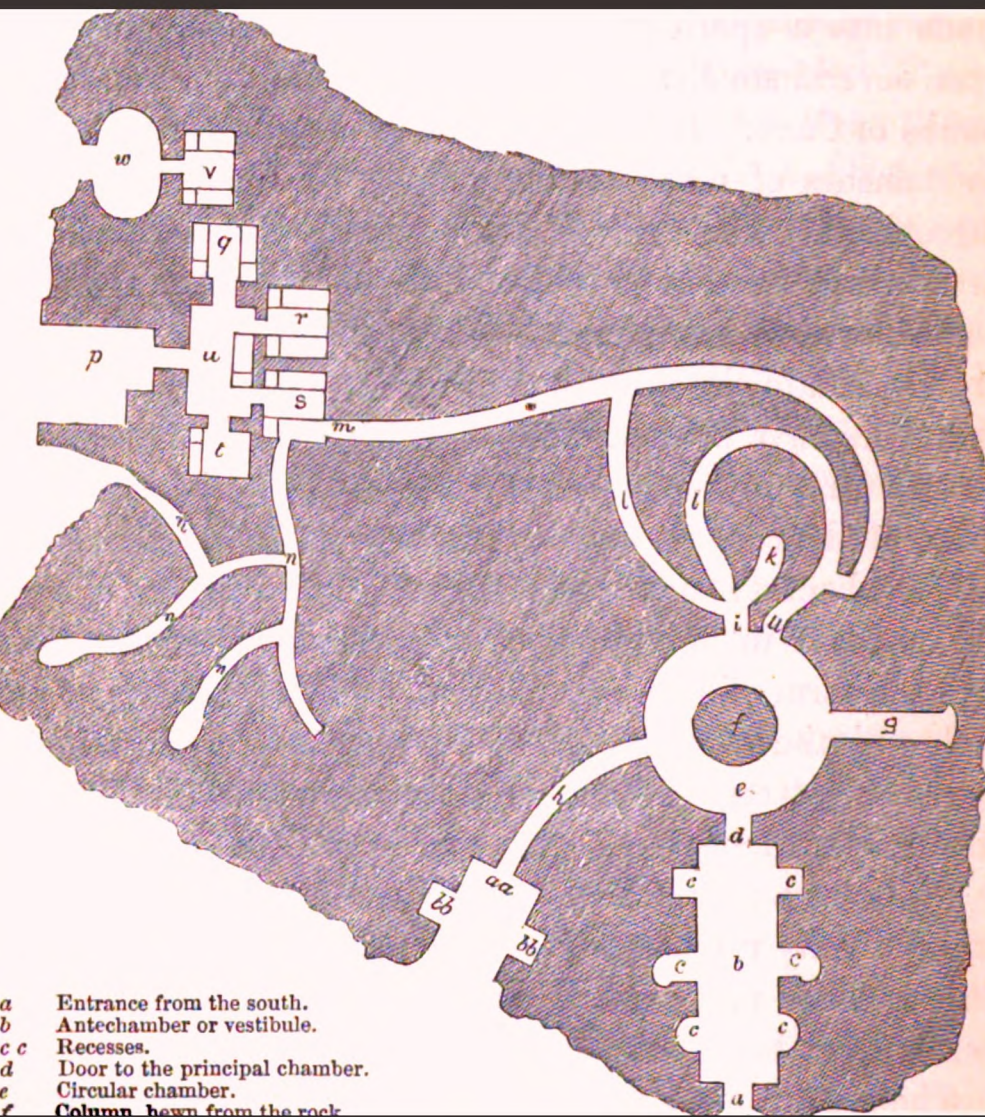
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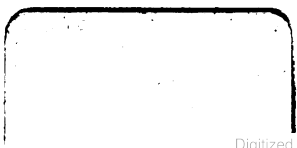
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The cities and cemeteries of Etruria

George Dennis



C. Young W. C. Hayes



THE FAREWELL OF ADMETUS AND ALCESTIS

Admetus and Alcestis in the House of the Dead. (Admetus and Alcestis)

G. H. Vaguet

THE CITIES AND CEMETERIES

OF

ETRURIA.

BY GEORGE DENNIS.

Parva Tyrrhenum per sequor
Vela darem.

HORAT. *Od. iv. 15. 3.*



IN TWO VOLUMES.

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D41

V.2

Status intereunt tempestate, vi, vetustate; sepulcrorum autem sanctitas in ipso solo est; quod nullā vi moveri neque deleri potest. Atque ut cetera extinguuntur, sic sepulcra fiunt sanctiora vetustate.

Cicero, Philip. ix. 6.

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THE CITIES AND CEMETERIES

OF

ETRURIA.

CHAPTER XXX.

CIVITA VECCHIA.—*CENTUM CELLÆ.*

Ad Centumcellas forti defleximus Austro ;
Tranquillâ puppes in statione sedent.
Molibus æquoreum concluditur amphitheatrum,
Angustosque aditus insula facta tegit ;
Attollit geminas turres, bifidoque meatu,
Faucibus arctatis pandit utrumque latus.
Nec posuisse satis laxo navalia portu,
Ne vaga vel tutas ventilet aura rates.
Interior medias sinus invitatus in sedes
Instabilem fixis aëra nescit aquis.

RUTILIUS. I. 2²⁷ /

WHOEVER has approached the Eternal City from the sea must admit the fidelity of the above picture. As Civita Vecchia was 1400 years since, so is it now. The artificial island, with its twin-towers at the mouth of the port ; the long moles stretching out to meet it ; the double passage, narrowed almost to a closing of the jaws ; the amphitheatre of water within, overhung by the houses of the town, and sheltered from every wind—will be at once recognised. It would seem to have remained in *statu quo* ever since it was built by Trajan. Yet the original

town was almost utterly destroyed by the Saracens in the ninth century ; but when rebuilt, the disposition of the port was preserved, by raising the moles, quay, and fortress on the ancient foundations, which are still visible beneath them.¹

It is possible, in ancient times, when the ruler of the world made it his chosen retreat, and adorned it with his own virtues and the simple graces of his court, that Centum Cellæ may have been, as Pliny found it, "a right pleasant place"—*locus perjucundus*.² Now, it is a paradise to none but *facchini* and *doganieri*. What more wearisome than the dull, dirty town of Civita Vecchia ? and what traveller does not pray for a speedy deliverance from this den of thieves, of whom Gasperoni, though most renowned, is not the most accomplished ? Civita is like "love, war, and hunting," according to the proverb—it is more easy to find the way in, than the way out. You enter the gates, whether on the land or sea-side, without even a demand for your passport ; but to leave them, you must pass through the hands of a score of custom-house officers—a fingering which tends neither to brighten the countenance nor to smooth the temper. This is owing to Civita being a free port—a privilege which, in conjunction with steam-traffic, renders it the only thriving town in the Papal State, pre-eminently—till the quickening sun of Pius IX. rose upon it—the land of stagnation.

It does not appear that an Etruscan town occupied this site. Yet relics of that antiquity are preserved here, some

¹ There are other remains of the Roman town on the shore without the walls ; and the aqueduct which supplies the town with water is said to be erected, for the most part, on the ruins of that constructed by Trajan. On the shore, at this spot, was discovered that colossal

arm in bronze now in the Gregorian Museum, which, though of the time of Trajan, is said to "surpass perhaps in beauty all ancient works in this metal with which we are acquainted." *Bull. Inst.* 1837, p. 5.

² Plin. *Epist.* VI. 31.

in the Town-hall, mostly from Corneto,³ and some in the house of Signor Guglielmi, an extensive proprietor of land in the Roman Maremma,⁴ besides a collection of vases, bronzes, and other portable articles in the shop of Signor Bucci, in the Piazza, whom I can highly recommend for his uprightness and moderate charges.

Three miles from Civita Vecchia, on the road to Corneto, at a spot called Cava della Scaglia, Etruscan tombs have been opened,⁵ which seem to have belonged to the neighbouring Algæ, though that place is known to us only as a Roman station.⁶ Its site is marked by Torre Nuova, on the sea shore, three miles from Civita.⁷ The country traversed on the way to Corneto is a desert of undulating heath, overrun with lentiscus, myrtle, and dwarf cork-trees—

³ These have been placed here only since 1843; and consist of sarcophagi of *nenfro* with recumbent figures on the lids, recently found in the Montarozzi; and half a dozen female heads in stone, painted in imitation of life, and very Egyptian in character. Besides these, there are sundry Roman *cippi* and monumental tablets, among which will be found the names of Pompeius and Cæsennius—families of Tarquinii, as has been already shown (Vol. I. pp. 307, 368)—Veturius, which answers to the Velthur in the Grotta delle Iscrizioni (Vol. I. p. 340)—and several milestones, probably of the Via Aurelia.

⁴ The collection in the house of Signor Guglielmi is composed of articles found upon his own lands. One of the most remarkable objects is an urn of *nenfro*, found near Montalto, in 1840. It is in the form of a little temple, supported on Ionic-like columns, with a moulded doorway at one end, and a male figure, in relief, holding a wand and *patera*, at the other—probably representing the deceased, whose name is inscribed in

Etruscan characters around him. In the opposite tympanum is a human head set in a flower; and the angles of the pediments rest on lions' heads. Micali, *Mon. Ined.* pp. 403—7, tav. LIX.

⁵ Excavations were made here in 1830 by Signor Bucci, but with no great success. His attention was drawn to the spot by a Figaro of Civita Vecchia, who, fifteen years previous, had found there a shoe of bronze, which he had esteemed of no value, till a foreigner entering his shop, seized upon it and carried it off, leaving a napoleon in the palm of the astonished barber.

⁶ Mentioned in the Maritime Itinerary. *Ut supra*, Vol. I. p. 388.

⁷ Three miles to the north-east of Civita Vecchia, on the road to the Allumiere, are the Bagni di Ferrata, the hot springs lauded by Rutilius (I. 249) as the *Thermæ Tauri*, and identical with the "Aqueses cognomine Taurini," mentioned by Pliny (III. 8) in his catalogue of Roman Colonies in Etruria, which has inconsiderately been referred to Acquapendente. See Vol. I. p. 501.

the haunt of the wild boar and roe-buck.⁸ Corneto is so easy of access, the thirteen miles from Civita Vecchia are so rapidly accomplished, that the traveller who enters the Papal State by that port, should make a point of visiting the painted tombs of the Montarozzi, which will open to him clearer and more comprehensive views of the early civilization of Italy than he can derive on any other site, and which form an excellent introduction to the works of ancient art in Rome.

⁸ About half-way, or before reaching Le Mole, a little to the right of the road, is a spot called Piano d'Organo, where

are said to be tombs and fragments of ancient walling; but I have had no opportunity of verifying this report.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXX.

THE ancient sites on this coast, between Rome and Centum Cellæ, are thus given, with their distances, by the Itineraries:—

ANTONINE ITINERARY. (*Via Aurelia*.)

Roma	
Lorium	XII.
Ad Turres	X.
Pyrgos	XII.
Castrum Novum	VIII.
Centum Cellas	V.

MARITIME ITINERARY.

Roma	
In Portum	XVIII.
Fregenas	VIII.
Alsium	VIII.
Ad Turres	III.
Pyrgos	XII.
Castrum Novum	VIII.
Centum Cellas	VIII.

PEUTINGERIAN TABLE. (*Via Aurelia*.)

Roma	
Lorio	XII.
Bebiana	—
Alsium	VI.
Pyrgos	X.
Punicum	V.
Castro Novo	VIII.
Centum Cellis	III.

ANOTHER MARITIME ITINERARY.

Portus Augusti	
Pyrgos	XXXVIII.
Panapionem	III.
Castrum Novum	VII.
Centum Cellas	V.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SANTA MARINELLA.—*PUNICUM*.

I wandered through the wrecks of days departed,
Far by the desolated shore.

SHELLEY. *Reveries & Fancies*

FEW roads in Italy are more frequented, and none are more generally uninteresting, than that from Civita Vecchia to Rome. He who approaches the Eternal City for the first time, has his whole soul absorbed in her—in recollections of her ancient glories, or in lively conceptions of her modern magnificence. He heeds not the objects on the road as he winds along the desert shore, or over the more desolate undulations of the Campagna, save when here and there a ruined bridge or crumbling tower, in melancholy loneliness, serves to rivet his attention more fixedly on the past. How should he? He has Coriolanus, Scipio, Cicero, Horace, and a thousand togaed phantoms before his eyes; or the dome of St. Peter's swells in his perspective, and the treasured glories of the Vatican and the Capitol are revealed to his imagination. The scattered towers along the coast, to his view are simply so many preventive stations or forts, and, with the inns by the way-side, are mere mile-stones—indices of the distance he has travelled and has yet to travel, ere he attain the desire of his eyes. And truly, as far as intrinsic beauty is concerned, it would be difficult to find in Italy a road more

unattractive, more bleak, dreary, and desolate; and to one just making an acquaintance with that land of famed fertility and beauty, as so many do at Civita Vecchia, nothing can be more disappointing. Moreover, it is the road to Rome, and is therefore to be hurried over with all possible speed of *diligence* or *vettura*. Yet are there spots on this road full of interest, both for their history, associated with that of Rome, and for the relics they yet contain of the past; and the traveller whose curiosity has been somewhat allayed, and who can look from the Imperial City to objects around her, will find along this desert sandy shore, or among the low bleak hills inland, sites where he may linger many a delightful hour in contemplation of "the wrecks of days departed."

Two miles and a half from Civita Vecchia, by the roadside, near a tower called Prima Torre, are two large barrows, which, from a slight excavation a few years since, are thought to give promise of valuable sepulchral furniture.

About five miles from Civita Vecchia, the solitary tower of Chiaruccia marks the site of *Castrum Novum*, a Roman station on the *Via Aurelia*. All we know of it is that it was a colony¹ on this coast,² and that, with other neighbouring colonies, it reluctantly furnished its quota to the fleet which was despatched in the year 563 (B.C. 191)³

¹ Liv. XXXVI. 3; Plin. III. 8; Ptol. Geog. p. 68, ed. Bert.

² Mela. II. 4.

³ Liv. loc. cit. The *Castrum Inui* of Virgil (*Æn.* VI. 776), which was on the coast of *Latium*, seems to have been confounded by Servius (ad loc.) and by Rutilius (I. 232) with this *Castrum Novum* in *Etruria*—the former a place of great antiquity, the latter probably only of Roman times. But Müller (*Etrusk.* III. 3, 7) thinks from Rutilius'

mention of an ancient figure of *Inuus* over a gate at *Castrum* on this coast, that the god may have been worshipped at both sites. *Inuus* was a pastoral deity, equivalent to *Pan*, or *Faunus*, says Servius. Holstenius (*Annot. ad Cluver* p. 35) and Mannert (*Geog.* p. 375) took *Sta. Marinella* for *Castrum Novum*, though Cluver (*II.* p. 488) had previously indicated the ruins at *Torre di Chiaruccia* to be the site—an opinion which is now universally admitted to be correct.

against Antiochus the Great. In the time of Rutilius it was in utter ruin—*absumptum fluctuque et tempore*.⁴

Two miles and a half beyond, the road crosses the shoulder of a low headland, on which stand a few buildings. This promontory half embraces a tiny bay, with some ruins of a Roman mole or breakwater. A few fishing-boats are drawn up on the beach; the half-draped tawny fishermen are sitting beneath their shade, mending their nets; and two or three similar craft, with their latteen sails glistening like snow in the sunbeams, are gliding with swan-like motion over the blue waters. The hamlet is called Santa Marinella, and is supposed to mark the site of Punicum, a station on the Via Aurelia.⁵ A few furlongs beyond, in a field by the road-side, are many traces of Roman habitation, probably marking the site of a villa. Here on the shore are a couple of ancient bridges standing in picturesque ruin near the road, and marking the course of the Via Aurelia along the coast. Excavations have been made of late years in this neighbourhood by the Duchess of Sermoneta, and many remains of Roman magnificence have been brought to light.⁶

Were the traveller now to retrace his steps from Sta Marinella for about a mile towards Civita Vecchia, and cross the heath to the extremity of the range of hills

⁴ Rutil. I. 227.

⁵ Punicum is mentioned only by the Pentingerian Table. Nibby (Dintorni di Roma, II. p. 313) thinks it must have taken its name from some pomegranate (*malum punicum*) which flourished here, or from some heraldic device of this character; but it is more likely to have arisen from the association of the place with the Carthaginians, as Lanzi (Saggio, II. p. 61) suggests. Cluver (II. p. 497) thinks it identical

with the Panapio of the Maritime Itinerary.

⁶ In the winter of 1837, on the shores of the little bay, were found remains of baths and other buildings, with mosaic pavements, together with a singular column, and a beautiful statue of Meleager, now in the Museum of Berlin. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LVIII. For further notices, see Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 1; 1839, p. 85; 1840, p. 115; Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 237, *et seq.*

which here rise from the coast, he would find some remains of far prior antiquity to those at Santa Marinella, and which prove the existence of a long-forgotten Etruscan town or fortress on this spot. Let him ask for the "Puntone del Castrato," or "Sito della Guardiola," and he may obtain a guide at the little *osteria* of Santa Marinella.

I know not what induced the Duchess of Sermoneta to commence excavations on this site. No traces of sepulchres are now visible. More than once have I wandered long over the heathy crag-strewn ground at the foot of these hills, vainly seeking vestiges of a necropolis. It is certain, however, that here have been discovered many tombs of a remarkable character, unlike any I have yet described; being rude chambers hollowed in the rock, lined with rough slabs, and roofed in either by a single large cover-stone, or by two slabs resting against each other, gable-wise—extremely similar, as far as I can learn from the description, to those still to be seen at Saturnia. There is some analogy also to the tombs of Magna Græcia, and yet more to the *cromlechs* of our own land, and other parts of Europe and of the East. The Egyptian character of the furniture they contained confirms their high antiquity.⁷

⁷ These tombs were found in 1840. The slabs which lined them were, some calcareous, some volcanic, partly hewn, partly rough, but always put together so as to present a tolerably even surface. A single massive slab often lined each of the three side-walls of the tomb, and a fourth, leaning against the front, closed the doorway. Sometimes the tombs had two chambers, the outer of which served as a vestibule. They contained benches, or sepulchral couches, of rock. Abeken thinks that these gable-roofed tombs, from their resemblance to guard-houses, may have suggested to the peasantry the name of *La Guardiola*, conferred on

this site. Over every tomb rose a tumulus, of which Abeken saw few or no traces; but he says that the most remarkable feature was a *cuniculus*, or passage, lined with slabs, surrounding one of these tombs; and he thinks it served to separate the sacred space of the sepulchre from the surrounding soil, or to prevent one tomb from interfering with another. It bears great analogy to the trench cut in the rock round the conical tomb at Bieda. See Vol. I. p. 271. Among the sepulchral furniture was found an *alabastrum* with hieroglyphics. Abeken, Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 113, *et seq.*; Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 31;

Abeken speaks of a huge tumulus rising in the midst of these tombs. This, however, I found to be nothing but the termination of the range of hills which here sink to the coast ; and what he took for a vast sepulchre inclosed by masonry, I perceived to be the *arx* of an ancient town, marked out by a quadrangle of foundations, almost level with the soil ; and what he regarded as an outer circuit of walls to his tumulus, I discovered to be the fortifications of the town itself, extending a considerable way inland, along the brow of the hill, till their vestiges were lost among the crags with which the ground is strewn. Traces of several gates also I clearly observed ; and in more than one spot remains of polygonal masonry.⁸

Mittelitalien, pp. 239, 267. To this description by Abeken, Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 356) adds that the corpses always lay on large slabs of *nenfro*. Tombs of this simple character he considers as the most ancient in style, but not always in construction, as they must have continued in use for ages, and probably never went out among the peasantry. He describes some as built up of many blocks, regularly cut and smoothed, but without cement (p. 386, tav. LV.).

⁸ I have given notices of this site in Bull. Inst. 1847, pp. 51, 93. "On the summit of the mound or tumulus," says Abeken, "is a quadrangular inclosure of wall, about 150 palms one way, and 180 the other, and about 5 palms high, of calcareous blocks, uncemented, topped with a battlemented parapet of *nenfro*. Within this quadrangle rises a second, still higher, at the very summit of the mound ; and though it has lost somewhat of its original height, still measures in parts 8 or 9 palms high. The walls bear traces of red stucco. The ground between the two inclosures is paved with marine breccia. The space

within the upper quadrangle has been excavated, and a sepulchral chamber has been discovered about 14 feet below ground, originally lined with masonry, but now much ruined. The entrance to this tomb is not distinguishable ; but it was probably connected with a corridor or passage above it, hollowed in the rock, bent at right angles, and full of human bones when discovered. It seems clear to me that the whole formed a cemetery, and perhaps the inclosing walls served to support different stories, rising above the sepulchral chamber ; a plan adopted by the Romans in the Mausolea of Augustus and of Hadrian, and in the Septizonium of Severus." Abeken, Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 113—5 ; and Mittelitalien, p. 242.

Abeken elsewhere (Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 34) suggests that the inner and higher quadrangle of masonry may have marked the *area* of a temple, like that of the Capitol. If so, the presence of bones in the passage, even supposing (which does not appear to me to be necessary) that this was a sepulchre, is explained by the well-known connection between temples and tombs.

Here, then, stood the town in whose cemetery the Duchess of Sermoneta made excavations. What was its name? We have no mention by ancient authors of any town on this coast between Alsium and Centum Cellæ, whose site has not been determined. That this was of very ancient date, may be inferred from the silence of Roman writers, as well as from the character of the remains, which mark it as Etruscan. Now, on the coast immediately below it stands the Torre di Chiaruccia, the *Castrum Novum* of antiquity; a name which manifestly implies the existence of a more ancient fortress, a *Castrum Vetus*, in the neighbourhood; which, there can be little doubt, is the place whose remains occupy the Puntone del Castrato.⁹ This may have fallen into decay before the domination of the Romans, or it may have been destroyed by them at the conquest, and when a colony was to be established, a fresh site was chosen on the coast below, probably for convenience sake; or it may be, that the entire population of the old town was transferred to the new, for the same reasons that led to the formation of the duplicate cities of Falerii and Volsinii.¹⁰

⁹ This conjecture of mine is confirmed by the actual name of the site, as Dr. Braun suggests (*Bull. Inst.* 1847, p. 94)—*Castrato* being, probably, a mere corruption of the ancient name. I am indebted to the Cav. Canina for the information that a mosaic discovered a few years since at Sta Marinella, bore the representation of a town on a height, which he suggests may have been this on the Puntone del Castrato. In the old fresco maps in the galleries of the Vatican, some ruins are indicated on this height, though no name is attached. This shows that the site was recognised as ancient at the close of the 16th century,

when those maps were executed.

¹⁰ Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, I. p. 203) supposes that the *Castrum Vetus* implied in the *Castrum Novum* was the *Castrum Inui* of the Latin coast, mentioned by Virgil (*Æn.* VI. 776), which Servius (*ad loc.*) and Rutilius (I. 232), on the other hand, seem to confound with *Castrum Novum*. A *Castrum* is mentioned by Paterculus (I. 14) as colonised at the commencement of the First Punic War (*cf.* Liv. *epit.* XI.); but from the context it may be gathered that the *Castrum* in Picenum is here referred to. Cramer, p. 285.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SANTA SEVERA.—PYRGI.

Pyrgi veteres.—VIRGIL. *Æn.* x. 184.

Grandia consumpsit moenia tempus edax.—RUTILIUS. *l.* 410.

Six miles beyond Santa Marinella is the fortress of Santa Severa, standing on the shore, about a furlong from the high-road. It is a square castle, with a keep at one angle, and a lofty round tower, with machicolated battlements, rising in the centre. To the casual observer, it has nothing to distinguish it from other mediæval forts; but if examined closely, it will be seen that its walls on the side of Civita Vecchia are based on foundations of far earlier date, formed of massive, irregular, polygonal blocks, neatly fitted together without cement,¹—precisely similar to the walls of Cora, Segni, Palestrina, Alatri, and other ancient towns in the Latin and Sabine Mountains—in short, a genuine specimen of what is called Pelasgic masonry. This wall may be traced by its foundations, often almost level with the soil, for a considerable distance from the sea, till it turns at right angles, running parallel with the shore, and, after a while, again turns towards the sea—enclosing a quadrangular space several times larger

¹ Under the walls of the fortress, however, the blocks are imbedded in mortar. The traveller must not be misled by this, which is a modern addi-

tion, as at Orbetello. One block is 9 ft. 6 in. long, 3 ft. 9 in. high, and 1 ft. 9 in. thick.

than the present fort, and sufficiently extensive for a small town.² This is the site of "the ancient Pyrgi."³

These, and the slight remains on the Puntone del Castrato, are the only specimens of polygonal masonry in this part of Etruria, though such is found on three other sites further north. The strict similarity to the walling of cities south and east of the Tiber, seems to imply a common origin, and an origin not Etruscan. Moreover, the position of this town in the plain, scarcely raised above the level of the sea, is so unlike any purely Etruscan sites, which are always strong by nature as well as art, and the materials of its walls—limestone, travertine, crag, sandstone, all aqueous formations—so distinguish them from the volcanic fortifications of the other ancient sites in the southern district of Etruria, that we are led irresistibly to the conclusion that it was built by a different race, or in a different age. Now, though we have no express assertion in ancient writers that Pyrgi itself was of Pelasgic origin, we know that its temple of Ilithyia was built by that people, and that it was the port of Agylla or Cære⁴ which was founded or occupied by the

² Canina (*Ann. Instit.* 1840, pp. 39, 40) gives the dimensions as 850 by 650 Greek feet. Abeken calls it 750 by 600 ft. (*Mittelitalien*, p. 138), which nearly agrees with my measurement.

³ Strabo (*V. p.* 226) says Pyrgi is little less than 180 stadia from Graviscae, and 260 from Ostia. The *Itinerary of Antoninus* describes it as 34 miles from Rome, which is the true distance, and 8 miles from Castrum Novum. The *Maritime Itinerary* makes it 34 miles from Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber, 16 from Alsium, and 8 from Castrum Novum. The *Peutingerian Table* calls it 10 miles from Alsium, which is correct, but 14 from Castrum Novum. These discrepancies in the distances are

of little consequence, since it occupies the relative position assigned to it between Alsium and Castrum Novum.

⁴ Strabo, *V. p.* 226; *Diod. Sic.* XV. p. 337, ed. Rhod. Pyrgi can hardly have been founded originally as the port of Cære, for it was 50 stadia (6½ miles) distant from that city (*Strabo, V. p.* 226), which lay only 4 miles from the sea (*Plin. III. 8*); and there can be no reason why a site should not have been chosen for a port much nearer the city, as there is nothing in this spot to recommend it in preference to any other part of the neighbouring coast, and the harbour it once possessed must have been entirely artificial. I think it much more probable that the earliest structure on this site

same race,⁵ and we have Virgil's authority as to its high antiquity,⁶ and its name in proof of its Greek origin. So that while history gives us the strongest presumptive evidence that Pyrgi was a Pelasgic town, its existing remains confirming that evidence, may be considered decisive of the fact.⁷

The small size of the town, little more than half a mile in circuit, as determined by the remains of its walls, is another feature which distinguishes it from all the Etruscan sites already described. Yet in this particular it quite agrees with the description we have of Pyrgi, as "a castle"⁸ and "a small town."⁹ It must, nevertheless, have been a

was the celebrated temple, and that the castle sprung up subsequently to protect that wealthy shrine, and that the existence of a fortress here determined the people of Cære to adopt the spot for their port, instead of constructing another on a more convenient site. Canina (Ann. Inst. 1840, p. 37) cites Dionysius, in support of his opinion that this temple was founded by the Pelasgi at least two generations before the Trojan War.

⁵ Strab. loc. cit.; Dionys. Halic. I. p. 16, ed. Sylb.; Plin. N. H. III. 8; Solinus, Pol. cap. VIII.

⁶ Virgil (*Æn.* X. 184) calls it ancient even in the days of *Æneas*; and he, though at liberty to indulge in the proverbial licence of a poet, was too good an antiquary to commit a glaring anachronism.

⁷ Cavaliere Canina (Ann. 1840, p. 40) thinks that as the site itself did not afford the Pelasgic builders of Pyrgi materials for the polygonal masonry, to which they were accustomed, they cut the blocks from the neighbouring mountains, now called *Monti del Sasso*, which yield a calcareous stone naturally assuming polygonal forms. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 373) will not admit that this poly-

gonal masonry shows a Pelasgic origin, but thinks such a style would be naturally adopted, in every age, in great walls, especially for substructions, and was here used in order to resist the force of the waves, and because the oblique stratification of the mountains afforded the masses requisite. My reasons for regarding the polygonal masonry of Italy, in type at least if not always in construction, as Pelasgic, will be given in a future chapter. I may remark that both the writers cited admit that a *choice* was exerted in this instance. Indeed it was not necessary to go to the mountains of the interior to find stone for building; and the variety of materials employed—all alike thrown into polygonal forms—proves that the adoption of that style in this case was not accidental, but intentional. At *Agylla*, however, where the rock is volcanic, the Pelasgi seem, if not in the city walls—which can hardly be ascribed to them—at least in their tombs, to have hewn it into rectangular blocks. See page 29.

⁸ Serv. ad *Æn.* X. 184.

⁹ Rutil. I. 224. Strabo also (V. p. 225) classes it among the *πολιχνια* of the Etruscan coast.

place of considerable importance as a port, naval station, and commercial emporium,¹ and it was renowned as the head-quarters of those hordes of pirates, who long made the Tyrrhenians as dreaded throughout the seas of Italy and Greece,² as the corsairs of Barbary have been in modern times.

Much of the importance of Pyrgi must have arisen from its temple of Ilithyia or Lucina, the goddess of childbirth,³—a shrine so richly endowed with gold and silver, and costly gifts, the *opima spolia* of Etruscan piracy, as to tempt the cupidity of Dionysius of Syracuse, who, in the year of Rome 370 (B.C. 384), fitted out a fleet of sixty

¹ Pyrgi was also a fishing-town (Athen. VI. cap. 1, p. 224, ed. Casaub.). It seems to have suffered the usual evils of a seaport, that—"quædam corruptela ac demutatio morum"—as Cicero terms it (de Rep. II. 4); for Lucilius (ap. Serv. Æn. X. 184) mentions the—"scorta Pyrgentia."

² Serv. loc. cit.—"Hoc castellum nobilissimum fuit eo tempore, quo Thusci piraticam exercuerunt; nam illic metropolis fuit." The small size of Pyrgi, as Müller remarks (Etrusk. I. 4, 8) is no proof against its importance in ancient times, seeing that the once renowned ports of Greece astonish the modern traveller by their confined dimensions.

³ Rite maturos aperire partus

Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres;

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari

Seu Genitalis! &c.

Hor. Carm. Sæc. 13.

Aristotle (Economic. II. 20) and Polyseus also (V. cap. II. 21) call this goddess Leucothea. Niebuhr (II. pp. 478, 493, Engl. trans.) and Müller (Etrusk. III. 3, 4) call her Mater Matuta, who was identified by the Romans with the Leucothea of the Greeks. But Matuta also is allied with Eos or Aurora

(Lucret. V. 655); and Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker, pp. 9, 25) suggests an analogy between Ilithyia-Leucothea, and the Etruscan Aurora, who was called "*Thesan*." Etrusk. Spiegel, I. taf. LXXVI. The natural relation between the goddess of the dawn and the goddess of births is easily understood; that with a goddess of the sea, is not so evident. As Leucothea was deemed powerful in preserving from shipwreck, and was the patron-deity of sailors, it is an argument in her favour in this instance. Were this shrine sacred to her, it would seem to imply that the port was prior to the temple. On the other hand, it may be said, that Ilithyia being but one form of Juno, the great goddess of Argos (Hesych. Εἰληθίας), the Pelasgic colony may well have raised a temple to her honour—as did the Argive colony, called by Dionysius (I. pp. 16, 17) Pelasgic, which settled at Falerii. She is sometimes called the daughter of Juno (Paus. I. 18; Iliad. XI. 271). Homer, however, elsewhere, (Iliad. XIX. 119) speaks of this goddess in the plural number. So also Hesychius. For a new view of the derivation of the name, *vid.* Anu. Inst. 1842, p. 95 (Henzen.).

triremes, and attacked Pyrgi, ostensibly for the sake of repressing its piracies, but really to replenish his exhausted treasury. He surprised the place, which was very scantily garrisoned, spoiled the temple of not less than a thousand talents, and carried off booty to the amount of five hundred more, defeating the men of Cære, who came to its rescue, and laying waste their territory.⁴

This is all we know of Pyrgi in the days of Etruscan independence. Her history must in great measure be identical with that of Cære, on which she was so intimately dependent. We find her mentioned as a Roman colony in the year 563 (B.C. 191).⁵ It is evident that under the Roman domination she lost much of her former importance.⁶ We find nothing more than mere statements or hints of her existence,⁷ till in the fifth century after Christ she is said to have dwindled from the condition of a small town to that of a large villa.⁸ After that we hear no more of her as Pyrgi, but find her mentioned in A.D. 1068, as the Castle of Sta Severa.⁹

Of the celebrated temple there are no traces existing; nothing to determine even the site it occupied. Canina suggests that, from the period in which it was built, it may have been in the most ancient Doric style.¹ If so, it must have resembled the great temples of Pæstum, standing like them on the shore, and rearing its massive capitals

⁴ Diodorus Sic. XV. p. 337; Serv. ad *Æn.* X. 184. See also Aristot. *Œcon.* II. 20; Strab. V. p. 226; Polyæn. *Strat.* V. cap. II. 21; cf. *Ælian.* Var. Hist. I. 20.

⁵ Liv. XXXVI. 3. When with Frongese, Castrum Novum, and the maritime colonies of Latium, she was compelled to add her quota to the fleet fitting out against Antiochus, king of Syria.

⁶ Servius (loc. cit.) speaks of Pyrgi as "nobilissimum" in early times, and

implies that she had lost her importance with her piracies.

⁷ Liv. XXV. 3; Cic. de Orat. II. 71; P. Mela, II. 4; Plin. III. 8; Ptol. p. 68, ed. Bert.; Mart. XII. epig. 2; Strab. loc. cit.; Serv. loc. cit.

⁸ Rutilius (I. 224), speaking of Alsium and Pyrgi, says—

"Nunc villæ grandes, oppida parva prius."

⁹ Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, III. p. 94.

¹ *Annal. Inst.* 1840, p. 42.

and entablature high above the towers and battlements of the enclosing walls, at once a beacon to the mariner, and a stimulus to his devotion.

The foundations show the walls of Pyrgi to have been in parts of great thickness, implying what might be expected from its exposed situation in the plain, that its fortifications were of unusual strength and loftiness.²

The port, as already said, must have been wholly artificial, which seems indeed to be expressed in the term applied to it by ancient writers.³ Nothing remains to determine the shape of the harbour, but Cav. Canina thinks it was formed by two curved moles, each terminating in a tower, with a third mole in front of the opening between them, like the island at Civita Vecchia.

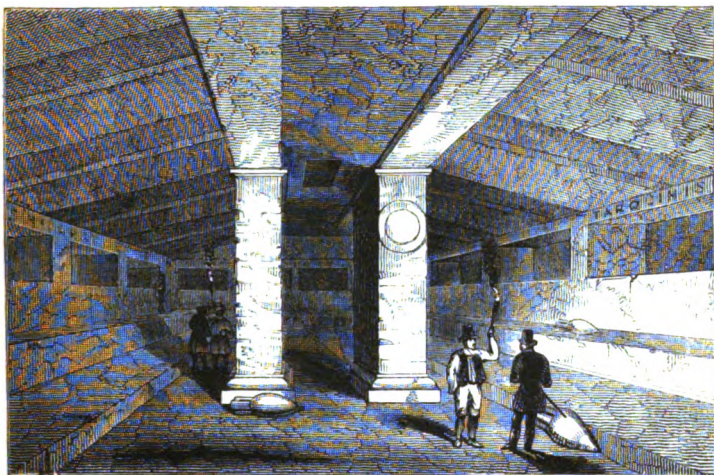
There are no tombs visible around Sta Severa, not even a tumulus on the plain, but at the foot of the heights which rise inland, sepulchres have been discovered. On one spot, called Pian Sultano, the Duchess of Sermoneta has excavated, and the tombs were of very simple character, and similar to those of Palo and Selva la Rocca.⁴

² The name of Pyrgi denotes the existence of "towers" in the ancient walls, yet there are no traces of any now visible. It is evident they did not project beyond the line of walls, as at Cosa and Falleri, though Cav. Canina, in his restored Plan of Pyrgi, has so represented them, for the outer face of the foundations is in parts clearly definable for a considerable distance; nor are there traces of towers within. Perhaps they rose only on the side towards the sea, where huge masses of ruin, the wrecks of the fortress and port, now lie on the shore, fretting the waves into everlasting foam. There are traces of Roman work on this side, of *opus incertum* and *reticulatum*. The

ancient walls seem to have varied from 8 to 12, and 16 feet in thickness.

³ Cav. Canina points out that Strabo and Dionysius both use the term *ἐπίγειον*, instead of *λῆμν*, in describing Pyrgi—the former term implying an artificial port, constructed with moles or breakwaters—the latter a natural harbour only. Ann. Inst. 1840, p. 43. This view is favoured by Hesychius when he says that *ἐπίγειον* is smaller than *λῆμν*.

⁴ Micali, Mon. Ined. pp. 375, 385. The tombs which Abeken (Mittelitalien, pp. 239, 242, 267) describes as belonging to Pyrgi, or to a village dependent on her, are those at the Puntone del Castrato, treated of in the last chapter.



TOMB OF THE TARQUINS, CERVETRI.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CERVETRI.—AGYLLA OR CÆRE.

—saxo fundata vetusto

Urbis Agyllinæ sedes ; ubi Lydia quondam

Gens, bello præclara, jugis insedit Etruscis.—VIRGIL. *Æneid* vi. 8.

Buried he lay, where thousands before

For thousands of years were inhumed on the shore.

What of them is left to tell

Where they lie, and how they fell !—BYRON. *Sage of San Marino* 1819.

Soon after leaving Santa Severa, on the way to the Holy City, the traveller will espy before him a small village with one prominent building sparkling in the sun, at the foot of the hills which rise inland, dark with wood. When he has journeyed onward for seven miles, he will find himself between this village and a solitary tower on the coast, called Torre Flavia. Here he will cross a rivulet known by

the homely name of La Vaccina, or the Cow-stream. Insignificant as this turbid brook may appear, let him pause a moment on the bridge and bethink him that it has had the honour of being sung by Virgil. It is the *Cæritis amnis* of the *Æneid*,¹ on whose banks Tarcho and his Etruscans pitched their camps, and Æneas received from his divine mother his god-wrought arms and the prophetic shield eloquent of the future glories of Rome,

—clypei non enarrabile textum.
Illic res Italas, Romanorumque triumphos,
Fecerat Ignipotens.

The eye wanders up the shrub-fringed stream, over bare undulating downs, the *arva lata* of ancient song, to the hills swelling into peaks and girt with a broad belt of olive and ilex. There frowned the dark grove of Silvanus, of dread antiquity, and there, on yon red cliffs—the “ancient heights” of Virgil—sat the once opulent and powerful city of Agylla, the Cære of the Etruscans, now represented, in name and site alone, by the miserable village of Cervetri. All this is hallowed ground—*religione patrum latè sacer*—hallowed, not by the traditions of evanescent creeds, nor even by the hoary antiquity of the site, so much as by the homage the heart ever pays to the undying creations of the fathers of song. The hillocks which rise here and there on the wide downs, are so many sepulchres of princes and heroes of old, coeval, it may be, with those on the plains of Troy; and if not, like them, the standing records of traditional events, at least the mysterious memorials of a prior age, which led the poet to select this spot as a fit scene for his verse. The large mound which rises close to the bridge may be the *celsus collis* whence Æneas gazed on the Etruscan camp.² No warlike sights or sounds now disturb the

¹ *Æn.* VIII. 597. Pliny (N. H. III. 8) calls it, “Cæretanus amnis.”

² *Æn.* VIII., 604.

rural quiet of the scene. Sword and spear are exchanged for crook and ploughshare ; and the only sound likely to catch the ear is the lowing of cattle, the baying of sheep-dogs, or the cry of the *pecorajo* as he marches at the head of his flock, and calls them to follow him to their fold or to fresh pastures.³ Silvanus, "the god of fields and cattle," has still dominion in the land.⁴

If the traveller be in a vehicle, he must leave the high road a little before reaching the Vaccina, where a country-track crosses the downs to Cervetri. This same track he must pursue should he approach Cervetri from the side of Palo. For the pedestrian or horseman there is another, but longer path, just before reaching a second streamlet, known by the ominous name of La Sanguinara.⁵ By the carriage-track he will ford the Vaccina at the chapel of Sta Maria de' Canneti, and presently finds himself between the walls of Cervetri and the heights of the ancient city.

Cervetri, the representative of Agylla, is a miserable village, with 100 or 200 inhabitants, and is utterly void of interest. It is surrounded by fortifications of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and stands just without the line of the ancient walls, so that it is annexed to, rather than occupies, the site of the original city. The village, and the

³ This scene, of sheep following their shepherd, attracted by his voice, often meets the eye of the traveller in the East ; and beautiful allusion is made to it in Holy Writ (John X., 3, *et seq.*). Oxen and goats also, in Corsica, and even swine, in Italy, of old, used to follow their herdsman, at the sound of his trumpet. Polybius (XII. pp. 654, 655, ed. Casaub.), who records this fact, remarks that while the swineherds of Greece walked behind, those of Italy invariably preceded, their herds.

⁴ This region was famed for its cattle in the olden time. Lycophron (Cass.

1241) speaks of the valleys or glens of Agylla, abounding in flocks.—

'Αγύλλης θ' αἱ πολλοὶ βόες νάσαι.

⁵ Livy (XXII. 1.) relates that, in the year 537, "the waters of Cære flowed mingled with blood." Cf. Val. Max. I. 6, 5. The Aquæ Cæretes, here mentioned, are generally supposed to be the same as the *Θερμὰ Καίρεται* of Strabo (V. p. 220), now called the Bagni del Sasso, four miles west of Cervetri. May not the above tradition be preserved in the name of this stream ?

land for some miles round it, are the property of Prince Ruspoli, whose palace forms a conspicuous object in the scene. This noble seldom makes excavations himself, but allows them to be carried on by his friends, who are of a more speculative or philarchaic turn of mind. It is to the enterprise of the Cavaliere Campana, of General Galassi, and of the reverend arch-priest of Cervetri, Don Alessandro Regulini, that we owe the numerous and remarkable objects of Etruscan antiquity that have been brought to light here of late years.

The *cicerone* of whose services and keys the visitor who would see the tombs must avail himself, is a good-tempered tobacconist, Flavio Passegieri, to be found in his shop in the little piazza. Most travellers will find it sufficient to lionize the site in a day's excursion from Palo, four or five miles distant, where there is a decent inn; but such as would devote more than a hurried day to the antiquities of Cære, and to avoid the transit to and from Palo, are willing to put up with village accommodation, will find a clean bed and refreshment in the house of a *vetturino*, Pacifico Rosati, one of the most obliging, attentive hosts it has been my lot to encounter in Italy. He will also dress a meal, if need be, for the excursionist, who must not expect, however, the delicacies for which Cære was renowned of old.⁶

Remote as are the days of the Etruscans, this city boasts a far prior antiquity. It was originally called Agylla, and is classed by Dionysius among the primitive towns of Central Italy, which were either built by the united Pelasgi and Aborigines, or taken by them from the Siculi, the earliest possessors of the land, ages before the foundation

⁶ Martial relished the *perna* of Cære (XIII. 54), and compared her wines to those of Setia (XIII. 124). Columella

(de Re Rust. III. 3) testifies to the abundance of her grapes.

of the Etruscan state.⁷ That it was at least Pelasgic and of very remote antiquity there can be no doubt;⁸ though we may not be willing to admit that that occupation of Italy can be referred with certainty to the third generation before the Trojan war.⁹ Traditions of ages so long prior to the historic period must be too clouded by fable, or too distorted by the medium of their transmission, to be received as strictly authentic. In its early days Agylla seems to have maintained intercourse with Greece, which corroborates, if need be, the uniform tradition of its Pelasgic origin.¹⁰

⁷ Dion. Hal. I. p. 16; cf. III. p. 193. Dionysius does not specify which of these towns were "previously inhabited by the Siculi," and which were "built by the Pelasgi with their confederate Aborigines."

⁸ Dionysius is confirmed by Strabo (V. pp. 220, 226), Pliny (III. 8), Servius (ad Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 479; X. 183), and Solinus (Polyh. cap. VIII.), who all record the tradition that Agylla was founded by the Pelasgi. Servius states that they were led to select this site on account of a fountain; not being able to find water elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Strabo says these Pelasgi were from Thessaly (cf. Serv. ad *Æn.* VIII. 600). Virgil corroborates the tradition by referring the grove of Silvanus on this site to the Pelasgi—

Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos.

Lycophron (Cass. 1355) calls Agylla, Ausonian. It is justly remarked by Lepsius (Ann. Inst., 1836, p. 202) that there are more witnesses to the Pelasgic origin of Cære, than of any other city of Etruria.

⁹ It is stated by Hellanicus of Lesbos, that the Siculi were expelled from Italy at that period; Philistos of Syracuse gives the date as 80 years before the

Trojan War; while Thucydides refers the expulsion to a period much subsequent to the fall of Troy (ap. Dion. Hal. I. p. 18). Nibby (Dintorni di Roma, I. p. 345) on the strength of the tradition of Hellanicus and Philistos, declares that the Pelasgic occupation took place, "certainly more than 1350 years before Christ."

¹⁰ That Agylla had a Greek origin may be inferred from the circumstance of its having dedicated treasure to the Delphian Apollo (Strabo, V. p. 220), and of its consulting that oracle (Herod. I. 167). Niebuhr (I. p. 127) is persuaded that this dedication and consultation must have been made by the earlier inhabitants, the Pelasgi; as the Etruscans would have been content with their own aruspicy. Cf. Canina, *Cære Antica*, p. 16. Then the language of the city, in very early times, if Strabo may be believed, was Greek; or if we refuse credence to the tradition he records, we may, at least, receive it as evidence of the general belief in the Greek origin of the city, which gave rise to the legend. The name is considered by Gerhard to be derived from the Greek—*ἀγυιά*. Ann. Inst., 1831, p. 205. Servius (ad *Æn.* VIII. 597), however, derives it from a *heros eponymos*, Agella.

It would appear that at its conquest by the Etruscans its name was changed into Cære, but the reason of this alteration we know not, unless we choose to attach credit to the old legend, which tells us that when the Lydian or Etruscan colonists were about to attack the city, they hailed it and inquired its name; whereon, a soldier from the ramparts, not understanding their motives or language, replied with a salutation—*χαῖρε*—"hail!" which they receiving as a good omen, on the capture of the city applied to it as its name.¹ But this, like most of the etymologies of the ancients, savours strongly of, what Pliny terms, the *perversa subtilitas* of the grammarians.

In the time of Æneas, the city is represented by Virgil as under the sway of Mezentius, a cruel and impious tyrant, who was expelled by his subjects and fled to Turnus, king of the Rutuli; while the liberated Agyllans joined the ranks of the Trojan prince.²

In very early times, Cære is said to have cultivated the arts; for Pliny asserts, that in his day paintings were here extant, which had been executed before the foundation of Rome; and he cites them as examples of the rapid progress this art had made, seeing that it appeared not to have been practised in the days of Troy.³ Cære, even as early

¹ Strabo, loc. cit. Steph. Byzant. v. Agylla. Servius (ad Æn. VIII. 597) relates the same story, but on the authority of Hyginus (de Urbibus Italicis) refers this blunder to the Romans. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 7, n. 40) thinks the original Etruscan name was "Cisra," and cites Verrius Flaccus (ap. Interp. Æn. X. 183. Veron.) in confirmation. Lepsius (die Tyrrhen. Pelsag. p. 28) regards Cære as the original name, which came a second time into use; and thinks it was Umbrian, not Etruscan, in conformity with his theory of the Umbrian race and language being the foundation

of the Etruscan. Canina (Cere Antica p. 25), who is of the old or literal school of historic interpretation, thinks that "the change of name, and the mingling of the Agyllans with the Etruscan invaders can be established in the first ten years after the fall of Troy;" while Niebuhr, on the other hand (I. p. 127, cf. p. 385), will not allow it to have been made even as late as the year of Rome 220 (B. C. 534).

² Virg. Æn. VII. 648; VIII. 481, et seq.

³ Plin. N. H. XXXV. 6.

as the time of the first Tarquin, is represented as among the most flourishing and populous cities of Etruria ;⁴ and she was undoubtedly one of the Twelve of the Confederation.⁵ But what, above all, distinguished Cære was, that she alone, of all the cities of Etruria, abstained from piracy, from no inferiority of power or natural advantages, but solely from her sense of justice ; wherefore the Greeks greatly honoured her for her moral courage in resisting this temptation.⁶

The first mention of this city in Roman history is, that it maintained a war with Tarquinius Priscus.⁷ It also joined Veii and Tarquinii in the twenty years' war with his successor, Servius Tullius, and at the re-establishment of peace, in consequence of the prominent part it had taken, it was punished by the Roman monarch with the forfeiture of a portion of its territory.⁸

At the same period, or about the year of Rome 220 (534 B.C.), the Cærites joined their fleet with that of Carthage on an expedition against a colony of Phocæans, who had seized on Alalia in Corsica, and after a severe combat, all the prisoners taken by the allies were brought to Cære and there stoned to death. In consequence of this cold-blooded massacre, the city was punished with a plague ; men, herds, and flocks—whatever animal passed near the spot where the bodies of the Phocæans lay, became afflicted with distortion, mutilation, or paralysis ; whereon the Cærites sent to Delphi to consult the oracle how they might atone for their crime, and were ordered to perform solemn expiatory rites, and to institute games of gymnastic

⁴ Dion. Hal. III. p. 193.

⁵ This may be learned from the passages of Dionysius and Strabo already cited, as well as from the prominent part the city took, in conjunction with Veii and Tarquinii, and the independent course she subsequently followed with regard to Rome. Livy (I. 2) also

represents Cære as a powerful city of Etruria.

⁶ Strabo, V. p. 220.

⁷ Dion. Hal. III. p. 193. Nibby (I p. 347) thinks it may then have changed its name from Agylla to Cære.

⁸ Dion. Hal. IV. p. 231 ; cf. Liv. I. 42.

exercises and horse-racing in honour of the slain ; which they continued to observe in the time of Herodotus.¹

On the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus from Rome, he and his two sons took refuge in Cære,² probably on account of his family connections there ; but it is not recorded that this city took part in Porsenna's expedition to reinstate the exiled prince. Unlike Veii, Fidenæ, Falerii, and other cities in this part of Etruria, Cære, though but twenty-seven miles from Rome, seems to have been for ages on friendly terms with that city.³ When, in the year 365, Rome was attacked by the Gauls, Cære opened her gates and gave refuge to the Flamen Quirinalis, and Vestal Virgins, and eventually restored them in safety to their home.⁴ Nay, we are told that the Cærites attacked the retreating Gauls, laden with the spoil of Rome, routed them, and recovered all the booty they were bearing away.⁵ For these services the senate decreed that the Cærites should receive the *hospitium publicum*, or be admitted into the most intimate relations with the Roman people⁶—in fact, they received the full privileges of Roman citizens, save the suffrage.⁷ The origin of our

¹ Herod. I. 166, 167.

² Liv. I. 60. Dionysius (IV. pp. 276, 279) however, asserts that it was to Gabii he fled, where his son Sextus was king. Livy says it was Sextus alone who went to Gabii.

³ This fraternity and intimate connection were probably owing to the Pelasgic origin of Cære, and the consequent want of a complete sympathy with the Etruscans. Niebuhr (I. p. 386) was even inclined to the opinion that Rome was a mere colony of Cære—an opinion which he had at first held, but afterwards modified. Lepsius (Ann. Inst., 1836, p. 203) thinks that the Pelasgic population of Cære was preserved

more or less pure to a late period. Cf. Millingen, Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 43.

⁴ Liv. V. 40. Strabo, V. p. 220. Val. Max. I. i. 10. Cf. Plut. Camil.; Flor. I. 13. See also an inscription in the Vatican, given by Gruter, p. 492, 7, and Muratori, p. 172, 4.

. . . VIDERENT CAPITOLIVM
. . . VESTALES CÆRE DEDVXIT
. . . QVI RITVS SOLLEMNES NE
. . . BENTVR CVRAI SIBI HABVIT
. . . VENERATA SACRA ET VIRGINES
. . . EXIT

⁵ Strabo, loc. cit.

⁶ Liv. V. 50. Strabo, loc. cit.

⁷ This condition became proverbial, and what had originally been conferred

word ceremony—*cærimonia*—has been ascribed to this event.⁸

A year or two before the capture of Rome by the Gauls, Cære was engaged with another enemy, Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, who, in 362, attacked Pyrgi, and spoiled its celebrated temple of Ilithyia. As this was the port of Cære, the inhabitants of the latter city rushed to the rescue, but, being probably unprepared for war, not expecting an attack, they were easily routed by the Sicilians.⁹

Cære, though closely allied to Rome, continued to maintain her independence ; but it is probable that this was threatened, otherwise “the sympathy of blood” alone would hardly have induced her, in the year 401 (B.C. 353), to take up arms to assist Tarquinius against Rome, when she had been for ages intimately associated with the Republic. She must have received some provocation when she sent an army into the Roman territory, and laid it waste up to the mouth of the Tiber. Ere long, however, conscious of her unequal strength, she repented of this step, and besought pardon and peace, reminding the Romans of the services she had rendered in their distress. The senate referred her ambassadors to the people, who, moved by their touching appeal and the remembrance of past services,

as an honour was made significant of disgrace ; for *tabulæ Cærtes* and *cera Cæritis* came to imply the condition of Roman citizens, who had been deprived of the right of suffrage. Hor. I. ep. VI. 62. Aul. Gell. XVI. 13, 7. Strabo, loc. cit. Niebuhr (II. pp. 60, 67) is of opinion, from the classification of Festus (*v. Municipium*), that Cære was really degraded from the highest rank of citizenship, in consequence of her conduct in the year 401 ; and thus he accounts for the proverbial reference to the Cæritan

franchise as a disgraceful condition.

⁸ Val. Max. loc. cit. Festus, *v. Cærimonia*. The etymologies of the ancients, however, are rarely to be trusted ; but Niebuhr (I. p. 386) thinks this derivation very plausible. It has been suggested to me that the first syllable of the word was not originally Cæri, but Coeri (for Curi, i. e. Cura)—*monia*—which, at least, is expressive of the meaning ; and the two diphthongs are sometimes interchangeable.

⁹ See the last chapter, page 15.

rather than by the excuse then urged, listened to their prayer and granted them a truce for a hundred years.¹⁰ It is highly probable that the Cærites paid the penalty of their error by the loss of their independence, for we have no record of any further conquest of them by the Romans; indeed, we next hear of Cære as a Roman dependency, providing corn and other provisions for the fleet of Scipio, in the year 549,¹ and otherwise assisting in the Second Punic War.²

At the commencement of the Empire this "splendid and illustrious city" had sunk into utter insignificance, retaining mere vestiges of past greatness, being even surpassed in population by the Thermæ Cæretanæ—the hot baths in the neighbourhood, which the Romans frequented for health's sake.³ It again revived, however, as appears from monuments and inscriptions found on the spot, and became a *municipium*.⁴ Nor was it at any period wholly blotted

¹⁰ Liv. VII. 19, 20.

¹ Liv. XXVIII. 45.

² Sil. Ital. VIII. 474.

³ Strabo, V. p. 220. Now the *Bagni del Sasso*, so called from a remarkable bare crag on the summit of the neighbouring mountain. It is about 4 miles west of Cervetri, and is visible from the road between Sta Severa and Palo. Mannert (Geog. p. 379) places the *Aquæ Cæretanæ* at Ceri. Cluver (II. p. 493) confounds them with the *Aquæ Apollinaris*, on the upper road from Rome to Tarquinii, now the *Bagni di Stigliano*; and the Table favours his view. Westphal (Röm. Kamp. p. 160) also regards these names as identical. But Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluv. p. 35) distinguishes between the two *Aquæ*, placing one at Stigliano, the other at *Bagni del Sasso*. Cluver thinks that Martial (VI. 42) refers to the *Aquæ Apollinaris* under the name of "*Phœbi*

Vada." Gell (v. *Agylla*) mistakes the *Cæreis* of the Itinerary for Cære; but it is evidently the station on the *Via Clodia*, now called *Galera*. See Vol. I. p. 77.

ANTONINE ITINERARY.		PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.	
Roma		Roma	
Cæreias	XV.	Lorio	XII.
Aquas Apol- linaris	XVIII.	Bebiana	—
Tarquinios	XII.	Turres	—
		Aquas Apol- linaris	VIII.
		Tarquinis	XII.

⁴ Festus v. *Municipium*. Gruter, pp. 215, 1; 485, 5; cf. 235, 9. Cluver, II. p. 493. Bull. Inst., 1840, pp. 5—8.—*Canina*. In excavations made in 1840 on the site of the city, some beautiful marble statues of Tiberius, Drusus, Germanicus, and Agrippina were discovered, together with that singular bas-relief with the names and emblems of three Etruscan

from the map, but continued to exist, and with its ancient name, till, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, part of its inhabitants removed to a site about three miles off, on which they bestowed the same name, and the old town was distinguished by the title of *Vetus*, or *Cære Vetere*, which has been corrupted into its present appellation of *Cervetri*, the new town still retaining the name of *Ceri*. This has misled antiquarians, who have sought the Etruscan city on the site which seemed more clearly to bear its name,⁵ but inscriptions recently found at *Cervetri* have established its identity with *Cære* beyond a doubt.⁶

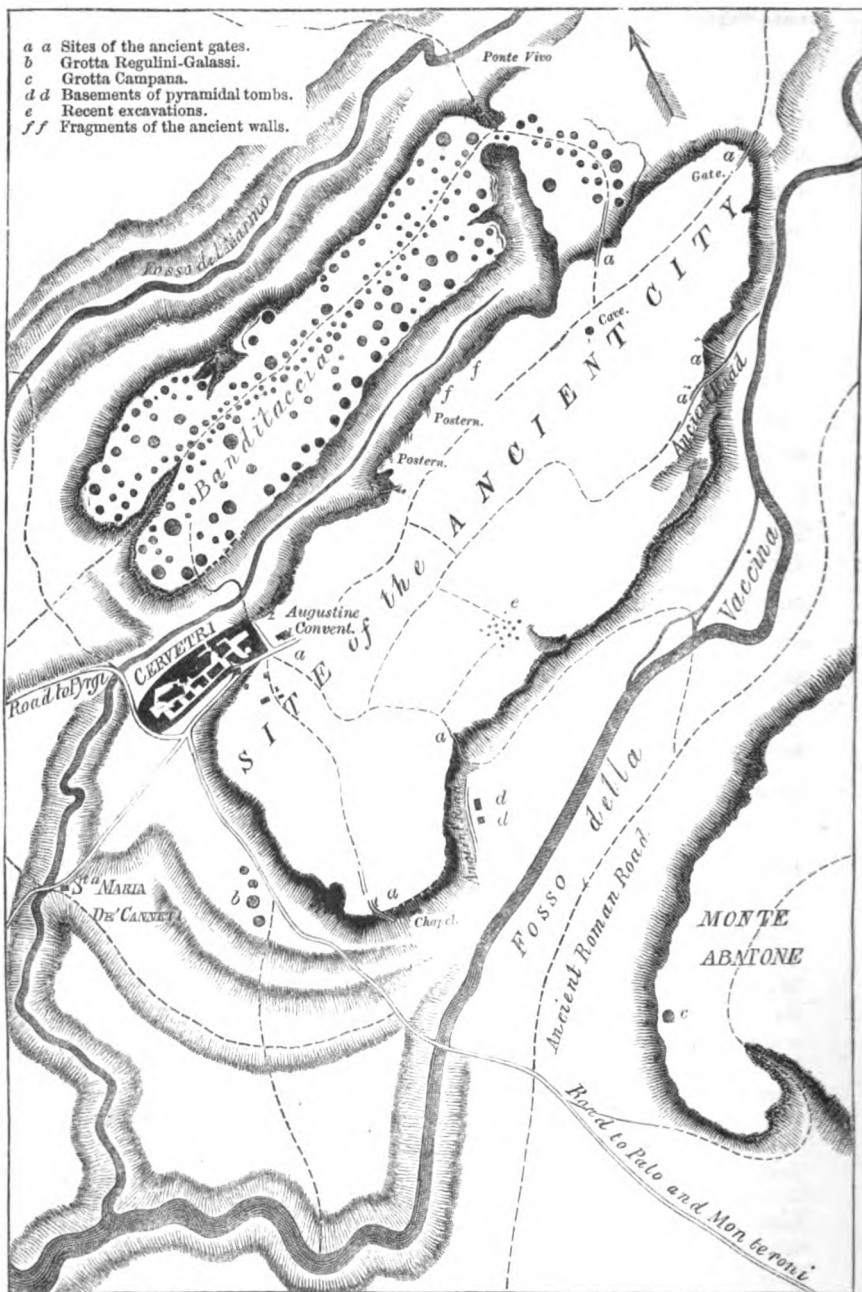
Of the ancient city there are but few vestiges extant; yet the outline of its walls is clearly defined, not so much by fragments, for there are few remaining, as by the character of the ground which the city occupied. This is a height or table-land, rising in steep cliffs above the plain of the coast, except on the northern side where it is united by a neck to the high land adjoining. Within the space thus marked off by nature, not a ruin of the ancient city now rises above ground. Temples, towers, halls, palaces, theatres—have all gone to dust; the very ruins of *Cære* have perished, or are overheaped with soil; and the

cities, *Tarquini*, *Vetulonia*, and *Vulci*, of which mention has been made in a former chapter. Vol. I. p. 404. To the references there given, add *Bull. Inst.* 1843, p. 174. —*Cavedoni*. These monuments are now among the chief ornaments of the new Museum of the Lateran. In the season of 1845-6, the Augustine monks of *Cervetri* discovered many more statues and *torsi*, with altars, bas-reliefs, beautiful cornices, and other architectural fragments of a theatre, coloured tiles and *antefixa*, and numerous fragments of Latin inscriptions, with one in Etruscan, "*CUSIACH*," which is unique in having

the letters cut in marble and inlaid on a darker stone. These things are perhaps still to be seen at the Convent.

⁵ A bull of Gregory IX., in 1236, distinguishes between these two towns, specifying "*plebes et ecclesias in Cere Novâ*," and also, "*in Cere Vetere et finibus ejus*." Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma* I. p. 355.

⁶ *Bull. Inst.*, 1840, pp. 5—8; 1846, p. 129. But Gruter (pp. 214; 652, 8) had long ago given some inscriptions referring to *Cære*, which were found at *Cervetri*. *Canina* claims to have been the first to indicate the true site of this city. *Not*



PLAN OF CÆRE AND ITS NECROPOLIS,

(ADAPTED FROM CANINA).

peasant follows his plough, the husbandman dresses his vines, and the shepherd tends his flock, unconscious that he is treading over the streets and buildings of a city among the most renowned of ancient times, and thirty times more extensive than the miserable village which has preserved its name.

Let not the traveller omit to visit the site of Cære under the impression that there is nothing to be seen. If of antiquarian tastes, he will have the satisfaction of determining the extent, form, and position of the city,—he will perceive that it was four or five miles in circuit, and therefore fully substantiating its claim to be ranked among the first of Etruria,—that it was of oblong form,—that it had eight gates, all most distinctly traceable, some approached by roads sunk in the rock and lined with tombs, others retaining their flanking walls of masonry,—he will see in the cliffs around the city, the mouths of sewers above, and more frequently tombs of various forms below; and he will learn from the few fragments that remain, that the walls of Cære were composed of rectangular blocks of tufo, of similar size and arrangement to those in the walls of Veii and Tarquinii, and utterly different from those of Pyrgi, which had a common origin.⁷

⁷ Canina (*Cere Antica* p. 52) says there are no vestiges of the walls which surrounded the city; but foundations may, in several parts, be traced along the brow of the cliffs, and on the side opposite the Banditaccia, for a considerable extent. Many of the ancient blocks have been removed of late years to construct walls in the neighbourhood, and I was an indignant witness of this destruction, on one of my visits to the site. Nibby (*I. p. 358*) speaks of traces of the more ancient or Pelasgic walls of large irregularly squared blocks, along the cliffs on the east of the city, and

still more distinct on the western side. I could perceive no such remains; all the fragments I observed being of an uniform character—rectangular tufo masonry, of smaller blocks than usual, and very similar in size and arrangement to the fragments of walling at Veii (*Vol. I. p. 15*), and Tarquinii (*Vol. I. p. 383*), and to the ancient fortifications on the height of S. Silvestro, near the Tiber, which I take to mark the site of Fescennium (*Vol. I. p. 160*). It is nevertheless possible that these walls are of Pelasgic construction; for, as the only material on the spot is soft tufo, which

If he be an artist, or lover of the picturesque, taking no interest in the antiquities of the place, he will still find abundance of matter to delight his eye or employ his pencil ; either on the site of the city itself, with its wide-sweeping prospect of plain and sea on the one hand, and of the dark many-peaked hills on the other, or in the ravines around, where he will meet with combinations of rock and wood, such as for form and colour are rarely surpassed. The cliffs of the city, here rising boldly at one spring from the slope, there broken away into many angular forms, with huge masses of rock scattered at their feet, are naturally of the liveliest red that tufo can assume, yet are brightened still further by encrusting lichens into the warmest orange or amber, or are gilt with the most brilliant yellow—thrown out more prominently by an occasional sombring of grey—while the dark ilex, or oak, feathers and crests the whole,

“ And overhead the wandering ivy and vine
This way and that, in many a wild festoon,
Run riot, garlanding the gnarled boughs
With bunch and berry and flower.”

The chief interest of Cære, however, lies in its tombs.

has a rectangular cleavage, the Pelasgic founders of the city could not avoid using it except by fetching limestone, at a great expense of labour, from the mountains inland ; and, using the tufo, they would naturally hew it into forms most easily worked and arranged, as they did in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, and other early sepulchres of Cære, whose contents authorise us to regard them as Pelasgic. The objection to assign such an origin to the remains of the city walls, lies not in the rectangularity of the blocks, but in their small size ; seeing that all the ancient fortifications we are best warranted in ascribing to the Pelasgi, are

composed of enormous masses. Though I acknowledge the influence of the local materials on the style of masonry, I do not think it amounts to a constructive necessity ; and though I believe the Pelasgi may have employed one style of masonry at Cosa, another at Cortona, and a third at Agylla, I cannot admit that they exercised no preference, or that any other people with the same materials would have arrived at the very peculiar style which they seem always to have followed, where practicable, and which is generally called after their name. For further remarks on this subject, see chap. XLVII.

These are found on all sides of the city, but particularly on the high ground to the north, now called *La Banditaccia*. Let not the traveller conceive vain fears from a name of so ominous a sound, and which, his Guide-book will tell him, was derived from the number of bandits who once infested the spot.⁸ The name is simply indicative of the proprietorship of the land, which once belonging to the *comune*, or corporation of Cervetri, was *terra bandita*—"set apart;" and, as it was uncultivated and broken ground, the termination descriptive of its ugliness was added—*banditaccia*. It retains the name, though it has passed into the hands of Prince Ruspoli. To reach it from Cervetri, you cross the narrow glen to the north. Here in the cliffs opposite is hollowed a long range of sepulchres, all greatly injured within and without.⁹

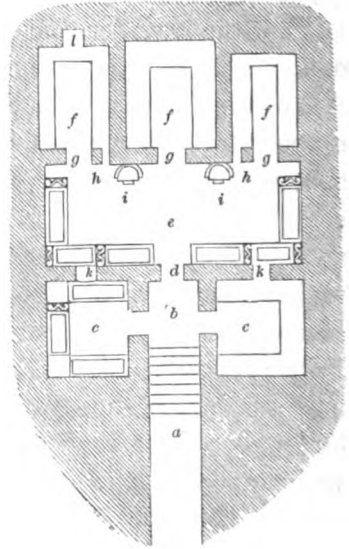
This Banditaccia is a singular place—a Brobdignag warren, studded with mole-hills. It confirmed the impression I had received at Bieda and other sites, that the cemeteries of the Etruscans were often intentional representations of their cities. Here were ranges of tombs hollowed in low cliffs, rarely more than fifteen feet high, not piled one on another as at Bieda, but on the same level, facing each other as in streets, and sometimes branching off laterally into smaller lanes or alleys. In one part was a spacious square or piazza, surrounded by tombs instead of houses. None of these sepulchres, it is true, had architectural façades remaining, but the cliffs were hewn into smooth, upright faces, and here and there

⁸ Mrs. Gray, from whose account that of the Hand-book is derived, may be excused having fallen into this error, when the same had been stated by the highest archaeological authorities in Rome. *Cere Antica*, p. 51. *Bull. Inst.*, 1838, p. 171. In truth, a spot so

swarming with caverns, might well suggest such an appellation.

⁹ One of them has a small pilaster against its inner wall, with capital and abacus quite Doric, and shaft, also, of early Doric proportions, though resting on a square base.

were fragments of an ornamental cornice. Within the tombs the analogy was preserved. Many had a large central chamber, with others of smaller size opening upon it, lighted by windows in the wall of rock, which served as the partition. (See the annexed woodcut.¹) This central chamber represented the *atrium* of Etruscan houses,² whence it was borrowed by the Romans ; and the chambers around it the *triclinia*, for each had a bench of rock round three of its sides, on which the dead had lain, reclining in effigy, as at a banquet. The ceilings of all the chambers had the usual beams and rafters hewn in



PLAN OF A TOMB AT CERVETRI.

¹ The above plan is that of the Seat and Shield Tomb, presently to be described. The following is the explanation :—

- a. Rock-hewn steps leading down to the tomb.
- b. The vestibule.
- c, c, Chambers on each side of the entrance.
- d. Doorway to the tomb.
- e. Principal chamber, or *atrium*.
- f, f, f. Inner chambers, or *triclinia*.
- g, g, g. Entrances to the inner chambers.
- h, h. Windows to the same, cut in the rock.
- i, i. Arm-chairs and foot-stools, hewn from the rock.
- l. Niche recessed in the wall.
- k, k. Windows cut in the rock.

The sepulchral benches which sur-

round each chamber are here indicated ; sometimes with a raised, ornamental head-piece.

The shaded part of the plan represents the rock in which the tomb is hollowed.

² Described by Vitruvius (VI. 3), Varro (L. L. V. 161), and Festus (v. Atrium). The *atrium* in this case was not a true *cavædium*, not being open to the sky ; but had it been, the purpose of concealment would have been defeated. Indeed it was sometimes deemed necessary to support the ceiling by a massive pillar of rock. Yet that the analogy was intended, and was preserved as far as possible, is evident from the windows around, which suppose the light to have been received from the central chamber. See the above Plan.

the rock ; and in one instance was the same fan-like ornament in relief, and walls similarly panelled, as in a tomb at Vulci ;³ whence it may be inferred that such decorations were at one period fashionable in Etruscan houses.

Many of the tombs of the Banditaccia are surmounted by tumuli. Indeed tumuli are scarcely less numerous here than at Tarquinii. Some of them are still unexcavated, the entrance being below the surface ; in others the doorway opens in the basement, which is often of rock, hewn into mouldings and cornice, and more rarely of masonry. The cone of earth which originally surmounted these tumuli is in most cases broken down almost to the level of the soil. As at Tarquinii, there are no architectural façades in this necropolis ; the decoration is chiefly internal. Nor could I perceive more than a single instance of inscriptions on the exterior of tombs ; and that was no longer legible.

Some tombs of great interest were opened on this spot in the winter of 1845-6. The first you reach is a large tomb, with two square pillars in the centre, and a row of long niches for bodies recessed in the walls ; beside which the chamber is surrounded by a deep bench, separated into compartments for corpses, which were arranged, not in lines parallel with the niches, but at right angles, with their feet pointing to the centre of the tomb. There is nothing further remarkable in this sepulchre beyond an Etruscan word—*CVETHN*—cut in the rock over one of the corner recesses.⁴

³ See Vol. I. page 408.

⁴ This word, from its position in the corner of the tomb, seems to be the first of an inscription never completed. It appears to have some analogy with the *CEŒHEN*. *SUTHI*, which commences the celebrated inscription of S. Manno, near Perugia, and also with the initial

word of another inscription given by Lanzi (*Sagg.* II. p. 509 ; cf. *Vermigl. Iscriz. Perug.* I. p. 140). See *Bull. Inst.*, 1847, p. 55. This tomb, in size, form, and arrangements, is very like that of the Tarquins, which is represented in the wood-cut at the head of this chapter.

GROTTA DELLA SEDIA.

Hard by is a sepulchre, on the plan of those of Bieda, with two small chambers, separated by a wall of rock, in which are cut a door and two little windows, surrounded by the usual rod-moulding. But the marvel of the tomb is an arm-chair, cut from the living rock, standing by the side of one of the two sepulchral couches in the outer chamber, as though it were an easy-chair by the bed-side, or as a seat for the doctor visiting his patient! But why placed in a tomb? Was it merely to carry out still further the analogy to a house? Or was it, as Visconti suggests, for the use of the relatives who came yearly to hold solemn festivals at the tomb?⁵ Or was it for the shade of the deceased himself, as though he were too restless to be satisfied with his banqueting-couch, but must have his easy-chair also to repose him after his wanderings.⁶ Or, as Micali opines, was it to intimate the blissful repose of the new life on which his spirit had entered.⁷ Or was it not rather a curule chair, the *insigne* of the rank or condition of the deceased, showing him to have been a ruler or magnate in the land?⁸

Some eighteen or twenty years since a tomb was opened in the Banditaccia, which contained two of these chairs, each with a foot-stool attached, and a shield suspended

⁵ Antichi Monumenti di Ceri, p. 31—where he gives a description of a similar tomb.

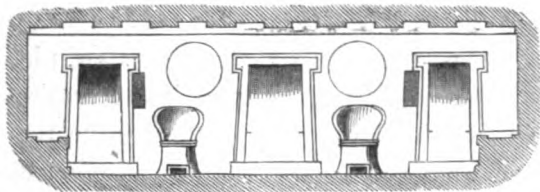
⁶ It may have been for the support of a funeral urn; for in the tombs of Chiusi, *canopi*, or vases in the form of human busts, which were, probably, the effigies of the deceased whose ashes they contained, have been found placed on seats of this form. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 68. Such *canopi* have also been discovered at Cære, says Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 185.

⁷ Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 152.

⁸ The form of this and similar rock-hewn seats in other tombs of Cervetri is very like that of the beautiful marble chair, with bas-reliefs, in the Palazzo Corsini at Rome, which is thought to be Etruscan, and a genuine *sella curulis*. It will be borne in mind that the curule chair was one of the Etruscan *insignia* of authority; and thence adopted by the Romans. See Vol. I. pp. 26, 376, 377.

against the wall above it, all carved in the living rock. The annexed woodcut, which gives a section of the tomb, shows these seats, placed between the doors of inner chambers.⁹

The tomb is still open, but my endeavours to discover it



TOMB OF THE SEATS AND SHIELDS.

among the thousand and one sepulchres of the Banditaccia have proved fruitless.¹

At the further side of the Banditaccia is a group of four other recently-discovered tombs, which have been placed under lock and key by the Cavaliere Campana. One of these, opened in the spring of 1846, is a painted tomb—which I shall designate

GROTTA DEL TRICLINIO.

It consists of but a single chamber, twenty-four feet by sixteen, surrounded by deep benches of rock, on which the dead were laid, and at the head of each compartment still lies a skull, whose uniform grin startles the eye on entering the sepulchre. Just within the door are bas-reliefs—a wild-boar on one side, and a panther tearing its prey on the other. But the paintings?—It requires a close and careful examination to distinguish them, so much have

⁹ Compare the Plan at page 32. The shields were of large size, like the Argolic shields, and like that on the tomb at Norchia (Vol. I. p. 252). This tomb has been described and delineated in Bull. Instit., 1834, p. 99. Ann. Inst., 1835, p. 184. Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XIX. For further remarks on the shields, see the Appendix to this Chapter, Note I.

¹ Mr. Ainsley, however, in a subsequent visit, has been more fortunate, in falling in with a person who was present at the opening of the tomb, and remembered its site. He represents the principal chamber, indicated as *c* in the Plan, at page 32, as being hung with ten or twelve of these shields, carved in the rock, in relief.

they suffered from the damp ; and if unaware of their existence, you might visit the tomb without perceiving the figures on its walls. The white stucco on which the scenes are painted has been changed by the damp to a hue dark as the native rock. In a few places only where it has remained dry has the painting retained its distinctness. On the left-hand wall you perceive the heads of a man and woman, who are reclining together at a banquet ; and beautiful heads they are, with features of Greek symmetry, and more mastery and delicacy in the design than are commonly found in the sepulchral paintings of Etruria. He is garlanded with laurel and wears a short beard ; and his flesh is of the usual deep red, the conventional colour of beatification—of gods and heroes ; but hers is of the white hue of the stucco. He pledges her in a *phiale*, or bowl of wine, to which she replies by an approving look, turning her head towards him. Her face and expression are extremely pretty, and a variegated skull-cap, and a full rich tress at the side of her face add to her charms. She wears also a necklace and torque of gold. A round table, resting on three deer-legs, stands by them, with meats, fruits, eggs, and goblets ; and a large round shield is suspended on the wall behind the man. You might fancy it Pericles, who had just laid his armour by, and was pledging the fair Aspasia.

A maraviglia egli gagliardo, ed ella
Quanto si possa dir, leggiadra e bella.

It is from these heads we must judge of the rest in this tomb ; for the same scene is repeated again and again on the walls—eight other couples recline on the festive couch, each with a tripod-table by their side, and a shield suspended above.² But the females have lost the fairness of

² A singular feature here is, that the revellers are depicted reclining on a continuous couch, which, as it occupies instead of a separate *lectus* for each pair

their sex, and, from the discoloration of the stucco, have become as dusky as negresses ; while the men, from their brick-dust complexions, are much more distinct. In the centre of the inner wall stand a couple of slaves, at a large table or sideboard, which has sundry vases and goblets on it and beneath it, and a tall *candelabrum* at its side, the counterpart to which is seen also on the side-wall.³ On a mixing-vase which stands on this table or sideboard is inscribed the word IVNON in Roman letters, which, as it can hardly here allude to the “white-armed,” “ox-eyed” goddess, must refer to the Juno, or presiding spirit of some female,⁴ probably the principal person interred in the tomb.

The face of the sepulchral couches is also painted—above, with the usual wave-pattern—below, with animals, of which a pair of winged *hippocampi*, in a very spirited style, and a dragon with green wings, are alone discernible.⁵

three walls of the tomb, may be supposed to represent a *triclinium*, such as the Romans used ; and this, I believe, is the only ancient painting of that sort of banqueting-scene, now in existence. The figures here lie under a red and white striped coverlet, or *stragulum*. The small tables by the side of the *triclinium* are not the usual *τράπεζαι* (i. e., *trapezæ*), or with four legs, as in all the paintings of Tarquinii, but *τρίποδες*, or with only three feet.

³ Banquets by lamp-light are rarely represented in Etruscan tombs—the only other instance I remember is in the Grotta Querciola at Corneto ; the revellers are generally depicted as lying under the shade of the ivy or vine, or amid groves of myrtle. Even in the Grotta Querciola, though a *candelabrum* is introduced, the festive couches are surrounded by trees. The *candelabra* in this tomb of Cære are worthy of par-

ticular notice, as they are depicted with a number of little vases, or other small objects tied to the stem in clusters ; and *candelabra*, with vases so attached, have also been discovered in Etruscan tombs at Vulci. Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 194. From this we learn a secondary use to which these elegant articles of furniture were applied.

⁴ See the Appendix to this Chapter, Note II.

⁵ In the floor of this tomb is an oblong pit, just such as opens in the ceilings of so many sepulchres at Civita Castellana, and as is shown in the roof of the tomb of the Tarquins, in the wood-cut, at page 17. Whether it be the shaft to a second sepulchral chamber beneath this, as analogy suggests, or is merely intended to drain the tomb, I cannot say, for I found it full of water. In the so-called “Tomb of Solon” at Gombet Li, in Phrygia, described by Steuart in his

The colours in this tomb have been laid on in distemper, not *al fresco*. The freedom of the design, as far as it is discernible, the Greek character of the features, and the full faces of some of the males, are clear proofs of a late date—a date subsequent rather than prior to the period of Roman domination ; and this is confirmed by the presence of the Latin inscription.⁶

A painted tomb at Cervetri has peculiar interest, for this is the only site in Etruria where we have historical record of the existence of ancient paintings. Pliny speaks of some extant in his day, which were vulgarly believed to have been executed prior to the foundation of Rome.⁷ Those in this tomb can scarcely lay claim to a purely Etruscan antiquity. Another sepulchre, however, was discovered some twenty years since, which contained figures of men and animals in a very archaic style, bearing in their singular parti-coloured character much resemblance to those in the Grotta Campana at Veii.⁸ The tomb is still open, but when last at Cervetri I could find no one who was acquainted with its site.⁹

work on Lydia and Phrygia, there is a similar well or shaft sunk in the middle of a sepulchral chamber.

⁶ For notices of this tomb see Bull. Inst., 1847, pp. 61, 97.

⁷ Plin. XXXV. 6.

⁸ See Vol. I. pp. 50—52.

⁹ Mr. Ainsley has subsequently rediscovered it. He describes its paintings as more archaic than any at Tarquinii. A description of them has been given by Kramer (Bull. Inst. 1834, pp. 97—101), who represents them as of the rudest character, painted on the bare porous tufo, which has undergone no preparation, not being even smoothed, to receive them. The tomb was nearly elliptical, and had an upper and lower band of figures ; those in the lower were almost effaced ; but above, there was a man with pointed

beard, and close vest, shooting an arrow at a stag—a lion devouring a stag, while a second lion, squatting by, looked on—a ram flying from another lion—and fragments of other animals, and of a second man with a bow. There was much truth and expression in the beasts, in spite of their unnatural parti-colouring. The only hues used in this tomb are black, white, and red. The face and legs of the archer were painted white—a very singular fact, as that was the conventional hue of females. The door-moulding was striped diagonally, as in Egyptian architecture, with red, white, and black. Many of the above figures, according to Mr. Ainsley, have now disappeared, and unless some means are taken to preserve them, the rest will soon perish. Cf. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 183.

GROTTA DE' SARCOFAGI.

Close to the last is a sepulchre which I shall designate the Tomb of the Sarcophagi, from its containing three of those large monuments, which are very rarely found at Cære, the dead being in general laid out on their rocky biers, without other covering than their robes or armour. The sarcophagi are here of alabaster—not that from Volterra, but another kind from the Circean Promontory.¹ Two have the draped figure of a man on the lid, not resting, as usual, on his elbow, but reclining on his left side. They are in a very archaic style. The hair of one is arranged in the small stiff curls which are seen in the most ancient Etruscan bronzes, as well as in the early monuments of the East, and are shown in the reliefs from Nineveh, recently brought to this country. The same figure wears a chaplet of leaves, and holds a *patera*, and he has two small lions of the most quaint and primitive art at his feet. His eyes are painted black, and his lips red ; but the rest of the monument is uncoloured. The other figure is remarkable for his fine features ; and with mustachios, and a torque about his neck, he much resembles a Gaul. He has four similar lions on his couch, one at each angle. There is a peculiarly primitive air about these figures ; they are unlike any I have elsewhere seen on the lids of sarcophagi, where, in truth, they have generally nothing archaic in character.

The third sarcophagus is of temple-form, like that from Bomarzo, now in the British Museum, but without sculptured decorations.

On the wall of this tomb is scratched an Etruscan inscription, which in Roman letters would be V: APUCUS: AC.

¹ Bull. Inst. 1847, p. 97.

and on a slab which served as a *cippus*, I read LARTHĪ AP. VCUĪA, in Etruscan characters. Thence it appears that the sepulchre was that of a family named Apucus (Apicius ?)

The front of the couches is painted with sea-monsters, dolphins, lions, and other animals, on a stuccoed surface ; and on the inner wall of the tomb is a band of the usual wave-pattern.

GROTTA DELL' ALCOVA.

Another of these newly discovered sepulchres, I shall call the "Tomb of the Alcove," from a singular, recessed chamber in the further wall, like a chapel in a cathedral. There are in fact three of these recesses, but the central one is the most spacious, and is obviously the post of honour, the last resting-place of the most illustrious dead here interred. In it is a massive sepulchral couch, with a cushion and pillows at its head, ornamented legs in relief, and a low stool, or *scamnum* in front—all hewn from the living rock. It may represent a *thalamus* or nuptial-couch, rather than the usual festive *κλίνη* or *lectus*, for it is double, and must have been occupied by some noble Etruscan and his wife, whose skulls still serve as a *memento mori* to the visitor, though a confused heap of dust on the couch is all that is left of their bodies and integuments.

This tomb bears a striking resemblance to a temple—in its spaciousness—in its division into three aisles by the pillars and pilasters which support the rafter-carved roof—in the dark shrine at the upper end, like the *cella* of the god, raised on a flight of steps—and in the altar-like mass of the couch within. Nor are the many large *amphoræ* which strew the floor, unpriestly furniture ; though they seem to hint at copious libations to a certain jolly god, poured forth on the occasion of the annual sepulchral festivals.

But this tomb has other features of interest. The two fluted pillars which support the roof, and the pilasters against the inner wall, present specimens of capitals and mouldings of a peculiar character, and throw light on that little-understood subject—the architecture of the Etruscans. Cære, indeed, is particularly rich in this respect—more so than any other Etruscan site. Most of the newly-found tombs have singular or beautiful architectural features; and others of the same character are now lost sight of, or reclosed with earth; one in particular, from its spaciousness and the abundance of such decoration, had acquired the name of *Il Palazzo*. Of the students of ancient architecture who yearly flock to Rome, none should omit to visit the tombs of Cervetri—and none would regret it.²

The last tomb I have to describe of those recently opened in the *Banditaccia*, is the most interesting of all. In truth it is by far the most interesting that has been found in this *necropolis*, since the discovery of the celebrated *Grotta Regulini-Galassi*. It must be called

GROTTA DE' TARQUINJ,

or, the “Tomb of the Tarquins!” Yes, reader—here for the first time in Etruria has a sepulchre of that celebrated family been discovered. The name had been met with, a few times, on urns, and funeral furniture,³ but never in any

² The pit which forms the entrance to each of these tombs is lined with tufo masonry. The style is not uniform; in this instance it is what I have termed *emplecton*, precisely resembling the walls of Sutri, Falleri, and Nepi, but here of rather smaller dimensions, the courses being only 19 inches high. Canina remarks on the masonry at the mouth of these tombs being always *opus quadratum*, even in those which can with most confidence be pronounced of most ancient

construction. Bull. Inst. 1845, p. 224. The frequent traces of the passages having been vaulted in by the gradual convergence of the horizontal courses, establish their high antiquity, as prior to the invention or practice of the arch.

³ On a spherical *cippus*, found at Chiusi, was inscribed “TARCNAL,” (Passigneri, Acheront. p. 66, ap. Gori, III.) —“TARCHNAS” on a cornelian *scarabæus*, found near Piscille (Vermiglioli, Iscriz. Perug. I. p. 81, tav. V. 2)—“TARCHI,”

abundance. Nor are we yet assured that it was a common name in Etruria. We only know that there must have been a numerous family of Tarquins settled at Cære. But can this have been of the same race as the celebrated dynasty of Rome? Nothing more probable. We know that when the royal family was expelled, the king and two of his sons, Titus and Aruns, took refuge at Cære; Sextus, the elder—

“ the false Tarquin *Sextus*
Who wrought the deed of shame,”—
Macaulay's "Horatius," st. 24.

retiring to Gabii, where he was soon after slain.⁴ What more likely then than that the family here interred was descended in a direct line from the last of the Roman kings? Though Aruns, one of the princes, was slain soon after in single combat with the consul Brutus, at the Arsian Wood,⁵ he may have left his family at Cære, and his father and brother still survived to perpetuate the name of Tarquin.⁶ However it be, let the visitor to this sepulchre

on a column in the Museo Oddi at Perugia (id. I. p. 148)—“TARCHIS,” on one of the urns in the Grotta de’ Volunni at Perugia.—“TARCHISA,” on an urn in the Museum of Florence (Lanzi, Saggio, II. p. 417). “TARCHU,” on a black cinerary pot from Chiusi, now in the same collection. The name on the spherical disc at Toscanella, which I thought to have been “TARCHNAS,” (See Vol. I. p. 448), is said by Kellermann (Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 61, and Suppl. 47), to be “TARSALUS.” Lanzi fancied that Tarchu and Tarchi were the original Etruscan forms of the name, and “Tarchun,” the Greek form adopted by the Romans. But it is quite unnecessary to refer any one of these to the Greek. Tarch was no doubt the primitive form, with the inflexion of Tarch-i-u, or un; from this the adjective was formed by the usual addition of na

or nas—Tarchnas (Tarquinius), Tarchnai (Tarquinia). The termination *sa* or *isa* is indicative of connection by marriage, or Tarchisa may be equivalent to Tarquitia—an Etruscan family renowned for its skill in divination. Plin. N. H. I. lib. II. Macrob. Sat. III. 7; cf. II. 16; Amm. Marcell. XXV. 2; J. Lydus de Ostent. II.

⁴ Liv. I. 60. Dionysius says the king fled to Gabii, where Sextus was king, and after staying there some time in the vain hope of inducing the Latins to take up his cause, he removed to the city of Etruria, whence his mother’s family had come; i. e. Tarquinii (V. pp. 276, 279); but no mention is made of Cære.

⁵ Liv. II. 6.

⁶ Livy (II. 6, 9) says the elder Tarquin and his son Titus subsequently went to Tarquinii, Veii, and Clusium, to raise the cities of Etruria in their cause, and

bear in mind the possibility, to say the least, that the skulls he handles, and the dust he gazes on, may be those of that proud race, whose tyranny cost them a crown—perhaps the Empire of the World.

The first chamber you enter is surrounded by benches of rock, and contains nothing of interest ; but in the floor opens a long flight of steps, which lead down, not directly, but by a bend at right angles, to a lower chamber of much larger size.⁷ It is called by the peasantry the “Tomb of the Inscriptions,” and well does it merit the name ; for it has not merely a single lengthy legend, as on the pillar of the Pompey-Tomb at Corneto, nor a name here and there, as in the Grotta delle Iscrizioni of the same place ; but the tomb is vocal with epigraphs—every niche, every bench, every portion of the walls speaks Etruscan, and echoes the name of Tarquin.

This chamber is a square, or nearly so, of thirty-five feet, with two massive pillars in the centre, and a row of long recesses for corpses, in the walls ; while below is a double tier of rock-hewn benches, which also served as biers for the dead.⁸ The walls, niches, benches, and pillars, are all stuccoed, and the inscriptions are painted in red or black, or in some instances merely marked with the finger on the damp stucco. Observe these scratched epigraphs. They are remarkable for the wonderful freshness of the impression. The stucco or mortar has hardened in prominent ridges precisely as it was displaced ; and you might suppose the inscription had been written but one day,

when the campaign of Porsenna had failed to reinstate them at Rome, they retired to Tusculum, to their relative Mamilius Octavius, (Liv. II. 15). We hear no more of them at Cære, yet from their choosing that city as their *first* place of refuge in their exile, it is highly probable that they had relatives residing there, as well as at Gabii, Tarquinii, and

Tusculum. The existence of this tomb at least establishes the Etruscan origin of the Tarquins, which Niebuhr has called into question (I. pp. 376, 511).

⁷ The depth of the floor below the surface must be very considerable—hardly less than 50 feet.

⁸ See the wood-cut at page 17.

instead of more than two thousand years. No finger, not even the effacing one of Time, has touched it, since that of the Etruscan, who so many centuries ago recorded the name of his just departed friend.

Were I to insert all the inscriptions of this tomb, I should heartily weary the reader.⁹ Let one suffice to show the Etruscan form of the name of Tarquin,

NAJ·JAQIAJ·ZAHVAT EJJA

Which in Roman letters would be

AVLE · TARCHNAS · LARTHAL · CLAN

The name, either in Etruscan or Latin,¹ occurs no fewer than *thirty-five times*! How much oftener it was repeated, in parts where the paint has run or faded, or the inscriptions have become otherwise illegible, I cannot say, but should think that not less than fifty epitaphs with this name must have been originally inscribed in this tomb. One fact I noticed, which seems to strengthen the probability that this family was of the royal race—namely, that it appears to have kept itself in great measure distinct by intermarriages, and to have mingled little with other Etruscan families—at least when compared with similar tombs, those of Perugia for instance, this sepulchre will be found to contain very few other family-names introduced in the epitaphs as matronymics.²

⁹ I have given all the inscriptions that remain legible, whether Etruscan or Latin, in Bull. Inst. 1847, pp. 56—59. Compare Dr. Mommsen's version of some of them (p. 63) which differs from mine, though I cannot think in every instance so correct.

¹ The Latin inscriptions in this tomb do not necessarily indicate a very late date; if the family were of the royal blood of Rome, the occasional use of the Latin character may be explained, with-

out referring these epigraphs to the period of Roman domination. Moreover, even though in Latin letters, the name sometimes retains its Etruscan form—"TARCHNA"—which is quite novel, and a presumptive evidence of antiquity.

² In more than forty inscriptions, I could find only eleven names of other families, and of these seven only were in Etruscan characters and connected with the name of Tarchnas; the other four were in Latin, and quite distinct.

Most of the niches are double, or for two bodies. Some, beside inscriptions, have painted decorations—a wreath, for instance, on one side, and some *crotala*, or castanets, on the other, or a wreath, and a small pot or *alabastron*, represented as if suspended above the corpse. Between the niches are elegant pilasters, and in front are the legs of couches, and the usual long, paw-footed stools, all painted on the stucco, to make each mortuary bed resemble a festive-couch. On one of the square pillars which support the beamed roof, is painted a large round shield. In the ceiling between the pillars is a shaft cut through the rock, from the plain above.³

Like most of the tombs of the Banditaccia, which are below the surface, this was half full of water. At the expense of wet feet, we contrived to examine them all ; but after heavy rains, a visit to Cære would, to many, prove fruitless. One tomb was completely reclosed with earth washed down from above, so that we were obliged to have it re-excavated for our especial inspection.

GROTTA REGULINI-GALASSI.

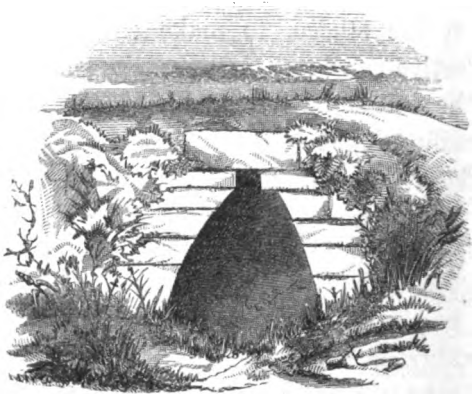
The sepulchre at Cervetri which has most renown, and the greatest interest from its high antiquity, the peculiarity of its structure, and the extraordinary nature and value of its contents, is that called after its discoverers—the archpriest Regulini, and General Galassi. This is one of the very few virgin-tombs, found in Etruscan cemeteries. It was opened in April 1836. It lies about three furlongs from Cervetri, to the south-west of the ancient city, and not far from the

³ See the woodcut at the head of this chapter. The shaft was either used as an entrance after the doorway had been closed, by means of niches cut for the feet and hands ; or may have served, by the removal of the covering above, to venti-

late the sepulchre, in preparation for the annual *parentalia*. Such shafts are most common in the tombs of Falerii ; but there open generally in the anti-chamber, rarely in the tomb itself.

walls. It is said to have been inclosed in a tumulus, but the mound was so large, and its top has been so broken by frequent excavations, and levellings of the soil for agricultural purposes, that its existence is now mere matter of history.

The sepulchre opens in a low bank in the middle of a field. The peculiarity of its construction is evident at a glance. It is a rude attempt at an arch, formed by the convergence of horizontal strata, hewn to a smooth surface, and slightly curved, so as to resemble a Gothic arch. This is not,



MOUTH OF THE REGULINI-GALASSI TOMB.

however, carried up to a point, but terminates in a square channel, covered by a large block of *nenfro*. The doorway is the index to the whole tomb, which is a mere passage, about sixty feet long, constructed on the same principle, and lined with masonry.⁴ This passage is divided into two parts or chambers, communicating by a doorway of the same Gothic form, with a truncated top.⁵

⁴ The masonry is of rectangular blocks of *nenfro*, in the outer chamber about 18 inches long, in courses from 12 to 15 inches deep; but in the inner, of more massive dimensions.

⁵ The outer chamber is 33 feet, the inner 24½ feet long, and the thickness of the partition-wall, 3 feet; making the entire length 60½ feet. The inner doorway is 6½ feet high and 4½ wide at the bottom,

narrowing upward to 1 foot at the top. Similar passage-tombs have been found elsewhere in this necropolis, especially in that part called Zambra (Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 133), as well as at Palo and Selva la Rocca.

Tombs of this passage-form are generally of high antiquity. These bear an evident relation to the Treasuries of Mycenæ and Orchomenos, and to the

The similarity of the structure to the Cyclopean gallery at Tiryns is striking ; the masonry, it is true, is far less massive, but the style is identical, showing a rude attempt at an arch, the true principle of which had yet to be discovered. It is generally admitted, not only that such a mode of construction must be prior to the discovery of the perfect arch, but that every extant specimen of it must have preceded the knowledge of the correct principle. It is a mode not peculiar to one race, or to one age, or the result of a particular class of materials, but is the expedient naturally adopted in the formation of arches, vaults, and domes, by those who are ignorant of the cuneiform principle ; and it is therefore to be found in the earliest structures of Egypt, Greece, Italy, and other parts of the Old World, as well as in those of the semi-civilised races of the New.⁶ The Cloaca Maxima, which is the earliest known instance of the perfect arch in Italy, dates from the days of the Tarquins ; this tomb then must be considered as of a remoter period, coeval at least with the earliest days of Rome—prior, it may be, to the foundation of the City.⁷

Nurhags or Nuraghe of Sardinia and the Talajots of the Balearica, in as far as they are roofed in on the same principle. And they are probably of not inferior antiquity. Like the Nuraghe they may with good reason be regarded as the work of the Tyrrhene Pelasgi. The Druidical barrows of our own country sometimes contain passage-formed sepulchres like these of Cervetri.

⁶ Stephens' Yucatan, I. p. 429, *et seq.* This traveller's description and illustrations show the remarkable analogy between these American pseudo-vaults and those of ancient Europe. The sides of the arch are hewn to a smooth curved surface, as in the Regolini tomb (see the woodcut at page 46),

and terminate not in a point, but in a square head, formed by the imposition of flat blocks ; the peculiarity consists in the courses being often almost at right angles with the line of the arch, showing a near approach to the cuneiform principle.

⁷ Cavalier Canina (Cere Antica, p. 80) refers its construction to the Pelasgi, or earliest inhabitants of Agylla, and assigns to it and its contents an antiquity of not less than 3000 years, making it coeval with the Trojan war. He says it can be determined that precisely in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the change in the mode of constructing the arch was effected in Rome, for Tarquin introduced the style from Tarquinii. But though

The great antiquity of this tomb may be deduced also from its contents, which were of the most archaic, Egyptian-like character.⁸ Scarcely any pottery, and none figured, was found here ; but numerous articles of bronze, silver, and gold, so abundant, so singular, and so beautiful, that it is verily no easy task to describe them. I shall here do little more than specify the position which they occupied in the tomb.

In the outer chamber, at the further end, lay a bier of bronze, formed of narrow cross-bars, with an elevated place for the head.⁹ The corpse which had lain on it, had long since fallen to dust. By its side stood a small four-wheeled car, or tray, of bronze, with a basin-like cavity in the centre, the whole bearing, in form and size, a strong resemblance to a dripping-pan ; though ornamented in a way that would hardly become that homely instrument.

we were absolutely certain that Tarquin built the Cloaca Maxima, we have no authority for determining when the first true arch was erected in Rome. The principle may, for aught we know, have been known and practised at a much earlier period. At any rate, it is highly probable that it had been known in Etruria some time before the construction of the Cloaca Maxima, and if at Tarquinii whence Tarquin migrated, why not at Cære, a neighbouring city belonging to the same people ? As regards this tomb all are agreed on its very high antiquity. Even Micali, who sees everything in a more modern light than most of his fellows, admits that the style of architecture shows it to be prior to the foundation of Rome (Mon. Ined. p. 359). Grifi, however, and Cavedoni (Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 46) refer it to the third century of the City. Canina is of opinion that the tomb in its original state was surmounted by a small tumulus, but that after the arrival of the

Lydians, another tumulus of much larger size was constructed about it, of which it formed a part ; traces of such a second tumulus having been found in an encircling basement of masonry and several chambers hollowed in the rock below the original tomb,—and that the piling up of the earth around the latter was the means of preserving it intact from those who in ages past rifled the rest of the sepulchre. This has been pronounced by a most able critic, to be “a sagacious analysis.” Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 172.

⁸ Lepsius, no mean authority on Egyptian matters, remarks the evident imitation of Egyptian forms (Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 187). The ordinary observer would not hesitate to pronounce the figures on some of the vessels to be purely Egyptian.

⁹ A learned friend suggests that this reticulated bier may be regarded as an illustration of the *εθρηρον λέχος* of Paris and Helen. Iliad III. 448.

On the other side of the bier lay some thirty or forty little earthenware figures ; probably the Lares of the deceased, who had not selected his divinities for their beauty. At the head and foot of the bier stood a small iron altar on a tripod, which may have served to do homage to these household gods. At the foot of the bier also lay a bundle of darts, and a shield ; and several more shields rested against the opposite wall. All were of bronze, large and round like the Greek ἀσπίς, and beautifully embossed, but apparently for ornament alone, as the metal was too thin to have been of service in the field. Nearer the door stood a four-wheeled car, which, from its size and form, seemed to have borne the bier to the sepulchre. And just within the entrance stood, on iron tripods, a couple of cauldrons, with a number of curious handles terminating in griffons' heads, together with a singular vessel—a pair of bell-shaped vases, united by a couple of spheres.¹⁰ Besides these articles of bronze, there was a series of vessels suspended by bronze nails from each side of the recess in the roof.¹ The cauldrons, dripping-pan, and bell-vessel, are supposed to have contained perfumes, or incense, for fumi-gating the sepulchre.

This tomb had evidently contained the body of a warrior ; but to whom had the inner chamber belonged ? The intervening doorway was closed with masonry to half its height, and in it stood two more pots of bronze, and

¹⁰ Much like that shown at page 58.

¹ The nails thus supporting crockery or bronzes in Etruscan tombs, throw light on the use of them in the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ, where they have long been supposed to have fastened the plates of bronze with which it was imagined the walls were lined. It has been suggested, however, that no nails ever existed in that celebrated

Thesaurus, but that certain nodules in the blocks have been mistaken for them. Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 58—Wolff. But admitting that there were really nails, it is far more probable that they served to support pottery or other sepulchral furniture, than a lining of metal, seeing it is now generally admitted that the so-called "Treasures" of Greece were no other than tombs.

against each door-post hung a vessel of pure silver. There were no urns in this chamber, but the vault was hung with bronze vessels, and others were suspended on each side the entrance. Further in, stood two bronze cauldrons for perfumes, as in the outer chamber: and then, at the end of the tomb, on no couch, bier, or sarcophagus, not even on a rude bench of rock, but on the bare ground,² lay—a corpse?—no, for it had ages since returned to dust, but a number of gold ornaments, whose position showed most clearly that, when placed in the tomb, they were upon a human body. The richness, beauty, and abundance of these articles, all of pure gold, were amazing—such a collection, it has been said, “would not be found in the shop of a well-furnished goldsmith.”³ There were, a head-dress of singular character—a large breastplate, beautifully embossed, such as was worn by Egyptian priests—a finely twisted chain, and a necklace of very long joints—earrings of great length—a pair of massive bracelets of exquisite filagree-work—no less than eighteen *fibulæ* or brooches, one of remarkable size and beauty—sundry rings, and fragments of gold fringes and *lamine*, in such quantities, that there seemed to have been an entire garment of pure gold. It is said that the fragments of this metal crushed and bruised, were alone sufficient to fill more than one basket.⁴ Against the inner wall lay two vessels of silver, with figures in relief.

This abundance of ornament has led to the conclusion that the occupant of this inner chamber was a female of

² Canina (Cere Ant. p. 75) states that the floor under the corpse, in both tombs, was paved with stones cemented together — *selci collegati in calce* — an unique feature, and worthy of particular notice in connection with the very remote antiquity of the tomb.

³ Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 60.

⁴ Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 60. Though this is somewhat vague, it conveys the idea of the great abundance of this metal. It was found crushed beneath a mass of fallen masonry.

rank—a view confirmed by the inscriptions found in the tomb.⁵ But may it not have been a priest with equal probability? The breastplate is far more like a sacerdotal than a feminine decoration; and the other ornaments, if worn by a man, would simply mark an oriental character,⁶ and would be consistent enough with the strong Egyptian style observable in many of the contents of this sepulchre.⁷

On each side of the outer passage was a small circular, domed chamber, hewn in the rock, one containing an urn

⁵ Canina, *Cere Antica*, p. 76. Cavendish, *Bull. Inst.* 1843, p. 46. The inscriptions were on several of the silver vessels, and consisted merely of the female name "LARTHIA," or "MI LARTHIA," in Etruscan characters. This was conjectured to signify the proprietor of these vessels, who, it was concluded, was also the occupant of the tomb. *Larthia* is the feminine of *Lar*, *Lars*, or *Larth*, as it is variously written.

⁶ The necklace appears too massive and clumsy for a female's neck; *fibula* would be applicable to either sex; ear-rings were not considered inappropriate to males in the East, any more than they are now in southern Europe; and bracelets of gold, we are taught by the old legend of *Tarpeia*, to regard as the common ornaments of Sabine soldiers in very early times. And though Niebuhr (*I.* p. 226) has pronounced these golden decorations of the Sabines to have had no existence, save in the imagination of the poet who sang the lay, the discoveries made since his day, especially in Etruscan tombs, prove the abundance of gold ornaments in very early times, and also their warlike application; so that whatever improbability there be in the story, arises merely from its inconsistency with the simple, hardy manners of the Sabines. Yet even here, the analogy of the golden torques of the rude and warlike Gauls

might be cited in support of the legend.

Micali (*Mon. Ined.* p. 60) is surprised that the ornaments in this tomb should ever have been supposed to belong to a priest, for the breastplate and *fibula*, from their fragility, were evidently, he thinks, mere sepulchral decorations; and the bracelets show a funeral subject—a woman attacked by lions, and rescued by two winged genii—which he interprets as the soul freed from the power of evil spirits by the intervention of good. It may be remarked that the form of this tomb is that prescribed by Plato (*Leg. XII.* p. 947, ed. Steph.) for Greek priests—"a grave under ground, a lengthened vault of choice stones, hard and imperishable, and having parallel couches of rock." The benches alone are here wanting.

⁷ *Micali* (*Mon. Ined.* p. 62) remarks that the silver vessels give, in the design of their adornments, the most perfect imitations of the Asiatic or Egyptian style, and that a further analogy is also displayed in the religious symbols expressed on them; yet, with all this, the stamp of nationality is so strongly marked, as to distinguish them altogether from purely Egyptian works. This, and the *Isis*-tomb of *Vulci*, contain the earliest monuments of Etruscan primitive art, as it existed before it had been subjected to Hellenic influence.

with burnt bones, and a number of *terra-cotta* idols ; the other, pottery, and vessels of bronze. These chambers seem of later formation. Canina indeed is of opinion that the inner chamber alone was the original tomb ; that the outer, then serving as a mere passage, was subsequently used as a burial place, and that, at a still later period, the side-chambers were constructed.⁸

All this *roba*, so rich and rare, has been religiously preserved, but he who would see it, must seek it, not on the spot where it had lain for so many centuries, but at the Gregorian Museum in Rome, of which it forms one of the chief glories. That revolving cabinet of jewellery, whose treasures of exquisite workmanship excite the enthusiastic admiration of all fair travellers, is occupied almost wholly with the produce of this tomb. The depositary which has yielded this wealth, now contains nought but mud, slime, and serpents—the *genii* of the spot. It has been gutted of its long-hoarded treasure, and may now take its fate. Who is there to give it a thought ? None save the peasant, who will ere long find its blocks handy for the construction of his hovel, or the fence of his vineyard, as he has already found a quarry of materials in neighbouring tumuli ; and the sepulchre, which may have greeted the eyes of Æneas himself, will leave not a wreck behind. Much of the masonry of the inner chamber has been already removed, and the whole threatens a speedy fall. Surely a specimen of a most ancient and rare style of architecture, has public claims for protection, as well as the works of the early painters, or the figures of bronze, clay, or stone, which are preserved in museums as specimens of the infancy of their respective arts. Were its position such as to render it difficult to preserve, there would be some excuse for neglect,

⁸ Cere Ant. pp. 75, 78.

but when a wooden door with lock and key would effect its salvation, it is astonishing that it is suffered to fall into ruin.¹

Another tomb, of precisely similar construction, was found near the one just described ; but, having been rifled in past ages, it contained nothing but an inscription rudely scratched on the wall.²

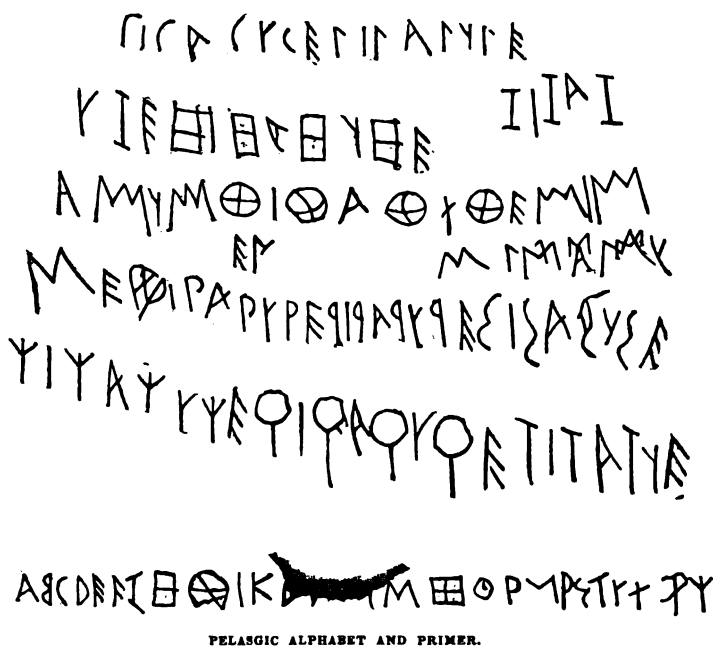
At the same time with the Regulini-Galassi tomb, several others were opened in the neighbourhood ; in one of which was found a relic of antiquity, insignificant enough in itself, but of high interest for the light it throws on the early languages of Italy. It is a little cruet-like vase, of plain black ware, a few inches high, and from its form has not unaptly been compared to an ink-bottle.³ What may have been its original application is not easy to say ; probably for perfumes, as it resembles the *alabastron* in form ; or it may have served, as an ink-stand, to hold the colouring-matter for inscriptions. Whatever its purpose, it has no obvious relation to a sepulchre, for round its base is an alphabet, in very ancient characters, shown in the bottom line of the subjoined fac-simile ; and round the body of the pot the consonants are coupled with the vowels in turn, in that manner so captivating to budding intelligences. Thus we read—"Bi, Ba, Bu, Be—Gi, Ga, Gu, Ge—Zi, Za, Zu, Ze—Hi, Ha, Hu, He—Thi, Tha, Thu, The—Mi, Ma, Mu, Me—Ni, Na, Nu, Ne—Pi, Pa, Pu, Pe—Ki, Ka, Ku, Ke—Si, Sa, Su, Se—Chi, Cha, Chu, Che—Phi, Pha, Phu, Phe—

¹ For the foregoing description of the contents of this tomb and their arrangement, I am indebted to Canina, *Cere Antica*, parte terza ; Braun, *Bull. Inst.* 1836, pp. 56—62 ; *Bull. Inst.* 1838, p. 173. See also Grifi, *Monumenti di Cere Antica*, a work written to prove from the contents of this tomb the oriental, and especially Mithraic, character of the Etruscan worship.

² *Bull. Inst.* 1836, p. 62. The writer does not mention in what characters was this inscription, though he says it was not worth copying ! I could not learn if the tomb is still open.

³ It has been erroneously asserted that this "horn-book" was found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb. *Sepulchres of Etruria*, pp. 26, 347.

Ti, Ta, Tu, Te." Now, it must be observed, that this inscription, though found in an Etruscan tomb, is not in that character, but in Greek, of very archaic style ;⁴ and



there is every reason to believe it a relic of the earliest possessors of Cære, the Pelasgi, who are said to have introduced letters into Latium.⁵ From the palæography, this is indubitably the most ancient monument extant which

⁴ The difference between this alphabet and the genuine Etruscan one, found on a vase at Bomarzo, is very apparent. See the fac-simile in Vol. I. p. 225. That has but twenty letters, this twenty-five, and both in their form and collocation there are wide differences. That has the Etruscan peculiarity of running from right to left. In Greek letters this alphabet would be thus expressed :—A, B, Γ, Δ, E, F (the digamma), Z, H (the ancient aspirate), Θ, I, K, Λ, M (this

is the letter effaced), N, Ξ, O, Π, Φ (kop-pa), P, Σ, T, Υ, X, Ψ. It will be remarked that the same force has not been assigned to certain of these letters where they occur in the primer, and the reader will be ready to dispute my accuracy. Let him break a lance then with Professor Lepsius, who is my authority, and who gives his views of this inscription in the *Ann. Inst.* 1836, pp. 186—203.

⁵ Solinus, *Polyhist. cap. VIII.*

teaches us the early Greek alphabet, and its authentic arrangement.⁶ This singular relic has now past from the hands of General Galassi, its original possessor, into the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican.

Another small black pot, found by Gen. Galassi in the same excavations, has an inscription similarly scratched around it, and then filled in with red paint, which Professor Lepsius also determines to be in the Pelasgic, not the Etruscan, character and language. The letters are not separated into words, but run in a continuous line round the pot. Lepsius thus divides them—

MI NI KETHU MA MI MATHU MARAM LISIAI THIPURENAI
ETHE ERAI SIE EPANA MINETHU NASTAV HELEPHU,

and remarks that “he who is so inclined may easily read them as two hexameter lines, after the manner of the old Greek dedicatory inscriptions.” Though he pronounces, that in this inscription we possess one of the very rare relics of the Pelasgic tongue, he regards the date of it as uncertain, as he conceives that the population of Cære remained Pelasgic to a late period.⁷

⁶ The letters here are of the most archaic forms known, some of them strongly resembling the Phœnician; and the presence of the *vau* and the *koppa*, and the want of the *eta* and *omega*, establish the high antiquity of the pot. There are some singular features to be remarked. The arrangement of the letters in the alphabet does not correspond with that in the primer, and in both it differs from that generally received. The vowels in the primer are placed in an order entirely novel, and which is at variance with that of the alphabet. There is a curious instance of *pentimento* or alteration in the fourth line. Some of the characters, moreover, have new and strange forms, and their force appears

doubtful. I have given that assigned to them by Lepsius, who has eruditely discussed the palæography of this inscription. Notwithstanding its Greek or Pelasgic character, there are circumstances which seem to betray that it was scratched by an Etruscan hand. For evidences of this, I refer the curious reader to the said article by Professor Lepsius, merely mentioning that this inscription bears a strong affinity to an alphabet and primer inscribed on the walls of an Etruscan tomb at Colle, near Volterra. (See Chapter XXXIX.)

⁷ See the above-cited article by Lepsius. Ann. Inst. 1836, pp. 186—203, where the inscription is given in its proper characters; and his more recent remarks

The high ground to the east of Cære, on the opposite side of the Vaccina, is called Monte Abatone. This, Canina⁸ regards as the site of the sacred grove of Silvanus, described by Virgil,⁹ and thinks that its name is derived from the fir-trees—*abietes*—which are said by that poet to have surrounded the grove.¹ None, however, are now visible. Ceres has usurped the greater part of the hill, and has driven Pan to its further extremity.

The interest of Monte Abatone is not its doubtful claim to the site of a sylvan shrine, but its positive possession of tombs of very singular character. About a mile to the

in his pamphlet, "Ueber die Tyrrhenischen Peläger in Etrurien," pp. 39—42, where he lucidly points out the peculiarities both in the language and characters which distinguish this inscription from the Etruscan, and mark it as Pelasgic. He states that Müller agreed with his opinion on this point, though it was disputed by Franz (*Elementa Epigraphicæ Græcæ*, p. 24), who admitted, however, that the language was not Etruscan.

⁸ Canina, *Cere Ant.* p. 53. So also Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 37. Gell (*Topog. of Rome*, I. p. 1) places the grove on the hills on the opposite side of the Vaccina. But Virgil seems to have placed it rather on the banks of the stream than on a hill of any sort, and I should therefore consider it to have stood in the ravine between the city and Monte Abatone, in which case the *colles cavi* would be aptly represented by the cliffs hollowed into tombs, and the slopes at whose foot are still dark with wood, though not of fir-trees.

⁹ Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 597—

Est ingens gelidum lucus prope
Cæritis amnem,
Religione patrum latè sacer : un-
dique colles

Inclusæ cavi, et nigræ nemus
abietæ cingunt.

Silvano fama est veteros sacræsse
Pelasgos.

Livy (XXI. 62) mentions an oracle at Cære.

¹ Cavaliere P. E. Visconti (*Ant. Monum. Sepolc. di. Ceri*, p. 17) would derive it from *ἄβατον*—a spot sacred, not to be trodden—on the ground that this was the name applied by the Rhodians to the edifice they had raised round the statue of Artemisia to conceal it from the public view. Vitruv. II. 8. But Cav. Canina rejects this derivation, on account of the necropolis of Cære being on the opposite side, in the Banditaccia. Yet the cemeteries of Etruscan towns were not confined to any one side, though one spot might, for convenience sake, be more especially devoted to interment ; and in this case in particular the city was completely surrounded by tombs. When two Roman knights are breaking a lance together, who shall venture to step between them ! Yet the probability seems in favour of the fir-trees ; unless, indeed, the word is derived from some Abbey that in the middle ages stood on the spot.

east of the Regulini sepulchre, after crossing the Vaccina, you find a path leading up to the southermost point of the Monte. Here, at the very edge of the cliff, facing the city, a tomb was opened in May, 1845, which may be seen with all its furniture, just as it was found. Flavio Passeggiere keeps the key. The traveller is again indebted, for the conservation of this monument, to the good taste of the Cavaliere Campana—a gentleman, whose zealous exertions in the field of Etruscan research, and in the advancement of archaeological science in general, are too well recognised to require laudation from me. This tomb is, or should be, known by the name of

GROTTA CAMPANA.

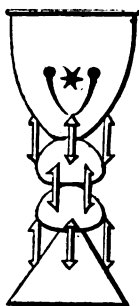
It bears considerable similarity to that of the same appellation at Veii—not so much in itself as in its contents. It lies beneath a crumbled tumulus, girt with masonry.² There is but a single sepulchral chamber, but it is divided, by Doric-like pilasters, into three compartments. The first has a fan-like ornament in relief on its ceiling, just as exists in a tomb in the Banditaccia, and in another at Vulci,³ and which being here found in connection with very archaic furniture, raises a presumption in favour of its being a most ancient style of decoration. Just within the entrance, on one hand, is a large jar, resting on a stumpy column of tufo, which is curiously adorned with reliefs of stripes and stars, though not in the approved Transatlantic arrangement. In the opposite corner is a squared mass of

² The entrance, as usual in the tombs of Cervetri, is lined with masonry. The doorway is cut in the rock in an arched form, and around it is a groove, into which fitted the ancient door, a slab of stone.

³ *Ut supra*, page 33. In one of the

two side-chambers which open on the entrance-passage of this tomb, the walls also are panelled in relief with the very same pattern as decorates the said tomb of the Sun and Moon at Vulci. The two-fold coincidence in this sepulchre is remarkable.

rock, panelled like a piece of furniture, and supporting small black vessels. The second compartment of the tomb is occupied by two sepulchral couches, hewn from the rock, surrounded by sundry articles of crockery, and containing nothing of their occupants beyond some dark dust, mixed with fragments of metal, though their skulls are still left grinning at the heads of their respective biers. Between these couches, on a square mass of rock, retaining traces of colour, rests an earthen pan, or brazier, for perfumes, with archaic figures in relief round the rim; and at the



ETRUSCAN FUMIGATOR.

foot of each stands a huge jar, almost large enough to hold a man, which probably contained the ashes of the slaves or dependents of those whose bodies occupied the couches. In the inner compartment, against the wall, are two benches of rock; on the upper, stand several similar large jars, together with smaller vessels; and on the lower, is a curious, tall, bell-shaped pot, of black earthenware, similar in form to one of bronze found in the Grotta Regulini-Galassi. It was probably an incense-burner. It is shown in the annexed woodcut.

About a mile from the Grotta Campana, but still on the Monte Abatone, are two remarkable sepulchres, well worthy of a visit. They are not under lock and key, yet can scarcely be found without a guide. The spot is vulgarly called Il Monte d'Oro, from a tradition of gold having been found there. On the way to it, you may observe traces of a sepulchral road, flanked with many tumuli—some with architectural decorations. The tombs lie in a small copse, and are not easily accessible to ladies. To explore them, indeed, demands much of the sportsman's spirit in the ruder sex, for they are often half-full of water. The first is called the "Tomb of the Seat,"—

GROTTA DELLA SEDIA.

This tomb lies under a large tumulus, with a square basement of masonry, which makes it highly probable that the superincumbent mound was in this case of pyramidal form.² Half-way down the passage which leads to the sepulchre, you pass through a doorway of masonry, which marks the line of the tumulus-basement. The passage is lined with masonry, whose converging courses indicate the existence originally of a vault overhead. The tomb consists of two chambers, and has nothing extraordinary, except an arm-chair, with a footstool attached, hewn out of the living rock, as in the two tombs of the Banditaccia, already described. Here it is not by the side of a sepulchral couch, but against the wall of rock which separates the two chambers.³

This tomb had been rifled in ages past, but very carelessly, for, when recently opened, some gold leaf, and several *fibulae* of the same metal were discovered in one of the chambers. Other furniture was also found, indicative of a high antiquity.⁴ A singular feature was the skeleton

² The basement is 63 feet by 56. Visconti makes it larger—108 by 91 Roman palms. At the back, or on the side opposed to the entrance, is a square projection or buttress in the masonry. The blocks are of tufo, and the courses recede as they ascend, as in the walls of Servius Tullius at Rome. Similar square basements of masonry, generally *emplecton*, and probably the bases of pyramids, are not uncommon in this necropolis, especially in the glen of the Vaccina, beneath the cliffs of the city.

³ See page 34. Micali, in his last work, in which he seeks to establish oriental analogies in Etruscan monuments, expresses his opinion that these

seats are Mithraic symbols—and so he also regards the celebrated marble chair of the Corsini Palace. Mon. Ined. p. 152.

⁴ Here were fragments of embroidery in flowers of smalt of Egyptian workmanship—a piece of blue *pasta* inscribed with hieroglyphics—*alabastra* in the form of Egyptian females—and bits of amber and other oriental gums placed around the corpse. A morsel of one of these gums being put to the fire emitted so powerful an odour as to be insupportable, says Visconti, even in the spacious hall of the Ducal palace at Ceri. Ant. Mon. di Ceri, pp. 29—32. The vault at the entrance proves this tomb to be very ancient.

of a horse, lying by the bier of his master, and suggesting that he had been slain at the funeral obsequies.⁵

GROTTA TORLONIA.

The sepulchre under the adjoining tumulus has received its name from the proprietor of the land. The basement is here of the usual circular form.⁶ The entrance to this tomb is its most singular feature. At a considerable distance a level passage opens in the hill-side, and runs partly underground towards the tumulus, till it terminates in a vestibule, now open to the sky, and communicating with the ground above, by two flights of steps. The inner part of this vestibule is recessed in the rock, like the upper chambers of the tombs of Castel d'Asso; for there is a similar, moulded door in the centre, and on either hand are benches of rock, which, being too narrow for sarcophagi, suggest that this chamber was formed for the funeral rites—probably for the banquet, and generally for the convenience of the relatives of the deceased in their periodical visits to the tomb. This chamber is decorated with rock-hewn pilasters of Doric proportions, but with peculiar capitals, and bases somewhat allied to the Tuscan.

In the floor of this vestibule opens another flight of steps leading down to the sepulchre.⁷ There is an ante-

⁵ For a detailed description of this tomb and its contents, and for illustrative plans and sections, see the work of Cav. P. E. Visconti, *Antichi Monumenti Sepolcrali di Ceri*.

⁶ This tumulus is about 75 feet in diameter. The masonry of the basement has this peculiarity, that at the distance of every 10 or 11 feet a block projects, so as to give the whole a resemblance to a vast cog-wheel lying on the ground. In the masonry, just above the entrance, is a pit or shaft, as in the

tombs of Civita Castellana, but there is no appearance of communication with the tomb below, and it could not therefore have served the purpose of an entrance.

⁷ Visconti (*Ant. Mon. di Ceri*, p. 20) states, but apparently as a mere conjecture, that this flight of steps was originally concealed, so that a person entering the passage or descending the steps from above, would take the vestibule with its moulded doorway for the real sepulchre.

chamber at the entrance, which opens into a spacious hall, having three compartments, like chapels or stalls, on either hand, decorated with Tuscan pilasters, and a chamber also at the upper end, which, being the post of honour, was elevated, and approached by a flight of steps. Each chamber contained several sepulchral couches, altogether fifty-four in number. At the moment of opening the tomb, these were all laden with their dead, but in a little while, after the admission of the atmosphere, the bodies crumbled to dust and vanished, like Avvolta's Etruscan warrior at Corneto, leaving scarcely a vestige of their existence.⁸ The external grandeur of this tomb augured a rich harvest to the excavator, but it had been already stript of its furniture—not a piece of pottery was to be seen—so completely had it been rifled by plunderers of old.⁹

In that part of the necropolis, called Zambra, which lies on the west of Cervetri, towards Pyrgi, some very ancient

⁸ Visconti, p. 21. A full description of this tomb, with illustrations, will be found in the said work of Visconti. The architectural decorations do not betray a very high antiquity.

⁹ An external analogy to houses is not very obvious in these tumular sepulchres. They have been supposed to have the funeral pyre for their type (Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 275), but the usual analogy may, perhaps, be traced in the habitations of the ancient Phrygians, who, dwelling in bare plains, on account of the scarcity of wood raised lofty mounds of earth, weaving stakes above them into a cone, heaping reeds and stubble around them, and hollowing them out for their habitation. Such dwellings were very cool in summer, and extremely warm in winter. Vitruv. II. 1, 5. Externally they must have resembled the shepherds' *capanne*, which now stud the Campagna of Rome.

Indeed, if the tumular form of sepulture were not one of natural suggestion, and which has therefore been employed by almost every nation from China to Peru, it might be supposed that the Lydians, who employed it extensively (see Vol. I. p. 353), had copied the subterranean huts of their neighbours the Phrygians, and introduced the fashion into Etruria. The conical pit-houses of the ancient Armenians might in the same way be regarded as the types of the tombs of that form which abound in southern Etruria, and are found also south of the Tiber, as well as in Sicily (see Vol. I. p. 121); for the description given of them (Xenophon, Anab. IV. 5, 25; cf. Diodor. XIV. pp. 258—9) closely corresponds. The interiors of these subterranean huts of Armenia presented scenes very like those in an Italian *capanna*.

tombs were opened in 1842. In construction they were very like the Grotta Regulini-Galassi, being long passages similarly walled and roofed in with masonry, and lying beneath large tumuli of earth, and their furniture betrayed a corresponding antiquity.¹

It is worthy of remark that though sepulchres are found on every side of Cære, those towards the sea are generally the most ancient.²

The ancient pottery of Cære is in keeping with the archaic, Egyptian character of the rest of the sepulchral furniture. The large, fluted, or fantastically moulded cinerary jars, of red or black ware, with figures of centaurs, sphinxes, and chimæras in flat relief, resemble those of Veii; and so the rest of her early unpainted pottery, which Lepsius takes to be Pelasgic rather than Etruscan.³ The

¹ It consisted of great quantities of black ware with a brilliant varnish; no painted vases except fragments in the earliest style; broken sculpture of very archaic character; and articles in smalt, and bronze, and highly-wrought ornaments in gold, some in the Egyptian style. The name Zambra seems of Saracenic origin, and recalls the old romances of Granada; but it was used in Italy in the middle ages for *camera*; and it seems probable that this spot derived its name from the sepulchral *chambers* here discovered. The word is also met with in several parts of Tuscany, but attached to streams and torrents (see Repetti, *sub voce*); so that it is difficult to trace a connection with the Moorish dance. For an account of the tombs, see Abeken, *Bull. Inst.* 1840, p. 133; *Mittelitalien*, pp. 236, 268, 272; Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 375, *et seq.* tav. LVI.

² Abeken (*Mittelital.* p. 240) fancied there might be some reason for this

westward position of the oldest tombs, as though it were chosen for its approximation to the sea, the peculiar element of the Tyrrhene race. He notices the analogy of the Nuraghe on the western shore of Sardinia.

³ To the Pelasgi, says Lepsius, must undoubtedly be referred the vases of black earth of peculiar, sometimes bizarre, but often elegant forms, adorned with fantastic handles, figures, nobes, flutes, and zigzag patterns—as well as the fine old gold articles, of archaic and extremely careful style, very thinly wrought, and sown with minute gold grains, and studded with short stumpy figures, with marked outlines and many Egyptian characteristics. “A central point, as it were, for this entire class of articles, which we might pre-eminently call Pelasgic, is now obtained through the important discoveries in the sepulchres of the ancient Agylla or Cære.” Tyrrhen. *pp.* 44—5.

most ancient painted vases are also found on this site, not only those of the so-called Egyptian or Phœnician style, but others of a much rarer class and peculiarly Doric character, resembling the ancient Corinthian pottery, as we know it through the celebrated Dodwell vase, and others from Greece and her islands.⁴ Though the pottery of Cære is generally of a more archaic character than that of Vulci or Tarquinii; yet beautiful vases of the later, or Greek, styles have also been found here.⁵

Between Cære and Veii, and in the territory of the former city, lay a very ancient Etruscan town, called Artena, which was destroyed by the Roman kings. Speculations have been raised as to its site, but it will probably always remain a matter of mere conjecture.⁶

⁴ Of this rare class of vases from Cære, there are two in the Gregorian Museum. One, an *olpe*, represents the combat of Ajax (Aivās), and Hector, who is assisted by Æneas. The palæography of the inscriptions, just like that of the Dodwell vase, determines this also to be Doric; especially the use of the Q instead of the K; for the *koppa* is quite foreign to Attic inscriptions. Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 38; Ann. Inst. 1836, pp. 306—310, Abeken. The other vase, a *hydria*, represents a boar-hunt, as on the Dodwell vase. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 17, 2. Another good specimen of this class of Cæritan pottery is in the possession of Cavaliere Campana at Rome. And there is one at Berlin, which represents the combat between Achilles and Memnon, with birds flying over the horses' heads—a frequent symbol on painted vases, which has been interpreted as a type of swiftness, or as an augury—and also with peculiar palæography. Mon. Ined. Inst.

II. tav. 38; Ann. Inst. 1836, pp. 310—311. The figures on these vases are black and violet, on a pale yellow ground; and the outlines are scratched, as on other vases of the most ancient style.

⁵ Ann. Inst. 1837, p. 183.

⁶ Livy (IV. 61) alone mentions this town, and he does so to distinguish it from the Artena of the Volsci, which is thought to have occupied the heights above Monte Fortino. He says the Etruscan Artena belonged to Cære, and not to Veii as some supposed. Nibby placed it at Castellaccio in the *tenuta* of Castel Campanile, where he found traces of an Etruscan town; but Gell thought it more likely to have stood at Boccea, or Buccia, near the Arrone, twelve miles from Rome, for “there is here a high and insulated point, which has all the appearance of a citadel, and which seems to have been occupied at a subsequent period by a patrician villa.” (I. p. 195.)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIII.

NOTE I.—SHIELDS AS SEPULCHRAL DECORATIONS.

THE shields carved or painted in this and other tombs of Cære, probably mark them as the sepulchres of warriors, and are only a more permanent mode of indicating what is expressed by the suspension of the actual bucklers. This was a Greek as well as Etruscan custom. The ancient pyramid between Argos and Epidaurus, mentioned by Pausanias, contained the shields of the slain there interred. Paus. II. 25. The analogous use of them as external decorations of sepulchres by the people of Asia Minor and by the Etruscans, has already been pointed out. Vol. I. p. 252. The shield was a favourite *anathema* with the ancients, who were wont, at the conclusion of a war, to suspend their own bucklers or those of their vanquished foes in the temples of their gods—a very early and oriental custom, for David dedicated to God the gold shields he had captured from the men of Zobah. 2 Sam. viii. 7, 11. Cræsus the Lydian offered a gold shield to Minerva Pronœa, to be seen at Delphi in the time of Herodotus (I. 92; cf. Paus. X. 8), and sent another to Amphiaræus, which was preserved in the temple of Apollo at Thebes. Herod. I. 52, 92. After the battle of Marathon, the Athenians dedicated their shields to the Delphic Apollo, and fixed them to the entablature of his temple. Paus. X. 19. And traces of shields in the same position may still be observed on the eastern front of the Parthenon—one under each triglyph, with the marks also of the bronze letters of the inscriptions which alternated with them. The Roman conquerors of Corinth suspended a number of gilt shields on the entablature of the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and in the pediment of the same building was a golden shield, also a dedicatory gift (Paus. V. 10); and so shields have been found carved in the pediments of the rock-hewn, temple-like, tombs of Phrygia. See Steuart's *Lydia and Phrygia*. Shields may sometimes have been symbols of protection received from the gods, and thus acknowledged; but were often, like *anathemata* in general, mere emblems of the profession of those who dedicated them; as was the case with the twenty-five shields of the armed runners in the Olympic *stadium*. Paus. V. 12. Sometimes they seem to have served merely decorative purposes, as when Solomon adorned his palace with five hundred gold targets (1 Kings, x. 16, 17); or as when, in Asia Minor, they were

carved on city-walls, and the *proscenia* of theatres. And they were a conventional decoration also with the Romans, who emblazoned them with the portraits of their ancestors, and suspended them in temples or in their own houses. Plin. XXXV. 3, 4. The use of shields, however, as fields for personal devices, is as old as the War of the Seven against Thebes, if we may believe Æschylus; and for family emblems is also very ancient, for Virgil (*Æn.* VII. 657), introduces one of his early Italian heroes with a formidable escutcheon—

Pulcher Aventinus, clypeoque insigne paternum,
Centum angues, cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram.

The shields borne by the figures of Minerva on the Panathenaic vases are said to contain the devices of the Italian cities. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 75. We must look beyond the days of chivalry for the origin of armorial bearings, and for their blazonment on shields. For an ingenious theory of the Egyptian origin of heraldry, see Mr. Wathen's most interesting work on "Ancient Egypt," pp. 20 *et seq.*

NOTE II.—GENII AND JUNONES.

The spirits which were believed by the Romans to attend and protect human beings through life, were supposed to be of the same sex as their individual charge; the males being called *Genii*, the females *Junones*. Tibul. IV. 6, 1; Seneca, *epist.* 110. Such spirits were supposed not only to have presided over, but to have been the cause of birth, which is in fact implied in the name—*Genius*, a *genendo* (*Festus*, v. *Geniales*; *Censorinus*, de *Die Natali*, III.); and hence the nuptial couch was called *lectus genialis*, and was sacred to the *Genius*. *Fest. s. v.*; *Serv. ad Virg. Æn.* VI. 603. Some assert that every man at his birth, or rather at his conception, had two *Genii* allotted to him, to attend him through life—one inciting him to good deeds, the other to evil—and whose office it was also after death to attend him to the presence of the infernal judges, to confirm or refute his pleadings, according to their truth or falsehood: so that he might be raised to a better state of existence, or degraded to a lower. *Serv. ad Virg. Æn.* VI. 743; cf. III. 63; *Euclid. Socrat. ap. Censorin.* III. A similar doctrine of protecting and attendant spirits was held by the Greeks, who called them *dæmons*—*δαίμονες*—and believed them to be allotted to men at their birth, as guardians, always present, and cognizant not only of deeds but of thoughts, and commissioned also to accompany them to the other world. *Plato, Phædo*, pp. 107, 108, ed. *Steph.*, and *ap. Apuleium*, de *Deo Socrat.* p. 48, ed. 1625; cf. *Hesiod. Opera et Dies*, I. 121 *et seq.*, 250 *et seq.*; *Pind. Olymp.* XIII.

Genii were distinguished from the Manes and Lares, inasmuch as these were the deified spirits of the dead, but the Genii were the offspring of the great gods (Fest. *vv.* Genium, Tages), and the givers of life itself, wherefore they were called Dii Genitales. This distinction, however, was not always preserved, for the Genii were sometimes confounded with the Manes and Lares, and supposed, after the death of their charge, to dwell in his sepulchre. Serv. ad *Æn.* III. 63; Censorin. loc. cit.; cf. Plin. II. 5.

A man was believed to be born under the influence of a favourable or unlucky Genius (Pers. IV. 27—*genio sinistro*); and the Genius or Juno, as the case might be, was also supposed to be pleased or offended with the actions of the individual. Thus Quartilla, in Petronius (cap. 25), exclaims, “Junonem meam iratam habeam, si unquam,” &c. And if a man restrained his passions and appetites, he was thought to “defraud his Genius,” or if he gave way to them, to “indulge his Genius.” Persius, V. 151; Serv. ad Virg. Georg. I. 302; Terent. ap. eund.

As the Genius was a god he received divine honours, especially on the birthday of the individual, when he was propitiated by libations, and offerings of flowers (Horat. Ep. II. 1, 144; Tibul. I. 7, 50; IV. 5, 9; Pers. II. 3); and so also the Juno of a woman (Tibul. IV. 6); and it was customary to anoint the head of the image, to adorn it with chaplets, and to burn incense before it. Tibul. I. 7, 51; II. 2, 6; Ovid. Trist. V. 5, 11. Even after death offerings were made to the Genius of the deceased, as *Æneas* to that of his father (Ovid. Fast. II. 545), to whom he offered gifts—

Ille patris Genio sollemnia dona ferebat—

a custom which explains the inscription, “IVNON ” (Junoni), on the vase painted on the wall of this tomb at Cervetri.

Women were in the habit of swearing by their Juno (Tibul. III. 6, 48), as men by their Genius; and a lover would even swear by the Juno of his mistress (Tibul. IV. 13, 15), exalting her above every other divinity. Juvenal (II. 98), denouncing the effeminacy of the Romans, sets it in the strongest light by saying that a servant swears by the *Juno* of his lord—

Et per Junonem domini jurante ministro.

Not only men and women, but places and things, had their Genii, according to the Roman creed (Festus, *v.* Genium; Serv. ad Georg. I. 302; *Æn.* V. 85, 95). Cities, as well as their component parts—streets, houses, baths, fountains, &c.—had their individual Genii; and so also with regions, provinces, armies, nations—every portion, as well

as the whole collectively, had its presiding spirit. The Genius of the Roman People is often represented on coins, though Prudentius might well question his individual character—

Quonquam cur Genium Romæ mihi fingitis unum,
Cum portis, domibus, thermis, stabulis, soleatis
Assignare suos Genios ? perque omnia membra
Urbis, perque locos, Geniorum millia multa
Fingere, ne propriâ vacet angulus ullus ab umbrâ !

These *genii loci* were supposed to take the visible form of a serpent (Virg. *Æn.* V. 95 ; Serv. ad loc.) ; and so they are constantly represented on the household shrines of Pompeii, eating meat or fruits from an altar.

The doctrine of Genii and Junones as held by the Romans, there is little doubt, was received from the Etruscans with that of the Lares. We know that the latter people worshipped Genii. A Genius Jovialis was one of their four Penates (Arnob. adv. Nat. III. 40 ; cf. Serv. *Æn.* II. 325) ; and Tages, their great law-giver, was himself the son of a Genius (Fest. v. Tages). And that the Etruscans held the doctrine of good and evil spirits attending the soul into the other world, is demonstrated by their monuments ; by none more clearly than by the paintings in the Grotta del Cardinale at Corneto. This dualistic doctrine is thought by Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 57) not to be Hellenic ; Micali refers its origin to the East. Inghirami (Mon. Etrusc. I., p. 59 *et seq.*) did not perceive that it was held by the Etruscans ; but this is now admitted on every hand. It is not so clear that the Etruscans held the distinction between Genii and Junones ; for the sex of the ministering spirit is often not accordant with that of the human being, who, whether man or woman, is generally attended by a female spirit. Thus the majority of the demons, represented on Etruscan urns, sarcophagi, and mirrors, are females. Therefore it is not strictly correct to term such female-demons, Junones. Passeri (Paralipom. in Dempst., p. 93) employed the name “*Geniæ*.” Nor is it always easy to distinguish between the attendant Genii, good or bad, and the ministers of Fate, who are introduced as determining or directing events, or the Furies, who, as ministers of vengeance, are present at scenes of death, or assisting in the work of destruction. All have the same general characteristics. Wings at the shoulders—high buskins, often with long flaps, which are apt to be mistaken for *talaria*—a short, high-girt tunic—a double strap crossing the bosom, the upper ends passing over the shoulders, the under, behind the back, and united between the paps in a circular stud or rosette. The distinction must

be drawn from the nature of the scene into which these demons are introduced, from their attitude and expression, but chiefly from the attribute in their hands, which, in the case of a Fury, or malignant Fate, is a hammer, sword, snakes, or a torch; in the case of a decreeing Fate, is a scroll, or a bottle or ink-horn, with a *stylus*, or in a few instances, a hammer and a nail (see Vol. I., p. 510); in the case of a Genius may be a simple wand, or nothing at all. The demons of vengeance, who are often attendants on Charun, from their resemblance to the Furies of Greek mythology, are thought by Gerhard to have a Hellenic origin. Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 17. Their Etruscan appellation is not yet discovered; but against some of the female-demons of milder character, especially those which have the attributes of Fates, the name "LASA" has been found attached on Etruscan mirrors (Lanzi, Sagg. II. tav. VI. 6; Gerhard, Etrusk. Spiegel, taf. XXXVII., CLXXXI. Bull. Inst. 1846, p. 106), though a similar goddess is sometimes designated "MEAN" (Etrusk. Spiegel, taf. LXXXII., CXLI., CXLII.) Lasa, from its connection with other names in the instances cited, seems a generic appellation. It must be equivalent to "Lara," the *r* and *s* being interchangeable letters; wherefore we find "Lases" for Lares in the Carmen Arvale. Lara or Larunda is considered by Müller (Etrusk. III., 4, 13) to be identical with Mania, the mother of the Manes and Lares. The origin of "Lasa" has also been referred to the *Aἰσα* of the Greeks (Bull. Inst. loc. cit.); but the analogy seems to be one of office rather than of appellation, for the derivation from the Etruscan "Lar" is perfectly satisfactory. Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 16) on this ground translates Lasa as the "mistress," not only of the Genii of men, but of the analogous Junones of women, yet thinks a Lasa must never be mistaken for a Juno.

Though the female ministering-spirits of the Etruscan mythology are not in every respect analogous to the Roman Junones, it may be well, in default of a specific name, to apply to them the same appellation. To the mild or decreeing Fates, the name of "Lasa" may be confidently attached; and the malignant Fates, or demons of vengeance, whose Etruscan name has not yet been ascertained, from their resemblance to the Erinyes or Eumenides of Grecian fable, may well be designated Furies.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PALO.—*ALSIUM*.

Alaia prælegitur tellus.

RUTILIUS. *I. 223.*

The place of tombs,
Where lay the mighty bones of ancient men,
Old knights, and over them the sea-wind sang,
Shrill, chill, with flakes of foam.

TENNYSON.

PALO is well known to travellers as the half-way house between Rome and Civita Vecchia ; but few bear in mind that the post-house, the ruined fortress, and the few fishers' huts on the beach, represent the Alsium of antiquity—one of the most hoary towns of Italy, founded or occupied by the Pelasgi, ages before the arrival of the Etruscans on these shores.¹

It is strange that no record is preserved of Alsium during the Etruscan period ; but this may be owing to its dependence on Cære, with whose history and fortunes its own were probably identical. That it was occupied by the Etruscans we learn from history,² confirmed by recent

¹ Dion. Hal. I. p. 16. Silius Italicus (VIII. 476) refers its origin to the Argive Halesus, son of Agamemnon, from whom he supposes it to have derived its name—

Necnon Argolico dilectum litus Haleso
Alsiun.

Its Pelasgic origin being admitted, it seems just as likely to have derived its name from ἅλς—the sea ; or from ἅλσος

—a grove, as Professor Gerhard opines (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 205), in reference to the dense woods on this coast. For both he and Professor Welcker are of opinion that the Pelasgic tongue, though differing from the Greek, bore sufficient analogy to it, to enable us to trace by that means the origin of the names of certain ancient localities.

² Dion. Hal. loc. cit.

researches. The earliest notice of it by Roman writers is its receiving a colony in the year 507.³ At no time does it seem to have been of much importance; the highest condition it attained, as far as we can learn, being that of a small town.⁴ This may have been owing to its unhealthy position, on a low swampy coast. Yet it was much frequented by the wealthy Romans;⁵ and even the Emperor Antoninus chose it as his retreat, and had an Imperial villa on this shore.⁶

Haveva un bel giardin sopra una riva,
Che colli intorno e tutto 'l mare scopriva.

At the beginning of the fifth century Alsium, like the neighbouring Pyrgi, had sunk to the condition of a large

³ Vell. Paterc. I. 14. As a maritime colony it was compelled to furnish its quota of troops in the year 547 (a.c. 207), when in the Second Punic War Italy was threatened with a second invasion of Carthaginians under Hasdrubal. Liv. XXVII. 38. But it is not mentioned with the other naval colonies, which, in 563 (a.c. 191), were reluctantly compelled to aid in fitting out a fleet against Antiochus the Great, King of Syria. Liv. XXXVI. 3. Pliny (III. 8), and Ptolemy (Geog. p. 68, ed. Bert.) certify to its existence as a colony in their days.

⁴ Rutil. I. 224. Strabo (V. p. 225) also speaks of it as a mere *πολιχρον*. Yet the fact of giving its name to a lake—now Lago Martignano—full 20 miles distant, implies an extensive *ager*, and no small importance. For the Lacus Alsietinus, see Frontinus, de Aqueduct. II. p. 48. Cluver (II. p. 524) errs in taking the Lago Stracciacappa to be the Lacus Alsietinus.

⁵ Pompey had a villa here. Cicero, pro Milone, XX. M. Æmilius Porcina also built one on so magnificent a scale, that he was accused of it as a crime,

and heavily fined by the Roman people. Val. Max. VIII. 1, *Damn.* 7. And the mother-in-law of the younger Pliny had also a villa at Alsium, which had previously belonged to Rufus Verginius, who took such delight in it, that he called it “the nestling-place of his old age.”—*senectutis suæ nidulum*—and was buried on the spot. Plin. Epist. VI. 10; cf. IX. 19. Cicero (ad Divers. IX. 6; cf. ad Attic. XIII. 50) refers to Alsium as the spot where Cæsar was thinking of landing on his return from Africa.

⁶ Fronto, de Feriis Alsienibus. Gruter (p. 271, 3) gives a dedicatory inscription to Marcus Aurelius, by the Decuriones of the Colony of Alsium, which was found at Palo. Cf. Cluver. II. p. 497. An inscription also, found at Ceri, mentions a villa at Alsium. See Visconti, Mon. Ant. di Ceri, p. 12:—

D. M.

T. AELIO. EUTYCHO.
PROC. AUG. N
VILLAE. ALSI
ENSI
HEREDES.

villa⁷; but we have no subsequent record of it, and it was probably destroyed by the Goths or Saracens, who devastated this coast in the middle ages.⁸

Not a vestige of the Pelasgic or Etruscan town is now visible; but there are extensive substructions of Roman times along the beach. The fort, also, which was built in the fifteenth century, has some ancient materials in its walls. About a mile to the east are some very extensive ruins on the shore, apparently of one of the Roman villas.⁹

Alsium, though its site had been pretty clearly indicated by the notices of the ancients,¹ had been well-nigh forgotten, when a few years since the enterprise of a lady revived interest in the spot.

About a mile and a half inland from Palo, close to the deserted post-house of Monteroni, and about twenty-two miles from Rome, are four or five large tumuli, standing in the open plain. They bear every appearance of being natural hillocks—huge masses of tufo rising above the surrounding level. Hence their ordinary appellation of “Colli Tufarini.” Yet their isolation and similarity to the sepulchral mounds of Cervetri, induced the Duchess of Sermoneta, in whose land they lay, to probe their recesses. This was in 1838. One of the most regular in form, which was about forty feet high, was found to be girt by a low basement wall of tufo masonry, which formed a

⁷ Rutil. I. 224—

Nunc villæ grandes, oppida parva prius.

From the mention made by the Peutingerian Table we also learn that it existed in the time of Theodosius.

⁸ Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, II. p. 526.

⁹ Nibby (*op. cit.* p. 528) takes these ruins to be those of Pompey's villa, because the style of construction marks the latter days of the Republic.

¹ Strabo (V. pp. 225, 226) places it

on this coast between Pyrgi and Fregene. And so also the Maritime Itinerary marks it as 9 miles from the latter, and 16 from the former town. The Peutingerian Table is nearer the truth in calling it 10 miles from Pyrgi (*ut supra*, page 4); but 12 is the true distance. These discrepancies are of little importance; the general position being thus indicated, the precise site can be determined by extant remains.

periphery of nearly eight hundred feet. This wall had two buttresses on the north, sundry drains on the south, and on the west a hole containing a small stone cylinder. Though the sepulchral character of the tumulus was thus clearly indicated, the entrance to the tomb was long sought in vain ; till at length, some forty or fifty feet up the slope, a passage was found cut in the rock, and leading to the tomb ; and it was remarked that the mouth of the passage was pointed at by the cylinder in the basement-wall. The tomb closely resembled the Grotta Regulini-Galassi of Cervetri ; for it was a long passage, walled with regular masonry, the courses converging till they formed a rude Gothic-like arch, which terminated in a similar square channel or groove ; and the high antiquity indicated by its construction was likewise confirmed by the character of its furniture. No painted vases of Greek form or design ; nothing that betrayed the influence of Hellenic art ; all was here closely allied to the Egyptian.²

No other tomb was discovered in this mound, but a well or shaft in the floor, twenty feet deep, opened into another horizontal passage, about a hundred feet long ; and here were three other shafts, probably sunk to other sepulchral chambers on a still lower level. This system of shafts and passages reminds us of the Pyramids, and is in harmony with the Egyptian character of the contents of this tomb.³

At the foot of this mound, sunk beneath the surface of the plain, was discovered a double-chambered sepulchre, of more ordinary Etruscan character, and its contents showed

² Rude pottery of black earth, with figures scratched thereon ; flat vases of smalt, ornamented with lotus-flowers, purely Egyptian in character, and ostrich-eggs painted—both as in the Isis-tomb of Vulci (see Vol. I. p. 419) ; beads of smalt and amber ; and gold

lamine with archaic reliefs.

³ There were other passages opening on that which formed the entrance to the tomb, but Abeken considered them to have been the experiments made by former excavators. Mittelitalien, p. 242.

only that resemblance to the Egyptian which bespeaks a high antiquity.⁴

These tombs, from their position, must have belonged to the necropolis of Alsium ; and thus, while one bears out Dionysius' statement of the existence of an Etruscan population on this site, the other confirms his testimony as to its prior occupation by a more ancient race.

Were excavations continued here, other tombs would doubtless be discovered. But since the Duchess's death, a few years since, nothing has been done on this coast. For antiquarian zeal and enterprise this lady rivalled the late Duchess of Devonshire.

It is scarcely worth while to visit the tumuli of Monteroni,

⁴ They consisted of pottery and *terracotta* figures in the archaic or Egyptian-Etruscan style, some with four wings, forming the feet of vases. The description of these tombs I have taken from Abeken, Bull. Inst. 1839, pp. 81—84 ; 1841, p. 39 ; and also from his *Mittelitalien*, pp. 242, 267, 272, 274 ; for nothing is now to be seen on the spot. Micali, who takes his notices from the papers of the late Duchess, gives a somewhat different description of these tombs. He says, above the basement-wall of the tumulus the tufo was cut into steps to the height of 18 feet, and then levelled ; and on this was raised a mound of earth to the height of 27 feet more. In the lower or natural part of the mound was discovered a sepulchre of four chambers, one of them circular, all with rock-hewn benches, and bronze nails in the walls around. These, from his description of their contents, are the less ancient of the tombs mentioned in the text. The passage-tomb he represents as 45 feet long, sunk in the same levelled part of the mound, though lined with masonry, regularly squared and smoothed. Upon it opened, by a door of the usual

Etruscan form, another narrow passage, similarly lined and half the length, with a rock-hewn bench, and numerous bronze nails in the wall. Here were found some articles of gold, and jewellery, fragments of Egyptian vases, and odorous *paste*, and a stone in the form of an axe-head, supposed to be Egyptian. There were no Etruscan inscriptions in any of these tombs. The masonry of the passage he represents (*Mon. Ined. tav. LVII.*) as *opus quadratum* of tufo blocks, but *pseudisodomon*, or in courses of unequal heights. These tombs were drained by many channels cut in the rock, and branching in all directions. *Mon. Ined. pp. 378—390.* It must be the less ancient of these tombs in which Mrs. Hamilton Gray, who visited them shortly after they were opened, saw a pair of panthers painted over the door of the outer chamber, and two *hippocampi*, with genii on their backs, on the walls of the inner. *Sepulchres of Etruria*, p. 123, third edition. Mrs. Gray errs in calling the site "Monte Nerone ;" it is named Monteroni, from these "large mounds."

for the chambers are now re-closed with earth ; even the basement-wall is re-covered or destroyed, and not a trace remains to attest their sepulchral character.

In spite of its venerable ancients, Palo is a most dreary place. Without extant antiquities of interest, or charms of scenery, it can offer no inducement to the traveller to halt one hour, save that he will here find the best accommodation in the neighbourhood of Cervetri ; and should he propose to take more than a passing glance at that site, he may well admit the claims of Palo to be his head-quarters. The fare is not such as the place once afforded—no “fatted oysters, savoury apples, pastry, confectionery, and generous wines, in transparent faultless goblets,” dainties fit to set before a king—*convivium regium*⁵—but, for a wayside hostelry, the post-house is not to be despised. Yet the place itself is desolate enough. Beyond a copse on either side of the village, there is nothing to relieve the bare monotony of the level waste. It is hard to believe Alsium could ever have been “the voluptuous sea-side retreat” it is described in the time of the Antonines.⁶ Now the traveller is ready to exclaim—

“Oh, the dreary, dreary moorland ! oh, the barren, barren shore ! ”

Yet the lover of sea-side nature may find interest here, as well as in the sparkling bay of Naples. Though to me this is no *dilectum litus*, as it was to Halesus, yet memory recalls not without pleasure the days I have spent at Palo. The calm delight of a sunny shore finds its reflex in the human breast. The broad ocean softly heaving beneath my window, ever murmured its bright joy ; mirroring “the

⁵ Fronto, de Feriis Alsiensibus, epist. III.

⁶ Fronto, loc. cit. Were it not that the author was writing to an Emperor, we might suspect him of irony ; but sovereigns, especially despots, are

edged tools ; which Pollio remembered when challenged to banter by Augustus. Macrob. Saturn. II. 4. Fronto, however, qualifies his praises of Alsium by mentioning the *raucas paludes*.

vault of blue Italian day." A few *feluccas*, their weary sails flapping in the breeze, lay off shore, lazily rocking with the swell, which broke languidly on the red ruins at my feet, or licked with foam the walls of the crumbling fortress. Away to the right, was the distant point of Santa Marinella; and to the left, the eye wandered along the level shore, to which the dunes of Holland were mountains, uncertain whether it were traversing sea or land, save when it rested here and there on a lonely tower on the coast; or when it reached a building on the extreme horizon, so faint as now to seem but a summer-cloud, yet gleaming out whitely when the evening sun fell full on its flank. This was the fort of Fiumicino, at the mouth of the Tiber, the port of modern Rome. Such were the standing features of my prospect; which was varied only by scenes of domestic life, at the doors of the huts opening seaward, or by herds of long-horned cattle, which came down to pick their evening meal from the straw scattered over the beach. When the sun's last glories had faded from the sky, then began the life and stir of Palo. The craft, which had lain in the offing all day, stood in after dark, and sent the produce of their nets to land. Then what bustle, what shouting, on board and ashore! Red-capt, bare-legged fellows with baskets—my chubby host of Palo bargaining for the haul—sky-blue *doganieri*, and cloaked quidnuncs, looking on—all common-place features enough, but assuming, from the glare of torches, a rich Rembrandtish effect, to which the dark masses of the vessels, magnified by the gloom, formed an appropriate background.

About three miles beyond Palo, on the road to Rome, at a spot called Statua, are some ruins, supposed to mark the site of Ad Turres, a station on the Via Aurelia.⁷

⁷ Mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, as 22 miles from Rome. *Ut supra*,

page 4. Here it is that Cramer (Ancient Italy, I. p. 208) places Alsium.

A mile or two beyond, not far from Palidoro, and at a spot called Selva la Rocca, the Duchess of Sermoneta, in 1839 and 1840, excavated some tumuli, and found vases of the most beautiful Greek style, some resembling those of Sicily and Athens; besides pottery of more ancient character; together with articles in bronze, and gold, amber, smalt, glass, and alabaster.⁸

Beyond this, or six miles from Palo, stood Bebiana, another station on the Via Aurelia;⁹ and at or near Castel Guido, stood Lorium, the first station on this road out of Rome.¹

About half-way between Palo and the Tiber, at the mouth of the river Arrone, stands the Tower of Maccarese, which is supposed to mark the site of the Etruscan town of Fregenæ or Fregellæ,²—and its position on a low swampy shore, and in the vicinity of a noxious marsh or fen, called Stagno di Maccarese, answers to the picture of Silius Italicus—*obsessæ campo squalente Fregellæ*.³ In very early times it may have been of importance; for Tarquinius Priscus invited Turianus, an artist of this place, to Rome, to make the *terra-cotta* statue of Jupiter, for his new temple on the Capitol.⁴ We hear no more of it, how-

⁸ Abeken, Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 84; 1840, p. 133; Mittelitalien, p. 267; Micali, Monum. Ined. p. 374.

⁹ Mentioned by the Peutingerian Table. *Ut supra*, page 4. Gell (*sub voce*) places it at Torrimpietra, a tower on an eminence to the left of the modern road to Rome; Nibby (Dintorni di Roma, I. p. 297) at Casal Bruciato, in the same *tenuta* of Torrimpietra, 6 miles from Palo, where is still some regular travertine masonry, perhaps the *cella* of a temple. Cluver (II. p. 522) placed it at Testa di Lepre, near the Arrone.

¹ See the Itinerary and Table at page 4. Gell places Lorium at Bottino,

a mile or two nearer Rome than Castel Guido; but Nibby (II. p. 270) thinks it occupied the sites both of Bottaccia and of Castel Guido. The Emperor Antoninus Pius had a villa at Lorium, and here he died. A. Victor, de Cæs. 16.

² Cluver II. p. 499. Nibby, Dint. di Roma, II. p. 281. The Maritime Itinerary places it between Portus Augusti and Alsium, nine miles from each.

³ Sil. Ital. VIII. 477.

⁴ Pliny, who records this fact (XXXV. 45), calls the place Fregellæ; but that he refers to the town of Etruria, and not to Fregellæ of the Volsci, is manifest from the context, as

ever, till it was colonised by the Romans in 509 (B.C. 245);⁵ and in 563 (B.C. 191), with the other maritime colonies of this coast, it was compelled to aid in fitting out a fleet against Antiochus the Great.⁶ It was in existence at the commencement of the Empire,⁷ but after that we lose sight of it; and now, as far as I can learn, there are no local remains visible to mark the Etruscan character of the spot.

well as from a comparison with Liv. I. 56; and is confirmed by the extended renown of the Etruscans in the fictile art. Besides, Silius Italicus calls the Etruscan town Fregellæ, and Pliny (III. 9) the Latin town Freginæ; so that the names seem to have been used indifferently. Yet Müller (*Etrusk.* IV. 3, 2) takes the town whence Turianus came, for the Fregellæ of Volscium, on the ground that the fictile art was early practised in that land, as is proved by the celebrated bas-reliefs found at Velletri; but, to reconcile this view

with the rest of Pliny's statement, he supposes this Volscian to have been a disciple of the Etruscan school. All this seems to me unnecessary, and the simplest and most rational interpretation is to suppose that Pliny referred to the Fregenæ of Etruria.

⁵ Vell. Patern. I. 14; cf. Epitome of Liv. XIX.

⁶ Liv. XXXVI. 3.

⁷ Pliny (III. 8) classes it among the maritime colonies of Etruria. Strabo (V. p. 225) also cites it as a small town on this coast, and calls it Fregenìa.

CHAPTER XXXV.

LUNI.—LUNA.

Lunaī portum est operæ cognoscere cives !

ENNIUS.

Anne metalliferæ repetit jam moenia Lunæ,
Tyrrenasque domos ?

STATIUS.

THE most northerly city of Etruria was Luna. It stood, indeed, on the very frontier, on the left bank of the Macra, which formed the north-western boundary of that land.¹ And though at one time in the possession of the Ligurians, together with a wide tract to the south, even down to Pisa and the Arno, yet Luna was originally Etruscan, and as such it was recognised in Imperial times.² It was never

¹ Strabo, V. p. 222. Strabo speaks of Macra as a place—*χωρίον*; but Pliny (III. 7, 8) is more definite in marking it as a river, the boundary of Etruria—*flumen Macra, Liguriæ finis*—*patet ora Liguriæ inter amnes Varum et Macram*—*adnectitur septimæ, in quâ Etruria est, ab amne Macra—Tiberis amnis à Macra.*

² Much confusion has arisen from the contradictory statements of ancient writers in calling this territory sometimes Ligurian, sometimes Etruscan. On one side are Mela (II. 4—Luna Ligurum); Frontinus (Strat. III. 2—Luna, oppidum Ligurum); Persius (Sat. VI. 6); Statius (Sylv. IV. 3, 99); Justin (XX. 1); Polybius (II. 16); Aristotle (or the author of *De Mirand. Auscultat.*, c. 94); Lycophron (Cassandra, 1356); cf. Juven. Sat. III.

257; Liv. XXI. 59. On the other hand, we have Strabo (V. p. 222); Pliny (III. 8; XIV. 8, 5); Silius Italicus (VIII. 482); Lucan (I. 586); Statius (Sylv. IV. 4, 23); Martial (Epig. XIII. 30); cf. Plin. XI. 97; Ptolemy (Geog. p. 68, ed. Bert.); and Stephanus (*sub voce Σελήνη*); who all represent Luna as Etruscan. Livy (XLI. 13) explains the discrepancy by stating that Luna with its *ager* was captured by the Romans from the Ligurians; but that before it belonged to the latter it had been Etruscan. Lycophron, however, represents the Ligures as dispossessed of Pisa and its territory by the Etruscans. Cluver (II. p. 458) gathers from Servius (*Æn.* X. 179), that Luna must have been founded some ages before the Trojan War.

renowned for size or power ;³ its importance seems to have been derived chiefly from its vast and commodious port, truly "worthy of a people who long held dominion of the sea,"⁴ and which is now known as the Gulf of Spezia.⁵

Insignis portu, quo non spatiosior alter
Innumeras cepisse rates, et claudere pontum.⁶

But its size and security are the least of its charms. To the tranquil beauty of a lake it unites the majesty of the sea. No fairer bay could poet sigh for, "to float about the summer-waters." Never did purer wave mirror more glorious objects. Shining towns—pine-crested convents—luxuriant groves—storm-defying forts—castled-crags—

³ Dempster erroneously classed it among the Twelve chief cities of the Etruscan Confederation (II. pp. 41, 80) ; so also Targioni Tozzetti (*Viaggi in Toscana*, X. p. 406) ; and to this opinion even a recent writer is inclined, on account of the port. Promis, *Memorie della Città di Luni*, p. 24. But Strabo testifies to the small size of Luna. Tozzetti says it was not more than two miles in circuit.

⁴ Strabo, loc. cit.

⁵ As that Gulf lies on the Ligurian, and Luna on the Etruscan side of the Macra, it has been supposed either that there was anciently a port, properly that of Luna, at the mouth of the river, on the spot now called the Marsh of Secagna (Holsten. ad Cluver. p. 25. Targioni, *Viaggi in Toscana*, X. pp. 406, 440), or that the town occupied another site. It is true, as Promis observes (p. 15) that the alluvial deposits of the Magra have encroached much upon the sea, so as to have altered the course of the stream, and to have removed the site of the ancient town to a considerable distance from the shore. The whole plain in which it stands seems to have been

formed by these deposits. Yet no harbour within the mouth of the stream would answer to Strabo's description, which manifestly refers to the Gulf of Spezia. Holstenius (pp. 26, 277), however, insists on the port being at the mouth of the Magra, and declares he saw the posts with rings attached, to which the ancient shipping had been moored. Cluver (II. p. 456) placed the site of Luna at Lerici, in which he is followed by Mannert (*Geog.* p. 288), who thinks this the reason why the Latin corrector of Ptolemy, instead of *Lunæ Portus* puts *Ereicis Portus*. Others have also placed it on the right bank of the Magra ; while Sarzana, Avenza, Spezia, even Carrara, have respectively been indicated as its site ; and Scaliger went so far as to deny it a local habitation, and to submerge it beneath the sea. See Repetti, *v. Luni*, II. p. 936. Cramer (I. p. 171) however and Müller (*Etrusk. einl.* 2, 13) think its site is clearly established at Luni.

⁶ *Sil. Ital.* VIII. 483. Pliny (III. 8) also speaks of Luna as—*oppidum portu nobile*.

proud headlands—foam-fretted islets—dark heights, prodigal of wine and oil—purple mountains behind,—and naked marble-peaked Apennines over all,

"Islanded in immeasurable air."
Shelley "The Boat on the Larder";

About three miles from Sarzana, on the high-road to Lucca and Pisa, and just before reaching the modern frontier of Carrara, the traveller will have on his right a strip of low grassy land, intervening between him and the sea. Here stood the ancient city. Let him turn out of the high-road, opposite the Farm of the Iron Hand—Casino di Man di Ferro—and after a mile or more he will reach the site. There is little enough to see. Beyond a few crumbling tombs, and a fragment or two of Roman ruin, nothing remains of Luna. The fairy scene, described by Rutilius,⁷ so appropriate to a spot which bore the name of the virgin-queen of heaven—"the fair white walls," shaming with their brightness the untrodden snow—the smooth, many-tinted rocks, over-run with "laughing lilies"—if not the pure creation of the poet, have now vanished from the sight. Vestiges of an amphitheatre, of a semi-circular building, which may be a theatre, of a circus, a *piscina*, and fragments of columns, pedestals for statues, blocks of pavement, and inscriptions, are all that Luna has now to show. The walls, from Rutilius' description, are supposed to have been of marble; indeed, Ciriacus of Ancona tells us that what remained of them in the middle of the fifteenth century, were of that material;⁸ but not a block is now left to determine the point.

⁷ Rutil. Itiner. II. 63—

Advehimur celeri candentia moenia
lapseu,

Nominis est auctor Sole corusca
soror.

Indigenis superat ridentia lilia saxis,

Et lævi radiat picta nitore silex.

Dives marmoribus tellus, quæ luce
coloris

Provocat intactas luxuriosa nives.

⁸ Ciriacus, who wrote in 1442, is the
earliest antiquary who gives us an

Since so little remains of the Roman town, what vestige can we expect of Etruscan Luna? No monument of that antiquity has ever been discovered on the site, or in its vicinity; ⁹ not even a trace of the ancient cemetery is to be recognized, either in the plain, or among the neighbouring heights, so that we might almost doubt the Etruscan antiquity of Luna; yet such is expressly assigned to it by the ancients. No record, however, has come down to us prior to Roman times.

The earliest mention we have of Luna is from old Ennius, who took part in the expedition against Sardinia, which sailed from this port in 539 (B.C. 215), under Manlius Torquatus; and the poet, struck with the beauty of the gulf, called on his fellow-citizens to come and admire it with him,—

“Lunai portum est operæ cognoscere, cives!” ¹

The first historical notice to be found of Luna is in the

account of Luni. He describes the blocks of marble as being 8 “paces” (palms!) long by 4 high. Promis does not credit him as to the material; all the remains of masonry at present on the spot being of the coarse brown stone from the neighbouring headland of Corvo; and the fragments of architectural or sculptural decoration, which are of marble, are not more numerous than on similar sites in Italy (pp. 61, 66). Müller (I. 2, 4) credits both Ciriacus and Rutilius, and thinks these marble walls must have been of Etruscan times. Targioni Tozzetti (XII. p. 142) speaks of the walls as still of marble in his day.

⁹ Except a stone inscribed with Etruscan characters, found in the Val di Vara, many miles inland, at the head of the Gulf of Spezia. Promis, p. 61. No coins belonging to Luna have been discovered on the spot. Promis, p. 23.

The bronze coin, with this name in Etruscan characters, has on the obverse a bearded, garlanded head, which Lanzi takes for that of the *genius* of the Macra; and on the reverse, a reed, four globules, and a wheel divided into four parts, and surrounded with rays like a sun. Lanzi, II. pp. 26, 73, tav. I. 10; Passeri, Paralipom. ad Dempst. tab. V. 1. Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 337) is inclined to refer these coins to Populonia; so also Mionnet (Suppl. I. pp. 199, 203), Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 4), and Millingen (Numis. Anc. Ital. p. 173). A series of coins, with a young man's head wearing the cap of an Aruspex, and with a sacrificial knife, an axe, and two crescents, but no inscription, on the reverse, is supposed by Melchiorri to have belonged to Luna. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 122.

¹ Ennius, ap. Pers. Sat. VI. 9; cf. Liv. XXIII. 34.

year 559 (B.C. 195), when Cato the consul collected a force in the port, and sailed thence against the Spaniards.² It is mentioned again in the year 568,³ and in 577, in the Ligurian War, it received a colony of two thousand Romans.⁴ In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, it is said to have been in utter decay, inhabited only by a venerable soothsayer—

Arruns incoluit desertæ mœnia Lunæ.⁵

But a few years later it was re-colonized by the Romans ;⁶ and inscriptions found on the spot prove it to have existed at the close of the fourth century of our era.

After the fall of the Roman Empire Luna was desolated by the Lombards, Saracens, and Normans, but it was a yet more formidable, though invisible, foe that depopulated the site, and that ultimately caused it, in the fifteenth century, to be utterly deserted.⁷

Luna, under the Romans, was renowned for its wine, which was the best in all Etruria ;⁸ and for its cheeses, which were stamped with the figure, either of the moon, or of the Etruscan Diana, and were of vast size, sometimes weighing a thousand pounds.⁹ But what gave Luna most

² Liv. XXXIV. 8.

³ Liv. XXXIX. 21.

⁴ Liv. XLI. 13. Whether Luna or Luca is here the correct reading, is disputed. Vell. Paternulus (I. 15) has Luca. Promis (p. 29) thinks Luna was intended ; but Repetti (II. p. 939) holds the opposite opinion.

⁵ Lucan. I. 586. Here again some editions have "Lucæ." Dante (Inferno, XX. 47) places this soothsayer in the mountains—

Che ne' monti di Luni, dove ronca

Lo Carrarese che di sotto alberga,
Ebbe tra bianchi marmi la spelonca

Per sua dimora ; onde a guardar le
stelle

E'l mar, non gli era la veduta tronca.

⁶ By the Triumvirate, under the Lex Julia. Frontin. de Colon. p. 19, ed. 1588.

⁷ There is an old legend which ascribes its destruction to another cause. The lord of Luna won the affections of a certain Empress, who, to obtain her end, feigned herself dead ; her lover playing the resurrectionist, and carrying her to his own house. This coming to the ears of the Emperor, he not only took vengeance on the offenders, but laid the city in the dust. Alberti, Descrit. d'Italia, p. 22.

⁸ Plin. XIV. 8, 5.

⁹ Martial. XIII. epig. 30 ; Plin. XI. 97. Though the Greek writers translate the name of this town by Σεληνη, and

renown was her marble ; known to us as that of Carrara. This does not appear to have been known in the time of Etruscan independence, for we find scarcely a trace of it in the national monuments ;¹ and surely a people who made such extensive use of alabaster, and executed such exquisite works in bronze, would have availed themselves of this beautiful material, had it been known to them ; yet, on the other hand, it is difficult to understand how its *nivea metalla* could have escaped their eye. It does not seem to have been discovered much before the Christian era. The earliest mention we have of it is in the time of Julius Cæsar ;² but a stone which was whiter than Parian marble,³ and yet might be cut with a saw,⁴ was not likely

though a moon seems to have been the symbol of Luna under the Romans (Mart. loc. cit.), we have no ground for concluding that such was the meaning of the Etruscan name. Some have thought that Luna was derived from the form of its port—even Müller (Etrusk. I. 4, 8) held this opinion—but the name is not at all descriptive of the harbour, which cannot be likened to a moon, whether full, half, or crescent. Lanzi suggests that "*Losna*," the name attached to a goddess with a crescent as her emblem, represented on a mirror (Saggio, II. p. 26, tav. 8.; see also Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. CLXXI), may be the ancient Latin form ; Müller thinks it the Etruscan. But this is certainly a Roman monument. It appears to me highly probable that Luna was an Etruscan word, misinterpreted by the Romans. For the three chief ports on this coast, as we learn from coins, had this termination to their names—LUNA, PUPLUNA (Populonia), and VETLUNA (Vetulonia); and as no inland town of Etruria had the same ending, it is not improbable that Luna had a maritime signification,

and meant "a port"—this, which has no prefix to its name, being, from its superior size, pre-eminently "the port" of Etruria.

[¹ The only instance I remember of such marble being used in an Etruscan work (not to mention the inlaid letters at the Augustine Convent, Cervetri, see page 27), is in the Cathedral of Corneto, where an inscription is carved on a slab of that material. See vol. I. p. 279. Kellerman (Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 61) gives another inscription on a cone of marble, also, he says, now in Corneto. The statue of Ilithyia in the Volterra Museum is not of Luna marble.]

² Mamurra, Prefect of Cæsar's army in Gaul, was the first who had his house lined with marble, and every column in it was of solid marble, either from Carystos or Luna. Corn. Nepos, ap. Plin. XXXVI. 7.

³ Plin. XXXVI. 4, 2. Strabo (V. p. 222) says truly that the quarries of Luna yielded not only white, but variegated marble, inclining to blue.

⁴ Plin. XXXVI. 29.—Lunensem silecem serrâ secari. This *silex* has been supposed only a white tufo, not marble

to be neglected by the luxurious Romans of that age ; and accordingly it soon came into extensive use, as the Pantheon, the Portico of Octavia, the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, and other monuments of that period, remain to testify ; and it was to this discovery that Augustus owed his boast—that he had found Rome of brick, but had left it of marble. From that time forth, it has been in use for statuary, as well as for architectural decoration ; and from the Apollo Belvidere to the Triumphs of Thorwaldsen, “the stone that breathes and struggles” in immortal art, has been chiefly the marble of Luna.⁵

(Quintino, *Marmi Lunensi*, cited by Müller, I. 2, 4, n. 63) ; but the term was of general application to the harder sorts of rock, and the use of it here is expressive of the singularity of the circumstance that the stone should be sawn, and the word would lose its force if applied to a soft volcanic formation.

⁵ For further notices of Luna and its port, I refer the reader to Targioni's *Toscana* X. pp. 403—466 ; but especially to the work of Promis, already cited, and to Repetti's *Dizionario della Toscana*. Promis' work is reviewed by Canina, *Bull. Inst.* 1838, p. 142.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PISA.—*PISÆ*.

Alphææ veterem contemplor originis urbem
Quam cingunt geminis Arnus et Ausur aquis.

RUTILIUS. 7.

ON approaching Leghorn from the sea, I have always been inclined to recognise in it, Triturrita, with the ancient port of Pisa.¹ It is true that the modern town does not wholly correspond with the description given by Rutilius.

¹ Rutil. I. 527, *et seq.*; II. 12. Called "Turrita" by the Peutingerian Table, which places it 9 miles from Pisæ. The Maritime Itinerary has "Portus Pisanus" in the same position. Much doubt has been thrown on the antiquity of Livorno (Repetti, II. p. 717); and the highest generally ascribed to it is that of Roman times—either as the Ad Herculem of the Antonine Itinerary, on the Via Aurelia, 12 miles from Pisæ; or the Labro of Cicero (*ad Quint. Frat.* II. 6); or the Liburnum, mentioned by Zosimus (*Annal. V.* cited by Cluver); whence the modern name, Livorno, is derived. It is said to have been called Ligurnum (Leghorn) in the middle ages. The arguments Cluver (II. p. 467) adduces to prove that the Portus was at the mouth of the Arno, seem to me of little force. Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, I. p. 175), however, agrees with him. Mannert (*Geog.* p. 353) on the other hand contends for the identity of Leghorn with the Portus Pisanus. He places Labro, however, at

Salebro and Ad Herculem at Violino. An intermediate opinion is held by Targioni Tozzetti (*Viaggi in Toscana*, II. pp. 398—420), who considers the port of Pisæ to have been a bay between the Arno and the site of Leghorn, now filled up with alluvial deposits from the river; and he finds Villa Triturrita in some Roman remains on the inner shore of this bay. Indeed it is well known that the land has gained considerably on the sea in the Delta of the Arno. Müller (*Etrusk.* I. 1, 2; I. 4, 8), who follows Tozzetti, considers this port to have been connected with the city, by an ancient branch of the Arno, now stopped up, one of the three mentioned by Strabo, V. p. 222. Yet from the Maritime Itinerary it seems evident that it was not at the principal mouth of the river, but 9 miles to the south; which favours the claims of Livorno. The VIII in that Itinerary and the Peutingerian Table, may easily be an error for XIII, which is the true distance between Leghorn and Pisa.

It has now more than a mere bank of sea-weed to protect it from the violence of the waves ; it embraces an ample harbour within its arms of stone ; but it lies on a naturally open shore ; it has an artificial peninsula, on which the Villa Triturrita may have stood ; and, by a singular coincidence, there are still three prominent towers to suggest the identity.

No traveller, now-a-days, omits to make a trip hence to Pisa. Like the Itinerant Gaul, he leaves his vessel in the port, and hurries away to lionise that city. He now needs no friendly loan of a carriage, or of saddle-horses ; but, thanks to the railroad, he may run to Pisa and back, while the steamer is taking in coals ; for presuming on his privilege as "*roba di vapore*," he may set custom-house officers, and all the usual stumbling-blocks of travellers, at defiance.²

Of the multitudes that thus visit the elegant and tranquil city of Pisa, who remembers her great antiquity ? —who thinks of her as one of the most venerable cities of Italy, prior to the Trojan War, one of the earliest settle-

² The use of this word *roba* is most singular and amusing, and should be understood by the traveller. It is of universal application. What cannot be designated as *roba* ? It is impossible to give its equivalent in English, for we have no word so handy. The nearest approach to it is "thing" or "stuff," but it has a much wider application, accommodating itself to the whole range of created objects, animate or inanimate, substances or abstractions. It implies belonging, appertaining to, or proceeding from. The Spaniards use the cognate word *ropa*, but in a more limited sense. Our word "robe," must have the same origin, and "rubbish" must come from its depreciative inflexion—*robaccia*. An Italian will speak of his wife and children, as well as of

his goods and chattels, as his *roba*. A mountain is the *roba* of the Tuscan, Roman, or Neapolitan State, as the case may be. The mist rising from a stream and the fish caught in it, are alike *roba di fiume*—"river-stuff." The traveller will sometimes have his dignity offended when he hears the same term applied to himself as to the cloth on his back—*roba di Francia* or *roba d'Inghilterra*, according to his country ; or, as in the case referred to above, when he hears himself spoken of as "steam-stuff," because he happens to have just landed from a steam-boat. Even the laws and institutions of his country, and the doctrines or observances of his creed, will be brought by the Italian under this all-comprehensive term.

ments of the Pelasgi on this coast?³ The Pisa of the middle ages is so bright a vision as to throw into dim shade the glories of her remoter antiquity. This is one of the very few cities of Etruria, which, after the lapse of three thousand years, still retains, not only its site,⁴ but its importance, and has shrouded the hoariness of antiquity in the gay garlands of ever-flourishing youth.

³ Pisæ is classed by Dionysius (l. p. 16) among the primitive cities of Italy, either taken from the Siculi, or subsequently built by the confederate Pelasgi and Aborigines. Another tradition ascribes its foundation to a Greek colony from Arcadia, who named it after the celebrated city of that land; another to some of the Greeks who wandered to Italy after the Trojan War, whether Epeus, the maker of the wooden horse, or some of the Pylans, the followers of Nestor (Serv. ad *Æn.* X. 179; Strabo, V. p. 222); but the connection with Pisæ of the Peloponnesus seems to have been most generally believed. Virg. *Æn.* loc. cit.; Serv. ad loc.; Plin. III. 8; Claudian. de Bel. Gildon. 483; Rutil. I. 565, 573; Solinus, Polyh. VIII. Servius records other traditions of its origin, one assigning it to the Celts; another that its site had been occupied by an earlier town, by some called Phocis, by others Teuta, whose inhabitants the Teutæ, Teutani, or Teutones, were of Greek race. Plin. III. 8. Cato (ap. Serv.) though admitting that this region was originally possessed by the Teutones, who spoke Greek, could not trace the foundation of Pisæ earlier than the arrival of the Etruscans in Italy; and he ascribes it to Tarchon. This tradition of the Teutanes, Müller (einl. 2, 9, n. 55) regards as confirmatory of a Pelasgic origin. Some say Pisæ was taken by the Etruscans from the Ligu-

rians. Lycop. Cass. 1356. cf. Justin. XX. 1. But the almost concurrent voice of tradition assigns to Pisæ a Greek origin, which its name seems to confirm; though on the other hand its name, which Servius says signified a moon-shaped port in the Lydian (i.e. Etruscan) tongue, may have given rise to these traditions. Its site also in an open plain, so unlike that of most Etruscan cities, favours the view of its Pelasgic origin.

⁴ Pisa anciently stood on a tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Arnus and Ausar (Strabo, V. p. 222; Plin. III. 8; Rutil. I. 566); but the latter, the Serchio, at the close of the twelfth century altered its course, and found a more northerly channel to the sea. In Strabo's time the city was only 20 *stadia* (2½ miles) inland, but by the accumulation of soil brought down by the two rivers it is now removed 6 miles from the sea. An old tradition represents the water, at the point of confluence, rising to such a height in the middle of the channel, that persons standing on the opposite banks could not see each other. Strabo, loc. cit.; cf. Pseudo-Aristot. *Mirab. Auscult.* c. 94. Colonel Mure remarks the similarity of site between the Pisa of Etruria and that of Greece—both occupied “a precisely similar region, a low, warm, marshy flat, interspersed with pine-forest.” *Travels in Greece*, II. p. 283. The analogy of site may explain

Her remoteness from Rome may well account for the absence of historical mention of Pisa during the period of Etruscan independence. Virgil introduces her as sending aid to Æneas against Turnus⁵—a statement which can be received only as confirmatory evidence of her antiquity. Yet a modern writer of great weight does not hesitate to regard her as one of the Twelve chief cities of Etruria.⁶ The earliest mention of Pisa in history occurs in the year 529 (B.C. 225), when, just before the battle of Telamon, a Roman army from Sardinia was landed here.⁷ Frequent mention is subsequently made of Pisa, which played a prominent part in the Ligurian Wars.⁸ It was colonised in the year 574, at the request of its citizens.⁹ Under the Romans, it was of considerable importance on account of its port, and was celebrated also for the fertility of its territory, for the quarries in its neighbourhood, and for the abundance of timber it yielded for ship-building.¹

Of the ancient magnificence of Pisa scarcely a vestige

the identity of name; which Colonel Mure is doubtful whether to derive from *πίσος*—a marsh—or from *πίσσα*—the fir or pine-tree. The former or an equivalent derivation is favoured by Strabo (VIII. p. 356), and by Eustathius (ad Hom. Iliad. XX. 9); but the latter derives support from the actual existence of pine-woods, both around the city of Elis, and also on this coast, in the royal Cascine, where they cover some square miles, and are in all probability the legitimate descendants of the ancient forests, where Rutilius, when weather-bound, amused himself with hunting the wild-boar (I. 621—8). The city is called *Pissa* or *Pisseo* by Lycophron, Polybius, and Ptolemy.

⁵ Virg. *Æn.* X. 179. He calls it—*urbs Etrusca*.

⁶ Müller, *Etrusk.* II. 1, 2. Strabo (V. p. 223) says that it had originally

been a flourishing city. Mannert (*Geog.* p. 339), though he does not regard it as one of the Twelve, calls it, apparently on the authority of Strabo and Polybius (II. 16), “the natural rampart and frontier-wall of Etruria towards the north.”

⁷ Polyb. II. 27.

⁸ Liv. XXI. 39; XXXIII. 43; XXXIV. 56; XXXV. 21; XL. 41; XLI. 5. Previously, in the Second Punic War, Scipio had made use of its port. Polyb. III. 56.

⁹ Liv. XL. 43. Festus calls it a *municipium*. Pliny (III. 8) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* p. 72) mention it among the Roman colonies in Etruria.

¹ Strabo, V. p. 223. Pliny also speaks of its grain (XVIII. 20), of its grapes (XIV. 4, 7), and of its wonderful springs, where frogs found themselves literally in hot water (II. 106).

remains. Various fragments of Roman antiquity have been discovered on the spot ; but, with the exception of sundry sarcophagi, broken statues, and numerous inscriptions, nothing remains above ground beyond some mean traces of baths, and two marble columns with Composite capitals, probably belonging to the vestibule of a temple of the time of the Antonines, now embedded in the wall of the ruined church of San Felice.² As to the city of the Pelasgi and Etruscans, it has entirely disappeared. The traveller looks in vain for a stone of the walls, which from the exposed position of the city must have been of great strength—in vain for a tumulus or monument on the surrounding plain—the city of the dead, as well as that of the living, of that early period, is now lost to the eye. Yet the necropolis of Pisa must exist ; but, as far as I can learn, it has not been sought for.³

The only relics of Etruscan antiquity at Pisa are a few sarcophagi and urns in that celebrated sepulchral museum, the Campo Santo,⁴ Even these were not found on the

² Repetti, IV. p. 305 ; Dempster (II. p. 248) infers from Seneca (Thyestes, I. 123) that Pisa was anciently renowned for her towers ; but the true reading is—

“*Pisense domos curribus inclitas,*” and the line refers to the city of Elis. The Italian Pisa, however, was renowned for her towers in the middle ages. Benjamin, the Jew of Tudela, who lived in the tenth century, records that nearly 10,000 towers were to be counted, attached to the houses—verily, as old Faccio degli Uberti says of Lucca—“*à guisa d’ un boschetto.*” Other chroniclers increase this number to 15,000 ; and Petrarch vouches for a great multitude.

³ It can hardly lie between Pisa and the sea ; for it is probable that the city

stood originally almost on the shore. It is now six miles from the sea ; but in the tenth century, according to that wandering Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, it was but four ; and in Strabo’s time only two miles and a half inland ; therefore, at the same rate, we may conclude that a thousand years earlier, it stood almost close to the sea. Repetti (IV. p. 372) says that numerous Roman sarcophagi have been disinterred within the city itself, for the most part on the right bank of the Arno, and at some distance from the river.

⁴ There are some small copper coins with the head of Mercury on the obverse, and an owl, with the legend ΠΕΙΘΗΣΑ, in Etruscan characters, on the reverse, which most probably belong to Pisa. The opinion of early Italian antiquaries

spot. The eye, experienced in Etruscan remains, at once recognises them as the *roba* of Volterra. They were found at Morrona, in the neighbourhood of that town, and presented in 1808 to the city of Pisa. There is nothing among them of remarkable interest. Most are small square cinerary urns, or "ash chests," as the Germans term them, with stunted and distorted figures on the lids. One of these recumbent figures holds an open scroll, with an Etruscan inscription in red letters. Among the reliefs are—a banquet; a sacrifice; another of the same on a sarcophagus, in good style; the deathbed scene of a female, with her friends around her; a soul in a *quadriga*, conducted to the shades below by Charun, armed with his hammer; a griffon contending with three warriors; an Amazon with sword and shield defending her fallen comrade from a fierce beast like a tiger, which is emerging from a well; Orestes persecuted by a Fury; Polites, with one knee on the altar, defending himself with an axe against Pyrrhus, who is rushing up, sword in hand, to slay him, while two demons, one with a torch, the other with a sword, stand one on each side. A large sarcophagus has a pair of figures on its lid, and the hunt of the Calydonian boar in relief below. Perhaps the most interesting monument is an alabaster urn, on which a female figure reclines, holding a *rhyton*, or drinking-cup, in the shape of a horse's head and fore-quarters; in the relief below, is represented a female demon or Fury, winged and

was generally in favour of Perugia; Lanzi (Sagg. II. pp. 27, 76) seems to hint at the Arretium Fidens of Pliny, Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 5) was ^{here} less extravagant in ascribing these coins to Veii (cf. Mionnet, Suppl. I. p. 204). They have also been assigned to Pitinum in Umbria; but Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 338) suggests that Peithesa may be the old Etruscan form of Pisa; and Cramer

(Ancient Italy, I. p. 173) also remarks that if we suppose its pronunciation to have been Pithsa, it would not be far from the Pissa of Lycophron. Millingen (Numis. Anc. Ital. p. 170) thinks that these coins belong to some forgotten town, near Todi in Umbria, because they are generally found in that neighbourhood.

buskined, but without drapery, in a sitting posture, and with a spear in her hand—extremely like one of the evil spirits painted on the walls of the Grotta del Cardinale at Corneto,⁵ who sits as guardian over

——— “the gates of grialie Hell,
And horrid house of sad Proserpina.”

Spencer, "A. W. C. C.," p. 2, 372
As in duty bound, I have noticed these Etruscan relics ; yet few who visit this sacred and silent corner of Pisa, where the grandeur and glory of the city are concentrated, are likely to give them much attention. Few will turn from the antique pomp, the mosque-like magnificence of the Cathedral—from the fair white marvel of the Leaning Tower—from the cunningly-wrought pulpit and font of the Baptistry—or even from the frescoed visions, the grotesque solemnities of the Campo Santo, to examine these uncouth memorials of the early possessors of the land.

⁵ See Vol. I. p. 321, where the resemblance this figure bears to the Fury Tisiphone is pointed out.



ARCHAIC BLACK VASE FROM CHIUSI.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FIRENZE.—FLORENTIA.

Florence, beneath the sun,
Of cities, fairest one !—SHELLEY. *Ode to Naples, ant. S. Y.*

Di te, Donna dell' Arno, anch' io favello.
Tu, in regio trono alteramente assisa,
L'imperioso ciglio
Volgi all' Etruria !—FILICAJA.

FLORENCE, the Athens of modern Italy, in the days of Etruscan greatness and of the earliest civilization of the

land, was nought. She cannot claim an origin higher than the latter years of the Roman Republic.¹ Yet she may be regarded in some sort as the representative of the ancient Etruscan city of Fæsulæ, whose inhabitants at an early period removed from their rocky heights to the banks of the Arno²—an emigration in which Dante, in his Ghibelline wrath, finds matter of vituperation—

quello ingrato popolo maligno,
Che discese di Fiesole ab antico,
E tiene ancor del monte e del macigno— *Inf.* x v. 61.

¹ Frontinus (de Colonia, p. 13, ed. 1588) says Florentia was a colony of the Triumvirate, established under the Lex Julia; which has led some to conclude that such was the date of her foundation. Yet Florus (III. 21) ranks her with Spoletium, Interamnium, and Præneste, those "most splendid *municipia* of Italy," which, in the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, suffered from the vengeance of the latter. Some editions have "Fluentia," but this can be no other than Florentia, as the same name is given by Pliny (III. 8) in his list of the colonies in Etruria—*Fluentini præ-fluenti Arno oppositi*. Repetti, however, embraces the opinion of Salutati, and of Borghini, that it was the Feren-tinum of the Volsci, to which Florus in the said passage alludes; and he thinks the origin of Florence is to be dated from the colony of the Triumvirate (Dizionario, II. pp. 108, 150). Cluver (II. p. 508) admits the higher antiquity. Mannert (Geog. p. 393) thinks the city dates its origin from the Ligurian wars. In the reign of Tiberius, Florentia was an important colony or *municipium*, one of those which sent deputies to Rome, to deprecate alterations in the course of the tributaries of the Tiber; their plea being that if the Clanis were diverted into the Arnus, it would bring destruc-

tion on their territory. Tacit. Annal. I. 79. She is subsequently mentioned by Pliny (XIV. 4, 7), by Ptolemy (p. 72), by the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutingerian Table. Vestiges of her Roman magnificence remain in the ruins of the amphitheatre near the Piazza di Santa Croce.

Livy (X. 25) speaks of an Etruscan town, Aharna, or as some readings have it, Adharnaha, which Lanzi translates Ad Arnum, and hints that it may be Florence, though not giving this as his opinion (Sagg. I. p. 377; II. p. 394). But Livy refers to the year 459, at which time the vale of the Arno must have been a marsh, as it was in the year 537, when Hannibal invaded Etruria (Liv. XXII. 2); and no town could have occupied the present site of Florence.

² The fact is not stated by the ancients, but has for ages been traditional. Inghirami (Guida di Fiesole, p. 24) refers the emigration to the time of Sylla; Repetti (II. p. 108) to that of Augustus. According to old Faccio degli Uberti, the city received its name from the "flower-basket" in which it is situated.

Al fine gli abitanti per memoria
Che lera posta en un gran cest de fiori,
Gli dono el nome bello unde sen gloria.

though it would puzzle a poet now to find any analogy in the courteous and polished Florentines to the rugged crags of Fiesole.

It is not my province to make further mention of Florence, than to notice the relics of Etruscan antiquity preserved within the city, or discovered in the neighbourhood.

The collection of such objects in the possession of the Grand Duke is kept in the Gallery of the Uffizj; and though a meagre notice of it is to be found in the Guide Books, I should not be justified in omitting to particularise rather more fully the most interesting articles.

At the further end of the long Gallery in the western wing are

THE URNS.

The greater part of these are from Volterra, being a selection made in 1770 from the abundant fruits of the excavations then carrying forward, and at that time were reputed the most beautiful relics of Etruscan antiquity extant.³ A few have been subsequently added from the same city, as well as from Chiusi. They are either of travertine, alabaster, or of a yellow tufaceous stone. Out of nearly fifty, very few are of remarkable beauty or interest. Indeed, he who has visited Volterra or Chiusi, will find little to admire in the urns of the Uffizj. The figures on the lids are of the stumpy, contracted form usual in the "ash-chests" of Volterra. All are reclining, as at a banquet. The males, as usual, hold a goblet; the females, generally a fan or a mirror in one hand, and a pomegranate in the other; though one, of more depraved taste, holds a *rhyton*, or drinking-cup.⁴ Most retain traces of the *minium* with which they were coloured.

³ Inghirami, Monumenti Etruschi, I. p. 11.

⁴ The *rhyton* is a drinking-cup, originally, perhaps, in the form of a cow's

The reliefs on the urns are, for the most part, in a wretched style of art ; yet, as illustrative of the Etruscan belief and traditions, they are not without interest. Many represent parting scenes. The deceased is taking a last farewell of a relative, when the minister of Death, hammer in hand, steps between them, and a door hard by indicates the entrance to the unseen world. In another case the Genius rushes between the friends, seizes one, and at the same moment another demon extinguishes

horn, as it is often so represented in the hands of Bacchus on the painted vases, but it frequently terminates in the head of a dog, fox, bull, stag, boar, eagle, cock, or griffon. In this case it is in the form of a horse's head and fore-quarters—a favourite shape with the Etruscans. It is sometimes represented in ancient paintings with the wine flowing in a slender stream from the extremity, but I do not recollect to have seen one so perforated. As it could only stand when inverted, it was necessary to drain it to the bottom before it could be laid down. It may therefore be regarded as indicative of a debauch. By the Greeks it was considered proper to heroes only. Athen. XI. c. 2, p. 461. From these female effigies holding *pateræ*, and even *rhyta*, we learn somewhat of the habits of the Etruscan ladies. Indeed, if we may believe all that has been said about them, they were "terrible ones to drink," and were apt to be forward in pledging any gentleman to whom they took a fancy, not waiting, as modest ladies ought, till they were challenged to take wine. Theopompus, ap. Athen. XII. c. 3, p. 517. Very different was the condition of the Roman woman in early times. She was not allowed to drink wine at all, unless it were simple raisin-wine. And, however she might relish strong drinks, she

could not indulge even by stealth ; first, because she was never entrusted with the key of the wine-cellar ; and secondly, because she was obliged daily to greet with a kiss all her own, as well as her husband's male relatives, down to second cousins ; and as she knew not when or where she might meet them, she was forced to be wary, and abstain altogether. For had she tasted but a drop, the smell would have betrayed her—"there would have been no need of alander," says Polybius (ap. Athen. X. c. 11, p. 440). The precautionary means, it may be thought, were worse than the possible evil they were intended to guard against. So strict, however, were the old Romans in this respect, that a certain Egnatius Mecenius is said to have slain his wife, because he caught her at the wine-cask—a punishment which was not deemed excessive by Romulus, who absolved the husband of the crime of murder. Another Roman lady who, under the pretence of taking a little wine for her stomach's sake and frequent infirmities, indulged somewhat too freely, was mulcted to the full amount of her dowry. Plin. XIV. 14. On an *amphora* from Volterra, in this same collection, two naked females are represented pledging each other in these *rhyta*.

a torch. Here a husband is taking leave of his wife, ere he mounts the steed which is to convey him to the land whence no traveller returns—or a like fond pair are pressing hands for the last time at a column, the funeral pine-cone on which indicates the nature of their farewell. There, the winged messenger of Hades enters the chamber, and waves her torch over the head of the dying one,—or two sons are performing the last sad rites to their father ; one is piously closing his eyes, and the other stands by comforted by a good spirit, while the Genius of Death is also present, sword in hand, to indicate the triumph he has just achieved.⁵

The subjects are sometimes mythological. Winged *hippocampi*, or sea-monsters—Scylla with double fishes tail, in the midst of a shoal of merry dolphins⁶—Castor and Pollux resting on their shields, with a winged Fate seated between them—griffons, and other chimeras, or winged Genii guarding the urn which contains the ashes of the dead.

Here Paris has taken refuge at an altar, to escape from his brethren, who are enraged at his carrying off the palm from them in the public games. His good Genius steps in to save the victorious shepherd. There the young Polites is slain by Pyrrhus ; the altar to which he had fled, and the wheel of Fortune on which he relied availing him nothing. Here is the boar of Calydon at bay, falling beneath the lance and double-axe (*bipennis*) of his pursuers. There Ulysses in his galley is struggling to free himself from his voluntary bondage, eager to yield to the allurements of “the Syrens three,” who, in the guise

⁵ This scene is illustrated by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. LIX. 4.

⁶ One of these marine goddesses, with a pair of wings on her brows, and an

anchor in each hand—the decoration of an urn in this collection—is illustrated by Micali, Italia avanti I Romani, tav. XXII. ; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. CX.

of women, with flute, lyre, and Pandean pipes, sit on the cliffs of their fatal island. Here is a scene where "the King of men"—*lo gran Duca de' Greci*, as Dante terms him—is about to immolate his virgin-daughter—

Onde pianse Ifigenia il suo bel volto,
E fe pianger di sè e i folli e i savi,
Ch' udir parlar di così fatto colto. *Par. V. 70.*

And there you may see Clytemnestra slain on her guilty couch; the avengers of blood, according to this version of the legend, being *three*! On another urn Orestes and Pylades are represented sitting as victims, with their hands bound, at an altar; the libation is poured on their heads, and the sword is raised by the priestesses of Diana. On a fourth urn the drama is advanced another step. Iphigenia discovers it is her brother she is about to sacrifice, and she stands leaning on his head, with her hands clasped, in deep dejection, hesitating between love and duty. The second priestess has still her weapon raised to slay Pylades; and a third brings in a tray with libations and offerings. The daughter of Agamemnon is naked; but her fellows are attired in all respects like the Lasas and Furies, commonly represented in Etruscan funeral scenes. This monument is in a very superior style of art to most of its neighbours.

The subjects on others of these monuments are not easy of explanation.⁷ One urn is in the shape of a little

⁷ In one case a man, sitting on an altar, is about to slay a child in his lap, to the great alarm of two females; some armed men rush up to the rescue. A temple is represented behind, in perspective. Some are battle-scenes. A *quadriga* is upset—old Charun, "griesly grim," seizes one of the horses by the ear and nose—a man strikes at them with one of the broken wheels—and

a female Fury, or Fate, stands behind him, with her weapon raised, as if to smite them. In one strange combat, a minstrel-boy with a lyre mingles in the fray. In another, a warrior drags a female, not an Amazon, from her chariot—the horses are trampling on a fallen man, and a Fury directs their course. Here, two combatants are separated by a female demon rushing between

temple, with all the wood and tile-work of the roof represented in stone.⁸

THE VASES

are all contained in one small chamber. The Tuscan Government has not availed itself of the opportunity it possesses of forming the finest collection of Etruscan antiquities in the world. Most of the articles discovered in the Duchy pass into foreign countries,—little or nothing finds its way to Florence. With this apathy on the part of the Government, the collection of vases cannot be expected to be extensive or remarkably choice. Yet it is characteristic. Most of the Etruscan sites within the limits of Tuscany are here represented by their pottery; and there are even some good vases from other districts of Italy; partly, I believe, collected, of old, by those princely patrons of art, the Medici.

The chief glory of this collection strikes the eye on entering. It is a huge, wide-mouthed *amphora*, perhaps the largest painted vase ever found in Etruria—certainly

them. There, two others are fighting, and a monster in human form, with a ram's head, perhaps one of Circe's victims, stands by with a stone in his hand. One scene, where a man is presenting a goblet to a female seated in a grotto, recalls Comus and the lady, were it not that another man is approaching stealthily, to transfix her with a spear.

Some of the urns described by Italian antiquaries as in this Museum, are no longer to be seen here. Such is a parting scene at a door. A woman, about to enter the fatal gate of Hades, is taking farewell of her husband and family; while Charun, or the minister of Death, with his hammer on his shoulder, is on the point of striking her down with a sword. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. I. tav. XXXVIII. Another very interesting

urn, no longer in this Museum, represented the blinding of Œdipus. Two armed men hold the old man, while a third thrusts a dagger into his eye; his two little sons are running up, each with his hand to his head, to express his grief; and a female is also rushing forward to save him, but is held back by a slave. Inghir. I. tav. LXXI; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. XLVI; Gori, I. tab. 142. It will be seen that this differs from the Greek version of the story which represents the ill-fated son of Laius, as blinding himself with his own hand. Sophoc. Œdip. Tyr. 1270; Æschyl. Sept. ad Theb. 783—4.

⁸ In one of the reliefs on these urns, an arched gateway is represented, with rusticated *voussoirs*—an architectural fact worthy of attention.

unrivalled in the variety and interest of its subjects, and the abundance of its inscriptions. It is about twenty-seven inches in height, and little less in diameter ; and has six bands of figures all in the Second or Archaic Greek style—black, tinted with white and red, on the yellow ground of the clay. It has eleven distinct subjects, eight of which are heroic, some quite novel ; and no fewer than one hundred and fifteen explanatory epigraphs ; besides the names of the potter and artist. The design, as in all vases of this style, is quaint and hard, yet the figures are full of expression and energy, and are often drawn with much minuteness and delicacy. Unfortunately it was found broken into numerous pieces ; it has been tolerably well restored, but some fragments are still wanting to complete it. Yet even in its imperfect state it is so superb a monument, that the Tuscan Government was induced to relax its purse-strings, and purchase it for one thousand *scudi*.

This vase may be called an *Iliad*, or rather an *Achilleid*, in pottery, for its subjects have especial reference to the great hero of the Trojan War—from the youthful deeds of his father, and the marriage of his parents, down to his own death, interspersed with mythological episodes, as was the wont of the bard,

“ Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own.”

Milton - Par. Rep. iv. 260.

This “ king of Etruscan vases,” as it has not unaptly been termed, was found at Chiusi in 1845, by Signor François.⁹

There are many other painted vases in this collection. Among them I may point out some *amphoræ*, or wine-jars,

⁹ Further notices of this remarkable vase will be found in Bull. Inst. 1845, pp. 113—119 (Braun) ; and pp. 210—

214 (Gerhard). See also the Appendix to this Chapter.

with combats under the walls of Troy—councils of the gods—battles of the gods with the giants—two in a remarkable state of preservation, one with a group of four warriors, the other with Mercury and Minerva standing by a war-chariot—and two very small, but pretty, representing a winged Apollo playing the lyre, and a nymph. Of *hydriæ*, or water-jars, distinguished by their three handles, the most remarkable are, one which represents Mercury pursuing the nymph Herse, whose sisters run to acquaint their father ; and a beautiful one, of the form called *calpis*, with Triptolemus on his winged car. Of mixing-jars—*crateres*, *celebæ*, *stamni*—with wide mouths, the best display the contest of the Centaurs and Lapithæ,—Bacchic subjects,—a solemn procession,—and priestesses making libations at an altar. The wine-jugs—*œnochoæ*—distinguished by their single handle and spout, bear—some, Bacchic scenes ; one, Hercules “taking a cup of kindness” with his patron, the “grey-eyed” goddess ; another, a marriage-scene, the bride veiled, attended by her *pronuba*, or bridesmaid, giving her hand at a column. There are also some good drinking-bowls—*cylices* and *canthari*. The most beautiful of these painted vases are from Vulci ; and two huge *amphoræ* from Basilicata contrast their florid adornments with the more chaste and simple pottery of Etruria.

Arezzo may be recognized in an elegant vase of red ware, with heads and fruit in relief. Volterra has contributed sundry articles exhibiting the characteristic defects of her pottery—rudeness and carelessness of design, coarseness of clay, inferiority of varnish, and ungainliness of form. There are some of her favourite *silhouette* jugs, and little monstrosities in the shape of ducks, with a female head painted on each wing. Of the very early and uncouth black ware of Chiusi, Sarteano, Chianciano, and that district,

there are numerous and excellent specimens ; and it is these which give this collection its chief interest, for this very characteristic and peculiarly Etruscan pottery is not to be seen in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome, in the British Museum, or in any other national collection in Europe, as far as I am aware. Here are the tall cock-crowned vases, with veiled *larvæ* or spirits of the dead, demons, beasts, chimæras, and other strange devices, surrounding or studding them in relief—as is shown in the curious jug at the head of this chapter.¹ Some are *Canopi*, or vases shaped like the head and shoulders of a man, the effigy of the dead whose ashes are contained within. One of them, shown in the annexed wood-cut, has less peculiarity than usual, and has the body adorned with figures in relief. The lid is in the form of a cap, tufted by a bird.² There are also, in the same black ware,



CANOPUS FROM CHIUSI.

¹ The black ware of which these vases are made is unglazed and imperfectly varnished; often incapable of containing liquid ; whence it may be inferred that much of this pottery was made expressly for sepulchral purposes. Such appears to be the character of the vase represented at page 92. The animals in the lower band are panthers, carrying stags, conveniently packed on their shoulders, as a fox carries a goose. Wild beasts with their prey are most common sepulchral emblems, not only on Etruscan but on Greek and Oriental monuments. See Vol. I. p. 359. The heads in the upper band seem to have an analogy with the *silhouettes* on the painted pottery of Volterra. The three

things between them appear to be *alabastra*—common sepulchral furniture. The horse is a well-known funereal emblem, indicative of the passage from one state of existence to another. The eyes scratched on the spout have evidently an analogy to those so often painted on the Hellenic vases ; and have doubtless the same symbolic meaning. See Vol. I. Chapter XXII. page 438. Micali, in treating of this vase (*Mon. Ined.* p. 176), takes them for a charm against the evil eye. The heads which stud the handle and top of this vase are supposed to be those of *Larvæ*, or the spirits of the defunct.

² This Canopus is described by Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 172 *et seq.* *tav.* XXIX.

a pair of *focolari* or fumigators, one round, the other square, with their incomprehensible tea-tray contents—cullenders—some singular stands which, for want of a better name and acquaintance with their use, are called “asparagus-holders,”—large basket-like vases or trays, commonly called, for similar reasons, *ciste mistiche*,—and a variety of drinking-cups with bands of minute figures in relief, which are found also on other sites in Etruria. Not the least interesting of these Chiusi vases, is a cinerary pot, with “TARCHU” inscribed on it—a name rarely met with before the recent discovery at Cervetri of the Tomb of the Tarquins.³ Nor must I forget two oblong tablets of black ware, with Etruscan inscriptions; commonly called *lavagne*, or “slates,” but which Professor Migliarini, the Director of the Antiquities, jocosely terms “visiting-cards.” By the side of this very ancient black pottery, there are articles in a very different and much later style, whose elegant forms and reliefs, and brilliant varnish, betray a Greek origin or influence. They are said to come from Pompeii. There is also a Roman *amphora*, with a female painted on it, in the style of the frescoes of Pompeii.

Among the minor articles, notice numerous votive offerings, chiefly portions of the human frame,—heads, portraits of the deceased, often found in sepulchres,—many small figures of household gods,—lamps,—masks,—cattle,—all in baked clay,—eggs still unbroken,—a curious little group in ivory from an Etruscan tomb at Chiusi, representing two sleeping children attacked by a wolf and her young ones,—and two beautiful little cups of variegated glass.

³ The inscription given in Roman letters, would read thus:—“MI TESAN KEIA TARCHU MENAIA.” Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 386, tav. LV. 7), who gives a drawing of the pot, thinks the inscrip-

tion must refer to some client or freed-man of the *gens Tarquinia*. But it seems rather to mention some one of the name of Tarchon.

THE BRONZES.

The ancient bronzes in the Uffizj are in a small chamber—Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, mingled indiscriminately. The most remarkable objects, however, are Etruscan, found within the Grand Duchy. In the centre of the room stand several works of high celebrity. The CHIMÆRA, found at Arezzo in 1534, is the legitimate compound, having the body of a lion, a goat's head springing from its back, and a serpent for a tail—the latter, however, is a modern restoration. The figure is full of expression. The goat's head is already dying, and the rest of the creature is writhing in agony from two wounds it has received from the spear of Bellerophon. The style of art much resembles that of the celebrated Wolf of the Capitol, but is somewhat less archaic ; and its origin is determined by the word "TINSCVIL" in Etruscan characters on the fore leg.⁴

The ARRINGATORE, or Orator, is a beautiful statue, the size of life, of a senator or Lucumo, clad in tunic and *pallium*, and high-laced sandals, and with one arm raised in the attitude of haranguing. On the border of the *pallium* is an Etruscan inscription, which in Roman letters would run thus :—

"AULESI. METELIS. VE. VESIAL. CLENSI.

CEN. PHLERES. TECE. SANSL. TENINE.

TUTHINES. CHISVLICS"—

showing this to be the statue of Aulus Metellus, son of Velius, by a lady of the family of Vesius. Notwithstanding this proof of its origin, the monument is of no early date, but probably of the period of Roman domination, before the native language had fallen into disuse.⁵ It was found in 1573, near the shores of the Thrasymene.

⁴ See Lanzi, Saggio, II. p. 236 ; XLII. 2. Inghir. III. tav. XX .

Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 61, tav.

⁵ Lanzi (Sagg. II. p. 547) regards

A much more archaic figure is that of Minerva, found at Arezzo about the same time as the Chimæra. From her attitude she might also be engaged in haranguing. Though regarded as Greek, this statue has much of the quaint character of Etruscan art.

The naked youth, sometimes called Mercury, was found at Pesaro, and is probably Roman. So is also the fine *torso*, discovered in the sea near Leghorn, the inside still encrusted with shells,—and the horse's head, of great spirit and beauty.

In the glass-cases around the room, the works of various ages and people are so mingled, as to require an experienced eye to pronounce which are Etruscan. There are sundry tripods, and *candelabra* of various merit—cauldrons—spear-heads, and daggers—lamps—mirrors, both figured and plain—*pateræ*, with elegant handles—a *phiale* of silver—strigils of bronze—sacrificial flesh-hooks—caps of chariot-wheels in the form of dogs' heads—handles of bronze *amphoræ*, with masks in the scrolls—and sundry *situlæ* or small pails, one of silver, another scratched with archaic figures.

Two *sistra* are probably Roman, and so are most of the little figures of deities and Lares, here so numerous. Some, however, are genuine *Tuscanica signa*, to be distinguished principally by their archaic, and often grotesque character. Some are as rudely misshapen as those from the Nuraghe of Sardinia; others are fearfully elongated—a sure criterion of high antiquity; others have all the Egyptian rigidity. Many of the females are holding out their gowns with one hand as if preparing for a dance; yet with their feet closely set, and their limbs too stiff for motion, they remind one of the young lady who, when about to be led

this statue as votive, and gives the inscription in Etruscan characters (tav.

III. 7). It is also given by Micali (op. cit. p. 64, tav. XLIV. 2).

forth in a quadrille, remained fixed, immovable—would not stir a step; her face suddenly clouded with dismay and alarm, which was not shared in by those around her, when she whispered the cause of her seeming waywardness—“her garters had hooked together,” and she was leg-locked! There are also many Genii with diadems, and *patera* in hand; one with a child in his arms; two winged Lasas, bearing the corpse of a warrior; beside numerous sphinxes, chimæras, centaurs, and other fantastic monsters. Among them is a bull with a human head, which, from the arms of a man clasped round his neck, must represent the river-god Achelous, conquered by Hercules.

There are two small figures of Etruscan warriors; the larger, more than a foot high, is very similar to the beautiful Mars from Monte Falterona, now in the British Museum; and to a painted figure in the Tomb of the Monkey at Chiusi. His helmet has a straight cockade on each side, almost like asses' ears; he wears a scaled cuirass, but his thighs are bare; his legs are defended by greaves; he carries a large embossed Argolic buckler; but the weapon held in his right hand is gone.⁶

Much inquiry has been made of late years by English travellers for a certain “compass” in this collection, by which the Etruscans steered to Carnsore Point in the county of Wexford. The first party who asked for this curious instrument met with a prompt reply from Professor Migliarini, the Director of Antiquities in Tuscany. He ordered one of his officers to show the *signori* the Room of the Bronzes, and particularly to point out the Etruscan compass. “Compass!”—*bussola*!—the man stared and hesitated, but on the repetition of the command led the way, persuaded of his own ignorance, and anxious to dis-

⁶ See Micali, *Italia av. Rom.* tav. XXI.; *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. XXXIX.

cover the article with which he was not acquainted. The search was fruitless—no compass could be discerned, and the English returned to the Professor, complaining of the man's stupidity. The learned Director, indicating the case and shelf where it was to be found, ordered him to return with the party. A second search proved no more successful; and the officer, half dubiously, was obliged to confess his ignorance. Whereon the Professor went with the party to the room, and taking down a certain article, exhibited it as the compass. "*Diamine!*" cried the man, "I always took that for a lamp, an eight-branched lamp,"—not daring to dispute the Professor's word, though strongly doubting his seriousness. "Know then in future," said Migliarini, "that this has been discovered by a learned Englishman to be an 'Etrusco-Phœnician nautical compass,' used by the Etruscans to steer by on their voyages to Ireland, which was a colony of theirs, and this inscription, written in pure Irish or Etruscan, which is all the same thing, certifies the fact—'In the night on a voyage out or home in sailing happily always in clear weather is known the course of going.'"⁷

In the Cabinet of Gems in the Uffizj, there are a few of Etruscan antiquity, among them the well-known one of two Salii carrying six *ancilia* on a pole between them.⁸ Here

⁷ Sir William Betham, when he found this mare's nest (*Etruria Celtica*, II. p. 268), had evidently made acquaintance with the relic only through published illustrations, which all present but one view of it. Had he personally inspected it, he must have confessed it an eight-branched lamp, with the holes for the wicks, and reservoir for the oil. The inscription runs in a circle round the bottom, and in Roman letters would be—*MI. SUTHIL. VELTHURI. THURA. TURCE. AV. VELTHURI. PHNISUAL. IN*

the centre is a Medusa's head, with wings on the temples, as on the lamps in the Tomb of the Volumni at Perugia. This monument has been illustrated by several of the early writers on Etruscan antiquities. Dempster, *de Etruriâ Regali*, I. tab. VIII.; Gori, *Museum Etruscum*, I. p. xxx.; Lanzi, *Saggio*, II. tav. XIV. 3.

⁸ This is illustrated by Lanzi, II. tav. IV. 1; but better by Inghirami, VI. tav. B 5, 6; and Gori, I. tab. CXCVIII. 1.

are also some beautifully wrought ornaments in gold, from the tombs of Volterra.

Besides the collection in the Uffizj, the Grand Duke has a few Etruscan relics in his private laboratory, principally brought from the Maremma. I have not seen them, but the tone in which I have heard them spoken of by high authority, as "*roba di Maremma*" was expressive rather of their quality than of the place of their discovery ; and satisfied me that there was not much to see.

In the court of the Palazzo Buonarroti at Florence, is a slab of sandstone with the figure of an Etruscan warrior in relief. He is almost naked, with only a cloth about his loins ; his hair hangs loosely down his back ; he holds a spear in one hand and a lotus-flower, with a little bird on the stalk, in the other. The clumsiness, the Egyptian rigidity of this figure, mark it as of high antiquity ; an inscription proves it to be Etruscan. It was discovered ages since at Fiesole.⁹

MONTE FALTERONA.

Relics of Etruscan art are not always found in sepulchres—the celebrated lamp of Cortona and the numerous *scara-bei* of Chiusi are evidences to the contrary. But the most abundant collection of non-sepulchral relics that Etruria has produced was discovered in the summer of 1838—not in the neighbourhood of a city or necropolis—not even in any of the rich plains or vallies which anciently teemed with population, but, strange to say ! near the summit of one

⁹ Buonarroti, Michael Angelo's nephew (p. 95, Explic. ad Dempst. II.), could not tell the date of its discovery ; he only knew he had received it from his ancestors. The relief is about 3 ft. 9 in. high. The Etruscan inscription would run thus in Roman letters—

LARTH ASSES, or ANISES. Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 80, tav. LI.) takes the lotus and bird to be mystic emblems of the resurrection of the soul. This monument is illustrated also by Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. ii., tab. XVIII. 1 ; and Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. XIV. 1.

of the Apennines, one of the loftiest mountains in Tuscany, which rises to the height of 5,400 feet, and from which, Ariosto tells us, both seas are visible.¹ This is Monte Falterona, about twenty-five or thirty miles east of Florence, the mountain in which the Arno takes its rise, as Dante says—

Un fiumicel che nasce in Falterona. *Purg. xiv. 17.*

On the same level with the source of this celebrated river is a lake, or tarn, called Ciliegeto, on whose banks a shepherdess, sauntering in dreamy mood, chanced to cast her eye on something sticking in the soil. It proved to be a little figure in bronze. She carried it home ; and taking it in her simplicity for the image of some holy man of God, set it up in her hut to aid her private devotions. The parish-priest, paying a pastoral visit, observed this mannikin, and inquired what it was. "A saint," replied the girl ; but incredulous of its sanctity, or not considering it a fit object for a maiden's adoration, he carried it away with him. The fact got wind in the neighbouring town of Stia del Casentino, and some of the inhabitants agreed to make researches on the spot. A single day sufficed to bring to light a quantity of such images and other articles in bronze, to the number of three hundred and thirty-five, lying confusedly on the shores of the lake, just beneath the surface. They then proceeded to drain the lake, and discovered in its bed a prodigious quantity of trunks of fir and beech trees, heaped confusedly on one another, with their roots often uppermost as if they had been overthrown by some mighty convulsion of nature ; and on them lay many other similar figures in bronze ; so that the total number of articles in this metal here discovered amounted

¹ Inghirami, the astronomer, called it 2825 *braccia*, 8 *soldi*, above the level of the sea.

to between six and seven hundred. They were mostly human figures of both sexes, many of them of gods and Penates, varying in size from two or three to seventeen inches in height. But how came they here? was the question which puzzled every one to answer. At first it was thought they had been cast into the lake for preservation during some political convulsion, or hostile invasion, and afterwards forgotten. But further examination showed they were mostly of a votive character—offerings at some shrine, for favours expected or received. Most of them had their arms extended as if in the act of presenting gifts; others were clearly representations of beings suffering from disease, especially one who had a wound in his chest, and a frame wasted by consumption or atrophy; and there were, moreover, a number of decided *ex-votos*—heads and limbs of various portions of the human body, and many images of domestic animals, also of a votive character. All this implied the existence of a shrine on this mountain, surrounded, as the trees seemed to indicate, by a sacred grove, like that of Feronia or Soracte, and of Silvanus at Cære;² and it seemed that, by one of those terrible convulsions to which this land has from age to age been subject, the shrine and grove had been hurled down into this cavity of the mountain. It is well known that such catastrophes have in past ages occurred on Monte Falterona. For it is composed of stratified sandstone (*macigno*), and argillaceous schist (*bisciajo*), which latter, being very friable, has given way under the pressure of the superincumbent mass, and caused tremendous landslips, by which extensive forests have been precipitated down the slopes.³ No traces, however, of a shrine, or of any habitation, were discovered with the relics in this lake.

² That of Silvanus was girt about with firs. Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 599.

³ Repetti (II. p. 91) records three of these landslips: the first on 15th May,

There were some articles of very different character mixed with these figures, the existence of which on such a site was still more difficult to explain. Such were fragments of knives and swords, and the heads of darts, all of iron, in great numbers, not less, it is said, than two thousand, much injured by rust; besides great chains, and *fibulæ*, and shapeless pieces of bronze from two ounces to two pounds in weight, recognised by antiquaries as the primitive money of Italy—the *æs rude*, which preceded the coined metal, or *æs signatum*, and was valued by its weight—together with fragments of the better-known coinage. Broken pottery, too, of the coarsest description, was mingled with the other articles, and also found scattered at some distance from the lake.

The weapons have been accounted for in various ways—as the relics of some battle fought on the spot, which, be it remembered, was border-ground for ages;⁴ or as the offering of some military legion;⁵ or as indicating that the shrine here was sacred to the god of war.⁶

A solution of the mysteries of this lake has been offered by Dr. Emil Braun, the learned secretary of the Archæological Institute of Rome; and it is so novel and ingenious that I must give it to the reader.

He commences by observing that the trees found in the lake had been completely deprived of vitality, the water

1335, when a spur of the mountain slid down more than four miles, burying a town with all its inhabitants, and rendering the waters of the Arno turbid for more than two months; the second on 18th May, 1641; the latest on 15th May, 1827, when the Arno was again reddened for several weeks with the mud. From the quantity of water that came down with the first of these landslips, it is highly probable that the same causes were in operation here that

brought about the fall of the Rossberg in Switzerland, where the clayey *strata*, lying beneath the heavier conglomerate, were converted into mud by the percolation of water, and ceased to be able to afford support. The season of the year in which each of these Italian landslips occurred, just after the fall of the early rains, confirms this view.

⁴ Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 70—Migliarini.

⁵ Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 66—Inghirami.

⁶ Bull. Inst. 1842, p. 180.

having absorbed all the resinous parts which they possessed when green. He considers that the convulsion or dislocation of the mountain, which hurled them into this spot, must have occurred long prior to the period when the bronzes and other articles were here deposited, otherwise the latter would have been buried beneath the former, and not regularly set around the lake. He thinks that the lake was formed at the time that the landslip occurred, and that its waters acquired a medicinal quality from the trees it contained, the parts which gave them that virtue being identical with those from which modern chemistry extracts creosote. Now, the diseases which are shown in the *ex-votos*, are just such, he observes, as are remediable by that medicine. The stiptic water of Pinelli, so celebrated for stopping the hemorrhage of recent wounds, has a base of creosote ; and hither, it seems, flocked crowds of wounded warriors, who left their weapons in acknowledgment of their cure. The virtues of the same medicine, in curbing the attacks of phthisis, are now recognised by medical men of every school ; and by patients labouring under this disorder the lake seems to have been especially frequented. Creosote also is a specific against numerous diseases to which the fair sex are subject, and such seem, from the figures, to have resorted in crowds to these waters. To free his theory from the charge of caprice or fantasy, the learned doctor cites the case of a similar lake in China, which is known to have imbibed marvellous medicinal qualities from the trunks of trees casually immersed in its waters.⁶

⁷ Bull. Instit. 1842, pp. 179—184. The opinion that the bronzes were deposited as votive offerings around the lake, is borne out by a similar fact mentioned by ancient writers. The sacred lake and grove of Venus Aphacitis, in

Coelo-Syria, between Biblos and Helio-
polis, stood near the summit of Mount
Lebanon, and in its waters votaries
were wont to deposit their gifts, which
were not only of bronze, gold, and
silver, but also of linen and *biasus* ; and

I leave it to medical readers, allœopathic and homœopathic, to determine the correctness of this theory ; to me it seems that *se non è vero, è ben trovato*.

I must add a word on the bronzes. Most are very rude, like the offerings of peasants, but a few are in the best Etruscan style. One antiquary considers them to show every stage of art, from its infancy to its perfection under Greek influence, and again to its decline.⁸ Another perceives no traces of Roman, much less of Imperial times, but refers them all to a purely native origin.⁹ Certain it is that some show the perfection of Etruscan art. Such is the figure of a warrior, with helmet, cuirass, and shield, generally called Mars,¹ which may rival that of the said deity in the Florence gallery,—a Hercules, with the lion's skin over his shoulders—the “saint,” I believe, of the *pastorella*, though “not in saintly garb,”²—a Diana, said to resemble the celebrated archaic statue of marble found at Pompeii,—and a woman's leg and arm of great beauty.³ These, with a few more of the choicest produce of the lake, are now to be seen in the British Museum, in the “Room of the Bronzes,” of which they form the chief ornament.⁴

A still more recent discovery has been made on one of the Apennines, between Monte Falterona and Romagna, where many coins were found, principally *asses*, but among them a very rare *quincussis*, like that in the Bacci collection at Arezzo, which till now has been unique.⁵

a yearly festival was long held there, which was ultimately suppressed by Constantine. See Bull. Inst. 1845. p. 96 (Cavedoni), and the authorities there cited.

⁸ Migliarini, Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 69.

⁹ Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 89.

¹ Idem. tav. XII.

² Idem. tav. XV.

³ For notices of this curious lake and its contents, see Bull. Inst. 1838, pp. 65

—68 (Inghirami); Bull. Inst. 1838, pp. 69—70 (Migliarini); Bull. Inst. 1842, pp. 179—184 (Braun); Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. XII.—XVI. pp. 86—102; Braun's review of the same, Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 354.

⁴ The rest of the collection is also in London, in the hands of Signor Domenico Campanari.

⁵ Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 89.

Eighteen miles on the road from Florence to Arezzo is the little town of Figline, which had never been suspected of possessing Etruscan antiquities in its neighbourhood, till in 1843 a sepulchre was discovered on a hill hardly a mile beyond it. The roof had fallen in, but it was evident that the tomb had been formed of masonry, the hill being of too soft an earth to admit of excavated sepulchres; the pavement was of *opus incertum*—a very singular feature, which I have never seen, or heard of as existing elsewhere in an Etruscan tomb. But a still more remarkable thing was that around one of the urns which had a female recumbent figure on the lid, was scattered an immense quantity of gold leaf in minute fragments, twisted and crumpled, which seemed to have been thrown over the figure in a sheet or veil, and to have been torn to pieces by the fall of the roof, which had destroyed most of the urns. It was of the purest gold, beaten out very thin; and the fragments collected weighed about half a pound.⁶

Other Etruscan relics have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Florence in past times. Buonarroti—the painter's nephew—states, that, in 1689, at a spot called St. Andrea à Morgiano, in the heights above Antella, a village a few miles to the south-east of Florence, he saw an Etruscan inscription cut in large letters in the rock.⁷ At Antella has also been found a *stele*, or monumental stone, with bas-reliefs, in two compartments—one representing a

⁶ Migliarini, Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 35—7. It may be that the so-called *opus incertum* of the pavement was only a collection of small stones put down at random, for no mention is made of cement, which forms the basis of the Roman masonry known by that name.

⁷ Buonar. p. 95, Explicat. ad Dempst. tom. II. Passeri (p. 65, ap. Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. tab. XV.), however, repre-

sents it as merely a huge stone cut from the rock, 15 Roman feet long, by 6 high, with letters 6 inches in height. The inscription translated into Roman letters would be

TULAR . MP . A . VIS . VI .
AU . CURCLI

It was found on the estate of the Capponi family.

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pair of figures on the banqueting-couch, and a slave standing by ; the other, a pair sitting opposite, with a table between them. It is of very archaic character, and the Egyptian rigidity of the figures and cast of the countenances is very marked. It is now in the possession of Signor Peruzzi of Florence.⁸

At San Martino alla Palma, five or six miles from Florence, a little to the left of the road to Leghorn, some monuments of Etruscan art have been found—a female statue of marble, headless, with a dove in her hand, and an inscription on her robes ;⁹ and a singular, circular, altar-like *cippus*, four feet high, with figures in high relief—a warrior, preceded by two lictors, and followed by two citizens, one of whom is embracing him. It has an Etruscan inscription above.¹

At San Casciano, eight or ten miles on the road to Siena, Etruscan inscriptions and bronzes have been found in ages past ;² and about the ruins of a castle, called Pogna, or Castro Pogna, on a height two miles to the west of Tavarnelle, on the same road, numerous Etruscan urns have been found, as far back as three or four hundred years since. They are said to have been of marble and of elegant character, and to have had peculiarities of form

⁸ Inghirami gives illustrations of this singular *stèle* (Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. C. D. E.) This is an instance of the fallacy of the mode of determining the antiquity of monuments from the presence or absence of the beard. Inghirami pronounces that this cannot be earlier than the fifth century of the City, because the males here are beardless ; and barbers are said by Pliny (VII. 59) to have been introduced into Rome in the year 454 ; whereas the style of art, a much safer criterion, shows this monument to

be of much earlier date, and of undoubted Etruscan antiquity. See Vol. I. p. 344.

⁹ Buonarroti (pp. 13, 29, tab. XLIII.) took this figure for Venus, or the nymph Begoë, of whom mention has already been made—Vol. I. p. 447.

¹ Buonar. p. 29, tab. XLVI. The lictors had no axes in their *fascæ*. Both these monuments were formerly in the possession of the Della Stufa family. Where they are now I do not know.

² Idem, p. 96.

and style. The castle was destroyed in 1185. The site must have been originally Etruscan.³

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXVII.

NOTE.—THE FRANÇOIS VASE.

THIS monument is of such splendour and interest, that it demands a detailed description. Like the painted pottery of Etruria in general, it represents subjects from the mythological cycle of the Greeks, and all its inscriptions are in the Greek character

To begin with the neck of the vase, which has two bands of figures :—The upper contains, on one side, the Hunt of the boar of Calydon. All the heroes, and even the dogs, have their appellations attached. The most prominent are PELEUS, MELEAGROS, ATALATE, MELANION, AKASTOS, ASMETOS, SIMON, and the great Twin-brethren, KASTOR and POLUDEUKES (Pollux). At each end of this scene is a sphinx. On the other side is a subject which is explained as the Return of Theseus from the slaughter of the Minotaur, and the rejoicings consequent on his triumph. A ship full of men is approaching the land ; PHAIDIMOS jumps ashore ; another casts himself into the sea, in his eagerness to reach the beach, on which a band of thirteen youths and maidens—all named *seriatim*—are dancing in honour of the hero THESEUS, who plays the lyre, with ARIANE (Ariadne) at his side.

The second band has, on one side, the Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, all with names attached. Here again THESEUS is prominent in the fight. On the other side, are the Funeral Games in honour of Patroclus, represented by a race of five *quadrigæ*, driven by OLUTEUS, AUTOMEDON, DIOMEDES, DAMASIPOS, and HIPO . . ON ; while ACHILEUS himself stands at the goal with a tripod for the victor, and other tripods and vases are seen beneath the chariots.

³ Buonar. pp. 33, *et seq.* Repetti (IV. p. 498) says that the ruins of the castle are now called Le Masse del Poggio di Marcialla. Near Panzano, some miles

to the east, a marble *cippus*, with an Etruscan inscription, was discovered in 1700. Buonar. p. 96. The “marble” in these monuments was probably alabaster.

The third and principal band represents the Marriage of PELEUS and THETIS. The goddess is sitting in a Doric temple. Before the portico, at an altar, designated Βωμ., on which rests a *cantharus*, stands her mortal spouse, his hand held by the Centaur CHIRON, who is followed by IRIS, with her *caduceus*; the Nymphs HESTIA and CHARIKLO, and another of indistinct name; DIONISOS bearing an *amphora* on his shoulders; and the three HORAI. Next comes a long procession of deities in *quadrigæ*—ZEUS and HERA in the first, attended by ORANIA and KALIOPE. Who follow in the next two chariots, is not clear—the name of ANPHITEITE is alone legible; but both are attended by the other Muses. ARES and APHRODITE occupy the fourth car; HERMES and his mother MAIA, the sixth; and the name of OCHEANOS is alone left to mark the occupants of the seventh. HEPHAISTOS mounted on his donkey terminates the procession.

On the fourth band, Achilles is displaying his proverbial swiftness of foot, by pursuing a youth who is galloping with a pair of horses towards the gates of Troy. The same subject has been found on other vases; but this is the first to make known the youth as TROÏLOS. The son of Peleus is followed by his mother THETIS, by ATHENA, HERMES, and RHODIA—all near a fountain, with its Greek designation—*κρήνη*—where Troilus seems to have been surprised. Under his steeds' feet lies a water-jar, called *ὕδρια*, which has been cast away in terror by a female who is near him. The walls of Troy, to which he hastens, are painted white, and are of regular Greek masonry. The gate is not arched, but has a flat lintel. From it issue HEKTOR and POLITES, armed for the rescue of their brother. Outside the gate, on a seat or throne marked Θάκος, sits the venerable PRIAMOS, talking with his son ANTENOR. At the fountain are two of the Trojans (TROON)—one is filling a jar, the water flowing from spouts like panthers' heads.

On the other side of the fountain, is the Return of HEPHAISTOS to Heaven. ZEUS and HERA occupy a throne at one end of the scene, and behind them stand ATHENA, ARES, and ARTEMIS; while before them stand DIONISOS and APHRODITE, as if to plead for the offending son of Jove. He follows on an ass, attended by SILENOI and the Nymphs (NIPHAI).

The fifth band contains the common subject of beasts of various descriptions engaged in combat, or devouring their prey—griffons, sphinxes, lions, panthers, boars, bulls, &c.

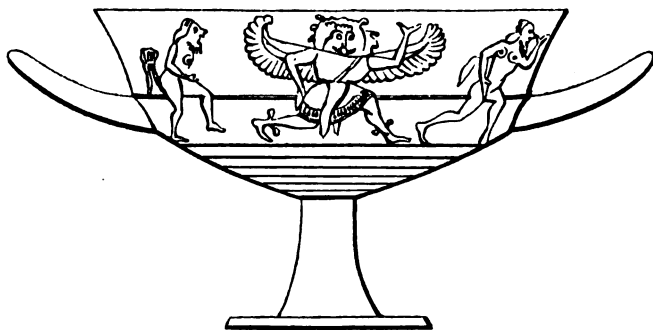
The sixth band is on the foot of the vase, and represents the Pigmies, mounted on goats for chargers, encountering their foes, the Cranes. Neither of these last two bands has inscriptions. The potter's and

painter's names are on the principal band. The vase speaks for itself, and says, $\text{M}\epsilon\text{Z}\Phi\text{A}\text{I}\Lambda\epsilon\text{M}\lambda\text{A}\text{I}\text{T}\text{I}\text{J}$ "Clitias drew me," and $\text{E}\rho\text{A}\text{O}\text{T}\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}\text{S}\text{M}\epsilon\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\epsilon\text{S}\epsilon\text{N}$ "Ergotimos made me." The inscriptions run, some from right to left, but most from left to right, generally according to the direction of the figures to which they are attached.

On one handle of the *amphora*, is a winged Diana grasping two panthers by the neck, and on the other the same figure holding a panther and a stag.¹ And beneath these groups is *AIAS* (Ajax) bearing the dead body of *AKILEUS*. Within each handle is a Fury, with open mouth, gnashing teeth, wings spread, and in the act of running—the same figure that occurs so often on Etruscan vases and bronzes. An illustration of it has been given in the eyed *cylix* from Vulci, at page 397 of Vol. I. ; and a further specimen is presented in the subjoined *cantharus*, or goblet. *cylix*

¹ The winged Artemis on the Chest of Cypselus held in this way a lion in one hand, and a panther in the other. Pausan. V. 19. Such figures seem to have their

type in the Babylonian cylinders, where they are often represented, throttling lions or swans.



cylix

~~CANTHARUS~~, WITH A FURY AND TWO FAUNS.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FIESOLE.—*FÆSULÆ*.

Chi Fiesol hedificò conobbe el loco
Come già per gli cieli ben composto.—FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

Vires autem veteres earum urbium hodieque magnitudo ostentat mœnium.

VELL. PATERCULUS. l. ii.

THE first acquaintance the traveller in Italy makes with Etruscan antiquities—the first time, it may be, that he is reminded of such a race—is generally at Fiesole. The close vicinity to Florence, and the report that some remains are to be seen there, far older than Roman days, attract the visitor to the spot. He there beholds walls of great massiveness, and a few other remains, but forms a very imperfect conception of the race that constructed them. He learns, it is true, from the skill displayed in these monuments, that the Etruscans could not have been a barbarous people; but the extent and character of their civilisation are still to him a mystery. It is not at Fiesole that this early people is to be comprehended.

Who, that has visited Florence, does not know Fiesole—the Hampstead or Highgate of the Tuscan capital—the Sunday resort of Florentine Cockneyism? Who does not know that it forms one of the most picturesque objects in the scenery around that most elegant of cities, crowning a height, three miles to the north, with its vine-shaded villas and cypress-girt convents, and rearing its tall Cathedral-tower between the two crests of the mount? Who has

not lingered awhile on his way at Dante's mill, and, in spite of the exclusiveness of English proprietorship, who has not in imagination overleapt the walls of the Villa, hallowed by "The Hundred Tales of Love," and beheld

"Boccaccio's Garden and its faery,
The love, the joyance, and the gallantry!"

It may seem superfluous to give a description of Fiesole when it is to be found in every guide-book that treats of Florence; yet, as an Etruscan city, it demands some notice; and I may chance to state a few facts beyond what are to be found in the said publications.

As the visitor ascends the hill by the new carriage-road, he will perceive, just before reaching the town, a portion of the ancient wall climbing the steep on the right. This is a very inferior specimen in point of massiveness and preservation, to what he may see on the opposite side of the city. Let him then cross the Piazza, and take a path behind the Cathedral, which will lead him to the northern brow of the hill. Here he finds a superb remnant of the ancient fortifications, stretching away to his right, and rising to the height of twenty or thirty feet. The masonry is widely different from that of ancient sites in southern Etruria. The hard rock of which the hill is composed,¹ not admitting of being worked so easily as the tufo and other soft volcanic formations of the southern plains, has been cut into blocks of various sizes, as they chanced to be split out from the quarry, but generally squared, and laid in horizontal courses. Strict regularity, however, was by no means observed. The courses vary in depth from about one foot to two or three, the average being above two; and in length also the blocks vary greatly, some being square, others as much as seven,

¹ It is correctly termed *macigno* by Dante (*ut supra*, page 93), a term applied to the hard sandstone formations of the offsets of the Apennines. Here

it is called *grauwacke* by Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 246. In some parts it is much more schistose than in others.

eight, nine feet, and the longest twelve feet and a half. The joints, as in the walls of Pompeii, are often oblique, instead of vertical ; and, in one part, there is a wedge-course, as in the bridge of Bieda,² and the walls of Populonia, Perugia, and Todi, but without any apparent object, beyond saving the labour of squaring the blocks. It is evident, however, that the aim of the builder was regular, squared masonry, but he was fettered by his materials. In many parts where the angles of the blocks did not fit close, a portion was cut away and a small stone fitted in with great nicety, as in the most finished polygonal walling. Though the edges of the blocks have in general suffered from the weather, the joints are sometimes extremely neat ; and it is apparent that such was originally the character of the whole. No cement or cramping was used ; the masses, as usual in these early structures, held together by their weight. The marks of the chisel on the surface of the blocks are often visible.³

This masonry is by no means so massive as that on other Etruscan sites of the same character—Volterra, Roselle, Cortona, for instance ; yet, from its finish, its excellent preservation, and the height of the walls, picturesquely draped with ivy and overshadowed by oak and ash-trees, it is very imposing.

² See Vol. I. p. 263. This is seen also in the substructions of the Via Appia, near Aricia.

³ At the angles of the blocks, holes may often be observed, which have evidently been made by art, most probably, like those in the Colosseum, in the search for metal cramps, which were supposed to hold the masses together. Inghirami, however, would not admit that such cramps could ever have been suspected to exist in the ancient masonry of Fiesole, and sought to explain the holes as the result of hostile attacks on the

city in the olden time. Guida di Fiesole, p. 55. But such reckless, destructive barbarism is necessarily ignorant and indiscriminating. A striking proof of this is seen in the temple of Jupiter Panhellinus in Ægina, where, even in the monolithic columns, the barbarians have made holes for the same purpose, at the height where they had been accustomed to find the joints of the *frusta* ; thus unwittingly paying the highest compliment to the exquisite workmanship of the ancients. For this fact I am indebted to Mr. Edward Falkener.

The entrance of the lane, by which the visitor descends from the Piazza, marks the site of an ancient gate; and in the road below it, mixed with modern repairs, are remains of the old pavement—not of polygonal blocks, as used by the Romans, but of large rectangular flags, furrowed transversely on account of the steepness of the road. It is a style often adopted by the Greeks.⁴ Its dissimilarity to Roman pavement, its relation to the gate in the Etruscan walls hard by, and the large size of the blocks or flags, rendering removal a work of great difficulty, induce me to consider it of Etruscan origin, though this is the only site in Etruria where it is found.

In this portion of the wall open two passages, whose narrow dimensions prove them to have been nothing else but sewers, to drain the area of the city; as is usual on Etruscan sites.⁵ In the volcanic district such sewers are cut through the tufo cliffs on which the walls rest; but, here, as in other cities of Northern Etruria, there being no cliffs, and the fortifications rising from the slope and forming a *revêtement* to the higher level of the city, they are made in the wall itself. So also at Volterra. Of the same character may be the apertures in the walls of the so-called Pelasgic towns of Latium—Norba, Segni, and Alatri; but these of Fæsulæ are much inferior in size.⁶ The smaller of them has a *doccia*, or sill, serving as

⁴ This ribbed pavement, or *cordonata*, as the Italians call it, is said to be frequently met with in Cyclopean cities, in the gateways, or on the roads. Orioli, ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrusc. IV. p. 159. It is found at Pozzuoli, on the ascent to the Street of Tombs. I have observed it also in the ancient roads of Syracuse, but there it is the rock itself which is so furrowed. Blocks of such pavement exist on the ascent to the Acropolis of Athens; and, I believe, at Messene,

also. My friend, Mr. Edward Falkener, tells me that he has remarked similar pavement at Eleusa or Sebaste in Cilicia, at Labranda in Caria, and at Termessus in Pamphylia.

⁵ The smaller one is about four feet from the ground, twenty inches high, and fifteen wide. The other is about eight feet above ground, four or five feet high, but scarcely one in breadth.

⁶ The openings in the walls of these three Latin towns are large enough for

a spout to carry the fluid clear of the wall. The other runs in a great way in a straight line, but being too small to admit a man, it has never been fathomed. A little child was once sent in, who crawled for a considerable distance without finding the end, till his courage failed him, and he returned to the light of day.⁷ But the most singular feature of this sewer is, that on the wall beneath it is scratched a figure, the usual symbol among the ancients of reproductive power. It is here so slightly marked, as easily to escape the eye ; it may possibly have been done by some wanton hand in more recent times, but analogy is in favour of its antiquity. That such representations were placed by the ancients on the walls of their cities, there is no lack of proof. They are found on several of the early cities of Italy and Greece, on masonry polygonal as well as regular.⁸

The reason of this symbol being placed in such positions is not easy to determine. Cavaliere Inghirami thought it

a man to enter, and may have been posterns. It may be doubted if they were conduits or sewers, though that at Norba is of the usual size of Etruscan sewers—about seven feet high, and three wide. The larger of these two at Fiesole has also been thought not to be a sewer (Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 15) ; but I see no reason to doubt it.

⁷ Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 16.

⁸ The best known of these sites is Alatri, where the symbol tripled, and in relief, is sculptured on the lintel of the above-mentioned sewer, postern, or passage, which opens in the polygonal walls of the citadel. It is also found tripled on the polygonal walls at Grotattorre, near Correse in Sabina. On the ancient walling in the Terra di Cesi, three miles from Terni, the same symbol in relief occurs in a similar position at the angle

of the wall, which is here of rectangular blocks (Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 7, tav. XIII.) ; and on the ancient walls of Todi, on the Umbrian bank of the Tiber, of similar masonry, it is found in prominent relief, near the church of S. Fortunato. Ask for "*il pezzo di marmo.*" It is also to be seen on a block at an angle of the walls of Oea, in the island of Thera, in the Ægean Sea, with the inscription *τοῖς φίλοις* annexed, which has been considered a mere euphemism to assist the *fascinum* in averting the effects of the evil eye. The same *turpicula res*, as Varro (L. L. VII. 97) calls it, is said to have been found on the doors of tombs at Palazzolo, the ancient Acre in Sicily, and at Castel d'Asso in Etruria, and even in the Catacombs of Naples. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 65 ; 1841, p. 19.

might be to intimate the strength of the city, or else to show defiance of a foe,⁹ in accordance with the ancient gesture of contempt and defiance, still in use among the southern nations of Europe ; but it seems more probably to have had the same meaning in this as in other cases, where it was used as a *fascinum* or charm against the effects of the evil eye.¹

Follow the line of walls some hundred yards to the east—you come to an arch standing ten or twelve feet in advance of them. Here you have a structure of different character, and apparently of later date ; for the masonry is much less massive than in the city walls. You will perceive that it formed part of an open gateway, or projecting tower, for there are traces of a second arch which joined this at right angles, uniting it to the wall. It is probably a Roman addition.²

Beyond this you can trace the walls in fragments, mixed with the small work of modern repairs, in a straight line

⁹ Guida di Fiesole, p. 53.

¹ The occurrence of this symbol on the walls of Pelasgic cities may be explained by the worship that ancient people paid to the phallic Hermes. It was they who introduced it into Athens, and the rest of Greece, and also into Samothrace (Herod. II. 51, confirmed by the coins of Lemnos and Imbros, says Müller, Etrusk. einl. 2, 3) ; and probably also with the mysterious rites of the Cabiri, into Etruria and other parts of Italy. Yet the worship of this symbol was by no means confined to the classic nations of antiquity. It seems to have prevailed also among the nations of the far East ; and recent researches lead us to conclude that it held even among the early people of the New World. Stephens' Yucatan, I. pp. 181, 434. Not to dwell on this subject, I

may remark that as the ancients were wont to place these *satyrical signa* in their gardens and houses, to avert the effects of the envious eye (Plin. XIX. 19, 1), so they may well have been placed on the walls of a city to protect its inhabitants. The philosophical idea which they symbolise will also account for their use as sepulchral emblems ; some remarkable instances of which are to be seen at Chiusi.

² The arch is 10 feet high, nearly as much in span, and about 3 feet in depth. The ancient wall to which it was attached is in this part destroyed, and its place supplied by modern masonry. This double gateway resembles those of Volterra and Cosa, except that it is here without the line of walls. Inghirami suggests that a tower may have been raised over it.

along the brow of the hill, till in the Borgo Unto, a suburb on the east of the ancient city, you find them turn at right angles and tend southward. On your way up the hill from the Borgo Unto to S. Polinari, you cross some basaltic pavement, and just beyond it, in a portion of the wall where very massive blocks are laid on very shallow ones, you may observe the site of a gate now blocked up, but indicated by the pavement leading up to it. Beyond this is a long line of the ancient masonry, more irregular and less massive, tending westward, and terminating at some quarries; then after a wide gap you meet the wall again, and trace it down the steep to the modern road where you first descried it.³ Westward of this there are said to be some fragments below the height of San Francesco, but I never could find them, though I have traced them up the same hill on the opposite or northern side. Few will think themselves repaid for their fatigue in tracing out the entire line of walls, over the broken ground, and through the vineyards and olive-groves on the slopes; unless the visitor wish to verify for himself the extent and outline of the city, he may well rest content with seeing that part of the wall first described, which is by far the finest and best preserved portion of the whole.

The extent of the walls in their original state was not great—less than two miles in circuit.⁴ Fæsulæ was, there-

³ There are said on this side of the city to be traces of a gate, which, from one of the lintels still standing, must have been of Egyptian form, narrowing upwards, like the doorways of the Etruscan tombs. *Ann. Instit.* 1835, p. 14.

⁴ So says Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* II. p. 209), who classes it with Rusellæ, Populonia and Cosa; but the plans of the said cities which he attaches to his

work, give widely different measurements, Fæsulæ being much superior in size to the last two, but smaller than the first. In fact his plan represents it as about 8800 feet in circumference, or just 1½ English mile. Niebuhr (*I.* p. 121, *Eng. trans.*) was therefore misinformed when he said that the walls, theatre, and other ruins of Fæsulæ display a greatness not inferior to that of any other Etruscan city. He inclines

fore, much inferior in size to certain other Etruscan cities—Veii, Volaterræ, Agylla, Tarquinii, for instance. The highest crest of the hill to the north-west, where the Franciscan convent now stands, was originally the *Arx*; for here have been found, at various times, traces of a triple concentric wall, engirdling the height, all within the outer line of the ancient fortifications.⁵ Nothing of the triple wall is now to be seen. In the Church of S. Alessandro, on the same height, are some columns of *cipollino*, which probably belonged to a Roman temple on this spot.⁶

Though little of antiquity is to be seen on this height, the visitor should not fail to ascend it for the sake of its all-glorious view. No scene in Italy is better known, or has been more often described, than that “from

on this account to rank it among the Twelve. And so also Müller, *Etrusk.* II. 1, 2. But on this score, there are other towns in Etruria which might compete with it for that honour.

The early writers on the antiquities of Italy—Raffaël Maffei, Biondi, Alberti, for instance—also took Fæsulæ for one of the Twelve; even Dempster (*Etrur. Reg.* II. pp. 41, 73) held this opinion. She was probably dependent on Volaterræ or Arretium.

Müller (I. 3, 3) cites Fæsulæ as an instance of the quadrangular form, which was usually given to Etruscan cities, and thence copied in the original city of Romulus—*Roma quadrata*—a custom built on religious usages. *Dion. Hal.* I. p. 75. *Plutarch*, *Romul.* 10. *Festus*, *v. Quadrata*. *Solinus*, *Polyh.* cap. II. cf. *Varro*, *Ling. Lat.* V. 143. *Müller*, III. 6, 7.

⁵ *Inghirami*, *Guida di Fiesole*, p. 38. It is said, that at each angle of the outer square circuit, remains of a tower were discovered, besides two larger ones in the central inclosure; and the numerous

openings in these concentric walls gave a faint idea of a labyrinth.

This inner line of wall is not of frequent occurrence in Etruscan towns; more common, however, in the northern than southern district. The same may be said of double heights, or *arces*, within the city-walls, of which Fæsulæ presents a specimen. The only instances I remember in southern Etruria are at Fidenæ and perhaps at Tarquinii; but this is explained by the level character of that volcanic region.

⁶ On this height was discovered in 1814 the only instance known of the *favissæ* attached to temples (~~see the Chapter on Rome~~); but after a few months they were reclosed, and are no longer to be seen. *Inghir.* loc. cit. p. 40. *Müller* (*Etrusk.* IV. 2. 5) who cites *Del Rosso* (*Giorn. Arcad.* III. p. 113) describes them as “round chambers lined with masonry and contracting upwards”—i.e., like the *tholi* of the Greeks, the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, and the lower prison of the Tullianum at Rome.

the top of Fesole." Poets, painters, philosophers, historians, and tourists, have all kindled with its inspiration. And in truth,

"Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
A sight so touching in its majesty."

Translation: Sonnet written on the summit of Fiesole.

Description, then, would here be needless. Yet I may remark, that with all its vastness and diversity, the scene has a simple character. All the luxuriant pomp of the Arno-vale, and the grandeur of the inclosing mountains, are but the framework, the setting-off of the picture, which is FLORENCE, fair Florence—

"The brightest star of star-bright Italy!"

Coleridge
hence beheld in all her brilliancy and beauty.

Within the walls of Fiesole, there are few remains of antiquity. The principal is the Theatre, discovered and excavated in 1809 by a Prussian noble, Baron Schellersheim. It lies in a vineyard below the Cathedral, to the east. When first disinterred, it was found to have six gates or entrances in the outer circuit of wall, with twenty tiers of seats, and five flights of steps; but little of this is now to be seen, for it was soon re-covered with earth, that the pulse-consuming canons of the Cathedral might not be put on short commons of beans or artichokes. All that is now visible is a portion of the outer circuit of wall, of small stone-work—a few of the seats, of massive blocks, quarried, like those of the city-walls, from the hill itself—and a flight of steps leading down to five vaults of *opus incertum* and stone brick-work, called by the Fiesolani, Le Buche delle Fate, or "Dens of the Fairies;" but verily the fairies of Italy must be a gloomy race, whom

——— juvat ire sub umbrâ
Desertosque videre locos, *Virgil* 8.

if they take up with such haunts ; no way akin to the frolicsome, mischief-loving sprites, "the moonshine revellers" of merry England—

"Oh these be Fancy's revellers by night !

These be the pretty genii of the flowers—

Daintily fed with honey and pure dew—

Midsummer's phantoms in her dreaming hours !"

Such dark, dank, dripping, dismal "dens" as these would freeze the heart of a Mab or a Titania.

This Theatre was long thought to be of Etruscan origin ; but more extensive research into what may be called the comparative anatomy of antiquities, has determined it to be Roman.⁷

Near the Theatre is a half-buried arch, similar to that outside the walls, but of smaller span. It leads into a vault of *opus incertum* ; and a little above is a second similar vault. Near the Theatre also are a few large rectangular stones beneath the surface, which have received

⁷ Niebuhr, however, has thrown the weight of his great name into the opposite scale, and has said, "That this theatre was built before the time of Sylla is indubitable ; its size and magnificence are far beyond the scale of a Roman military colony ; and how could such a colony have wished for anything but an amphitheatre ?" (I. p. 135, Eng. trans.) It may be remarked that Fæsulæ must have fallen under Roman domination with the rest of Etruria two centuries before Sylla's time ; and that other towns of Etruria which received military colonies, such as Veii, Falerii, and Luna, had theatres, as we learn from local remains or from inscriptions, even where, as in the first two cases, we can find no vestiges or record of amphitheatres. Niebuhr elsewhere (III. p. 311) asserts that "the theatre of Fæsulæ

is in the grandest Etruscan style." Müller also thinks it was "probably of old Etruscan construction" (II. p. 241). Inferior men, it may be, but better antiquaries, have decided, however, to the contrary. Indeed these great men lose much of their authority when they treat of matters within the province rather of the practical antiquary than of the historian. Their want of personal acquaintance with localities and monuments, or of opportunities of extensive comparison of styles of construction and of art, leads them at times into misstatements of facts, or to erroneous opinions, which, under more favourable circumstances, they would never have uttered, or with the candour of great minds, they would have been most ready to renounce.

the name of "the Etruscan Palace;" but to the *Ciceroni* on these sites no more credit should be given than to the "drab-coloured men of Pennsylvania." In the garden above the house, attached to the ground in which the Theatre lies, are some fragments of masonry, running at right angles with the city-walls below, and probably of the same origin; and hard by is an underground vault lined with small masonry, and covered with horizontal flags.

In the Borgo Unto is a curious fountain, called "Fonte Sotterra." You enter a Gothic archway, and descend a vaulted passage by a long flight of steps to a cave cut in the rock, bearing marks of the chisel on its walls. Here I was stopped by the water; but when this is at a lower level, you reach a long shapeless gallery, hewn in the rock, and ending in a little reservoir, similarly hollowed, but for what purpose is hard to say.⁸ Inghirami, indeed, imagined it might have been formed to catch the waters which, percolating through the ground, descended "in an eternal shower of gentle rain" into the reservoir.⁹ But who ever heard of such a fountain? and *cui bono*, when there is manifestly a spring on the spot? The water is extremely pure, supplying the whole neighbourhood, and evidently wells up from below, as its height varies at different times, little affected by rain or drought. I have found it even higher in summer than in winter, after the melting of snow and the fall of heavy rains. It very rarely happens that it sinks low enough to permit a descent to the bottom of the passage. Such an event, however,

⁸ You first reach, says Inghirami, a large hollow like a quarry, the floor of which slopes in two ways towards another entrance, in which commences a gallery of great length, but not regular throughout, and sinking from north to south, following the upper slope of the

mount. Its length is 150 French feet, if the plans given of it be correct, and its entire inclination from the threshold of the entrance to the bottom of the steep passage is about 50 feet.

⁹ Guida di Fiesole, p. 56.

occurred in the autumn of that unusually hot year, 1825, and has been thought worthy of record on a tablet at the entrance.¹

Inghirami regards this Fonte as an Etruscan work ; but I could perceive nothing which marks such an origin.²

Only ten or twelve paces from this Fonte, a remarkable cistern or reservoir was discovered in 1832. Its walls, except on one side where a flight of steps led down into it,³ were built up with masonry, in large rectangular, rusticated blocks.⁴ It was roofed in by the convergence of several horizontal layers of thin stones, and the imposition of larger slabs in the centre,⁵ on the same principle as the celebrated Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri. It was remarkable, that though undoubtedly a reservoir or fountain—for it was discovered by tracing an ancient water-channel which led from it—there were no traces of cement in the masonry. This fact, and the very ancient style of its vaulting, indicate an Etruscan origin ; which is confirmed by the discovery of sundry *amphoræ* of that character, and fragments of water-pots buried in the mud which covered the bottom. This reservoir was, unfortunately, reclosed the year after it was opened.⁶ It seems

¹ "MEMORIAL.—Of this vast cistern, hollowed in the solid rock, and sloping down from the entrance a distance of 75 *braccia* (144 feet English), Luigi di Giuliano Ruggieri was the first, to his astonishment, to discover the bottom dry, the 16th October, 1825 ; and in memorial thereof he has set up this stone. Pay respect to the water."

² The walls at the entrance of the passage are of small stones uncemented, but of later date ; some large blocks mixed with them may be of Etruscan hewing. The hollowing in the living rock is certainly an Etruscan, rather than a Roman feature.

³ The steps had subsequently been rendered useless by a huge slab being laid across the opening to them.

⁴ Inghirami mentions having seen other remains of similar rusticated work among the ruins of Fiesole. *Ann. Instit.* 1835, p. 9.

⁵ A similar vaulting was found in an Etruscan crypt at Castellina del Chianti. *Ann. Inst. loc. cit.*

⁶ Full particulars of this reservoir have been given by Cav. Inghirami and Professor Pasqui, in the *Annals of the Institute*, 1835, pp. 8—18 ; whence the above account is taken.

to me highly probable that this was the original fountain on this spot, and that when it no longer answered its purpose, either by falling out of repair, or by ceasing to supply the wants of the population, it was covered up as it was found, and the Fonte Sotterra dug in its stead. The much greater depth of the latter favours this opinion.

No tombs remain visible on this site, though a few, I believe, have been opened by Signor François.⁷ The hardness of the rock of which the hill is composed forbade excavating sepulchres in the slopes around the town; the only sort of tomb which would have been formed on such a site is that built up with masonry, and piled over with earth, like the Tanella di Pitagora at Cortona, or the Grotta Sergardi at Camuscia. If such there were they are no longer visible. Nothing like a tumulus could I perceive around Fiesole. Yet there are spots in the neighbourhood which one experienced in such matters has little hesitation in pronouncing to be the site of the ancient cemetery. All this district, however, is too rich in agricultural produce to admit of excavations being made.

Relics of ancient Fæsulæ have at various times been brought to light, within or around the walls of the city. One of the most striking is the bas relief of a warrior in the Palazzo Buonarroti, Florence, mentioned in the last chapter, whose Etruscan inscription and archaic character testify to the high antiquity of Fæsulæ.

In 1829, a singular discovery was made here of more than one thousand coins of Roman consuls and families;⁸ but none of Etruscan character.⁹

⁷ Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. I. p. 14) speaks of cinerary urns found at Fiesole, which had not human figures recumbent on the lids as usual.

⁸ An account of them was published by Caval. Zannoni in 1830. See also

Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 211; 1830, p. 205. There were 70 lbs. weight of silver *denarii*—Inghirami says 100 lbs.—all coined prior to the defeat of Catiline, 63 years B.C. Guida di Fiesole, p. 17.

⁹ Etruscan coins of Fæsulæ, though

Fiesole, though known to have been an Etruscan city, from its extant remains and the monuments at various times found on the spot, is not mentioned as such in history. This must have been owing to its remoteness from Rome, which preserved it from immediate contact with that power, probably till the final subjugation of Etruria, when it is most likely that Fiesole, with the other few towns in the northern district, finding the great cities of the Confederation had yielded to the conqueror, was induced to submit without a struggle.¹⁰

not yet, I believe, found on the spot, are not unknown. Specimens which were found at Cære and Vulci are preserved in the British Museum, in the Kircherian Museum, and the Campana collection at Rome. They are silver, having on the obverse the figure of a winged Gorgon, in a long tunic, with her tongue lolling out, holding a serpent in each hand, and in the act of running,—on the reverse, something, which may be part of a wheel, and the inscription “PÆSU,” in Etruscan characters. The Duc de Luynes ascribes these coins to Fæsulæ; so also Capranesi, *Ann. Inst.* 1840, pp. 203-7, *tav. d’agg. P. n. 1.* But Cavedoni, of Modena, considers the inscription to have reference not to the place of coinage, but to the Fury or Fate on the obverse, and explains it as *Alsa*, or Fate, here written with a digamma prefixed. *Bull. Inst.* 1842, p. 156. *Alsoi*, we are told by Hesychius, were “gods among the Etruscans;” and “Æsar,” we know to be the Etruscan word for “god.” *Dio Cass.* LVI. 29; *Sueton.* Aug. 97. It has been suggested that Æsar may be but the Greek word adopted, and with an Etruscan termination. Lanzi considers the name Fæsulæ—written *φαισούλαι* by the Greeks—to be derived from *Alsoi*, with the addition of the digamma (*II. p.* 444). But why

refer to Hellenic sources for Etruscan etymologies—a system which, even in Lanzi’s hands, has proved so unsuccessful and unsatisfactory? It is more probable that the Etruscan form, with which we are not acquainted, was a compound with the initial “Vel,” so often occurring in Etruscan proper names. The gold coin, with the Etruscan legend “Velsu,” which Sestini assigned to Felsina (Bologna), but Müller referred to Volsinii (see *Vol. I. p.* 503)—may it not be proper to Fæsulæ? Millingen, however, considered it of a barbarous people, or a counterfeit. *Num. Anc. Ital.* p. 171.

¹⁰ The name is found in *Florus* (*I. 11*), but it is manifest from the connexion that Fæsulæ is not the true reading; for the historian is relating in his most terse and spirited manner, the arduous contest Rome maintained in the first years of the Republic with the Latin cities around her. “Cora (quis credat?) et Algidum terrori fuerunt; Satricum atque Corniculum provinciæ. De Verulis et Bovillis pudet; sed triumphavimus. &c.” “Cora (who would believe it?) and Algidum were a terror to us; Satricum and Corniculum were like remote provinces. Of Verulæ and Bovillæ I am ashamed to speak—yet did we triumph. Tibur, now a suburban abode, and

The first record we find of it is in the year 529, when the Gauls, making a descent on the Roman territory, past near Fæsulæ, and defeated the Romans who went out against them.¹ A few years after this, when Annibal, after his victory on the Trebia, entered Etruria, it was by the unusual route of Fæsulæ.² The city also is represented by one of the poets as taking part in this Second Punic War, and as being renowned for its skill in augury.³ No farther record is found of it till the Social War, about ninety years B.C., when Fæsulæ is mentioned among the cities which suffered most severely from the terrible vengeance of Rome, being laid waste with fire and sword.⁴ And again, but a few years later, it had to endure the vengeance of Sylla, when to punish the city for having espoused the side of his rival, he sent to it a military colony,

Præneste, a delightful summer retreat, were not assailed till vows had been offered in the Capitol. Then Fæsulæ was what Carræ has been of late—the grove of Aricia was as dreaded as the Hercynian forest—Fregellæ was then our Gesoriacum, the Tiber our Euphrates." A glance at the passage shows that "Fæsulæ" is here out of place. A city so remote from Rome, and of Etruscan origin, could not have been referred to among the neighbouring Latin cities. The true reading must either be Fidenæ, which, though Etruscan, was on the left bank of the Tiber, or more probably Æsula, a town near Tibur. Horat. Od. III. 29, 6.

¹ Polyb. II. 25. Mannert (Geog. p. 396), however, thinks that it cannot be the city near Florence to which Polybius alludes, but some other town of the same name, which he would place to the west of Chiusi, and south of the Ombrone. Cluver (II. p. 509) does not think this the earliest mention made of

Fæsulæ, for he considers the Castula, said by Diodorus (XX. p. 773) to have been taken from the Etruscans in the year 444, to be a mere corruption of Fæsulæ.

² Polyb. III. 82; cf. Liv. XXII. 3.

³ Sil. Ital. VIII. 478—

Affuit et sacris interpres fulminis alis,
Fæsula.

A goddess named Ancharia was worshipped here, says Tertullian (Apolog. 24; ad Nationes, II. 8), which has been confirmed by inscriptions. Müller, II. p. 62, who cites Reinesius, Cl. II. 23, and Gori, Inscr. II. p. 77. cf. p. 88. This fact establishes the correct reading to be "Fæsulanorum Ancharia," and not "Æsculanorum," as some copies have it. The Etruscan family-name of "Ancari," not unfrequently met with at Chiusi and Perugia, and also found at Montalcino (see page 140, of this volume) has doubtless a relation to the name of this goddess. See Müller, I. p. 421.

⁴ Flor. III. 18.

and divided its territory among his officers.⁵ Still later it was made the head-quarters of Catiline's conspirators, and actively espoused his cause.⁶ We learn from a statement of Pliny, that it must have retained the right of Roman citizenship in the reign of Augustus.⁷ It was besieged and taken by the troops of Belisarius, A.D. 539. At what period it gave birth to Florence, which, rather than the paltry village on the hill, must be regarded as the representative of the ancient Fæsulæ, is a matter of dispute; some thinking it as early as the time of Sylla, and that his colonists removed from the steep and inconvenient height to the fertile plain ;⁸ others regarding it to have been at a later date. It is certain, however, that Florence existed as a colony under the Romans. The principal emigration from Fæsulæ to Florence seems to have taken place in the middle ages.

One of the attractions of Fiesole was, till of late, La Badia, a quaint old abbey at the foot of the hill, long the residence of the Cavalier Francesco Inghirami, the patriarch of Etruscan antiquaries, whose profound learning and untiring research had won him an European renown. When I had the honour of making his acquaintance he was suffering from that illness from which he never recovered; yet his mind was active as ever; even then his pen was not idle, or he relaxed it only to exchange it for the pencil. He was not only the author; he was also the printer, the publisher, and even the illustrator of his own works. It may not be generally known, that he drew with his own hand the numerous plates of all the voluminous works he

⁵ Cicero, in Catil. II. 9 ; III. 6; pro Murenâ, 24.

⁶ Sallust. Bell. Cat. 24, 27, 30, 43. Appian. Bell. Civ. II. 3. Cicero, pro Murenâ, 24.

⁷ Plin. VII. 11. Pliny (III. 8) and Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72) mention Fæsulæ among the inland colonies of Etruria.

⁸ Inghirami, Guida di Fiesole, p. 24.

has given to the world ; and to insure accuracy, he had recourse to a most tedious process, which doubled his labour. In default of a camera-obscura, or lucida, he traced every object on an upright plane of glass, set between it and his eye, and then retraced his drawing on paper. His illustrations have thus the merit of accuracy, which in the works of some Italian antiquaries is wanting, where most essential. Inghirami it was who, with Micali, was instrumental in bringing the almost obsolete subject of Etruscan antiquities before the world. They took the dusty topic from the shelf, where since the days of Dempster, Gori, Passeri, and Lanzi it had lain ; held it up to public view, till it became popular in Italy and in other lands, and was taken into favour by princes and nobles. Inghirami died at a good old age. Micali was cut off just before him ; and our own countryman, Millingen, inferior to neither in usefulness or merited reputation, followed soon after. Thus goes the world, as the proverb says—

*Il mondo è fatto a scarpette—
Chi se lo cava, chi se lo mette.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

SIENA.—*SENA*.

Noi ce traemo ala cità de Sena,
La quale e posta en parte forte sana ;
De ligiatria e bei costumi piena,
E vaghe donne, e huomeni cortesi,
E laer dolciè, lucida, e serena.—FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

Data sunt ipais quoque fata sepulcris.—JUVENAL.

SIENA can urge no pretensions to be considered an Etruscan city, that are founded either on historical records, or on extant remains. By ancient writers she is mentioned only as a Roman colony, and as there is no mention of her before the time of Cæsar, and as she is styled Sena Julia by the Theodosian Table, the probability is that a colony was first established here by Julius Cæsar, or by the second Triumvirate.¹ Nor is there a trace of Etruscan antiquity visible on the site, though there are a few shapeless caves in the cliffs around, which seem to have been mistaken for tombs.²

Siena, therefore, would not have been mentioned among

¹ See Repetti, V. p. 295. Sena is mentioned as a colony by Pliny (III. 8) ; Tacitus (Hist. IV. 45) ; and Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.). Dempster (II. p. 342) ascribes its origin to the Senonian Gauls, but without any authority, though not confounding this city as others have done with Sena Gallica, now Sinigaglia on the Adriatic, which derived its name

from that people—*Senonum de nomine Sena*—Sil. Ital. VIII. 455 ; XV. 552 ; Polyb. II. 19 ; cf. Appian. Bell. Civ. I. 88. Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 33) thinks Sena was probably of Etruscan origin, and a dependency of Volaterræ ; but I see no valid grounds for this opinion.

² Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 508.

Etruscan cities, but that it is situated in a district which, at various periods, has yielded treasures of that antiquity; and from its position in the heart of Tuscany, and on the high road from Florence to Rome, it might be made a convenient central point for the exploration of this region.³ It has two comfortable hotels—Le Armi d'Inghilterra and L'Aquila Nera—all-important in a city so full of medieval interest, whose glorious Cathedral alone might tempt the traveller to a lengthened stay, and whose inhabitants, in spite of Dante's vituperations, are all the stranger could wish to make his sojourn agreeable.

Sixteen miles north of Siena, on the road to Florence, is Poggibonsi, the Podium Bonitii of the middle ages. Between this and Castellina, a town about seven or eight miles to the east, Etruscan tombs have been found. Near the site of a ruined city, called Salingolpe, as long since as 1507, a sepulchre was opened, which, from the description given by an eye-witness, must have been very like the celebrated Regulini tomb at Cervetri. It was in a mound, and was vaulted over with uncemented masonry of large size, the courses converging till they met. It was about forty feet in length, six in breadth, and ten in height. It had also two side-chambers, so as to form in its plan the figure of a cross; and one of these, about ten feet cube, was a very "magazine" of urns and vases, full of ashes; and the other contained more valuable relics, "the adornments of a queen"—to wit, a mirror, a hair-bodkin, and bracelets, all of silver, with abundance of leaf in the same metal—a square cinerary urn, with a golden grasshopper in the middle, and another in each of the corners—sundry precious stones—boxes of rings in a bronze covered vase

³ Siena is 40 miles from Florence, 39 from Arezzo, 39 from Massa Marittima, 16 from Poggibonsi, 36 from Volterra, 39 from Grosseto.

or pot, perhaps one of the rare caskets in that metal—a female bust in alabaster, with a gold wire crossed on her bosom—and many cinerary urns of stone and marble, the finest of which belonged to a female. The long passage in this sepulchre was quite empty.⁴

In the year 1723, at a spot called La Fattoria di Lilliano, about half way between Poggibonsi and Castellina, some Etruscan urns were brought to light, but they were not of remarkable character.⁵

Still nearer Siena, on the road to Colle, and hard by the Abbazia all' Isola, a most remarkable tomb was discovered in the year 1698. It contained an abundance of human bones; but whether loose or in sarcophagi does not appear from the record we have of it. It seems to have been a deep square pit or shaft, with an entrance cut obliquely down to its floor. But the most extraordinary thing about it was, that on three of its walls were inscriptions in large characters, painted on the rock, not horizontally, as usual, but in long lines from the top to the bottom of the chamber. Yet more strange—two of these inscriptions had no reference to the dead, but were an alphabet and a spelling-book!—like the curious pot found at Cervetri, and now in the Gregorian Museum⁶—nor were they Etruscan, as would be expected from the locality, but pronounced by the learned to be early Greek or Pelasgic!⁷ Here is a fac-simile of a copy of the alphabet made at the time the

⁴ Santi Marmocchini quoted by Buonarroti, p. 96, Explic. ad Dempster. tom. II. Gori (Mus. Etr. Class II. tab. III.) gives a plan of the tomb which differs a little from the description given above. He says that the urns show it to be of the Memnian or Memmian family—in Etruscan—"MEMNA."

⁵ Buonarroti, p. 41, ap. Dempster.

⁶ *Ut supra*, page 53—5.

⁷ So says Lepsius (Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 195, *et seq.*) Lanzi (II. p. 513) called it a mixture of Etruscan and Latin. Lepsius seems to speak of this tomb as if it were still in existence, but it is now mere matter of history. It was reclosed and its site forgotten even in Maffei's day, more than a century since.

tomb was opened. It will be seen that the alphabet is unfinished ; the letters after the *omicron* having faded

A B C D E C I □ O I K L W N □ O .

from the wall before the tomb was discovered. The next line bore the interesting intelligence "*ma, mi, me, mu, na, no,*" in letters which ran from right to left.⁸

Why an alphabet and hornbook were thus preserved within a tomb, I leave to the imagination of my readers to conceive. Few, however, will be satisfied with Passeri's explanation—that it was the freak of some Etruscan schoolboy, who, finding the wall ready prepared for painting, mischievously scribbled thereon his last lesson.⁹

Five miles east of Siena, near the ruined Castle of Montaperti, ever memorable for the great victory of the Ghibellines in 1260—

Lo strazio e il grande scempio

Che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso—*Inf.* x. 85.

was discovered in 1728, in a little mound, a tomb of the

⁸ Buonarroti, p. 36, tab. 92, ap. Dempst. tom. II. Lanzi II. p. 512. Maffei, Osserv. Lett. V. p. 322. The three inscribed walls of the tomb were divided by vertical lines into broad stripes or bands, in which were the inscriptions—seven in all. Though each commenced at the top of the wall, the letters were not placed upright, as in Chinese inscriptions, but ran sometimes from left to right, as in the above alphabet, sometimes *vice versa*.

⁹ Passeri, ap. Gori Mus. Etrus. III. p. 108. Nor can it be supposed that this Etruscan tomb presents an instance of academical tuition, like an Egyptian

one at Beni Hassan, described by Sir G. Wilkinson,—“On the wall of one of the tombs is a Greek alphabet, with the letters transposed in various ways, evidently by a person teaching Greek, who appears to have found these cool recesses as well suited for the resort of himself and pupils, as was any stoæ, or the grove of Academus.” Modern Egypt, II. p. 53. There is no reason to believe that this Etruscan tomb was used for another than its original purpose, by a different race, and in a subsequent age ; for the palæography shows the inscriptions to be very ancient, probably coeval with the sepulchre itself.

Cilnii—the great Etruscan family to which Mæcenas belonged. It had fifteen square urns or “ash-chests” of travertine, and seventeen cinerary pots of earthenware, almost all with inscriptions; but the urns were remarkably plain, without figures on their lids, and there was nothing in the sepulchre to mark it as belonging to one of the most illustrious families of Etruria, which possessed supreme power in the land.¹ The name was written CVENLE, or CVENLES—

M3JW311)

or more rarely CVELNE;² though the Etruscan form was sometimes analogous to, or even identical with the Roman.³ On the door-posts of this tomb, as in the Grotta de' Volunni at Perugia, were carved inscriptions—a sort of general epitaph, in which the name of the family occurs.

At Montalcino, a small city on the heights to the right of the road from Siena to S. Quirico, and about twenty miles south of the former city, Etruscan tombs have been

¹ Liv. X. 3—Cilnium gens præpotens. Silius Italicus, VII. 29—Cilnius, Arreti Tyrrhenis ortus in oris, Clarum nomen erat.

For the royal origin of Mæcenas, see Horat. Od. I. 1; III. 29, I.; Sat. I. 6, 1—4; Propert. III. 9, 1; Sil. Ital. X. 40; Mart. XII. 4, 2; cf. Macrob. Saturn. II. 4. Etruscan “royalty” must be understood merely as the supreme power delegated to one of their body by the confederate princes or Lucumones.

² It seems at first sight as if this metastasis were an error of some of the copiers or transcribers, who, as appears from a manuscript account of this tomb in the Archaeological Institute at Rome, were not always well acquainted with

the Etruscan character. But Lanzi (Sagg. II. pp. 366—7), who copied the original inscriptions, as well as Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. pp. 96—7, cl. II. tab. 12—17), make precisely the same transpositions. Müller (I. pp. 404, 416) thinks that the Etruscan form of Mæcenas' name must have been “Cvelne (or as he writes it, Cfelne) Maecnatal,” — the first being his patronymic, the second his mother's family name with the usual adjectival termination.

³ As is proved by an inscription on one of the recently found sepulchres of Sovana, where the name is written “Cilnia;” though the more peculiar form seems also to occur in the same necropolis. Vol. I. p. 500.

opened in times past, though no excavations have been made, as far as I can learn, for many years. A great part of the Etruscan urns in the Museum of Leyden came from this site. They are all of travertine, and belong to different Etruscan families.⁴

Montalcino has now no antiquities to show, and, indeed, little more to boast of than her muscadel wine, lauded by Redi, as drink for the fair of Paris and London—

Il leggiadretto,
Il sì divino
Moscadelletto
Di Montalcino.
Un tal vino
Lo destino
Per le dame di Parigi;
E per quelle,
Che sì belle
Rallegrar fanno il Tamigi.

Castelnuovo dell' Abate, seven miles further south, is another site which has yielded Etruscan tombs in the past century.⁵

Near Pienza, a town on the heights to the east of San Quirico, and seven miles west of Montepulciano, was found in 1779 a tomb of the family of "Caes" (Caius).⁶

In the district of Siena have been found other sepulchres of the olden time; one of the family of "Lecne" (Licinius), and another of that of "Veti" (Vettius).⁷

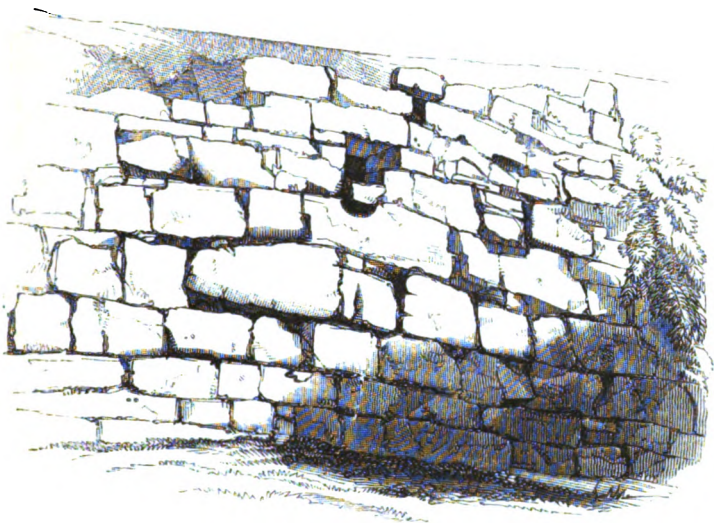
⁴ Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 97—104. The families mentioned in the epitaphs are the "Apuni" (Aponius), "Tite" or "Teti" (Titus), "Cae" (Caius), "Ancarni" (Ancharius), "Laucani" (Luncanus), and others whose names are not fully legible.

⁵ Lanzi, Saggio II. p. 368. One was of the family of the "Arntle"

(Arruntius!).

⁶ Lanzi, II. p. 373. Pienza is conjectured by Cramer (I. p. 221) to be the Manliana of Ptolemy and the Itineraries.

⁷ Lanzi, II. pp. 360, 361. The precise localities of these tombs are not mentioned.



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF VOLTERRA, BELOW STA. CHIARA.

CHAPTER XL.

VOLTERRA.—*VOLATERRÆ*.

THE CITY.

—tornemo a Vultera,
Sopra un monte, che forte e anticha,
Quanto en Toscana niuna altra terra.—FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

We came e'en to the city's wall
And the great gate.—SHELLEY. *The Sinner's Progress*

FROM whatever side Volterra may be approached it is a most commanding object, crowning the summit of a lofty, steep, and sternly naked height, if not wholly isolated, yet independent of the neighbouring hills, reducing them by its towering supereminence to mere satellites ; so lofty as to be conspicuous from many a league distant, and so

steep that when the traveller has at length reached its foot, he finds that the fatigue he imagined had well nigh terminated, is then but about to begin. Strabo has accurately described it when he said "it is built on a lofty height, rising from a deep valley and precipitous on every side, on whose level summit stand the fortifications of the city. From base to summit the ascent is fifteen *stadia* long, and it is steep and difficult throughout."¹

If Volterra be still "lordly" and imposing, what must she have been in the olden time, when instead of a mere cluster of mean buildings at one corner of the level mountain-crest, the entire area, four or five miles in circuit, was bristling with the towers, temples, and palaces of the city, one of Etruria's first and largest—when the walls, whose mere fragments are now so vast, that fable and song may well report them—

"Piled by the hands of giants,
For god-like kings of old,"
Macaulay's "Horatius" st. 4

then surrounded the city with a girdle of fortifications such as for grandeur and massiveness have perhaps never been

¹ Strabo, V. p. 223. Modern measurement makes the mountain on which Volterra stands 935 Tuscan *braccia* (about 1800 English feet) above the level of the sea. Müller was therefore mistaken when he guessed Volterra to be probably the highest-lying town in all Italy. Etrusk. I p. 221. There are many towns and villages among the Apennines, and not a few ancient sites in the mountains of Sabina and Latium, at a considerably greater elevation. Cluver (*Ital. Ant.* II. p. 513) takes Volaterræ to be the Etruscan city referred to by the pseudo-Aristotle (*De Mirab. Auscult.* cap. 96), under

the name of Cenarea,—a site of extraordinary strength, on a hill 30 *stadia* in height. To this view Lanzi (*Saggio*, II. p. 94) is also inclined. Mannert (*Geog.* p. 357) is opposed to it, on the ground that Cenarea had probably no existence. Niebuhr (*I.* p. 124, n. 382), Müller (*Etrusk.* II. 2, 10), and Arnold (*Hist. of Rome*, II. p. 530), raise the more valid objection, that from the usurpation of power by its manumitted slaves, Cenarea must be identical with Volsinii. I have hesitated to bow to these mighty three, and have suggested that Monte Fiascone may possibly be the site of Cenarea. Vol. I. p. 518.

surpassed. We now see but "the skeleton of her Titanic form,"—what must have been the living body?

Her great size and the natural strength of her position mark Volaterræ as a city of first-rate importance, and give her indisputable claims to rank among the Twelve of the Confederation. Were such local evidence wanting, the testimony of Dionysius,² that she was one of the five cities, which acting independently of the rest of Etruria, determined to aid the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus, would be conclusive;³ for no second-rate or dependent town could have ventured to oppose the views of the rest. This is the first historical mention of Volaterræ, and is satisfactory evidence as to her antiquity and early importance. The only other express record of Volaterræ during the period of national independence, is in the year 456 (B.C. 298), when L. Cornelius Scipio encountered the Etruscan forces below this city, and so obstinate a combat ensued that night alone put an end to it, and not till morning showed the Etruscans had retired from the field, could the Roman general claim the victory.⁴ As an Etruscan city, Volaterræ must have had a territory of great extent; larger, without doubt, than that of any other city of the Confederation;⁵ and with the possession of the

² Dion. Hal. III. p. 189, ed. Sylb. The other cities were Clusium, Arretium, Rusellæ and Vetulonia.

³ It is so regarded by the principal writers on the subject. Cluver. II. p. 511; Müller, Etrusk. II. 1, 2, p. 346; Cramer, I. p. 185.

⁴ Liv. X. 12.

⁵ North of Volaterræ there was no other city of the Confederation, unless Pisse may at an early period have been one of the Twelve, to dispute her claim to all the land up to the confines of Etruria, including the vale of the Arno,

and the rich plains of Lucca; eastward her *ager* must also have extended far, as the nearest city was Arretium, 50 miles distant; westward it was bounded by the Mediterranean (Strabo, V. p. 223), more than 20 miles off; and southward it extended at least as far as Populonia, which was either a colony or acquisition of Volaterræ (Serv. ad Æn. X. 172); and from the intimate connection of that port with Elba, it is highly probable that it also comprehended that island itself.

two great ports of Luna and Populonia, she must have been the most powerful among "the sea-ruling Etruscans," and probably also the most wealthy. Her Etruscan appellation, as we learn from her coins, was VELATHRI⁶—

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We have no record of her conquest, but from her remoteness and strength we may conclude Volaterræ was among the last of the cities of Etruria to fall under the yoke of Rome. In the Second Punic War, in common with the other principal cities of Etruria, she undertook to furnish her quota of supplies for the Roman fleet ; and it is worthy of remark that she still maintained her maritime character, being the only one, save Tarquinii, to furnish tackling or other gear for ships.⁷ In the civil wars

⁶ This is almost identical with the name of the ancient Volscian town Velitræ, now Velletri ; and there can be no doubt that there was a close analogy, as between many other towns of Etruria, and those of corresponding appellations south of the Tiber. In fact, the coins with the legend of Velathri have often been assigned to Velitræ. Raffaele Maffei, *il Biondo*, and other early Italian antiquaries indulged in idle speculations as to the meaning of the name Volaterræ, and resolved it into "Vola (which they translated *urbs*) Tyrrhenorum," but Volaterræ is merely the Latin form, and in our present ignorance of the Etruscan language all sound analysis is out of the question. It may be remarked, however, that the syllable VEL, or VUL, is a frequent initial to Etruscan names—Velsina, Vulsinii, Vulci, Velimnas, &c.—and the rest of the word ATRI seems to have some analogy to the HAT, or HATRI, on the coins of

Hatria,—the Etruscan town which gave its name to the Adriatic, and to the *atrium*, or court, in Roman houses. Cramer (*I. p.* 184) infers from this analogy that Volterra was founded by the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, when they quitted the shores of the Adriatic to settle in the land of the Umbri. The same origin for the city is inferred by Millingen (*Numismatique de l'Ancienne Italie*, p. 167) from the name Velathri, which he takes to be identical with Elatria, a town in Epirus, the land whence came many of the colonists of Italy, especially the Pelasgi. He sees Elatria also in Velitræ of the Volsci, and even in Vulturnus, the original appellation of Capua ; and he thinks this name was given to these three cities by the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, during their possession of the land, in remembrance of their ancient country.

⁷ Liv. XXVIII. 45. Tarquinii supplied sail-cloth, Volaterræ, the fittings-up of ships, and also corn. This is

between Marius and Sylla, Volaterræ, like most of the cities of Etruria, espoused the part of the former ; for this she was besieged two years by the forces of his rival, till she was compelled to surrender ;⁸ but though thus taken in arms against him, she escaped the fate of Fæsulæ and other cities which were deprived of their citizenship, and had their lands confiscated and divided among the troops of the victorious Dictator. For this she was indebted to the great Cicero, who was then Consul, and who ever afterwards retained the warmest attachment towards her, and honoured her with the highest commendations.⁹ She subsequently, however, was forced to receive a military colony, under the Triumvirate.¹ After the fall of the Western Empire, she suffered the fate of the neighbouring cities, and fell under the dominion of the Vandals and the Huns ; but was again raised to importance by the Lombard kings, who, for a time, fixed their court here, on account of the natural strength of the site. Of the subsequent history of Volterra, suffice it to say, that though greatly sunk in size and importance, she has never wholly lost her population, and been abandoned, like so many of her fellows, to the fox, the owl, and the viper ; and that she retains to the present day, her original Etruscan appellation, but little corrupted.²

When the traveller has mastered the tedious ascent to the town, let him seek for the “Unione,” the best inn in

according to the usual reading, *interamenta* ; but Müller (I. 2, 1, IV. 3, 6) prefers that of Gronovius, which is *inceramenta*.

⁸ Strabo, loc. cit. ; Liv. Epitome, LXXXIX. ; cf. Cic. pro Cæcinâ, VII. ; pro Roscio Amerino, VII.

⁹ Cic. pro Domo suâ, XXX. ; ad Divers. XIII. 4, 5 ; ad Attic. I. 19. Volterra claims among her ancient

citizens, the satirist Persius. Her claim is better founded, I believe, as regards Linus, the successor of St. Peter, as bishop of Rome.

¹ Front. de Colon. p. 14. ed. 1588. Pliny N. H. III. 8) and Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.) also speak of her as a colony in their days.

² For the post-Roman history of Volterra, see Repetti, V. pp. 801 *et seq.*

Volterra. He may know it by the sign of three naked females, the most *graceless* things about the house. The landlord, Sig^{re}. Ottavio Callai, having resided several years in England, understands our habits, wants, and somewhat of our language, and his general intelligence and local information, to say nothing of his obliging disposition, will prove of real service to his guests.

Modern Volterra is but a country-town, having scarcely above four thousand inhabitants, and covering but a small portion of the area occupied by the ancient city. The lines of its battlemented wall, and the towered keep of its fortress, give it an imposing appearance externally. It is a dirty and gloomy place, however, without architectural beauty; and save the heavy, feudal-faced Palazzo Pubblico, hung quaintly all over with coats of arms, as a pilgrim with scallop-shells—so many silent traditions of the stirring days of the Italian republics—and richer still in its Museum of Etruscan antiquities; save the neat little Duomo, and the alabaster factories, which every one should visit, there is nothing of interest in modern Volterra. Her glories are the Etruscan walls and the Museum, to neither of which the visitor who feels interest in the early civilization of Italy, should fail to pay attention.

To begin with the walls. From the “Unione,” a few steps will lead to the

PORTA ALL' ARCO.³

I envy the stranger his first impressions on approaching this gateway. The loftiness of the arch; the boldness of its span; the massiveness of the blocks, dwarfing into insignificance the mediæval masonry by which it is sur-

³ Dempster (Etrur. Regal. II. p. 286) says that certain learned men take this for a corruption of Porta Herculis.

Gori (Mus. Etr. III. pp. 34, 44) follows them in this superfluous etymology.

rounded ; the venerable, yet solid air of the whole ; and more than all, the dark, featureless, mysterious heads around it, stretching forward as if eager to proclaim the tale of bygone races and events ; even the site of the gate on the very verge of the steep, with a glorious map of valley, river, plain, mountain, sea, headland, and island, unrolled beneath ; make it one of the most imposing yet singular portals conceivable, and fix it indelibly on his memory.

It is a double gateway, nearly thirty feet deep, united by parallel walls of very massive character, of the same masonry as those of the city.⁴ This is decisive of its Etruscan origin ; yet some doubt has been raised as to the Etruscan antiquity of the arch,—I think, without just ground. It has been objected that the mouldings of the imposts are too Greek in character to be regarded as Etruscan, and that the arch must therefore be referred to the Romans.⁵ But if this were a sufficing reason, every article found in Etruscan tombs, which betrays a Hellenic influence, must be of Roman origin. Those who hold such a doctrine must totally forget the extensive intercourse the Etruscans

⁴ The span of the arch is 13 ft. 2 in. ; the height to the top of the impost 15 feet ; so that the height to the keystone is about 21½ feet. Depth of the doorposts 4 ft. 6 in. The inner arch is 13 ft. 6 in. in span, and its doorpost nearly 5 ft. in depth. The length of the connecting passage is 18 ft., and its width 15 ft. 8 in., so that the total depth of the gateway, including the arches, is 27 feet, 6 inches.

⁵ Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 5) regards them as of Roman character and construction, and thinks the whole arch, except the heads, is a restoration, probably after the siege of the city by Sylla. Yet he admits the lower part

of the gate to be "of true Etruscan construction : " (cf. I. p. 141). By Ruspi, the Roman architect, the restoration has been referred even to Imperial times. *Bull. Inst.* 1831, p. 52. The connecting walls, the doorposts of the outer arch, and the heads, he alone allows to be Etruscan ; the arch of the outer gate he conceives to have been raised during the Empire, the heads to have been then replaced, and the inner gateway to have been at the same time constructed. He thinks a second restoration was effected during the middle ages, in that part where the portcullis was fixed.

maintained from very remote times, at least as early as the Roman kings, not only with the Greek colonies of Sicily and Campania, the latter long under their own dominion, but also with Greece herself—an intercourse quite sufficient to account for traces of Hellenisms in Etruscan art, whether exhibited in a modified form in architectural mouldings, or in the frequent Doric and Ionic features of the sarcophagi or rock-hewn monuments, or displayed more palpably and purely in the painted vases, found in myriads in Etruria, which are unequivocally Greek in form, design, myths, and even inscriptions.⁶ The mouldings of these impostes then, were they even more strongly assimilated to the Greek, may well be of Etruscan construction, though not, of course, of the most remote epoch.

The inner arch of the gateway differs from the outer in the material, form, and number of its *voussoirs*, and has much more of a Roman character.

Whether this archway be Etruscan or not, it cannot be doubted that the three heads are of that character, and that they occupied similar positions in an arched gateway of ancient Volterra. This is corroborated in a singular manner. In the Museum is a cinerary urn, found in this necropolis, which has a bas-relief of the death of Capaneus, struck by lightning when in the act of scaling the gate of Thebes; and the artist, copying probably the object best known to him, has represented in that

⁶ Orioli (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrusc. IV. p. 162) maintains that this similarity to Greek art does not militate against the Etruscan construction of this arch, on the ground that Greek art arose and was nurtured in Asia Minor rather than in Greece Proper, and that the Etruscans coming from the East may have brought with them a knowledge of that architecture which is now charac-

terised as Greek. But it does not seem to me necessary to suppose so high an antiquity for the Hellenisms in Etruscan art, which are more simply accounted for in the manner indicated in the text. Canina, a high architectural authority, regards this gate as one of the most ancient Etruscan monuments in this region. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 192.

mythical gate, this very Porta all' Arco of Volterra, with the three heads exactly in the same relative position. What the heads might mean is not easy to determine. They may represent the heads of conquered enemies,⁷ or the three mysterious Cabiri,⁸ or possibly the patron deities of the city.⁹ They could scarcely be intended for mere ornament.

The masonry within the gateway is very massive, and well preserved. There are eight courses, about two feet deep each, of rectangular blocks, seven, eight, or ten feet in length. They are of *panchina*, a yellow arenaceous stone, as are also the door-posts of the outer arch; the imposts and voussoirs, however, are of travertine, and the three heads are of dark grey *peperino*. This difference in the material has, doubtless, aided the opinion of the subsequent formation of the arch.¹ It is highly probable, indeed, that

⁷ Orioli, ap. Ingh. Mon. Etr. IV. p. 163.

⁸ This is Gerhard's view. Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 13.; cf. p. 48.

⁹ Orioli, Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 38. This is also Micali's opinion (III. p. 5), who admits them to be Etruscan. Gori (Mus. Etrusc. III. p. 46.) takes them for heads of the Lares Viales, placed in such a position to receive the adoration of passers by; as Lucretius (I. 317—9) describes deities in bronze placed near city-gates, whose hands, like the toes of St. Peter and other saints of modern times, were quite worn down by the frequent kisses of their votaries. Lanzi (cited by Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. I. p. 679) in describing the said urn took the central head to represent Antigone, and the others, two Thebans, looking out from the city. He could not have carefully examined the monument; or he must have confounded it with another somewhat similar urn.

¹ If the outer arch were a restoration

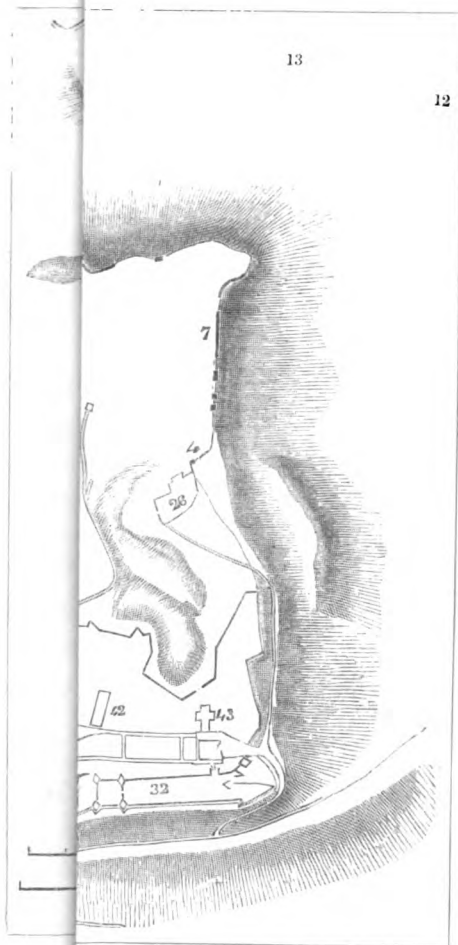
by the Romans, they must have preserved and built up again these three heads of *peperino*; which is a great objection against the hypothesis. To me it does not seem at all probable that the Romans of the close of the Republic, the epoch of the Pantheon, and the purest period of Roman art, would have destroyed the symmetry of the gate by the replacement of such heavy unsightly masses. It is much easier to conceive them to have been placed there at an earlier period, when superstition or convention overcame a regard for the beautiful. A figure or head in relief on the keystone was common enough in Roman gateways, and is in accordance with good taste, not destroying the symmetry of the arch, but serving to fix the eye on the culminating point. But it may safely be asserted that the introduction of such prominent shapeless masses around an arch, was wholly opposed to Roman taste, as we learn it from existing monuments.

the arches are subsequent to the rest of the gateway, which I take to be coeval with the city walls, and prior to the invention of the arch; and the same plan must originally have been adopted, as is traceable in another gateway at Volterra,—namely, flat wooden architraves were let into the door-posts, having sockets in them corresponding to sockets in the threshold, in which the flaps of the doors worked. This plan is proved to have been used by the Etruscans, by certain tombs of Chiusi, where the doors are still working in their ancient sockets. But as the Etruscans were acquainted with the arch for at least two or three centuries before their final subjugation by Rome, the addition of it to this gateway may still have been made in the days of their independence.

Just within the gate on each side is a groove or channel for the portcullis, or *Saracinesca*, as the Italians call it, which was suspended by iron chains, and let down from above like the gate of a sluice; so that if the enemy attempted to force the inner gate, the portcullis was dropped, and all within were made prisoners. This man-trap, common enough in the middle ages, was also employed by the ancients; and grooves for the *cataracta* are found in the double gates of their cities—at Pompeii and Cosa, for instance, where the gates are formed on the same plan as this of Volterra.²

From the Porta all' Arco let the visitor continue his walk eastward, beneath the walls of the modern town, till, leaving these behind, and following the brow of the hill for some distance, he comes in sight of the church of Sta. Chiara. Below this are some of the finest portions of the ancient walls now extant. They are in detached fragments. In the first the masonry is comparatively

² Mention is made of the *cataracta* (de Re Milit. IV. cap. 4), who speaks of it as an ancient invention. by Livy (XXVII. 28), and by Vegetius



- 34 Remains of an ancient edifice.
- 35 Piazza Maggiore.
- 36 Palazzo Comunale, containing the Museum.
- 37 Cathedral.
- 38 Church of S. Giovanni.
- 39 „ S. Filippo.
- 40 „ S. Francesco.
- 41 „ S. Michele.
- 42 „ S. Agostino.
- 43 „ S. ietro.
- 44 Locanda Callai.

small ; it is most massive in the third, which extends to the length of forty or fifty yards, and rises to a considerable height. In this fragment are two conduits or sewers—square openings, with projecting sills, as at Fiesole, ten or twelve feet above ground.³ The fifth fragment is also fine ; but the sixth is very grand—forty feet in height, and about one hundred and forty in length ; and here also open two sewers.⁴

The masonry is very irregular. A horizontal arrangement is preserved ; but one course often runs into another, shallow ones alternate with deep, or even in the same, several shallow blocks are piled up to equal the depth of the larger. The masses, though intended to be rectangular, are rudely hewn, and more rudely put together, with none of that close “kissing” of joints, as the Italians say, or neat fitting-in of smaller pieces, which is seen at Fiesole. This may be called a rectangular Cyclopean style, if that be not a contradiction of terms. Nevertheless, it is essentially the same masonry as that of Fiesole ; but here it is seen in its rudeness or infancy, while Fiesole shows its perfection. To the friability of the sandstone of which it is composed, is owing much of its irregular character, the edges of the blocks having greatly worn away ; while the walls of Fiesole, being of harder rock, have suffered much less from the action of the elements. Fair comparisons, however, can only be drawn between the walls on corresponding sides of the several cities ; for those which face the south, as these fragments under Santa Chiara, have always been most affected by the weather.

³ Some of the blocks in this fragment are very large—8 or 10 feet long, by 2 to 3 in height. The architrave of one of the sewers is particularly massive.

⁴ It is this portion of the wall which

is shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter. The largest blocks here are about 8 feet long, and more than 3 in height. At this particular spot the wall is scarcely 20 feet high.

As usual in the most ancient masonry, there are here no vestiges of cement. In spite of the saying,

Duro con duro
Non fa mai buon muro,

these gigantic masses have held together without it some twenty-five or thirty centuries, and may yet stand for as many more. All the fragments on this side of Volterra are mere embankments, as at Fiesole, to the higher level of the city. In parts they are underbuilt with modern masonry.

From Sta. Chiara the walls may be traced by detached fragments, sometimes scarcely rising above the ground, till they turn to the north, stretching along the brow of the steep cliff, which bounds the city on this side. At a spot called "I Menseri," are some massive portions; and just beyond the hamlet of S. Giusto are traces of a road running up to an ancient gate, whose position is clearly indicated. Here the ground sinks in tremendous precipices, "Le Balze," overhanging an abyss of fearful depth, and increasing its horror by their own blackness. This is the Leucadia—the lovers' leap of the Volterrani. But a few days before I reached the town, a forlorn swain had taken the plunge.

Beyond this, the walls may be traced, more or less distinctly, all round the brow of the point which juts out towards the convent of La Badia. In one part they are seven feet in thickness, and are no longer mere embankments, but rise fifteen feet above the level of the city. In another spot they are topt by small rectangular masonry, also uncemented, apparently Roman. They continue to follow the brow of the high ground in all its sinuosities; double the wooded point of Torricella, and again run far up the hollow to Le Conce, or the Tanyards, above which

they rise in a massive picturesque fragment overgrown with foliage. Then they stretch far away along the lofty and picturesque cliffs on the west of the hollow, till they lead you round to the Portone, or

PORTA DI DIANA.

This is another gateway of similar construction to the Porta all' Arco, but now in ruins. In its ground-plan, it is precisely similar, having a double gate with a connecting passage. The masonry is of the same massive character as that of the city-walls, without an intermixture of different styles, except what is manifestly of modern date ; so that no doubt can be entertained of its purely Etruscan construction. The dimensions of the gate very nearly agree with those of the Porta all' Arco.⁵ The arches at either end are now gone ; the inner gate does not indeed appear to have had one, for the door-post rises to the height of about twenty feet, and at twelve feet or so above the ground is a square hole in a block on each side the gate, as if cut to receive a wooden lintel. The outer gate still retains traces of an arch, for at a height corresponding with the said lintel, there are cuneiform blocks on one side, sufficient to indicate an arch ; the opposite wall is too much ruined to retain such vestiges. It is highly probable that this gateway was constructed at the same time as the walls, and before the invention of the arch, both gates being covered in by wooden lintels, but that in after ages the outer gate was repaired, while the inner, needing it less, was left in its original state.

This sort of double gateway is found in several ancient towns in Greece, as well as in other cities of Italy. It is

⁵ The total depth of the gateway is 27 ft., that of the door-posts of each gate 4 ft. 4 in. The width at the door-posts is 12 ft. 4 in., and in the passage within 15 ft. 6 in.

to be seen also elsewhere in Etruria—at Cosa, for instance, where there is more than one specimen of it.⁶

From the Portone, the ancient fortifications may be traced along the wooded steep to the south, and then, instead of following its line, suddenly dive into the hollow, crossing it in an independent wall nearly thirty feet high. The masonry here is much smaller than in any other part of the walls, the courses being often scarcely a foot in height; yet, as in other respects it precisely resembles the more massive fragments, it may be safely pronounced Etruscan.⁷

At the point of high ground to the east, is a fine fragment of wall, six feet thick, rising twelve feet above the level of the city, and having its inner surface as smooth as its outer. Beyond this, are two remarkable *revêtements*, like bastions reverted, or with their concavities towards the city. The most easterly of these crescent embankments rises to the height of thirty feet.⁸ Just beyond it, there are traces of a postern; and presently the wall, pursuing the edge of the steep, reaches the extremity of the city to

⁶ Canina (Archit. Antica, V. p. 96) suggests, that it is probably from this sort of double gateway that the plural term—*αἱ πύλαι*—applied to the gate of a city, took its rise. See Vol. I. pp. 14, 15.

It will be observed that this gate, as well as the Porta all' Arco, opens obliquely, so that the approach to it is commanded on one side by the city wall, which answers the purpose of towers whence to annoy the foe; and the approach is so planned in both cases, that an assailing force would have its right side, or that unprotected by the shield, exposed to the attacks of the besieged. This is a rule of fortification laid down by Vitruvius, I. 5, 2.

⁷ At the bottom of the hollow, a streamlet flows out through a gap in the

walls; but a drain-hole hard by seems to have been the original passage for it.

⁸ Here it may be remarked, that the blocks in the lower courses are small and irregular, in the upper very massive. This I have observed on other Etruscan sites. Orioli (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 161) thinks it was not without a reason—that the largest blocks were placed at that height in the walls, where they would be most likely to be struck by battering-engines (cf. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. II. p. 294); and he even infers hence the existence of such engines in remote times. One block covering a cavity, once perhaps a sewer, I found to be 11 ft. long, 3 in height, and 4 in depth; and another block, below the cavity, was of nearly equal dimensions.

the east, and turns sharp to the south. The path to the Seminario leads along the very top of the walls, which are here from fourteen to seventeen feet in thickness. They are not solid throughout, but built with two faces of masonry, having the intervening space stuffed with rubbish, just as in the cob-walls of England, and as in that sort of *emplecton*, which Vitruvius characterises as Roman.⁹ Just beneath the Seminario another postern may be distinguished. From this point you may trace the line of the ancient walls, by fragments, beneath those of the modern town and of the Fortress, round to the Porta all' Arco.

The circumference of the ancient walls has been said to be about four miles ;¹ but it appears more, as the sinuosities of the ground are very great. But pause, traveller, ere you venture to make the entire tour of them. Unless you be prepared for great fatigue—to cross ploughed land—climb and descend steeps—force your way through dense woods and thickset hedges—wade through swamps in the hollows if it be winter—follow the beds of streams, and creep at the brink of precipices ; in a word, to make a fairy-like progress

“ Over hill, over dale,
Thorough bush, thorough brier,
Over park, over pale,
Thorough flood—”

and only not

“thorough fire—”

think not of the entire *giro*. Verily—

Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas.

Horat. Ep. 1. 1. 13.

⁹ Vitruv. II. 8, 7. Compare Vol. I. p. 107. This style of “stuffed” walls is not uncommon in the cities of Greece.

¹ Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 141, and II. p. 209. Abeken (Mittelital. p. 30) calls it 21,000 feet. If Micali's map be correct, which calls it 7,280·73 metres, the cir-

cuit will be more than 4½ miles. Gori (III. p. 32) cites an authority who ascribes to them a circuit of more than 5 miles. Old Alberti says, the city was in the form of a hand, the headlands representing the fingers. But it requires a lively fancy to perceive the likeness.

There are portions of the wall which are of no difficult access : such as the fine fragments under the church of Santa Chiara ; those also at Le Balze di San Giusto, whither you may drive in a carriage ; the thick walls below the Seminario, which are comparatively near at hand : and from these a sufficient idea may be formed of the massiveness and grandeur of the walls of Volterra. The Portone also is of easy access ; and it had better be taken in the way to the Grotta de' Marmini. With the Plan of the city in his hand, the visitor will have no difficulty in finding the most remarkable portions of the ancient fortifications.

The necropolis of Volterra, as usual, surrounded the town ; but from the nature of the ground, the slopes beneath the walls to the north were particularly selected for burial. Here, for some centuries past, numerous tombs have been opened, from which the Museum of the town, as well as other collections, public and private, in various parts of Europe, have been stored with antiquarian wealth. From the multitude of sepulchres, the spot received the name of Campo Nero—"Black Field"²—a name now almost obsolete. But, though hundreds—nay, thousands—of tombs have been opened, what remains to satisfy the curiosity of the visitor ? One mean sepulchre alone. All the rest have been covered in as soon as rifled ; the usual excuse being—" *per non dannificar il podere.*" Even the tomb of the Cæcinæ, that family so illustrious in ancient times, has been refilled with earth, lest the produce of a square yard or two of soil should be lost to the owner ; and its site is now forgotten. "*O optimi cives Volaterrani !*" Are ye deserving of the commendation Cicero bestowed on your ancestors,³ when ye set so little store on the monuments of those very forefathers which Fortune has

² Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. 93.

³ Cicero, pro Domo suâ, XXX.

placed in your hands? Should not yours be rather the reproach that great man cast on the Syracusans, who knew not the sepulchre of their great citizen, Archimedes, till he pointed it out to them?⁹ Let the name, at least, of the only proprietor at Volterra who has rescued a tomb from oblivion be honourably distinguished by its association with that sepulchre, and let this in future be called La Grotta del Cinci, instead of its present appellation,

GROTTA DE' MARMINI.

This sepulchre, which is said to be a type, in form and character, of the tombs of Volterra, lies on the hill-slope a little below the Porta di Diana, on a spot marked by a clump of cypresses. The key is kept at a cottage just outside the Gate, and torches may also be had there. Like all the tombs of Volterra, this is a *hypogæum*, or sepulchre below the surface; and you descend by a few steps to the door, above which is some rude masonry. The tomb is circular, seventeen or eighteen feet in diameter, but scarcely six feet in height, with a large square pillar in the centre, and a triple tier of benches around the walls—all rudely hewn from the rock, a yellow conchiliferous sandstone, called by the natives "*panchina*." On the benches are ranged numerous urns, or ash-chests, about two or three feet long, miniature sarcophagi, with reclining figures on the lids, some stretched on their backs, but most resting on one elbow in the usual attitude of the banquet.¹ In the southern part of Etruria, two or three, rarely more than six or eight, sarcophagi are found in one

⁹ Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. V. 23.

¹ These urns are of *panchina*, travertine, or alabaster, but are so blackened by the smoke of the torches as to have lost all beauty. Two large pine-cones of stone, common funereal emblems,

lie one on each side of the entrance. There is a hole in the roof of the tomb, but whether formed in ancient times to let off the effluvium, or by modern excavators, is not very evident.

chamber; but here are at least forty or fifty urns—the ashes of a family for several generations.

“The dead above, and the dead below,
couch / Lay ranged in many a coffined row.”

Such is said to be the general character of the sepulchres on this site. Their form is often circular;² while in Southern Etruria that form is rarely found, the oblong or square being prevalent. No tomb with painted walls has ever been discovered in this necropolis. Some, however, of a singular description have been brought to light.³

TOMB OF THE CÆCINÆ.

In this same part of the necropolis, as long since as 1739, was discovered a tomb of the Cæcina family, illustrious in Roman annals. As described by Gori, who must have seen it,⁴ this tomb was very like the Grotta de' Marmini, but on a larger scale. At the depth of eight feet below the surface, was found an archway, of beautiful construction, opening on a passage lined with similar masonry,

² Gori (Mus. Etr. III. p. 93) says the tombs of Volterra are more frequently square than round, and are sometimes even triangular. Inghirami says they are generally circular, especially when small, but quadrangular when large (Mon. Etrusc. IV. p. 80); and he gives a plate of one with four square chambers (IV. tav. 16). Gori asserts that the roofs are often formed of a single stone of enormous size, sometimes supported in the middle by a pillar hewn from the rock. The entrances generally face the west. Testimony, unfortunately, is our only authority in the matter. A second tomb is sometimes found beneath the first, says Inghirami (IV. p. 94). In the centre of the floor of the tomb, there is often a hole, probably formed as a receptacle for the water that might per-

colate through the roof and walls. The vases are generally placed between the urns, or in front of them, if there be not room at the side, and the mirrors are also laid in front. Inghir. IV. p. 83. When the body was not burnt, as usual, it was laid on the bare rock. Sarcophagi were very rarely used.

³ A tomb was found in this necropolis, in 1738, which was supposed, from the numerous pots, pans, and plates within it, to have been an Etruscan kitchen—some of the pots being full of the bones of kids and of little birds. MS. description, cited by Inghirami, Mon. Etrusc. IV. p. 90. But these must have been the relics of the funeral feast; a pair of gold earrings in an urn was hardly consistent with the idea of a kitchen.

⁴ Gori, Mus. Etr. III. pp. 94, 95.

and leading down to the rock-hewn door of the tomb, which was closed with a large slab. The sepulchre was circular, about forty feet in diameter,⁵ supported by a thick column in the midst, and surrounded by a triple tier of benches, all hewn from the rock. Forty urns of alabaster, adorned with painting and gilding, were found lying, not on the benches where they had originally been arranged, but in a confused heap on the floor, as though they had been cast there by former plunderers, or "thrown down by an earthquake," as Gori suggests—more probably the former. Just within the door stood a beautiful Roman *cippus*, with a sepulchral inscription in Latin, to "A. Cæcina."⁶ Most of the urns also bore inscriptions, some in Etruscan, a few in Latin, but all of the same family. They have fortunately been preserved in the Museum of the city, just then commenced, but the tomb where they had lain for at least two thousand years, has been covered in, and its very site is now forgotten.⁷

A second tomb of this family was discovered in 1785, containing about forty urns ; none of them with Latin inscriptions.⁸

A third tomb of the Cæcina family was discovered in 1810, outside the Gate of Diana, containing six chambers, and numerous urns with Etruscan inscriptions.⁹ Thus it

⁵ Maffei, Osserv. Lett. V. p. 318 ; Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 85. Gori's illustration makes it only 30 feet.

⁶ Gori (III. p. 94, tab. XI.) and Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. VI. p. 23. tav. D 3.) call it an altar, which it resembles in form ; but the inscription marks it as a *cippus*. It is now in the Museum of Volterra.

⁷ Illustrations of this tomb are given by Gori, III. tab. X, and Inghirami, IV. tav. XIV. XV.

⁸ Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. I. p. 11.

⁹ It was discovered by Dr. Pagnini, whose description of it will be found in Inghirami's Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 107. The door was 12 *braccia* (23 feet) below the surface ; the first chamber was of irregular form, having a column in the midst, with a base and capital of the Tuscan order, two rows of benches around, on which the urns were found upset and in great confusion ; ten of them were well preserved, and with Etruscan inscriptions—none with Latin. The other five chambers were of inferior

would appear that this family was numerous as well as powerful. It has become extinct only in our own day.¹

In 1831, Signor Giusto Cinci, to whom most of the excavations at Volterra of late years are due, discovered the vestiges of two tumular sepulchres, which had been covered in with masonry, in the form of domes. Though but slight vestiges remained, it was evident that the cone of one had been composed of small rectangular blocks of tufo, rudely hewn, and uncemented ; the other, of large masses of travertine, also without cement, whose upper sides proved the structure to have been of irregular polygons, though resting on a basement of rectangular masonry.² This is the only instance known of polygonal construction so far north in Italy, and is the more remarkable, as every other relic of ancient architecture on this site is strictly rectangular. Though the construction of this tomb betokened a high antiquity, the alabaster urns it contained betrayed a comparatively recent date,³ and seemed to mark a reappropriation of a very ancient sepulchre. These domed tombs must have borne a close analogy to the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, and also to the Nuraghe of Sardinia, and the Talajots of the Balearic Islands.⁴

size. Inghirami thinks it was the early Christians who overturned the urns in these tombs, in their iconoclastic zeal.

¹ See the next Chapter.

² These monuments were only 5 feet apart. Each cone had a basement of such masonry, about 9 feet square, and beneath one of these were several courses of rude blocks, below the surface of the ground, and resting on the doorway of the sepulchre, which was composed of two upright blocks, crossed by a third as a lintel.

³ Inghirami says, as late as the seventh or eighth century of Rome, the period to

which he refers most of the urns of Volterra ; but he generally inclines to too recent a date. He has given full particulars of these tombs, together with illustrations. Ann. Inst. 1832, pp. 26—30, tav. d' Agg. A.

⁴ These were genuine specimens of the *tholus*, or domed structure of the Greeks, such as we see it in the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ ; and they are the only instances known of such *tholi* in Etruria, though one has been found some ages since at Gubbio, the ancient Iguvium, in Umbria, where the celebrated inscribed tablets, called the Eugubian

Excavations are still carried on at Volterra, but not

Tables, were found. Gori, *Mus. Etrus.* III. p. 100, tab. XVIII. 6. They also closely resemble the Nuraghe of Sardinia, and still more the Talajots of the Balearics, inasmuch as the latter are cones containing but one such chamber, while the Nuraghe have often several. The point of difference is, that these domed tombs of Volterra, like that of Gubbio, must have been covered with a mound of earth, while the Nuraghe and Talajots are solid cones of masonry, like one of the towers in the Cucumella of Vulci, but hollowed into chambers, and built above the surface. The Nuraghe, already referred to at page 47, still exist in great numbers in Sardinia. No fewer than 3000 are said to be scattered over the shores of that island (*De la Marmora, Voyage en Sardaigne*, II. p. 46), and the Talajots are not much less numerous in the Balearics. The former, which rise 30 or 40 feet above ground, have sometimes two or three stories, each with a domed chamber connected by spiral passages left in the masonry; sometimes several chambers are on the same floor, communicating by corridors; the structure, instead of being conical, is sometimes three-sided, yet with the angles rounded. Some of them have basements of masonry like these tombs of Volterra; and others are raised on platforms of earth, with embankments of masonry twenty feet in height. Though so numerous, none are found in so complete a state of preservation that it can be decided whether they terminated above in a perfect or a truncated cone. They are, in general, of regular though rude masonry, but a few are of polygonal construction. They are evidently of high antiquity. The construction of the domed chambers, formed, like the Treasury of Atreus, by the convergence of horizontal strata, establishes this beyond

a doubt. But to what race to ascribe them is still in dispute. *De la Marmora*, *Micali*, and *Arri*, assign them to the Phœnicians or Carthaginians. *Petit-Radel*, on the other hand, ascribes them to the Tyrrhene Pelasgi, in which he is followed by *Abeken*; and to this view *Inghirami* also inclines. *Müller*, however, regarded them as Etruscan, rather than Pelasgic (*Etrusk.* IV. 2, 2). For *Petit-Radel's* opinion there is ancient authority; for the pseudo-Aristotle (*de Mirab. Auscult.* cap. 104) mentions the *tholi* of Sardinia, built by *Iolaus*, son of *Iphicles*, in the ancient Greek style. *Diodorus* (IV. p. 235, ed. *Rhod.*) speaks of them under the name of *Dædalia*, so called from the architect who built them. These *tholi* can be no other than the Nuraghe. Though *Micali* (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* II. p. 45) does not take them to be tombs, and *Canina* (*Archit. Ant.* V. p. 547) thinks they were treasuries or forts, there is little doubt of their sepulchral character; for skeletons have often been found in them, and other funeral furniture, chiefly in metal. For detailed descriptions and illustrations of these singular tombs, see *De la Marmora, Voyage en Sardaigne*, tom. II., and *Bull. Inst.* 1833, p. 121; 1834, pp. 68—70; *Petit-Radel, Nuraghes de la Sardaigne*, Paris, 1826-8; *Arri, Nur-hag della Sardegna*, Torino, 1835; *Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital.* II. pp. 43, *et seq.*; III. p. 111, tav. LXXI.; *Abeken, Bull. Inst.* 1840, pp. 155—160; 1841, pp. 40-2; *Mittelitalien*, pp. 236-8.

Conical structures, roofed in exactly on the same plan as the Treasury of Atreus and other ancient *tholi*, have been discovered in the Valley of the Ohio. *Stephens' Yucatan*, I. p. 433. Mr. Stephens wisely forbears to infer hence a common origin, which could be no more satisfactorily established by

with much regularity or spirit, since the death of Signor Cinei, a few years since.⁵

Within the ancient walls are the remains of two structures which have often been called Etruscan—the Amphitheatre and the Piscina. The first lies in the Valle Buona, beneath the modern walls, to the north. Nothing is now to be seen beyond a semicircle of seats, apparently cut in the slope of the hill and now covered with turf. It displays not a trace of antiquity, and seems to have been formed for no other purpose than that it is now applied to—witnessing the game of the *pallone*. One may well doubt if it has ever been more than a theatre, for the other half of the structure, which must have been of masonry, has totally disappeared. Its antiquity, however, has been well ascertained, and it has even been regarded as an Etruscan structure,⁶ but more discriminating criticism pronounces it to be Roman.

Outside the gate of the fortress, but within the walls of the town, is the so-called Piscina. Like all the structures of similar name elsewhere in Italy, this is underground—a

these monuments than by the coincidence of pyramidal structures in Egypt and Central America.

⁵ For accounts of the excavations at Volterra in past ages, see Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, IV. Ragionamento, V. pp. 78—110. For the more recent operations consult the *Bullettini* of the Archaeological Institute. In the spring of 1844, I saw at Volterra, in the possession of Signor Agostino Pilastri, a number of curious bronzes, which had been just discovered in the neighbourhood, not in a sepulchre as usual, but buried at a little depth below the surface, and on a spot where no ancient relics had previously been found. It seemed as though they had been hastily interred for concealment, but whether in ancient or

comparatively modern times it was impossible to say. They consisted of six crested snakes, their sex distinguished by the comb, all evidently made to be attached as adornments, probably to helmets or shields—the *hermes* of a Genius, 18 inches high, with diadem and *patera*, as usually represented—two female figures, most ludicrously attenuated, each also with a *patera*—a male in a toga, about a foot high, in an excellent style of art—a horse galloping, probably a *signum militare*—and a large votive dove, 10 or 12 inches long, of solid bronze, with an Etruscan inscription on its wing, which is given in my notice of these articles, *Bull. Inst.* 1845, p. 137.

⁶ Gori, *Mus. Etr.* III. p. 59. tab. VIII.

series of parallel vaults of great depth, supported by square pillars, and evidently either a reservoir for water, or, as the name it has received implies, a preserve for fish—more probably the former.⁷ The vaults are arched over, but the pillars are connected by flat architraves, composed of cuneiform blocks, holding together on the arch principle. There is nothing in this peculiar construction which is un-Etruscan;⁸ but the general character of the structure, strongly resembling other buildings of this kind of undoubtedly Roman origin, proves this to have no higher antiquity. Gori, however, who was the first to descend into it, in 1739, braving the snakes with which tradition had filled it, declared it to be of Etruscan construction,⁹ an opinion which has been commonly followed, even to the present day. He who has seen the *Piscine* of the Campanian coast, may well avoid the difficulties attending a descent into this. A formal application has to be made to the Bishop, who keeps the key; a ladder of unusual length has next to be sought, there being no steps to descend; the Bishop's servant, and the men who bring the ladder, have to be feed: so that to those who consider time, trouble, and expense, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.

A third relic, which has erroneously been called Etruscan, is the Terme, or Baths, which lie just outside the gate of San Felice, on the south of the town. The form and disposition of the chambers, the brickwork, the *opus*

⁷ It has three vaults, supported on six pillars. It is said to be 37 *braccia* (71 feet) long, by 25 (48 feet) wide, and the vaults are elevated 16 *braccia* from the pavement. Repetti, V. p. 816. It is also known by the name of Il Castello, or the reservoir.

⁸ The gates of the theatre of Férénto, which are most probably of that origin, are similarly formed (see Vol. I. p. 206,

and woodcut at page 201); the people, moreover, who brought the arch to such perfection as is seen in the Cloaca Maxima and certain tombs of Perugia and Chiusi, could have had no difficulty in constructing a cuneiform architrave like this.

⁹ Gori, III. p. 63. It is called by Hoare, the most perfect Etruscan work at Volterra. Clas. Tour. I. p. 9.

incertum, the fragments of mosaic pavement, the marble slabs with bas-reliefs—everything on the site is so purely Roman, that it is difficult to understand how a higher antiquity could ever have been assigned to this ruin.

The traveller should not omit to pay a visit to the Villa Inghirami, and the *Buche de' Saracini*, in the valley to the east of Volterra ; for though there is little to satisfy antiquarian curiosity, the scenery on the road is magnificent. May he have such a bright spring morning as I chose, for the walk. The sun, which had scarcely scaled the mountain-tops, looked in vain through the clear ether for a cloud to shadow his brightness. The wide, deep valley of the Cecina at my feet, all its nakedness and wrinkled desolation lost in the shadow of the purple mountains to the south, was crossed by two long lines of white vapour, which might have been taken for fleecy clouds, had they not been traceable to the tall chimneys of the Salt-works in the depths of the valley. Behind the mass of Monte Catino, to the west, shone out the bright blue Mediterranean, with the rocky island of Gorgona prominent on its bosom ; and far beyond it, to the right, the snow-capt mountains of Corsica hovered like a cloud on the horizon, and to the left, rose the dark, sullen peaks of Elba, half-concealed by intervening heights. So pure the atmosphere, that many a white sail might be distinguished, studding the far-off deep ; and even the track of a steamer was marked by a dark thread on the bright face of the waters.

As I descended the hill to the convent of San Girolamo the scenery on the northern side of Volterra came into view. The city, with its walls and convents crowning the opposite steep, now formed the principal object ; the highest point crested by the towers of the fortress, and the lower heights displaying fragments of the ancient wall,

peeping at intervals from the foliage. At my feet lay an expanse of bare undulating country, the valley of the Era, broken into ravines and studded with villages ; softening off in the distance into the well-known plain of Pisa, with the dark mountains behind that city—

Per cui i Pisan veder Lucca non ponno— *Inf. xxxiii. 30.*

expanding into a form which recalled the higher beauties of the Alban Mount. There was still the blue sea in the distance, with the bald, jagged mountains of Carrara, ever dear to the memory, overhanging the Gulf of Spezia ; and the sublime hoary peaks of the Apennines, sharply cutting the azure, filled up the northern horizon—sea, gulf, and mountains, all so many boundaries of ancient Etruria. The weather had been gloomy and misty the previous days I had spent at Volterra, so that this range of icy sublimities burst upon me like a new creation. The convent of S. Girolamo, with its grove of ilices and cypresses, formed a beautiful foreground to the scene.

The Villa Inghirami, which lies lower on the slope, belongs to one of that old Volaterran family, which for ages has been renowned for arts and arms,—

Chi può l'armi tacer d' un Inghirami ?—

or has distinguished itself in scientific or antiquarian research ; and a most illustrious member of which was the Cavalier Francesco, recently deceased. The antiquarian interest of the spot lies in the so-called Buche de' Saracini. To see them you must beat up the gardener of the Villa, who will furnish you with lights, and then you enter a little cave in a bank, and follow him into a long passage cut in the rock, six feet wide but only three high, so that you must travel on all fours. From time to time the passage widens into chambers, yet not high enough to permit you to stand upright ; or it meets other passages

of similar character opening in various directions, and extending into the heart of the hill, how far no one can say. In short, this is a perfect labyrinth, in which, without a clue, one might very soon be lost.

By whom, and for what purpose these passages were formed, I cannot hazard an opinion. Though I went far into the hill, I saw no signs of tombs, or of a sepulchral appropriation—nothing to assimilate them to catacombs. That they have not lost their original character is proved by the marks of the chisel everywhere still fresh on the walls. They are too low for subterranean communications, otherwise one might lend an ear to the vulgar belief that they were formed to connect the Palazzo Inghirami in the town, with the Villa. They have no decided Etruscan character, yet are not unlike the tortuous passages in the Poggio Gajella at Chiusi, and in the Grotta Regina at Toscanella. The cave at the entrance is lined with rude masonry, probably of comparatively recent date. Another tradition ascribes their formation to the Saracens, once the scourges, and at the same time the bugbears of the Italian coast. Though these infidel pirates were wont to make descents on these shores during the middle ages, carrying off plunder and females, they were often creatures of romance rather than of reality ; every trace of wanton barbarity and destruction is attributed to them, as to Cromwell's dragoons in England ; and as they have also the fame of having been great magicians, many a marvel of Nature and of Art is ascribed to their agency. In this case, tradition represents them as having made these passages to store their plunder, and keep their captives. Twenty miles from the sea, forsooth ! Hence the vulgar title of *Buche de' Saracini*, or "the Saracens' Dens."



ETRUSCAN MARINE DEITY.

CHAPTER XLI.

VOLTERRA.—*VOLATERRÆ*.

THE MUSEUM.

D' Italia l' antico

Pregio, e l' opra che giova.—FILICAJA.

Miratur, facilesque oculos fert omnia circum

Æneas, capiturque locis ; et singula lætus

Exquirique auditque virum monumenta priorum.—VIRGIL. *Æneid*. iii. 32.

SOME consolation for the loss of the tombs which have been opened and reclosed at Volterra is to be derived from the Museum, to which their contents for the most part have been removed. Here is treasured up the accumulated sepulchral spoil of more than a century. The collection was in great part formed by Monsignor Guarnacci, a prelate of Volterra, and has since received large additions, so that it may now claim to be the most valuable collection of Etruscan antiquities in the world.¹

¹ The excavations at Volterra were commenced about 1728, in consequence of the interest excited by the publications of Dempster and Buonarroti.

Valuable, not in a marketable sense, for a dozen of the Vulcian vases and *pateræ* in the Gregorian Museum would purchase the contents of any one of its nine or ten rooms ; and the collection at Munich, or that in the British Museum, would fetch more dollars in the market than the entire Museum of Volterra, with the Palazzo Pubblico to boot. But for the light they throw on the manners, customs, religious creed, and traditions of the ancient Etruscans, the storied urns of Volterra are of infinitely more value than the choicest vases ever moulded by the hand of Eucheir, or touched by the pencil of Eugrammos. The latter almost invariably bear scenes taken from the mythical cycle of the Greeks, and, with rare exceptions, throw no light on the history or on the inner life of the Etruscans. The urns of Volterra, Chiusi, and Perugia, on the other hand, are more genuine—native in conception and execution, often indeed bearing subjects from the Greek mythology, but treated in a native manner, and according to Etruscan traditions. Thus the Museum of Volterra is a storehouse of facts, illustrative of the civilisation of ancient Etruria. I cannot agree with Maffei, that “he who has not been to Volterra knows nothing of Etruscan figured antiquity”²—this is too like the unqualified boastings of the other Peninsula. He was a townsman of Volterra, and his evidence may be suspected of

They were continued for more than thirty years ; and such multitudes of urns were brought to light that they were used as building materials. It was seeing them lie about in all directions that first excited Gori's curiosity, and led him to the study of Etruscan antiquities. Even in 1743, he said that so many urns had been discovered in the last three years, that the Museum of Volterra surpassed every other in Etruscan relics (Mus. Etrus. III. p.

92) ; though it was not till 1761 that Monsignor Guarnacci presented his collection to the Comune of the city. After that time interest flagged in Etruscan antiquities, but of late years it has revived, and excavations have been carried on briskly, chiefly by Signor Giusto Cinci.

² Maffei, Osserv. Letter. V. p. 315. The remark was made when the Museum had but sixty urns ; now it has more than four hundred.

partiality. Yet it may fairly be said, that this Museum is more instructive than any other collection of Etruscan antiquities in Italy or in other lands, and that Volterra on this account yields in interest to no other Etruscan site. He who has seen it may be content to pass by many other sites, and he who has not visited it, must bear in mind that, however much he may have seen, he has yet much to see.

I do not propose to lead the reader through the nine or ten rooms of the Museum in succession, and describe the articles *seriatim*; nor do I pretend to give him every detail of those I notice; it will suffice to call his attention to those of greatest interest, pointing out their subjects and characteristic features; assuring him that not a single visit, or even two or three, will suffice to make him acquainted with the Museum, but that continued study will only tend to develop new facts and supply him with further sources of interest.

The urns, of which there are said to be more than four hundred, are sometimes of the local rock called *panchina*, but more generally of alabaster, which is only to be quarried in this neighbourhood. Thus no doubt can be entertained of their native and local character.³ They are miniature *sarcophagi*, resembling those of Tarquinii and Toscanella in everything but material and size; being intended to

³ This *panchina* is an arenaceous tufo of aqueous formation, containing marine substances. It is of a warm yellow hue, more or less reddish. The alabaster quarries are at Spicchiarella, 3 miles distant, and at Ulgiano, 5 or 6 miles from Volterra, both in the Val d' Era. A few of the Etruscan urns are of travertine, which is found at Pignano, 6 miles to the east, in the same valley. Inghirami, indeed, sug-

gests that these urns may be the work of Greeks settled at Volterra, after its conquest by the Romans (Mon. Etrus. I. p. 541); but such a supposition is unnecessary, inasmuch as the Hellenic mythology was well known to the Etruscans; and the style of art of these urns, and the mode of treating the subjects—neither of which is Greek—are opposed to this view.

contain not the entire body, but merely the ashes of the deceased, a third of the dimensions suffices,—

Mors sola fatetur

Quantula sunt hominum corpuscula.

Rec. Soc. 15. 173.

These “ash-chests” are rarely more than two feet in length; so that they merit the name, usually applied to them, of urnlets—*urnette*. Most have the effigy of the deceased recumbent on the lid. Hence we learn something of the physiognomy and costume of the Etruscans; though we should do wrong to draw inferences as to their symmetry from the stunted distorted figures often presented to us. The equality of woman in the social state of Etruria may also be learned from the figures on these urns. It is evident that no inferior respect was paid to the fair when dead, that as much labour and expense were bestowed on their sepulchral decorations as on those of their lords. In fact, it has generally been remarked that the tombs of females are more highly ornamented and richly furnished than those of the opposite sex. Their equality may also be learned from the tablets which so many hold open in their hands⁴—intimating that they were not kept in ignorance and degradation, but were educated to be the companions rather than the slaves of the men. Nay—if we may judge from these urns, the Etruscan ladies had the advantage of their lords; for whereas the

⁴ What I call tablets Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 180) takes to be a mirror in the form of a book. But no mirrors of this form have ever been discovered; and it is difficult to believe that an article so frequently represented on Etruscan urns, would never have been found in tombs, if it had been of metal, like other ancient mirrors. Besides, it is well known that the tablets of the ancients were of this form.

If, then, these were tablets—*tabulæ*, *pugillares*—they must have been made of wood, coated with wax, which will account for no specimens of them having been found in Etruscan sepulchres. Two such tablets, however, of the time of Marcus Aurelius, have come down to us, preserved in gold mines in Transylvania. See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities v. *Tabulæ*.

latter are rarely represented with tablets or a scroll, but generally recline in luxurious indolence, with chaplet around their brows, torque about their neck, and a *patera*, or the more debauched *rhyton* in one hand, with sometimes a wine-jug in the other ; the females, though a few seem to have been too fond of creature comforts, are, for the most part, guiltless of anything beyond a fan, an egg, a pomegranate, a mirror, or it may be tablets or a scroll. Though the Etruscan fair ones were not all Tanaquils or Begoës, they were probably all educated—at least among the higher orders. Let them not, however, be suspected of cerulean tendencies—too dark or deep a hue was clearly not in fashion ; for the ladies who have the tablets in one hand, generally hold a pomegranate, the emblem of fertility, in the other, to intimate that the grand duties of woman were not to be neglected—at least I think this interpretation may be put on these Etruscan “*belles* and pomegranates.”⁵

On these urns the female figures are always decently draped, while the men are generally but half clad. Most of the figures and reliefs were originally coloured and gilt, but few now retain more than very faint traces of such decoration.

As to the reliefs on the urns, it may be well to consider them in two classes ; those of purely Etruscan subjects, and those which illustrate well-known mythological legends ; though it is often difficult to pronounce to which class a particular monument belongs. We will first treat of the latter.

It has been truly remarked, that from Etruscan urns might be formed a series of the most celebrated deeds of the mythical cycle, from Cadmus to Ulysses. Many

⁵ See Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 43 ; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 105, for an illustra-

tion of this fact—a lady of the Cæcilia family, with tablets and a pomegranate.

links in such a chain might be furnished by the Museum of Volterra, which also contains other monuments illustrative of the doings of the divinities of Grecian fable. I can only notice the most striking.

The Rape of Proserpine.—The gloomy king of Hades is carrying off his struggling bride in his chariot; the four steeds, lashed to a gallop by a truculent Fury with outspread wings, who acts as charioteer, are about to pass over a Triton, whose tail stretches in vast coils almost across the scene. In another relief of the same subject a snake takes the place of the sea-monster.⁶

Aurora.—The goddess who “gives light to mortals and immortals,” is rising in her chariot from the waves, in which dolphins are sporting.⁷

Cupid and Psyche.—One relief represents the god of

⁶ Illustrated by Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* I. tav. 9, 53; VI. tav. D. 5. Gori, I. tab. 78; III. cl. 3, tab. 3. This is one of the most common subjects on Etruscan sepulchral monuments. It is thought to symbolise the descent of the soul to the other world; and as such would be a peculiarly appropriate subject for the urns of young females. The Fury driving the *quadriga*, seems an illustration of that passage in Claudian (*Rapt. Proserp.* II. 215), where Minerva thus addresses Pluto—

quæ te stimulis facibusque
profanis

Eumenides movère? tuâ cur sede
relictâ

Audes Tartareis cœlum incestare
quadrigis?

But this monument must be much earlier than the poem. The monster and the serpent may be explained by another passage in the same writer (*II.* 157), where the “ruler of souls” drives over the groaning Enceladus—the fish’s-tail, which marks a Triton, having probably

been substituted by the sculptor through caprice or carelessness for the serpent-tail of a Giant—

Sub terris quærebat iter, gravibusque
gementem

Enceladum calcabat equis; immania
findunt

Membra rotæ; pressâque gigas cer-
vice laborat,

Sicaniam cum Dite ferens; tentatque
moveri

Debilis, et fessis serpentibus impedit
axem.

Inghirami (*I.* pp. 104, 443), who puts an astronomical interpretation on all these myths, sees in the Rape of Proserpine an emblem of the autumnal equinox, which view he founds on Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. 18. In this case the serpent would be an emblem of the sun. Cf. *Macrob.* I. 20.

⁷ She has here not merely a pair of steeds, as represented by Homer (*Odys.* XXIII. 246), but drives four in hand. For illustrations see Inghirami, *I.* tav. 5. Micali, *Ital. av. Rom.* tav. 25.

love embracing his bride ; each having but a single wing.⁸

Actæon attacked by his dogs.—This scene is remarkable only for the presence of a winged Fury, who sits by with a torch reversed.⁹ On another urn Diana with a lance stands on one side, and an old man on the other.¹⁰

Centaurs and Lapithæ.—A subject often repeated. In conformity with Ovid's description, some of the monsters are striving to escape with the females they have seized, while others are hurling rocks at Theseus and his fellows.¹ From the numerous repetitions of certain subjects on Etruscan urns, sometimes precisely similar, more frequently with slight variations, it is evident that there was often one original type of the scene, probably the work of some celebrated artist.

Perseus and Andromeda.—The maiden is chained to the walls of a cavern ; the fearful monster is opening his huge jaws to devour her, when Perseus comes to her rescue. Contrary to the received legend, she is here draped. Her father Cepheus sits by, horror-struck at the impending fate of his daughter. The presence of a winged demon—probably the Juno of the maiden—is an Etruscan peculiarity. On another similar relief, the protecting spirit is wanting ; but some palm-trees mark the scene to be in Ethiopia.²

⁸ So it is represented by Inghirami, I. tav. 52. I have not a distinct recollection of this urn.

⁹ Inghir. I. tav. 70. This may be Diana herself, who was sometimes represented with wings by the Greeks (Pausan. V. 19), and frequently by the Etruscans, an instance of which is shown in the woodcut, at page 440, of Vol. I.

¹⁰ Inghir. I. tav. 65. Gori, I. tab. 122.

¹ Ovid. Met. XII. 223 *et seq.* Gori, I. tab. 152, 153 ; III. cl. 3, tab. 1, 2.

² Perseus in the one case has all his attributes—*pileus, talaria, harpe*, and *Gorgonion*—in the other, the last two only. Gori, I. tab. 123 ; III. c. 13, tab. 1. Inghirami, I. tav. 55, 56. Ovid (Met. IV. 690) represents both the parents of the maiden as present. It may have been so in the original scene which was the type of these reliefs, and the Juno may

The mythical history of Thebes has afforded numerous subjects to these Etruscan urns—perhaps chosen for the moral of retributive justice throughout expressed.

Cadmus.—Here he is contending with the dragon of Mars, which has enfolded one of his companions in its fearful coils.³ There he is combating the armed men who sprung from the teeth of the dragon which Minerva ordered him to sow—his only weapon being the plough with which he had opened the furrows. This scene, however, will apply to Jason, as well as to Cadmus, for the former is said to have sown half the teeth of the same dragon, and to have reaped the same fruits. This is a very common subject on Etruscan urns, especially on those of terra-cotta.⁴

be an Etruscan version of the mother. For the analogy between Perseus and Bellerophon, see Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 328—331. Duc de Luynes. cf. Bull. Inst. 1842, p. 60. The scene of this exploit of Perseus is said to have been at Joppa, in proof of which the skeleton of the monster was shown there at the commencement of the Empire, and was brought to Rome to feed the appetite of that people for the marvellous. Its dimensions are chronicled by Pliny. N. H. IX. 4; Mela, I. 11; cf. Strab. I. p. 43; XVI. p. 759.

Another urn represents Perseus, with the *gorgonion* in his hand, attacked by two warriors; a female genius steps between him and his pursuers. Inghir. I. tav. 54.

³ Inghir. I. tav. 62, p. 519. Inghirami (I. p. 657) offers a second interpretation of this scene—that it may be Adrastus slaying the serpent of Nemea, and that the figure in its coils is the young Opheltes. Gori, I. tab. 156.

⁴ Lanzi took this scene to represent Jason; Inghirami referred it to Cad-

mus; Passeri and Winckelmann to Echelus, or Echelæus, the mysterious rustic who, in the battle of Marathon, with his plough alone made fearful slaughter of the Persians (Pausan. I. 32, 5; cf. I. 15, 3); Zoega, to some Etruscan hero of whom history is silent. See Inghir. Mon. Etr. I. pp. 402, 527 *et seq.* It is likely to represent a mythical rather than an historical event. Dr. Braun doubts if the instrument in the hands of the unarmed man be a plough, and takes the figure to represent Charun himself, or one of his infernal attendants, who is about to take possession of one of the warriors who is slain. Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 264. This scene, and the death of the Theban brothers, are the most common of all on Etruscan monuments, and will be found in every collection of such antiquities. There are several of it in the British Museum. For illustrations see Dempster, Etrur. Reg. tab. 64; Inghir. I. tav. 63, 64; VI. tav. L 3. Gori, I. tab. 157.

Œdipus and the Sphinx.—The son of Laius is solving the riddle put to him by

“ That sad inexplicable beast of prey,”

whose “man-devouring” tendencies are seen in a human skull beneath her paws. A Fury with a torch stands behind the monster.⁵

Œdipus slaying Laius.—He has dragged his father from his chariot, and thrown him to the earth ; and is about to plunge his sword into his body, heedless of the warning of a Juno, who lays her hand on his shoulder, as if to restrain his fury. Another winged being, a male, whose brute ears mark him as allied to “Charun,” stands by the horses’ heads.⁶

Amphiaraus and Eriphyle.—In some of these scenes a female, reclining on her couch, is thought to represent the treacherous

“ Eriphyle, that for an ouche of gold,
Hath privily unto the Grekis told
Where that her husbond hid him in a place,
For which he had at Thebis sory grace.”

For behind her stands a figure, thought to be Polynices, with the necklace of Harmonia in his hand, with which he had bribed her ; and on the other side is a man muffled, as if for a journey, who is supposed to represent Amphiaraus.⁷

⁵ The subject is repeated, with the omission of the skull. Inghir. I. tav. 67, 68.

⁶ Inghir. I. tav. 66. Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 21, 1. Gerhard takes this figure to be Mantus, the king of the Etruscan Hades, and what he holds in his hands to be shields, or large nails. Gottheit. d. Etrus. p. 63, taf. VI. 2.

⁷ Inghir. I. tav. 19, 20, 74, 75, 76,

77, pp. 182, *et seq.* Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 36. Inghirami follows Lanzi in interpreting this scene as the parting of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. Gori (II. p. 262), however, took it for a version of the final parting-scene so often represented on Etruscan monuments, without any reference to Greek mythology. It has also been regarded as the death of Alcestis. Ann. Inst.

The Seven before Thebes.—There are three urns with this subject. One, which represents the assault of Capaneus on the Electrian Gate of Thebes, is very remarkable. The moment is chosen when the hero, who has defied the power of Jove, and has endeavoured to scale "the sacred walls," is struck by a thunderbolt, and falls headlong to the earth; his ladder also breaking with him. The amazement and awe of his comrades are well expressed. The gate of the city is evidently an imitation of the ancient one of Volterra, called *Porta all' Arco*; for it is represented with the three mysterious heads around it, precisely in the same relative positions.⁸ In the other two urns Capaneus is wanting, though an assault on the gate is represented; but the original type is still evident, though the three heads are transferred to the battlements above, and are turned into those of warriors resisting the attack of the besiegers. In one of these scenes a female, probably Antigone, is looking out of a small window by the side of the gate. And in both, the principal figure among the besiegers grasps a severed head by the hair, and is about to hurl it into the city.⁹

1842, pp. 40—7,—Grauer. cf. *Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. XL. B.* The parting of Amphiaras and his wife was one of the scenes which adorned the celebrated Chest of Cypselus, but there he was represented as ready to take vengeance on her. *Pausan. V. 17.*

⁸ Inghir. I. tav. 87. Micali, *Ital. av. Rom. tav. 29*; *Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 108.* Though the gate in this scene is a perfect arch, there are no *voussoirs* expressed. The freedom and vigour of design in this relief show it to be of no early date. Inghirami (*I. p. 678, et seq.*) infers this from the presence of warriors on horseback, for such are never represented by Homer. But

mounted warriors appear in monuments of the highest antiquity. The date of this urn is more safely determined by the style of art. For illustrative descriptions of this scene see *Æschyl. Sept. ad Theb. 423—456*, and the prolix yarn of Statius, *Theb. X. 828—ad finem. Pausan. IX. 8.* The subject of Capaneus has been found also on Etruscan *scarabæi*. One of them bears the name "CAPNE" in Etruscan characters. *Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 118.*

⁹ Inghir. I. tav. 88, 90; Micali, *Ital. av. Rom. tav. 30, 31.* Gori, *I. tab. 132.* Inghirami (*I. p. 681*) thinks the female at the window is intended for Antigone counting the besiegers. He remarks that

Polynices and Eteocles.—The fatal combat of the Theban Brothers is a subject of most frequent occurrence on Etruscan urns, and there are many instances in this Museum. They are generally represented in the act of giving each other the death-wound. A Charun, or a Fury, or it may be two, are present.¹

The Trojan War has also furnished scenes for some of these urns, though this class of subjects is not so frequently represented on urns or *sarcophagi* as on vases.

The Rape of Helen.—A scene often repeated. “The faire Tyndarid lasse,” is hurried on board a “brazen-beaked ship”—attendants are carrying vases and other goods on board—

— crateres auro solidi, captivaque vestis

Congeritur— *diag. Ann. ii. 765.*

all is hurry and confusion—but Paris, marked by his Phrygian cap, is seated on the shore in loving contemplation of

“the face that launched a thousand ships,
And burnt the topmost towers of Ilium.”²

Marlow's Faustus (p. 99).

Sometimes the fond pair are represented making their escape in a *quadriga*.³

both Greeks and Romans were wont to hurl the heads of their slaughtered foes into beleaguered cities, in order to infuse terror into the besieged; an instance of which is seen on Trajan's Column, where Roman soldiers are casting the heads of the Dacians into their city. From this he unnecessarily infers that these urns are of the same date as that celebrated column. The style of art proves them to be of no very early period; one of them is among the most beautiful urns yet discovered at Volterra.

¹ Gori, I. tab. 133. Inghirami, I. tav. 92, 93; VI. tav. V. 2. In the very similar

representation of this combat on the Chest of Cypselus, a female demon or Fate, having the fangs and claws of a wild beast, was introduced behind one of the brothers. Pausan. V. 19. This and Jason or Cadmus fighting with the teeth-sown warriors, are the most common subjects on Etruscan urns—chosen, thinks Inghirami (I. p. 403), as illustrative of the brevity of human life, and its continual warfare.

² Gori, Mus. Etrus. I. tab. 138, 139; III. class. 3, tab. 5. Gori interprets this scene as the fate of Auges and her son Telephus.

³ Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 7.

One scene represents the death of Polites, so beautifully described by Virgil.⁴ The youth has fled to the altar for refuge, the altar of his household gods, by which stand his venerable parents ; but the relentless Pyrrhus rushes on, thirsting for his blood—Priam implores mercy for his son—even his guardian genius steps in to his aid, and holds out a wheel to his grasp. The urn tells no more, but leaves the catastrophe—*finis Priami fatorum*—to the imagination of the beholder.⁵

A scene very similar to this shows Paris, when a shepherd, ere he had been rendered effeminate by the caresses of Helen, defending himself against his brothers, who, enraged that a stranger should have carried off the prizes from them in the public games, sought to take his life. The palm he bears in his hand, as he kneels on the altar to which he had fled for refuge, tells the tale. The venerable Priam comes up and recognises his son. A Juno, or guardian spirit, steps between him and his foes.⁶

2/ Ulysses and the Sirens is a favourite subject. The hero is represented lashed by his own command to the

⁴ Virg. *Æn.* II. 526—558.

⁵ Gori, *Mus. Etrus.* I. tab. 171 ; III. cl. 4, tab. 16, 17. The demon in this scene is by many regarded as Nemesis. Gori interprets this scene as "*Sacra Cabiria*."

⁶ Gori, I. tab. 174 ; III. class. 3, tav. 9 ; cl. 4, tab. 18, 19. This is a scene frequently occurring on Etruscan urns ; and is found also on bronze mirror-cases, of which I have seen several instances—two now in the British Museum. It has been explained as the death of Pyrrhus, at Delphi, and the female demon is supposed to represent the Pythia, at whose command the son of Achilles was slain.—Pausan. I. 14. But in most of these scenes the Juno is manifestly protecting the youth,

and in one instance throws her arm round his neck. Yet in others, the office of the demon, or demons, for there are sometimes two, is more equivocal ; and they have been interpreted as Furies urging on the brothers of Paris to take revenge. *Mus. China.* I. tav. 81. In such cases the scene will well admit of interpretation as the death of Pyrrhus, and the man who slays him, would be either the priest of the temple (Pausan. X. 24), or Machareus (Strab. IX. p. 421). Micali (*Ital.* av. Rom. tav. 48) takes this scene to represent Orestes at Delphi. In the urn, which he illustrates, the Juno has an eye in each outspread wing, just as in the marine deity, drawn in the woodcut at the head of this chapter.

mast of his vessel, yet struggling to break loose, that he may yield to the three enchantresses and their "warbling charms."⁸

The great hero of Homeric song is also represented in the company of Circe,

"The daughter of the Sun, whose charmed cup
Whoever tasted lost his upright shape ;"

for his companions, her victims, stand around, their heads changed

"Into some brutish form of wolf or bear,
Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,
All other parts remaining as they were."
b. 70.

The death of Clytemnestra.—This is a favourite subject, chosen, doubtless, as illustrative of the doctrine of retribution. In one scene the matricide is reclining on her couch, when Orestes and Pylades rush in with drawn swords ; one seizes her, the other her paramour Ægisthus, and a winged Fate stands by to betoken their end.⁹ In another, she lies a corpse on her bed, and the avengers are returning from the slaughter. But the most remarkable monument is a large, broken urn, on which Orestes—"URSTE"—is represented in the act of slaying his mother, "CLUTMSTA," and his companion is putting to death Ægisthus. At one end of the same relief the two friends, "URSTE" and "PULUCTRE" (Pylades), are kneeling on an altar, with swords turned against their own bosoms, making expiation, while the truculent, brute-eared "CHARUN," with his fatal hammer raised, and a Fury with flaming torch, and hissing serpent, are rising from the abyss at their feet.¹ On the broken fragment adjoining this urn is a

⁸ Gori, I. tab. 147.

⁹ Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 11, 2.

¹ Micali, Italia, av. Rom. tav. XLVII. ; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. CIX.,

tom. III. p. 183. Inghirami, Mon. Etr.

VI. tav. A. 2. Raoul-Rochette, Mon.

Ined. pl. XXIX. Ann. Inst., 1837, 2, p. 262—Braun. Greek names are by

warrior also kneeling on an altar, with two other figures falling around him, to which are attached the names "ACNS" and "PRIUMNES."²

Orestes persecuted by the Furies.—There are here not three only of these avengeful deities, but five, armed with torches or hammers, attacking the son of Agamemnon, who endeavours to defend himself with his sword.³

Many of these urns bear mythological subjects purely native. The most numerous class is that of marine deities, generally figured as women from the middle upwards, but with fishes' tails instead of legs—

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

Nov. 17, p. 4.

A few, however, are represented of the male sex, as that in the woodcut at the head of this chapter. These beings are generally winged also, probably to show their superhuman power and energy; and smaller wings often spring from their temples—a common attribute of Etruscan divinities, symbolical, it may be, of a rapidity and power

no means uniformly expressed on Etruscan monuments. On one mirror, which represents the same mythical event as this urn, the names are spelt "URUSTHE" and "CLUTUMSTA," (Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spieg. taf. CCXXXVII.*); and on another, "URUSTHE" and "CLUTHUMUSTHA;" and a fierce demon, named "NATHUM," with huge fangs, and hair on an end, stands behind the avenger, and brandishes a serpent over the murderess's head. Gerh. *Etrusk. Spieg. taf. CCXXXVIII.*; Gottheiten der Etrusker, *taf. VI. 5*, pp. 11, 63; Bull. Inst., 1842, p. 47. Gerhard takes this demon to be a female, and equivalent to Mania. A totally different interpretation has been found for this urn. Etrusco-Celts, if they will, may pronounce the inscriptions to be

choice Irish, and may hug themselves in the discovery that Urste means "stop the slaughter!"—Clutmsta, "stop the pursuit!"—Puluctre, "all are prisoners!" (*Etruria Celtica*, II. p. 166)—but few will be inclined to reject the old-fashioned interpretation of Orestes and Clytemnestra.

² Inghir. I. tav. 43. Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. 109. There are some kindred scenes, where two armed men, kneeling on an altar, are defending themselves against their foes. One of them being sometimes represented with a head in his hand, seems intended for Perseus. Gori, I. tab. 150, 175; Inghir. I. tav. 58, 59; VI. tav. A. 5.

³ Inghir. I. tav. 25; cf. Gori, I. tab. 151.

of intellectual action, far transcending that of mortals.⁴ They have not serpent-locks, or the resemblance of their heads to that of the Greek Medusa would be complete ; but they have sometimes a pair of snakes knotted around their brows, and uprearing their crests, just like those which are the distinctive mark of Egyptian gods and monarchs. These trifold divinities bear sometimes a trident or anchor, a rudder or oar, to indicate their dominion over the sea—sometimes a sword, or it may be, a firebrand or mass of rock, to show their might over the earth also, and their power of destruction, or their malignant character ; which they further display by brandishing these weapons over the heads of their victims. They are often represented with a torque about their necks. Marine deities would naturally be much worshipped by a people, whose power lay greatly in their commerce and maritime supremacy ; and accordingly the active imaginations of the Etruscans were thus led to symbolise the destructive agencies of nature at sea. For these are evidently beings to be propitiated, whose vengeance is to be averted ; very unlike the gentle power to which the Italian sailor now looks for succour in the hour of peril—

In mare irato, in subita procella,
Invoco te, nostra benigna stella !

It is highly probable that these sea-gods were of Etruscan origin ; yet as we are ignorant of their native appellations, it may be well to designate them, as is generally done, by the names of the somewhat analogous beings of Grecian mythology, to which, however, they do not answer in every respect. The females then are

⁴ The wings may be considered an Etruscan characteristic, for they are rarely found attached to similar figures on Greek monuments. Forchhammer,

who takes the dolphins' tails to be symbols of torrents, regards the wings as emblems of evaporation. *Ann. Inst.*, 1838, p. 290.

usually called Scylla,⁵ though wanting the peculiar characteristic of that monster, who

Pube premit rabidos inguinibusque canes.

The male sea-divinities, which are of less frequent occurrence, are commonly called Glaucus.⁶ On one urn such a being is enfolding a struggling warrior in the coils of each tail.⁷ In another, he has thus entangled two figures of opposite sexes, and is seizing them by the hair.⁸ One of these deities, illustrated in the woodcut at the head of this chapter, has an eye in either wing, a symbol, it may be, of all-searching power, added to that of ubiquitous energy.⁹

When, instead of fishes' tails, the woman's body terminates in snakes, she is commonly called Echidna, the

⁵ Scylla, with the Greeks, seems to have been the embodied emblem of the sea, or of its monsters; and she thus personifies the perils of a maritime life. *Ann. Inst.*, 1843, p. 182.

⁶ Glaucus is very rarely represented on ancient works of art. Never has he been found on painted vases—only on medals, gems, Etruscan urns, and in an ancient painting in the Villa Adriana. *Ann. Inst.*, 1843, p. 184. M. Vinet, who writes the article cited, regards Glaucus as the personification of the colour of the sea (pp. 173, 181). He thinks the word expressed "that clear hue, verging on green or blue, but in which white predominates, which the sky or the surface of the waves assumes under certain conditions, and at certain hours of the day. On viewing these effects of light, the people, who of the seven-hued rainbow had formed Iris, could not possibly have refrained from increasing the abundant series of their creations, and Neptune henceforth counted a new subject in his empire."

⁷ Were it not for the sex of the monster this scene might represent the companions of Ulysses encountering Scylla; or it may be an Etruscan version of the same myth. Gori (*I. tab.* 148), however, represents it as a female.

⁸ Micali, *Ital. av. Rom. tav.* 23.

⁹ Micali, *Ital. av. Rom. tav.* 24. This writer (*Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p.* 180) regards the eye in the wings as a symbol of celerity and foresight; Inghirami (*I. p.* 79), of circumspection. On another urn in this Museum, the eye is represented on the wing of a Charun, who is conducting a soul to the other world, (Micali, *op. cit. tav.* 104, 1; Inghir. *I. tav.* 8); and on another, where a female demon protects Paris from the assaults of his brothers (*ut supra*, p. 178). It is found also on the wing of a Charun interfering in a battle-scene, on a Volterranean urn, from the tomb of the Cæcinæ, now in the Museum of Paris. Micali, *op. cit. tav.* 105; *Ital. av. Rom. tav.* 43.

sister of Medusa and the Gorgons, the mother of Cerberus, the Hydra, the Chimæra, the Sphinx, and other mythical monsters, and herself

πέλωρον, ἀμήχανον, οὐδὲν ἑοικὸς
 Θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
 Σπῆϊ ἐνὶ γλαφυρῷ, θείην κρατερόφρον' Ἐχιδναν·
 Ἥμισυ μὲν νύμφην, ἑλικώπιδα, καλλιπάρηον,
 Ἥμισυ δ' αὖτε πέλωρον ὄφιν, δεινὸν τε μέγαν τε,
 Ποικίλον, ὠμωστήν, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης.¹

"Stupendous, nor in shape resembling aught
 Of human or of heavenly; monstrous, fierce
 Echidna; half a nymph, with eyes of jet
 And beauty-blooming cheeks; and half again
 A speckled serpent, terrible and vast,
 Gorged with blood-banquets; trailing her huge folds
 Deep in the hollows of the blessed earth."

Akin to her is the male divinity, the

"Typhon huge, ending in snaky twine,"

Milton's "Hymn on the Horns of Christ's Nativity," st. xxv.
 already treated of in describing the tombs of Corneto.²
 He is said to have been her lover, and the progenitor of all
 those monsters,

"Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race,
 Born of the brooding of Echidna base."

Hom. Od. vi. 226, 227.
 As the fish is emblematical of the depths of the sea, so
 the serpent would seem to symbolise those of the land;
 and we shall probably not be mistaken in regarding these
 snake-tailed beings as personifying the subterranean powers
 of nature, such as have to do with fissures and caverns,
 and especially such as regard volcanic disturbances.³ That
 these destructive agencies should have been deified in a

¹ Hesiod. Theog. 295, *et seq.*

² See vol. I. pp. 303—5.

³ In a cavern under a hollow rock
 was Echidna's abode. Hesiod. Theog.

301. It is well established that Typhon,
 and the other Giants were, in the Greek
 mythology, symbols of volcanic agencies.
 See vol. I., p. 304.

land which, in various ages, has experienced from them terrible catastrophes, and which, on every hand, bears traces of their effects, is no more than might be expected ; and their relation to the sepulchre among a people who always committed their dead to the caverns of the rock, or to the bowels of the earth, will be readily understood.

Some of these urns have the heads alone of these wing-browed divinities, which, in certain cases, degenerate into mere masks. One head, with serpents tied beneath the chin, is not unlike Da Vinci's celebrated Medusa in the Florence Gallery. Other urns bear representations of dolphins sporting on the waves, marine-horses, or *hippocampi*,⁴

Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus—

Virg. Æn. vi. 729.

symbols, it may be, of maritime power, but more probably of the passage of the soul to another state of existence ; which is clearly the case where one of these monsters bears a veiled figure on his back.⁵

Other twofold existences are of the earth. Centaurs, of both sexes, not combating their established foes the Lapithæ, but forming the sole or chief subject in the scene ; sometimes with wings ; sometimes robed with a lion's skin, and holding a large bough. Etruscan centaurs, be it observed, especially those on early monuments, have generally the fore-legs of a man, the hind ones only of a horse.⁶ Like the sea-monsters, the centaur may be a symbol of the passage of the soul.⁷

⁴ The idea of the *hippocampus* on ancient monuments was probably suggested by the singular fish of that name, which abounds in the Mediterranean, and whose skeleton resembles a horse's head and neck placed on a fish's tail. See Inghir. VI. tav. D. 2, 3.

⁵ Inghir. I. tav. 6 ; cf. Braun, Ann. Inst., 1837, 2, p. 261.

⁶ So the Centaur was represented in early Greek works—the chest of Cypselus, for instance. Pausan. V. 19.

⁷ It is evident from the frequent introduction of this *chimæra* on funeral

Griffons are also favourite subjects on these urns. That they are embodiments of some evil and destructive power, is evident in their compound of lion and eagle. And thus they are generally represented ; now, like beasts of prey, tearing some animal to pieces ; now overthrowing the Arimaspes, who sought to steal the gold they guarded.⁸

One small urn has the legs and seat of a couch carved in relief on its front, and a couple of small birds below, apparently picking up the crumbs. These have been interpreted as "the sacred fowls of Etruscan divination"—the birds from whose motions was learned the will of the gods.⁹ But to me they seem inserted merely to fill the vacant space beneath the banqueting-couch.

The reliefs illustrative of Etruscan life are the most interesting monuments in this collection. They may be divided into two classes ; those referring to the customs, pursuits, and practices of the Etruscans in their ordinary life, and those which have a funereal import. It is not always easy to draw the distinction.

To commence with their sports. There are numerous representations of boar-hunts, of which the Etruscans of old were as fond as their modern descendants. The *Tusculus*

monuments that it had a conventional relation to the sepulchre. Virgil (*Æn.* VI. 286) represents Centaurs stalled with other monsters, at the gate of Hell—

Centaurs in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque biformes, &c.

Inghirami (*Museo Chiusino*, I. p. 91) regards them as symbols of autumn.

⁸ Inghir. *Mon. Etrus.* I. tav. 39, 41, 42, 99. Gori, I. tab. 154, 156 ; III. cl. 3, tab. 4. The Arimaspes on these urns are not one-eyed, as represented by the ancients. Herod. III. 116 ; IV.

13, 27 ; Plin. VII. 2 ; Pausan. I. 24.

Inghirami takes these scenes to symbolise the weakness of humanity to contend with Fate ; though in pursuance of his system of astronomical interpretation he regards the griffon as an emblem of the power of the sun in the vernal equinox, and where it is devouring a stag he takes it to mean spring overcoming winter (*I.* pp. 328, 723). Servius (*ad Virg. Buc.* VIII. 27) says those monsters were sacred to Apollo.

⁹ Inghir. I. tav. 36, pp. 308—311. He remarks that out of six hundred urns this alone displays the holy birds.

aper, though celebrated in ancient times, can hardly have abounded as much as at present, when he has so much more uncultivated country for his range; for the Maremma, which was of old well populated, is now for the greater part a very desert. Some of these scenes may have reference to Meleager and the boar of Calydon, or to the exploit of Hercules with the fierce beast of Erymanthus; for the subject is variously treated. Its frequent occurrence on urns, as well as on vases and in painted tombs, shows how much such sports were to the Etruscan taste.¹

Other reliefs represent the games of the circus, which resembles that of the Romans, having a *spina*, surmounted by a row of cones or obelisks. In some of these scenes are bull-fights; in others, horse-races, or gladiatorial combats. The two latter games the Romans borrowed from the Etruscans.²

These urns, though not being of early date they can hardly be cited as proofs, yet tend to confirm the high probability that the circus, as well as its games, was of Etruscan origin. We know that the Romans had no such edifices before the accession of Tarquin, the first of the Etruscan dynasty, who built the Circus Maximus, and “sent for boxers and race-horses to Etruria;”³ and we

¹ In one of these boar-hunts the beast is attacked by two winged boys, who are thought to be Cupids catching the boar which killed Adonis. Theocr. Idyl. XXX.; Inghir. I. tav. 69, p. 586. Macrobius (I. 21), who gives the astronomical symbolism of the legend, tells us that the boar was an emblem of winter; and on this account, thinks Inghirami (I. p. 594), he is represented on sepulchral monuments, to indicate the season when the annual *inferiæ* or *parentalia* were held in honour of the dead. Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 4.

² Liv. I. 35; Nicol. Damasc. ap. Athen. IV. c. 13, p. 153. Before the introduction of the amphitheatre, in the time of Augustus, the Romans often held their gladiatorial combats in the circus, as here represented. See Vol. I. p. 95. Inghirami (I. tav. 98, p. 718) gives a scene from an urn, in the Cinci collection at Volterra, where two gladiators are contending over a vase.

³ Liv. loc. cit.—*Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruriâ maxime acciti.* Cf. Dion. Hal. III. p. 200.

know also, from the frequent representations of them in the painted tombs, that such sports must have been common in that land ; so that it is a fair conclusion that similar structures to that Tarquin raised for their display, already existed there. As an Etruscan, he is likely to have chosen for his model some circus with which he was well acquainted—probably that of Tarquinii, his native city, and the metropolis of the Confederation. That no vestiges of such structures are extant may be accounted for by supposing them to have been of wood, as the scaffolding of the original Circus Maximus is said to have been.*

Processions there are of various descriptions—funeral, triumphal, and judicial. In one of the latter, four judges or magistrates, wrapt in togas, are proceeding to judgment. Before them march two lictors, each with a pair of rods or wands, which may represent the *fascēs* without the *secures* or hatchets, just as they were carried by Roman lictors, before one of the consuls when in the City.⁵ They are preceded by a slave, bearing a curule chair, another *insigne* of authority, and, like the lictors and *fascēs*, of Etruscan origin.⁶ Other slaves carry the *scrinium* or

* Dion. Hal. loc. cit. The only Etruscan monument which shows us how the spectators were accommodated at the public games, is the painted tomb at Corneto, called the Grotta delle Bighe, and that represents them seated on simple platforms, apparently of wood—just such as are now raised at a horse-race or other spectacle in Florence or Rome, but with curtains to shade them from the sun. See Vol. I. p. 327.

These circus-scenes ought, perhaps, to be classed with the funereal subjects ; for it is not improbable that they represent the games in honour of the deceased. In one scene, where a *spina* is

introduced, it has manifestly a figurative allusion ; for a man and woman are taking their last farewell at it, as if to intimate that the soul had reached its goal and finished its course. Inghir. I. tav. 100.

⁵ Cicero, de Repub. II. 31 ; Val. Max. IV. 1, 1 ; Plutarch. Publicola ; Dion. Hal. V. p. 278. So they are represented also on an Etruscan *cippus*, described at page 114 ; and also on an urn with a banqueting-scene, which Inghirami interprets as the curse of Œdipus (I. tav. 72, 73 ; cf. Gori, III. cl. 3, tav. 14).

⁶ Liv. I. 8 ; Flor. I. 5 ; Dion. Hal. III. p. 195 ; Strabo, V. p. 220 ; Sil.

capsa, a cylindrical box for the documents, and *pugillares*, or wax tablets for noting down the proceedings.⁷

On another urn the four magistrates are returning from judgment, having descended from their seats on the elevated platform. The lictors, who precede them in this case, bear forked rods. They are encountered by a veiled female, with her two daughters, and two little children of tender age—the family, it must be, of the criminal come to implore mercy for the husband and father.⁸

Here are also triumphal processions, which history tells us the Etruscans had as well as the Romans;⁹ and which, in fact, are generally attributed to the former people,¹ though there is no positive evidence of such an origin, beyond the introduction into such processions of golden or gilt chariots, drawn by four horses; the earlier triumphs having been on foot.² Here are instances of both modes, the victor being preceded by *cornicines* or trumpeters, by fifers and harpers, and where he is in a chariot, by a lictor also with a wand.³ The Etruscanism of the scene lies in

Ital. VIII. 486—8; Diodor. Sic. V. p. 316. ed. Rhod.; Macrob. Saturn. I. 6; cf. Sallust. Catil. 51.

⁷ This scene is illustrated by Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 40; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 112, 1; Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 23, 27.

⁸ Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 112, 2; Gori, III. cl. 4. tab. 15.

⁹ Flor. I. 5; Appian. de Reb. Pun. LXVI.; cf. Plin. XXXIII. 4.

¹ Dempster, Etrur. Reg. I. p. 328; Gori, Mus. Etr. I. p. 370. Müller (Etrusk. II. 2, 7) considers the Roman triumph to be either immediately derived from Etruria, or to be a continuation of the pageants which the kings of Rome had received from that land.

² Plutarch. Romul.; Flor. I. 5. Dionysius (II. p. 102) says Romulus triumphed in a *quadriga* (cf. Propert. IV.

eleg. I. 32); but Plutarch opposes this, and cites ancient statues of that monarch to prove that he triumphed on foot. The introduction of the *quadriga* from Etruria is generally ascribed to the elder Tarquin.

³ The description Appian (loc. cit.) gives of a triumph in the Etruscan style, corresponds nearly with the scenes on these urns. The victor, he says, was preceded by lictors in purple tunics, and then, in imitation of an Etruscan pageant, by a chorus of harpers and satyrs belted and wearing golden chaplets, dancing and singing as they went. One in the midst of them wore a long purple robe, and was adorned with golden bracelets and torques. Such men, he says, were called *Lydi*, because the Etruscans were colonists from Lydia. These

the winged genius, who, with a torch in her hand, is seated on one of the horses.⁴ It may be that the scene is rather funereal than festive, and that the figure in the chariot with the attributes of triumph is intended to represent a soul entering on a new state of existence. This is rendered more probable by the analogy of the funeral procession in the Grotta del Tifone at Corneto, where souls are attended by demons, one with a torch, and by figures bearing wands, preceded by a *cornicen*.⁵

Of marriages, no representation, which has not a mythical reference, has yet been found on the sepulchral urns of Etruria, though most of the earlier writers on these antiquities mistook the farewell-scenes, presently to be described, where persons of opposite sexes stand hand in hand, for scenes of nuptial festivity.⁶

There are several representations of sacrifices; the priest pouring a libation on the head of the bull about to be slain. In one case the victim is a donkey—the delight of the garden-god,—

Cæditur et rigido custodi ruris asellus.

In another scene, a beast like a wolf is rising from a well, but is restrained by a chain held by two men, while

were followed by men bearing vessels of incense, and last of all came the victorious general in his *quadriga*, clad in his *toga picta*, and *tunica palmata*, with a golden crown of oak leaves on his brow, and an ivory sceptre, adorned with gold, in his hand. See Müller, *Etrusk.* IV. 1, 2. Illustrations of these urns will be found in Micali, *Ital. av. Rom.* tav. 34, 35; Gori, I. tab. 178, 179; III. cl. 3, tab. 28.

⁴ Müller thinks this female demon may be a Victory. On another urn in this museum, a *quadriga*, in which

stands a warrior, is drawn by a Fury, with a torch, into an abyss. Lanzi (ap. Inghir. I. p. 669) interpreted it as the death of Amphiaraus—*Amphiaraeæ fata quadrigæ*. Ingh. I. tav. 84; Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 12.

⁵ See Vol. I. pp. 311—3. This painting has been supposed to represent the triumphal entrance of souls into the unseen world. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 47. Urlichs.

⁶ Buonarroti, Passeri, Gori, even Lanzi and Micali, made this mistake. See Inghirami, I. pp. 191, 208.

a third pours a libation on his head, and a fourth strikes him down with an axe. It is evidently no ordinary sacrifice, for all the figures are armed.⁷

Here also is seen the dreadful rite of human sacrifice, too often performed by the Etruscans, as well as by the Greeks and Romans.⁸ The men who sit with their hands bound behind their backs, and on whose heads the priestesses are pouring libations, are probably captives about to be offered to a deity, or to the Manes of some hero. It may be the Trojans whom Achilles sacrificed to the shade of Patroclus; it may be Orestes and Pylades at the altar of Diana. Observe the altar in this scene. It is precisely like a Roman Catholic shrine, even to the very cross in the midst, for the panelling of the wall shows that form in relief.⁹

⁷ Inghir. I. tav. 60; VI. tav. E. 5, 4; Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 10. Dempster (tab. 25) gives a plate of a Perugian urn, with a similar scene; but the monster has a human body with a dog's head. It is not easy to explain this very singular subject. Buonarroti (p. 24, ap. Dempst. II.) sees in the victim the monster Volta, which is said to have ravaged the land of Volsinii, and to have been destroyed by Porsenna. Plin. II. 54. Passeri (Acheront. p. 59, ap. Gori, Mus. Etr.) interprets it as the demon of Temessa, called Lybas, which was clad in a wolf's skin, and was overcome by Euthymus, the pugilist. Pausan. VI. 6. Inghirami takes it to represent Lycaon protected by Mars, with Ceres as a Fury by his side.

⁸ Maffei (Osserv. Letter. IV. p. 65) indignantly rejects this charge against his forefathers: "They cannot, and they ought not to attribute so unworthy and barbarous a custom to our Etruscans, without any foundation of authority!" It is true there is no recorded evidence

of such a practice among the Etruscans, unless the Roman captives, put to death—*immolati*—in the forum of Tarquinii, may be regarded as offered to the gods. Liv. VII. 19. But monuments abundantly establish the fact. Müller, indeed, thinks the Romans learned this horrid rite from the Etruscans (Etrusk. III. 4, 14). Inghirami (I. p. 716), though admitting it to be an Etruscan custom, thinks it had gone out of practice before the date of these urns. Yet we know it had not entirely fallen into disuse in Greece or Rome till Imperial times.

⁹ Gori, I. tab. 170. Two of these reliefs, illustrated by Inghirami (I. tav. 96, 97), may perhaps represent a human sacrifice. In one, a man is on his knees amid some warriors; and slaves are bearing, one a ladder, another a jar on his shoulder, and a large mallet in his hand, and a boy plays the double pipes. The other relief has the same features, but the victim is falling to the earth, apparently just struck by the

In another scene the victim lies dead at the foot of the altar, and a winged genius sits in a tree hard by. Micali takes this to represent the oracle of Faunus, Inghirami that of Tiresias.¹

Not all these sacrificial scenes are of this sanguinary character. Offerings of various descriptions are being brought to the altar, and in one case a tall amphora stands upon it.

On one urn, on which a young girl reclines in effigy, is a school scene, with half a dozen figures sitting together holding open scrolls; seeming to intimate that the deceased had been cut off in the bloom of life, ere her education was complete.² In this, as in certain other cases, there seems a relation between the figure on the lid and the bas-relief below, though in general the reliefs, especially when the subject is from the Grecian mythology, bear no apparent reference to the superincumbent effigy.³

Banqueting scenes are numerous, and bear a close resemblance to those in the painted tombs of Tarquinii and Clusium. There are generally several couches with a pair of figures of opposite sexes on each—a corroboration from

sword of one of the group. Gori (I. tab. 146) calls this scene "the death of Elpenor." Another relief, which represents a youth stabbing himself on an altar, is interpreted by Lanzi and Inghirami (I. p. 673, tav. 86) as the self-sacrifice of Menoeceus, son of Creon.

¹ Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 41; Inghir. I. tav. 78, p. 654.

² Gori, III. cl. 2, tab. 12.

³ The relation is seen also in some of the car-scenes presently to be described; but, with rare exceptions, there seems to be no relation beyond that of juxta-position, between the urn and its lid. Besides the incongruity of subject, the material is often not the same. The

style of art betrays a wide difference of excellence, and even of antiquity. Inghirami cites a case of a young girl reclining on the lid of an urn, which bears an epitaph for a person of more than 70; and explains such anomalies by regarding these recumbent figures, not as portraits of individuals, but as idealities—the men as heroes, the women as souls (I. p. 399; cf. 408, tav. U. 3, 2). But in the case cited, it is more likely that the lid was shifted from one urn to the other, in the removal from the sepulchre. The frequent incongruities, however, render it very probable that the urns were kept in store, and fitted with lids to order.

another source of the high social civilisation of the Etruscans⁴—and there are children of various ages standing around, sometimes embracing each other; pictures of domestic felicity, such as are rarely seen on the monuments of antiquity. The usual musicians are present—*subulones*, with the double pipes; *citharistæ*, with the lyre; and players of the *syrix* or Pandean pipes—all, as well as the banqueters, crowned with garlands of roses. Tables, bearing refreshments, stand by the side of the couches, together with *scamna* or stools, on which the musicians stand, or by which the attendants ascend to fill the goblets of the banqueters, elevated as they are by lofty cushions.⁵ Just such tables and stools are often represented in relief against the bench of rock on which the body or sarcophagus was laid in the tomb—the banqueting hall of the dead.⁶

The most interesting scenes, because the most touching and pathetic, are those which depict the last moments of the deceased. A female is stretched on her couch; her father, husband, sisters or daughters are weeping around her; her little ones stand at her bed-side, unconscious how soon they are to be bereft of a mother's tenderness—a moment near at hand, as is intimated by the presence of a winged genius with a torch on the point of expiring. Sometimes the dying woman is delivering to her friend her tablets, open as though she had just been recording her thoughts upon them. This death-bed scene is a favourite subject. It may be remarked that the couches

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 286.

⁵ Inghirami, I. tav. 72, 73, 82; VI. tav. Y. 3; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 37, 38; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 107; Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 14. Two of these banquet-scenes Inghirami takes to represent Œdipus pronouncing a curse on

his sons, which happened at a banquet. Another, he thinks, represents Ulysses in disguise, at the banquet of Penelope's suitors. Inghir. VI. tav. F.

⁶ See Vol. I. pp. 59, 272; Vol. II. p. 40.

are sometimes recessed in alcoves, and sometimes canopied over like bed-steads, though in a more classical style. Behind the couch is often a column surmounted by a pine-cone, a common funereal emblem.⁷ Most of such scenes, however, bear but a metaphorical reference to the dread event. It has been already mentioned that souls are often symbolised by figures on horseback.⁸ On an urn, on the lid of which he reclines in effigy, a youth is represented on horseback about to start on that journey from which "no traveller returns," when his little sister rushes in, and strives to stay the horse's steps,—in vain, for the relentless messenger of Death seizes the bridle and hurries him away. It is a simple tale, touchingly told ; its truthful earnestness and expressive beauty are lost in the bare recital.

"An unskilled hand, but one informed
With genius, had the marble warmed
With that pathetic life."

Shelley, "Rosamund & Helen."

There are many such family-separations, all of deep interest. The most common is the parting of husband and wife, embracing for the last time. That such is the import is proved by the fatal horse, in waiting to convey him or her to another world ; and a Genius, or it may be

⁷ Inghir. I. tav. 95 ; Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 13, 23. Such an alcove is also shown in an urn, illustrated by Gori (III. cl. 3, tab. 6), where a man seems to be taking farewell of his wife, who reclines on the couch. Another somewhat similar relief is interpreted by Inghirami (I. tav. 61, p. 514), as Sthenobœa, the wanton wife of Proetus, despatching Bellerophon to Lycia.

⁸ The horse on sepulchral monuments has been thought to show the equestrian rank of the deceased, or to denote the elevation of the soul to divine dignity. Inghir. I. p. 179. But for the most

part it was probably no further symbolical, than as significant of a journey. Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 259. It was frequently introduced on funeral urns by the Greeks and Romans ; the latter probably borrowed it from the Etruscans. Sometimes the beast's head alone is represented, looking in at a window upon a funeral feast, as in a celebrated relief in the Villa Albani. Inghir. VI. tav. G. 3. On one of these urns the horse is represented trampling over prostrate bodies, as if to intimate the passage through the regions of the dead. Inghir. I. p. 246, tav. 27.

grim Charun himself, in readiness as conductor, and a slave, with a large sack on his shoulders, to accompany him—intimating the length and dreariness of the journey—while his relations and little ones stand around, mourning his departure. Here the man is already mounted, driven away by Charun with his hammer, while a female genius affectionately throws her arm round the neck of the disconsolate widow, and tries to assuage her grief.⁹ Here again the man has mounted, and a group of females rush out frantically to stop him. In some the parting takes place at a column, the bourn that cannot be repassed; the living on this side, the dead on that; or at a doorway, one within, the other without, giving the last squeeze of the hand ere the door closes upon one for ever.¹

There are many versions of this final separation, and the horse, or some other feature in the scene, is sometimes omitted; but the subject is still intelligibly expressed.²

Numerous urns represent the passage of the soul alone, without any parting-scene;³ and in these old Charun, grisly, savage, and of brutish aspect, with his hammer raised to strike, and often with a sword in the other hand, generally takes part; now leading the horse by the bridle, or clutching it by the mane; more often driving it before him, while a spirit of gentle aspect, and with torch

⁹ Inghir. I. tav. 28.

¹ Inghir. I. tav. 38; VI. tav. Q 2, I. 3; Gori, I. tab. 84, 189.

² Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 39; Gori, I. tab. 169; III. cl. 4, tab. 20, 21. Visconti interprets these parting-scenes as representing in general the parting of Protesilaus and Laodamia (ap. Inghir. I. p. 297). Inghirami considers them from being always of opposite sexes, to symbolize the separation of the soul and body (I. p. 724).

³ It may be observed that the coe-

tume of these souls is generally the simple toga, often enuffling the face—not as travellers are conventionally distinguished on Greek painted vases by *petasus*, staff, sandals, and dishevelled hair. See Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 78. In one case, however, the deceased appears to have been a warrior, for he is attended by two squires on foot, with his shield and lances, besides two slaves at the ends of the scene. Inghir. I. tav. 18.

inverted, takes the lead.⁴ The slave with a sack on his shoulder generally follows this funeral procession, and refers either to the length of the journey which requires such provision, or to the articles of domestic use with which the tomb was furnished, as he often carries a vase or pitcher in his hand. In some cases a vase, in others a Phrygian cap, lies under the horse's feet, as if to express that the delights and pursuits of this world were for ever abandoned, and cast aside as worthless ; and on one urn a serpent occupies the same place, intimating the funeral character of the scene.⁵

As the good and bad demons on these urns are not to be distinguished by their colour, as in the painted tombs, they are to be recognised either by their attributes, by their features and expression, or by the offices they are performing. The good are handsome and gentle, the evil ill-favoured and truculent. Charun, in particular, has satyresque features and brute's ears, and in one case a horn on his forehead. The hammer or sword are his usual attributes, as well as those of his ministers ; some of whom bear a torch instead, the general emblem of Furies.⁶ But the good spirits, in many cases, also hold a torch ; indeed, this seems merely a funereal emblem, to distinguish between the living and the dead. As the flame symbolises the vital spark, the demon, in these farewell scenes, who stands

⁴ The genius is not always introduced. Inghirami takes it to represent, sometimes a Fury, sometimes one of the Virtues ! (L. pp. 80, 139).

⁵ For illustrations of these urns, see Inghir. Mon. Etrus. I. tav. 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 37 ; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 26 ; Gori, I. tab. 84 ; III. cl. 3, tab. 11 ; cl. 4, tab. 24. In one of these reliefs (Ingh. I. tav. 28), Dr. Braun recognises the re-meeting of souls in the other world.

Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 260. This would be more likely in tav. 33, 34. The demons are not always in the same scene with the other figures ; as where a muffled soul on horseback occupies the front of the urn, Charun one of its ends, and a genius, with torch inverted, the other. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 104, 2, 3.

⁶ For the characteristics of the Etruscan Charun, see the Appendix to this Chapter.

on the side of the living holds his torch erect ; he on the side of the dead has it inverted. The spirit, therefore, who leads the fatal horse, has it always turned downwards.⁷ When two demons with torches, thus differently arranged, are in the same scene, they seem to indicate the very moment of the soul's departure—now here, now there—

~~the~~
 "Like snow ~~that~~ falls ~~upon~~ the river—
 A moment white—~~then~~ melts for ever!"
Burns' Tam O'Shanter

It may be observed, that the good spirits are almost always females, or Junones, an Etruscan compliment to man's ministering angel ; but the fearful attendants of Charun are, in most cases, males.

There are funeral processions of a different character. A covered car or waggon, open in front, and drawn by two horses or mules—what the Romans called a *carpentum*, and the modern Spaniards would term a *galera*—is accompanied by figures on foot. In one instance it is preceded by a litter, out of which a female is looking ; and in several it is encountered by a man on horseback. In this car is seen reclining, now a mother with her child, now an elderly couple, but generally a single figure, the counterpart in miniature of the recumbent effigy on the lid of the urn. I would interpret it as representing the transport of the actual ash-chest or sarcophagus to the sepulchre, which seems confirmed by the drowsy air and drooping heads of the horses. Nor is this view opposed by the figures with musical instruments, nor by an armed man, who in one case follows the car.⁸ On one urn the funeral

⁷ This might be supposed to mark an evil demon, but I think it has more probably reference to the surrounding figures than to the genius himself. He is here a minister of Death, it is

true, but not a malignant spirit who revels in destruction, like the hammer-bearing Charun, who also attends the soul.

⁸ In general it is essentially distin-

procession is manifestly represented, for the deceased is stretched on a bier, carried on men's shoulders. These car-scenes, as far as I can learn, are peculiar to Volterra ; for I have seen them on no other site.⁹

Though cinerary urns are so numerous in this collection, there are but two sarcophagi, properly so called ; both found in the tomb of the Flavian family in 1760.¹ The recumbent figures on the lids are of opposite sexes. On the sarcophagus of the male is a procession of several figures, each with a pair of wands, not twisted like those in the Grotta Tifone at Corneto, or on the sculptured tomb of Norchia ; except one who bears a short thick staff, which may be intended for a lictor's *fascis*. They precede a figure in a toga, which seems to represent a soul ; unless there be some analogy to the procession of magistrates already described, and they represent the infernal judge on his way to sit in sentence.² For the soul is figured at

guished from the horse-scenes by the absence of Charun and his ministers, or of attendant genii, and of figures taking farewell. There is nothing to hint that it is more than a representation of actual life. In one instance only does it seem to refer to the passage of the soul, and there the car is preceded by a demon with two small shields, and followed by another with a torch. The car may not in every instance be the hearse ; in some, where several figures are reclining within it, it may answer to the mourning coach, conveying the relatives of the deceased, for we know that the Romans used *carpenta* in funeral processions. Sueton. Calig. 15.

⁹ For illustrations see Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 27, 28. Gori, I. tab. 169 ; III. cl. 4, tab. 22. On a vase from Vulci, in the Archaic style, a scene very similar is depicted. The corpse is stretched on a bier, placed on wheels

and drawn by two mules ; mourners on foot are accompanying it, all with their hands to their heads in token of grief ; together with a *subulo* with double-pipes, followed by a number of warriors lowering their lances. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 150, tav. 96, 1.

¹ The tomb contained moreover forty urns all with inscriptions. These are the only genuine Etruscan sarcophagi Inghirami ever saw from the tombs of Volterra ; so universal was the custom of burning. Mon. Etrus. I. pp. 9, 34.

² Inghirami (I. p. 31, tav. 3) takes this for a funeral procession preceding the corpse. He represents the three figures in the middle as holding swords in their right hands, and sticks in their left, and he thinks them gladiators who were to fight at the tomb or pyre, first with sticks, then with more deadly weapons.

one end of the sarcophagus, under the conduct of an evil genius with a hammer, yet not Charun, since he has not brute's ears, nor is he of truculent or hideous aspect, like the genuine Charun, who is to be seen with all his unmistakeable attributes at the opposite end of the monument.³

The other sarcophagus, on which reclines a female, has reliefs of unusual beauty, whose Greek character marks them as of no very early date. There are two distinct groups ; in one, a mother with her little ones around her, is taking an embrace of her husband—in the other, she is seated mournfully on a stool, fondling her child, which leans upon her lap. The one scene portrays her in the height of domestic felicity ; the other in the lonely condition of a widow, yet with some consolation left in the pledges of her love. Or if the first represent the farewell embrace, though there is no concomitant to determine it as such, in the second is clearly set forth the greatness of her loss, and the bitterness of her bereavement.

It is such scenes as these, and others before described, which give so great a charm to this collection. The Etruscans seem to have excelled in the palpable expression of natural feelings. How unmeaning the hieroglyphics on Egyptian sarcophagi, save to the initiated ! How deficient the sepulchral monuments of Greece and Rome in such universal appeals to the sympathies !—even their epitaphs, from the constant recurrence of the same conventional terms, may often be suspected of insincerity.⁴ But the touches of nature on these Etruscan urns, so simply but eloquently expressed, must appeal to the sympathies of all—they are

³ Inghirami (I. tav. 32) gives one of these end scenes.

⁴ Hear a Roman's description of Greek inscriptions. "Inscriptionis apud Græcos mira felicitas : . . inscrip-

tiones, propter quas vadimonium deseri possit. At quum intraveris, dii deæque ! quam nihil in medio invenies !" Plin. N. H. præfat.

chords to which every heart must respond ; and I envy not the man who can walk through this Museum unmoved, without feeling a tear rise to his eye,

“ And recognising ever and anon
The breeze of Nature stirring in his soul.”

The interest of the urns of Volterra lies rather in their reliefs than in their inscriptions. Some, however, have this additional interest. It has already been said that this Museum contains the urns found in the tomb of the Cæcinæ, that ancient and noble family of Volterra, which either gave its name to, or received it from, the river which washes the southern base of the hill ;⁵ a family to which belonged two “most noble men” of the name of Aulus Cæcina, the friends of Cicero ; the elder defended by his eloquence ; the younger honoured by his correspondence. The latter it was who wrote a libel on Julius Cæsar, and was generously pardoned by him ; and who availed himself of his hereditary right, as an Etruscan patrician, to dabble in the science of thunderbolts. The name is found more than once on these urns, and is thus written in Etruscan—

ANCIQ)·VA

or “AULE CECINA.” But it occurs also in its Latin form on others of these monuments—on a beautiful altar-like *cippus*, and on a cinerary urn.⁶ Others of the Cæcinæ distinguished themselves under the Empire in the field, in the senate, or

⁵ Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 416) thinks it more probable that the family gave its name to the river, than the river to the family. An Englishman's experience would lead him rather to the opposite conclusion. One of this family, Decius Albinus Cæcina, at the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, had a villa

on the banks of the river (Rutil. I. 466) ; and Müller (I. p. 406) remarks, but on what authority is not obvious, that this estate seems to have been in the possession of the family for a thousand years.

⁶ The *cippus* has already been mentioned at page 159. The urn bears this

in letters.⁷ This family has continued to exist from the days of the Etruscans, almost down to our own times ; though it now appears to be extinct. I learned the general opinion at Volterra to be, that the last of his race was a bishop, who died in 1765. His epitaph in the Cathedral calls him, "Phil. Nic. Coecina. Patric. Volat. Zenopolit. Epūs, &c." Fantozzi, the *custode* of the Museum, however, assures me that he remembers a priest of this name some twenty years since ; and as he is a barber, he should, *ex officio*, be well informed on such points. In Dempster's time, more than two centuries since, the family was flourishing—"hodie nobilitate sua viget"—and two of its members, very studious men, and "*ad bonas artes nati*," were his intimate friends. One of them rejoiced in the ancient name of Aulus Cecina.⁸

Another Etruscan family of Volterra, of which there are several urns, is the

AN)A9)

or "CRACNA ;" the Gracchus, or it may be, the Gracchanus, of the Romans.

The Flavian has been already mentioned, as one of the

inscription—

A · CAECINA · SELCIA · ANNOS XII.

The figure on this urn is that of a youth. The relief displays one of the car-scenes—a proof, among many others, that after the Roman conquest the Etruscans adhered to their funeral customs. On another urn the same name—AV · CEICNA · SELCIA—occurs in Etruscan characters. One of the modern gates of Volterra is called "Porta à Selci." Can it have derived its name from the ancient family of Selcia, rather than from the blocks of its masonry, or of the pavement ?

⁷ Dempster (Etrur. Reg. I. p. 231)

gives a detailed account of the various individuals of this illustrious family, who are mentioned by ancient writers ; but still better notices will be found in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography. Cf. Müller, Etrusk. I. pp. 416—8.

⁸ Dempster, I. p. 233. An A. Cecina wrote the history of his native city—"Notizie Istoriche di Volterra"—perhaps it was Dempster's friend. Inghirami (I. p. 7) mentions a Lorenzo Aulo Cecina, a proprietor at Volterra, who made excavations in 1740.

Etruscan families of Volterra. In its native form, as found on these urns, it was written "VLAVE."⁹

The inscriptions on these urns are generally cut into the stone, and filled with black or red paint, more frequently the latter, to make them more legible; so that they are often preserved with remarkable freshness.¹⁰

These cinerary urns of Volterra cannot lay claim to a very remote antiquity. They are unquestionably more recent than many of those of other Etruscan sites. This may be learned from the style of art—the best, indeed the only safe criterion—which is never of that archaic character found on certain reliefs on the altars or *cippi* of Chiusi and Perugia. The freedom and mastery of design, and the skill in composition, at times evinced, bespeak the period of Roman domination; while the defects display not so much the rudeness of early art, as the carelessness of the time of decadence.¹

⁹ Among the Etruscan inscriptions in this museum, I observed the names of "URINATI," which occurs also at Bommarzo, Castel d' Asso, Chiusi, and Perugia (see Vol. I. pp. 222, 242); "SETRES," found also at Chiusi; "TLAPUNI," written "TLABONI," in some of the Latin inscriptions; CNEUNAE, LAUCINA, SAUCNI, PHELMUIA, RANAZUIA, and others, which I have seen on no other Etruscan site.

¹⁰ Inghirami, who will admit nothing about these monuments to be merely decorative, but puts a symbolical interpretation on every feature, considers this red paint to represent the blood which was offered to the *manes* of the deceased (I. p. 129). Pliny (XXXIII. 40), however, tells us that *minium* was used in this way in sepulchral and other inscriptions, to make the letters more distinct.

¹ Inghirami, whose criterion seems to

be chiefly the presence or absence of the beard, assigns a very late date to these urns of Volterra. In truth he regards them rather as Roman than Etruscan; and as he considers certain bas-reliefs, even when of very archaic character, to be subsequent to the year 454 of Rome, because the males are represented beardless; so these, he infers by comparison, must be of a very late date—the best, of the days of the first Emperors; the worst, of the time of Alexander Severus and downwards. Mon. Etrus. I. pp. 252, 689, 709. The fallacy of this test of the beard in determining the age of monuments has already been shown. Vol. I. p. 344; Vol. II. p. 114. Inghirami also thinks those urns the oldest, which have reliefs at the ends, because they must have been made when the tombs were not crowded, and the urns could be placed far enough apart for the decorations to

There are other sepulchral monuments of a different character in this Museum—*stelæ*, or slabs, with Etruscan inscriptions, and *cippi* of club-like, or else phallic, form.

Of *terra-cotta* are the figures of an old man and woman reclining together as at a banquet, and probably forming the lid of an urn. They are full of expression. Monuments in this material are rarely found at Volterra; yet there are a few urns of very small size, with the often repeated subjects of the Theban brothers, and Cadmus or Jason destroying the teeth-sprung warriors with the plough. The figures on the lids are generally wrapt in togas, and recline, not as at a banquet, but as in slumber.

One of the most singular monuments in the Museum is a bas-relief of a bearded warrior, the size of life, on a large slab of yellow sandstone, which, from the Etruscan inscription annexed, would seem to be a *stèle*, or flat tombstone.² He holds a lance in one hand, and his sword, which hangs at his side, with the other. The peculiar quaintness of this figure, approximating to the Egyptian, or rather to the Persepolitan or Babylonian in style, yet with strictly Etruscan features, causes it justly to be regarded as of high antiquity. It is very similar to the warrior in relief found near Fiesole, and now in the Palazzo Bonarroti at Florence, though of a character less decidedly archaic.³

The capital of a column, somewhat like Corinthian, but with heads among the foliage, as in that of Toscanella, is worthy of particular attention.

There is a headless statue of a female with a child in her arms, of marble, with an Etruscan inscription on her right sleeve. It was found in the amphitheatre. The

be seen. I. pp. 82, 247. But this, as a test of antiquity, is not to be relied on.

² Inghirami (IV. p. 84) suggests that it may have formed the door, or closing slab, of a tomb, and the warrior may

represent the guardian Lar.

³ It is illustrated by Gori, III. cl. 4, tav. 18, 2; Inghirami, VI. tav. A; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 14, 2; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 51, 2.

child is swaddled in the same unnatural manner which is still practised by Italian mothers.⁴

There is not much pottery in this Museum ; enough to show the characteristic features of Volterranean ware, but nothing of extraordinary interest. The painted vases of this site are very inferior to those of Vulci, Tarquinii, or Chiusi. The clay is coarse, the varnish neither lustrous nor durable, the design of peculiar rudeness and rusticity. Staring *silhouette* heads, or a few large figures carelessly sketched, take the place of the exquisitely designed and delicately finished groups on the best vases of Vulci. Of the early styles of Etruscan pottery—the Egyptian and the Archaic Greek—with black figures on the yellow ground of the clay, Volterra yields no examples. Yellow figures on a black ground betray a more recent date, and the best specimens seem but unskilful copies of Etruscan or Greek vases of the latest style. Everything marks the decadence of the ceramic art.⁵

Yet there is an ancient ware of great beauty, almost peculiar to Volterra. It is of black clay, sometimes plain, sometimes with figures in relief ; but in simple elegance of

⁴ Dempster, tab. 42 ; Gori, III. p. 60, cl. I. tab. 9 ; Gerhard, *Gottheit. d. Etrusk. taf. III. 1.* Some have thought this statue represented Nortia, or the Fortune of the Etruscans—because the Fortune of Præneste is described by Cicero (*de Divin. II. 41*) as nursing the infant Jove. Pausanias (*IX. 16*) says this goddess at Thebes was represented bearing the infant Plutus in her arms. Buonarroti, p. 20, ap. Dempster. II. ; Gori, loc. cit. Lanzi (*II. p. 546*) thought this statue might be Diana, or Ceres, or Juno with the infant Hercules, but that it could not be easily referred to any one goddess in particular. So also Passeri, *Paralip. in Dempst. p. 77.* Gerhard, however, thinks it represents Ilithyia or Juno-Lucina, the goddess of

Pyrgi. *Gottheiten der Etrusker*, pp. 39, 60. The marble of which this statue is formed is not that of Carrara, but a grey description, such as is said to be quarried in the Tuscan Maremma. In Alberti's time this statue was lying in one of the streets of Volterra, together with a statue of Mars, "very cunningly wrought, and sundry urns of alabaster, storied with great art, on which are certain characters, understood by none, albeit many call them Etruscan."

⁵ Micali (*Mon. Ined. p. 216*) says that most beautiful Greek vases have been occasionally found on this site. They were probably importations. Vases like those of Volterra have been discovered at Tarquinii. Inghir. VI. tav. O 3.

form, and brilliancy of varnish, it is not surpassed by the ancient pottery of any other site in Etruria.

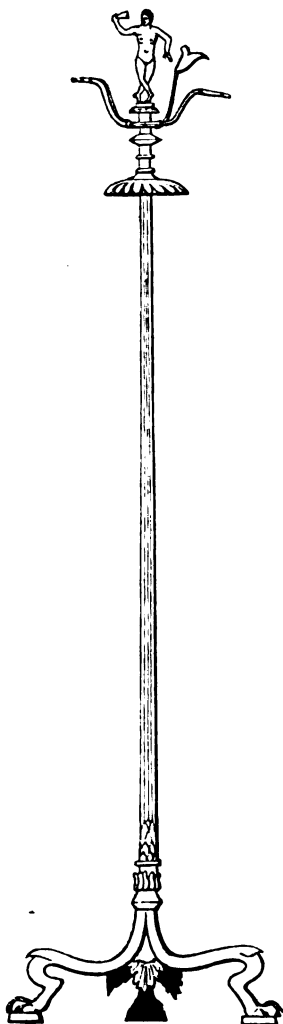
There is a fair collection of figured *specula*, or mirrors, in this Museum—some in a good style of art. The most common subject is a winged Lasa, or Fate. The other bronzes are not extraordinarily numerous or valuable ; and consist of *candelabra*, strigils, small figures of Lares or other divinities, *ex-votos*, and the usual furniture of Etruscan tombs.

There are numerous Etruscan coins—many belonging to the ancient Volaterræ, and found in the neighbourhood. They are all of copper, cast, not struck—some are *dupondii*, or double *asses*, full three inches in diameter, with a beardless Janus-head, capt by a *petasus*, on the obverse, and a dolphin, with the word *VELATHRI*—

IKOAJEI

in large letters around, on the reverse. The smaller coins, from the *as* down to the *uncia*, differ from these in having a club, or a crescent, in place of the dolphin. The Janus-head is still the arms of Volterra. The dolphin marks the maritime power of the city.⁶

⁶ Volterra presents a more complete series of coins than any other Etruscan city. But they are all of copper ; none of gold or silver. The *as* has some-



ETRUSCAN CANDELABRUM.

Among the minor curiosities are spoons, pins, and dice of bone ; *astragali*, or huckle-bones, which furnished the same diversion to the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans, as to school-boys in our own day ; and various articles in variegated glass.

There is also a collection of Etruscan jewellery—chains, *fibulæ*, rings for the fingers and ears, all wrought in gold ; but these articles are not found in such abundance at Volterra, as on some other Etruscan sites. The most curious and beautiful jewellery this necropolis has yielded is preserved in the Uffizj Gallery at Florence.

In the Casa Cinci there was a valuable collection of urns and other Etruscan relics, but since Signor Giusto's death the greater part of them has been sold. In the Casa Giorgi, there was also a collection of urns.⁷

times the prow of a ship on the reverse, as in that of early Rome ; and sometimes a single head, instead of the Janus, on the obverse. This Janus-head was put on coins, says Athenæus (XV. c. 13, p. 692), because Janus was the first to coin money in bronze ; on which account many cities of Greece, Italy, and Sicily assumed his head as their device. Cf. Macrob. Saturn. I. 7. But Servius (ad Virg. *Æn.* XII. 198) gives a much more reasonable explanation—that it symbolised the union of two people under one government, and this interpretation is received by modern writers. Lanzi, Sagg. II. p. 98. Melchiorri, Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 113. The dolphin is understood to mark a city with a port—in any case it is an Etruscan symbol—*Tyrrhænus piscis*. These coins with the legend of "Velathri" were at first ascribed to Velitræ of the Volsci, but their refer-

ence to Volaterræ is now unquestioned. *Ut supra*, page 144.

These coins of Velathri are illustrated by Lanzi, II. tav. 7 ; Dempster, I. tab. 56—9 ; Guarnacci, Origini Italiche, II. tav. 20—22 ; Inghirami, III. tav. 1, and 4 ; Marchi and Tessieri, *Æs* grave, cl. III. tav. 1. See also Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 332 ; Lepsius, Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 105 ; Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 189 ; Mionnet, Suppl. I. pp. 205—7.

⁷ One of these represented Polyphemus issuing from his cave, and hurling rocks at Ulysses in his ship. A Juno interposes, with drawn sword. In this Etruscan version of the myth, the Cyclops has two eyes ! Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 45. Another urn showed carpenters and sawyers at their avocations ; this is interpreted by Micali (op. cit. tav. 49), as the building of the ship Argo. I have seen a similar urn in the museum of Leyden.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLI.

NOTE.—THE CHARUN OF THE ETRUSCANS.

THE Charun of the Etruscans was by no means identical with the Charon of the Greeks. Dr. Ambrosch, in his work, “*De Charonte Etrusco*,” endeavours to show that there was no analogy between them ; though referring the origin of the Etruscan, as of the Greek, to Egypt (Diod. Sic. I. c. 92, p. 82, ed. Rhod.), whence Charon was introduced into Greece, together with the Orphic doctrines, between the 30th and 40th Olympiad (660—620 B. C.) ; and though he thinks the Etruscan Charun owes his origin immediately to the scenic travesties of the Greek dramatic poets. Dr. Braun (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 269), however, who rejects this Orphic origin of the Etruscan Charun, and thinks him Cabiric, maintains the analogy between him and the aged ferryman of Hellenic mythology. But in the Etruscan system he is not merely “the pilot of the livid lake ;” his office is also to destroy life ; to conduct shades to the other world ; and, moreover, to torment the souls of the guilty.

Like the ferryman of the Styx, the Etruscan Charun is generally represented as a squalid and hideous old man, with flaming eyes, and savage aspect ; but he has, moreover, the ears, and often the tusks, of a brute, and has sometimes negro features and complexion, and frequently wings—in short, he answers well, cloven feet excepted, to the modern conception of the devil. See the frontispiece to this volume. He is principally, however, distinguished by his attributes, chief of which is the hammer or mallet ; but he has sometimes a sword in addition, or in place of it ; or else a rudder, or oar, which indicates his analogy to the Charon of the Greeks ; or a forked stick, perhaps equivalent to the *caduceus* of Mercury, to whom as an infernal deity he also corresponds ; or, it may be, a torch, or snakes, the usual attributes of a Fury.

He is most frequently introduced as intervening in cases of violent death, and in such instances we find his name recorded ; as in the relief

with the death of Clytemnestra, described at page 179, and as on a purely Etruscan vase from Vulci, in which Ajax is depicted immolating a Trojan captive, while "Charun" stands by, grinning with savage delight. Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 9.

He is also often represented as the messenger of Death, leading or driving the horse on which the soul is mounted (*ut supra*, pp. 194—6); or, as on a vase at Rome, and another from Bomarzo, now at Berlin, accompanying the car in which the soul is seated (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 261; cf. vol. I. p. 320); or attending the procession of souls on foot into the other world, as shown in the Grotta de' Pompej, of Corneto (Vol. I. pp. 310 *et seq.* cf. Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 275); though this scene both Braun and Ambrosch regard as not so much a real representation of the infernal minister and his charge, as a sort of theatrical masquerade, such as were used in Bacchic festivals.

Charun, in the Etruscan mythology, is also the tormentor of guilty souls; and his hammer or sword is the instrument of torture. Such scenes are represented in the Grotta Cardinale at Corneto (Vol. I. p. 320; cf. Byers' Hypogæi of Tarquinia, Pt. II. pl. 6, 7, Pt. III. pl. 5, 6; Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 27.); and in the Grotta Tartaglia at the same place (Vol. I. p. 348; Dempst. II. tab. 88; Inghir. IV. tav. 24), as well as on a Nolan vase in the Museo Mastrilli, and on another in the Musée Pourtalès-Gorgier; in all which instances the victim is supplicating for mercy (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 268).

In many of these scenes it is difficult to distinguish between Charun and other infernal demons, his attendants, with hammers or other analogous attributes. For two or more are sometimes introduced in the same scene, as in that which forms the frontispiece to this volume, and as in the Grotta Cardinale at Corneto, where many such beings, of both sexes, are similarly armed. They may generally be supposed the attendants on Charun. Müller, indeed, takes many of these demons on Etruscan monuments to represent Mantus, the King of Hades (Etrusk. III. 4, 10), as the Romans introduced a figure of Pluto, armed with a hammer, at their gladiatorial combats, to carry off the slain (Tertull. ad Nat. I. 10). Gerhard also (Gottheit. d. Etrusk. pp. 16, 56, taf. VI. 2, 3) thinks it is Mantus that is often represented on these urns, especially where he is crowned, though he distinguishes the beings with hammers and other attributes generally by the name of Charun. Both Müller and Gerhard refer the origin of the "Manducus" (Fest. ap. P. Diac. *sub voce*; Plaut. Rud. II. 6, 51), the ridiculous effigy, with wide jaws and chattering teeth, borne in the public games of the Romans, to this source, and consider it as a caricature of the Etruscan

Charun, or leader of souls—Manducus—*quasi* Manium Dux. Charun must be regarded rather as a minister of Mantus, than as identical with him. He is often represented on Etruscan urns, accompanied by female demons or Fates, who, in other cases, are substituted for him. Dr. Ambrosch fancied that the sex of the demons indicated that of the defunct; but female Fates or Furies are often introduced into scenes which represent the death of males, as in the mutual slaughter of the Theban Brothers. The eyes in the wings of Charun, or of a female demon, his substitute, have already been mentioned, as intimating superhuman power and intelligence (*ut supra*, p. 182).

Müller suggests that the Charon of the early Greek traditions may have been a great infernal deity, as in the later Greek poems; and thinks the Χαρόνεια (Χαρόνιοι κλίμακες?) or Charontic door, of the Greek theatre, indicates a greater extension of the idea than is usually supposed.

It is singular that Charun has never been found designed on Etruscan mirrors, those monuments which present us, as Chevalier Bunsen remarks, with a figurative dictionary of Etruscan mythology (Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 18). This must be explained by the non-sepulchral character of these articles. The Etruscan lady, while dressing her hair or painting her cheeks, would scarcely relish such a memorial of her mortality under her eyes, but would prefer to look at the deeds of gods or heroes, or the loves of Paris and Helen. Occasionally, however, it must be confessed that scenes of a funereal character were represented on these mirrors.

Charun is sometimes introduced as guardian of the sepulchre—as in the painted tomb of Vulci (Vol. I. p. 428); and also in a tomb at Chiusi, opened in 1837, where two Charuns, as large as life, were sculptured in high relief in the doorway, threatening the intruder with their hammers (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 258).

It has been remarked by Müller, as well as by Platner in his "Beschreibung der Stadt Rom," that the Charon Michael Angelo has introduced into his celebrated picture of the Last Judgment, has much more of the conception of his Etruscan forefathers, than of the Greek poets.

The hammer is considered by Dr. Braun rather as a symbol, or distinctive attribute, than as an instrument, yet it is occasionally represented as such. In one instance it is decorated with a fillet (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 260); in another, encircled by a serpent (Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 97). In every case it appears to have an infernal reference; in the Greek mythology it is either the instrument of Vulcan, of the Cyclops, or of Jupiter Serapis; but as an Etruscan symbol it is referred

by Braun to the Cabiri, in whose mysterious worship he thinks Charun had his seat and origin. Gerhard, who has embraced the doctrine of the northern origin of the Etruscans, a doctrine so fashionable among the Germans, suggests the analogy of Thor with his hammer; and reminds us that in the northern mythology there was also a ferryman for the dead; that female demons, friendly and malignant, were in readiness to carry off the soul; and that even the horse, as in Etruria, was present for the swift ride of the dead (*Gottheiten der Etrusker*, pp. 17, 57).

For further details concerning the Etruscan Charun, see the work of Dr. Ambrosch, "*De Charonte Etrusco*," and the review of it by Dr. Emil Braun, *Ann. Inst.* 1837, 2. pp. 253—274, to which I am considerably indebted for this note. Dr. Ambrosch's work I am not acquainted with, except through this excellent article by Dr. Braun.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE MAREMMA.

Guarda, mi disse, al mare ; e vidi piana
Cogli altri colli la Marema tutta,
Dilectivole molto, e poco sana.
Ivi è Massa, Grossetto, e la distrutta
Civita vecchia, e ivi Popolonia,
Che appena pare tanto è mal condotta.
Ivi è ancor ove fue la Sendonia.
Queste città e altre chio non dico,
Sono per la Marema en verso Roma,
Famose e grandi per lo tempo antico.

FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

The green Maremma !—
A sun-bright waste of beauty—yet an air
Of brooding sadness o'er the scene is shed ;
No human footstep tracks the lone domain—
The desert of luxuriance glows in vain.

HEMANS. *The Maremma*

THESE lines of Mrs. Hemans present a true summer picture of the Tuscan Maremma ; and such is the idea generally conceived of it at all seasons alike by most Englishmen, except as regards its beauty. For few have a notion that it is other than a desert seashore swamp, totally without interest, save as a preserve of wild boars and roe-bucks, without the picturesque, or antiquities, or good accommodation, or anything else to compensate for the dangers of its fever-fraught atmosphere—in short,

“ A wild and melancholy waste
Of putrid marshes,”

reluctant & sinister
as desolate and perilous as the Pomptine. They know not

that it is full of the picturesque and beautiful ; a beauty peculiar and somewhat savage, it is true, like that of an Indian maiden, yet fascinating in its wild unschooled luxuriance, and offering abundant food for the pencil of the artist and the imagination of the poet. They think not that in summer alone it is unhealthy ; that from October to May it is as free from noxious vapours as any other part of Italy, and may be visited and explored with perfect impunity. They scarcely remember that it contains not a few sites of classical interest ; and they are ignorant that it has excellent roads, that public conveyances bring it into regular communication with Leghorn, Siena, and Florence ; and that, in winter at least, its accommodations are as good as will be found on most bye-roads in the Tuscan State.

As my object is to point out sites and objects of Etruscan antiquity, I pass over that tract of coast which extends about fifty miles south of Leghorn to the promontory of Populonia, as containing no interest of this kind. The ancient port of Vada Volaterrana, near the mouth of the Cecina, is not mentioned as Etruscan,¹ though it seems very improbable that the maritime city of Volaterræ would not have availed itself of it, and of the communication with the sea afforded by the Cæcina.

The high-road along this coast follows the course of the

¹ Vada is mentioned by Cicero, pro Quintio, c. VI ; Pliny, III. 8 ; Rutilius, I. 453 ; and the Itineraries, but as Roman only. It must have received its name from the swamps in the neighbourhood. But it was a port, as Rutilius shows, and it still affords protection to small vessels. Repetti, V. p. 616. There are said to be some Roman remains at Vada. Viaggio Antiq. per la Via Aurelia, p. 5. Here were also some ancient Salt-works, and the villa

of Albinus Cæcina, who resided here at the commencement of the fifth century of our era (Rutil. I. 466—475 ; cf. Müller, Etrusk. I. pp. 406, 418), which Repetti places on the neighbouring height of Rosignano, where there are some ancient remains, called "Villana." I. p. 65. For an account of the great improvements of this deadly and once desert shore effected during the last fifteen years see the same writer. Suppl. pp. 261—4.

ancient Via Aurelia.² It is in excellent condition, and a *diligence* runs three times a week from Leghorn to Piombino and Grosseto.

I propose to conduct my readers to Populonia by the road from Volterra.

The road that runs from that city southward to the Maremma is "carriageable" throughout, though somewhat rugged in parts, and nowhere to be rejoiced in after heavy rains. As it descends the long bare slope beneath Volterra, it passes through a singular tract, broken into hills of black marl or clay, without a blade of grass on their surface, seeming to mark the ravages of a recent flood, but so existing for ages, perhaps before the creation of man. At the foot of the long-drawn hill, and five miles from Volterra, are the Saline, the government Salt-works,

² The following are the ancient stations and distances on this road, and along the coast, from Cosa northwards to Luna, as given by the three Itineraries.

ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS.

Cosa	
Lacum Aprilem	XXII.
Salebronem	XII.
Manliana	VIII.
Populonium	XII.
Vada Volaterrana	XXV.
Ad Herculem	XVIII.
Pisas	XII.
Papiriana	XI.
Lunam	XII.

PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.

Cosa	
Albinia, fl.	VIII.
Telamone	III.
Hasta	VIII.
Umbro, fl.	VIII.
Saleborna	XII.
Manliana	VIII.
Populonio	XII.

Vadis Volateris	X.
Velinis	X.
Ad Fines	XIII.
Piscinas	VIII.
Turrita	XVI.
Pisis	VIII.
Fossis Papirianis	XI.
Ad Taberna Frigida	XII.
Lunæ	X.

MARITIME ITINERARY.

Arnine, fluv.	
Portum Herculis	XXV.
Cetarias Domitianas	III.
Almina, fluv.	VIII.
Portum Telamonis	} XVIII.
Fluv. Umbronis	
Lacu Aprile	
Alma, fluv.	XVIII.
Scabros, port.	VI.
Falesiam, port.	XVIII.
Populonium, port.	XIII.
Vada, port.	XXX.
Portum Pisanum	XVIII.
Pisas, fluv.	VIII.
Lunam, fluv. Macra	XXX.

where the deep wells and the evaporating factories are well worthy of inspection. Through the hollow flows the Cecina of classical renown,³ a small stream in a wide sandy bed, between wooded banks, and here spanned, to my astonishment, by a suspension bridge,—verily, as the natives say, “*una gran bella cosa!*” in the midst of this wilderness. From the wooded heights beyond, a magnificent view of Volterra, with her mural diadem, is obtained. A few miles further is Pomaranace, a clean neat town, by moonlight at least, which is all I can vouch for, but, as the proverb saith, “What seems a lion at night may prove but an ape in the morning—”

La sera lione,
La mattina babbione.

Pomaranace is said to have a comfortable inn. Let the traveller then, who would halt the night somewhere on this road, remember the same, especially if it be his intention to visit the singular, interesting, and celebrated borax-works of Monte Cerboli, about four miles distant.⁴ At Castelnuovo, a village some ten or twelve miles beyond Pomaranace, I can promise him little comfort, as he will find, if he have my lot, his bed fully preoccupied, and the mind of his host also preoccupied with extravagant notions of the wealth and pluckability of the English. All this district, even beyond Castelnuovo and Monterotondo, is boracic, and the hills on every hand are ever shooting

³ Pliny (III. 8) shows that the river had the same name in his time, “*fluvius Cæcinna*,”—how much earlier we know not; but probably from very remote times. Mela (II. 4) speaks of it among the towns on this coast. But he may have cited “*Cecina*,” instead of *Vada Volaterrana*, the port which was near its mouth; or he may have referred to

it as a river, as Cluver (II. p. 469) opines, who would read the passage—“*Etrusca et loca et flumina*,” instead of the current version—“*loca et nomina*.”

⁴ A good description of these works is given in Murray's Hand-book. See also Repetti, *vv.* Lagoni, Monte Cerboli, Pomaranace.

forth the hot and fetid vapour in numerous tall white columns, which, by moonlight on their dark slopes, look like "quills upon the fretful porcupine."

Some miles beyond Castelnuovo, the road, which has been continually ascending from the Cecina, attains its greatest elevation. Here it commands a prospect of vast extent, over a wide expanse of undulating country to the sea, nearly twenty miles distant, with the promontory of Piombino and Populonia rising like an island from the deep, and the lofty peaks of Elba seen dimly in the far horizon. Among the undulations at the foot of the height, which the road here crosses, is the hill of Castiglione Bernardi, which Inghirami has pronounced to be the site of the Vetulonia of antiquity.

I did not visit this spot, for I was deterred by one of those sudden deluges of rain common in southern climates, which burst like a water-spout upon me, just as I had begun to descend to it; and I thought myself fortunate in soon regaining the shelter of my *carrettino*. Not relishing a country walk of some miles after such a storm, I did not await its cessation, but made the best of my way to Massa. I did this with the less regret, for my quondam fellow-traveller, Mr. Ainsley, had previously twice visited the spot, furnished with directions from Inghirami himself, and had sought in vain, in a careful examination of the ground, for any remains of Etruscan antiquity, or for any traces of an ancient city of importance. Inghirami indeed admits that the hill in question is but a *poggetto angusto*—"a circumscribed mound, not more than half a mile in circuit, and quite incapable of holding a city such as Vetulonia must have been;" and says that on it are to be seen only the ruins of a castle of the middle ages, overgrown with enormous oaks, nor could he "perceive among the extant masonry a single stone which bore a trace of ancient

Tyrrhene construction, such as might correspond with the remains of the Etruscan city of Vetulonia."⁵ Why then suppose this to have been the site of that famous city? First—because he finds the hill so called in certain documents of the middle ages, one as far back as the eleventh century.⁶ Secondly—because it is not far from the river Cornia, which abounds in hot springs, some of which he thinks must have been those mentioned by Pliny as existing,—*ad Vetulonios*;"⁷ besides being in the immediate neighbourhood of a lake—Lago Cerchiaio—of hot sulphureous water. Thirdly—because a few tombs of Etruscan construction, and with undoubted Etruscan furniture, have been found in the vicinity. Fourthly—and on this the Cavaliere lays most stress—because the situation assigned to Vetulonia by Ptolemy was in the district comprised between Volterra, Siena, and Populonia,⁸ which he thinks

⁵ *Ricerche di Vetulonia*, Lettera II. pp. 35, 36, 52. Published also in the *Memorie dell' Instituto*. IV. pp. 95—136.

⁶ *Ric. di Vetul.* p. 29. Repetti (V. p. 706), however, tells us that many documents of the tenth century speak of this Castiglione, without mentioning the "hill of Vetulonio." How this spot acquired the name of Vetulonium which it bore during the middle ages, it is not easy to say. That it bore this appellation in Etruscan times we have no proof. That the names of places were often altered by the ancients we have evidence in Etruria and its confines—Carnara was changed to Clusium, Agylla to Cære, Aurinia to Saturnia, Nequinum to Narnia, Felsina to Bononia—and we know that the name of a town was sometimes transferred from one site to another, as in Falerii and Volsinii—and that names were occasionally multiplied we see in Clusium Vetus and Clusium

Novum; in Arretium Vetus, Arretium Fidens, and Arretium Julium. It must also be remembered that the nomenclature of the middle ages is no evidence of that of more early times. Through the fond partiality of an ecclesiastic for his native-place, or the blunder of some antiquary, ancient names were often attached to sites, to which they did not belong. Such errors would soon however become traditional with the people, anxious to maintain the honour of their native town, and would even pass into their documents and monumental inscriptions. Thus it was that Civita Castellana was made the ancient Veii; and thus Annio's forgeries and capricious nomenclature became current for ages in the traditions of the people.

⁷ Plin. N. H. II. 106.

⁸ *Ric. di Vetul.* p. 93. He even proposes to make this the basis of his researches for the site of Vetulonia. But

may correspond with this hill of Castiglione Bernardi. Nevertheless, so little could he reconcile this circumscribed site with that of a first-rate city, such as Vetulonia is described to have been, that he was driven to suppose the existence of two ancient cities or towns of that name—the one of greatest renown lying on the northern slopes of the Ciminian; the other, being that famous for hot springs, occupying this hill of Castiglione.⁹

I shall not in this place do more than state the views of the late Cavaliere Inghirami, which, coming from a man of approved archæological eminence, are entitled to all respect. The subject will be further considered in a subsequent chapter, when I treat of another site in the Maremma, which, I think, has much stronger claims to be regarded as that of the ancient Vetulonia. Let it suffice to mention that Mr. Ainsley's description and sketches of Castiglione Bernardi represent it in entire accordance with the admission of Inghirami, as a small, isolated, conical hill, about the size of the celebrated Poggio di Gajella at Chiusi, certainly not so large as the Castellina at Tarquinii—a mere "*pogetto*," or "*monticello*," without any level space that could admit of an Etruscan town, even of fourth or fifth-rate importance. To which I may add, that if this were

how unsound a basis this is, and how little Ptolemy is to be trusted—being so full of errors and inconsistencies, that if the towns of Etruria were arranged according to the latitudes and longitudes he assigns them, we should have an entirely new map of the land—I have shown at length in an article in the *Classical Museum*, 1844, No. V. pp. 229—246.

⁹ *Ricerche di Vetulonia*, p. 50. He ultimately gave up the idea of a Ciminian Vetulonia (op. cit. pp. 93—6; *Bull. Inst.* 1839, pp. 150—152), in conse-

quence of the reasoning of Dr. Ambrosch in a letter written in reply to the three published by the venerable antiquary (*Memor. Inst.* IV. pp. 137—155), and fell back upon his hill of Castiglione. His opinion that this was the site of Vetulonia is supported by Dr. Ambrosch, who to reconcile this mean site with that of Vetulonia is driven to attempt to invalidate the evidence of Silius Italicus as to the importance and grandeur of that ancient city. I have replied to his objections in the above-mentioned paper in the *Classical Museum*.

an Etruscan site, as the neighbouring tombs seem to indicate, it can have been only one of the thousand and one "villages and castles"—*castella vicique*—which existed in Etruria. The traveller may rest satisfied that no remains of an Etruscan town are to be seen on the spot. Should he wish to verify the fact, he will find accommodation at Monte Rotondo, a town two or three miles from the Poggio of Castiglione; and he can see, in the house of Signor Baldasserini, the proprietor of this *tenuta*, a number of vases and other Etruscan antiquities, found in the neighbourhood.

A continual descent of many miles through a wild tract of oak forests, underwooded with tamarisk, laurestinus, and brushwood, leads to the plain of Massa. That city crowns the extremity of a long range of heights, and at a distance is not unlike Harrow as seen from Hampstead Heath; but its walls and towers give it a more imposing air. Though the see of a bishop, with nearly 3000 inhabitants, and one of the principal cities of the Maremma, Massa is a mean, dirty place, without an inn—unless the Chandler's shop, assuming the name of "Locanda del Sole," may be so called. The Duomo is a small, neat edifice, of the thirteenth century, in the Byzantine style, with a low dome and a triple tier of arcades in the façade. The interior is not in keeping, being spoilt by modern additions, and has nothing of interest beyond a very curious font of early date, formed of a single block.

Massa has been supposed by some to occupy the site of Vetulonia, an opinion founded principally on the epithet "Veternensis," attached to a town of this name by Ammianus Marcellinus,¹ the only ancient writer who

¹ Amm. Marcell. XIV. 11, 27. He speaks of it as the birth-place of Gallus

Cæsar, the brother of Julian the Apostate.

speaks of Massa, and which is regarded as a corruption of "Vetuloniensis."² The towns-people, ready to catch at anything that would confer dignity on their native place, have adopted this opinion, and it has become a local tradition ; not to be the more credited on that account. I have little doubt, however, that there was originally an Etruscan population on the spot. Adjoining the town, to the south-east, is a height, or rather a cliff-bound tableland, called Poggio di Vetreta, or Vuetreta, which has all the features of an Etruscan site. It is about a mile in length, and three-quarters of a mile in its greatest breadth; it breaks into cliffs on all sides, except where a narrow isthmus unites it to the neighbouring heights. No fragments of ancient walls could I perceive ; but there are not a few traces of sepulchres in the cliffs.³ It is highly probable that the original name of this town is to be traced in its Roman appellation (if that, indeed, belong to this site),⁴

² See Targioni-Tozzetti, *Viaggi in Toscana*, IV. p. 116.

³ In the cliffs just opposite the Cathedral are some sepulchral niches, and so also in the rocks beneath Massa itself. Mr. Ainsley observed, in the cliffs of the Poggio de' Vetreta, some passages running far into the rock, like the *Buche de' Saracini* at Volterra. They were probably sewers. Below this height there is also a *Giardino di Vuetreta*. This name has been supposed to be derived from Vetulonia, but is more probably a corruption of the Latin appellation of the town ; if it be not rather traceable to the glass-factories, once common in this district. Inghir. *Ric. di Vetul.* p. 39 ; *Memor. Inst.* IV. p. 120. Ximenes (cited by Inghirami, *op. cit.* p. 62) asserts the currency of a tradition at Massa, that in a dense wood five miles west of

that town, are the ruins of the city of Vetulonia ; but Inghirami ascribes this tradition to its true source, as will presently be shown.

⁴ Repetti (III. p. 139) does not think there is sufficient authority for identifying the *Massa Veternensis* of Marcellinus with this town of *Massa Maritima* ; for he shows (cf. p. 109) that numerous places, not only in Tuscany, but in the Papal State, especially in the southern district of Etruria, had the title of *Massa*, i.e., "a large estate," in the middle ages, most of which have now dropped it. He inclines to recognise the birth-place of Gallus in Viterbo, and would read "*Massa Veterbensis*," instead of "*Veternensis*." Cluver (II. p. 513), however, does not hesitate to identify the modern *Massa* with that of A. Marcellinus.

which indicates, not Vetulonia, but Volturnus or Volturna as its root ; and the town may have taken its name from a shrine to one of those Etruscan deities, on or near the spot.⁵

The rock here is a rich red tufo, much indurated, and picturesquely overhung with ilex. Traces of volcanic action are occasionally met with in this part of Italy, though the higher mountains are of limestone, sandstone, or clay slate.

This height commands a magnificent view. The wide Maremma lies outspread at your feet, and the eye is led across it by a long straight road to the village of Follonica on the coast, some twelve or thirteen miles distant. Monte Calvi rises on the right, overhanging the deep vale of the Cornia ; and many a village sparkles out from its wooded slopes. The heights of Piombino and Populonia rise beyond it, forming the northern horn of the Bay of Follonica ; the headland of Troja, with its subject islet, forms the southern ; and the dark, abrupt peaks of Elba, the dim island of Monte Cristo, and the deep blue line of the Mediterranean, bound the horizon.⁶

Its elevated position might be supposed to secure Massa from the pestiferous atmosphere of the Maremma ; but such is not the case. The city does not suffer so much as

⁵ For Volturnus and Volturna, or Vertumnus and Voltumna, see Vol. I. p. 519. *Veternensis*, deprived of its Latin adjectival termination, becomes *Veterni* or *Veterna*, which seems nothing but a corruption of the Etruscan *Velturna*, or *Velthurna*, the Latin *Volturnus*, according to the frequent Roman substitution of *o* for the Etruscan *e*. *Velthur* or *Velthurna* was also an Etruscan proper name (see Vol. I. pp. 340, 446, 499), and may have had

the same relation to this town, that the ancient family *Cæcina* had to the river of that name. A tomb of the family of *Velthurna*, or *Velthurnas*, was discovered at Perugia in 1822, with eight urns bearing this name. *Vermiglioli*, *Iscriz. Perugia*. I. pp. 262—3.

⁶ Massa is 38 miles from Volterra, 40 from Siena, 16 from Castelnuovo, 20 from Piombino, 24 from Populonia, 24 from Campiglia, 30 from Grosseto.

others on lower ground, yet has a bad name, proverbialised by the saying,

Massa, Massa—
Salute passa.

It is a dreary road to Follonica across the barren plain. Let the traveller, however, drive on rather than pass the night at Massa; for the inn, though of no high pretensions, is far more comfortable at the former place. Follonica, indeed, is much more frequented, having a little port, and large iron factories; and lying on the high-road from Leghorn to Civita Vecchia. This little industrious village appears quite civilised after the dreamy dulness of Massa.⁷

From Follonica there are two ways to Populonia—one along the sandy strip of shore, called Il Tombolo, to Piombino, fifteen miles distant,⁸ and thence six miles further over the mountains; the other by the high road to Leghorn, for ten or eleven miles, and then across the Maremma. The first, in fine weather, is practicable for a carriage throughout; the second only as long as you keep the high-road, the rest of the way being by a path through the forest. I chose the latter track, which is shorter by

⁷ Abeken thinks that the abandoned mines, which Strabo (V. p. 223) saw in the neighbourhood of Populonia, must have been at Follonica. *Mittelitalien*, p. 30. But Müller (*Etrusk. I.* p. 240) mentions Caldana as the site of these mines. They are probably those which have been re-opened of late with great success in the vicinity of Campiglia.

⁸ Piombino is not an ancient site. Here, however, a beautiful votive statue of Apollo in bronze was found in the sea a few years since, having a Greek inscription on its foot—ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ—It is now in the Louvre. M. Letronne thinks it may have decorated some temple of Minerva in the

neighbouring Etruscan city of Populonia. *Ann. Inst.* 1834, pp. 198—222. *Tav. d'Agg. D. I.* Mon. Ined. *Inst. I.* tav. 58, 59. Between Follonica and Piombino, and about a mile only from the latter, is the Porto de' Faliesi, the Faleria of Rutilius (*I.* 371), the Falesia Portus of the Maritime Itinerary, see page 212. Dempster (*II.* p. 432) erroneously places this ancient port at the other end of the bay, near the island of Troja. The neighbouring lagoon, which Rutilius speaks of, is that into which the Cornia empties itself. Repetti (*IV.* p. 293) says the ancient port is now much choked by the deposits from that river.

five miles, because the road by the Tombolo had been rendered uncarriageable by heavy rains.

My road lay through the level of the Maremma, where for some miles everything was in a state of primitive nature ; a dense wood ran wild over the plain ; it could not be called a forest, for there was scarcely a tree twenty feet in height ; but a tall underwood of tamarisk, lentiscus, myrtle, dwarf cork-trees, and numerous shrubs unknown to me, fostered by the heat and moisture into an extravagant luxuriance, and matted together by parasitical plants of various kinds. Here a break offered a peep of a stagnant lagoon ; there of the sandy Tombolo, with the sea breaking over it ; and above the foliage I could see the dark crests of Monte Calvi on the one hand, and the lofty promontory of Populonia on the other. Habitations there were none in this wilderness, save one lonely house on a rising-ground. If a pathway opened into the dense thickets on either hand, it was the track of the wild beasts of the forest. Man seemed here to have no dominion. The boar, the roebuck, the buffalo, and wild cattle have the undisputed range of the jungle. It was the "woods and wasteness wide" of this Maremma, that seized Dante's imagination when he pictured the Infernal wood, inhabited by the souls of suicides,

— un bosco

Che da nessun sentiero era segnato.
 Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco ;
 Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e 'nvolti ;
 Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con toscò.
 Non han sì aspri sterpi, nè sì folti
 Quelle fiere selvegge, che 'n odio hanno
 Tra Cecina e Corneto i luoghi colti. *Sh. / xiii. 2.*

After some miles there were a few traces of cultivation—strips of land by the road-side redeemed from the waste, and sown with corn ; yet, like the clearings of

American backwoods, still studded with stumps of trees, showing the struggle with which nature had been subdued. At this cool season the roads had a fair sprinkling of travellers—labourers going to work, and not a few pedlars, indispensable beings in a region that produces nothing but fish, flesh, and fuel. But the population is temporary and nomade, consisting of woodcutters, agricultural labourers and herdsmen, and those who minister to their wants. These colonists—for such they may strictly be called—are from distant parts of the Duchy, mostly from Pistoja and the northern districts ; and they come down to these lowlands in the autumn to cut wood and make charcoal—the prime duties of the Maremma labourer. In May, at the commencement of the summer heats, the greater part of them emigrate to the neighbouring mountains, or return to their homes ; but a few linger four or five weeks longer, just to gather in the scanty harvest, where there is any, and then it is *sauve qui peut*, and “the devil take the hindmost.” No one remains in this deadly atmosphere, who can in any way crawl out of it—even “the birds and the very flies” are said, in the emphatic language of the Southron, to abandon the plague-stricken waste. Follonica, which in winter has two or three hundred inhabitants, has scarcely half-a-dozen souls left in the dog-days ; beyond the men of the coast-guard, who are doomed to rot at their posts. Such, at least, is the report given by the natives ; how far it is coloured by southern imaginations, I leave to others to verify, if they wish it. My advice, however, for that season would be

—has terras, Italique hanc litoris oram,
Effuge ; cuncta malis habitantur mœnia ;

for the sallow emaciation, or dropsical bloatedness, so often seen along this coast, confirms a great part of the tale. In

October, when the sun is losing his power to create miasma, the tide of population begins again to flow towards the Maremma.

The same causes must always have produced the same effects, and the Maremma must have been unhealthy from the earliest times. Yet scarcely to the same extent as at present, or the coast and its neighbourhood would not have been so well peopled, as extant remains prove it to have been. In Roman times we know it was much as at the present day.⁹ Yet the Emperors and patricians had villas along this coast in spots which are now utterly deserted. The Romans, by their conscriptions, and centralising system, diminished the population; the land fell out of cultivation, and malaria was the natural consequence; so that where large cities had originally stood, mere road-stations, post-houses, or lonely villas met the eye in Imperial times. The same causes which reduced the Campagna of Rome to a desert must have operated here. The old saying,

Lontan da città,
Lontan da sanità,

is most applicable to these regions, where population and cultivation are the best safeguards against disease. It is probable that under the Etruscans the malaria was confined to the level of the coast, or we should scarcely find traces of so many cities, the chief cities of the land, on the great table-lands, not far from the sea; on sites which now, from want of cultivation and proper draining, are become most pestilent; but which, from their elevation, ought to enjoy immunity from the desolating scourge.

It is but justice to add, that the rulers of Tuscany, for a

⁹ Pliny (epist. V. 6) says of it—*Est sane gravis et pestilens ora Tuscorum, quæ per litus extenditur.* Cf. Virg. *Æn.* X. 184; Serv. in loc.; Rutil. I. 282.

century past, have done much to improve the condition of this district, both by drainage, by filling up the pools and swamps, and by reclaiming land from the waste for agricultural purposes. But much yet remains to be done ; for the mischief of ages cannot be remedied in a day. The success already attained in the Val di Chiana, and the natural fertility of the soil, offer every encouragement. "In the Maremma," saith the proverb, "you get rich in a year, but—you die in six months"—*in Maremma s'arricchisce in un anno, si muore in sei mesi*.

The peculiar circumstances of the Maremma are made the universal excuse for every inferiority of quantity, quality, or workmanship. You complain of the food or accommodation. My host shrugs his shoulders, and cries, "*Ma che—cosa vuole, signor ? siamo in Maremma*"—what would you have, sir ? we are in the Maremma. A bungling smith well nigh lamed the horse I had hired ; to my complaints he replied, "*Cosa vuole, signor ? è roba di Maremma*." "Maremma-stuff" is a proverbial expression of inferiority. These lower regions of Italy, in truth, are scarcely deemed worthy of a place in a Tuscan's geography. "*Nel mondo, o in Maremma*," has for ages been a current saying. Thus, Boccaccio's Madonna Lisetta tells her gossip that the angel Gabriel had called her the handsomest woman "in the world or in the Maremma." The traveller will find, however, that as accommodation deteriorates, the demands on his purse become more exorbitant ; not wholly without reason, for everything comes from other parts—nothing is produced in the Maremma. Milk, butter, fruit, all the necessaries of life, even bread and meat, are brought from a distance ; fowls and eggs, and occasionally fish or a wild-boar chop, are the only produce of the spot. Corn is not yet grown in sufficient quantities for the winter population.'

About the ninth milestone from Follonica, the road crosses the Cornia, which flows from the wide valley on the right, between the heights of Massa and Campiglia. The latter place is seen from afar off, glistening on the wooded slopes. A mile or two beyond the Cornia, a road branches to it, thence three miles distant; and a path turns off in the opposite direction through the jungle to Populonia, seven miles off. Hard by this spot a white house by the road-side, at the eleventh milestone from Follonica, marks Le Caldane, the hot springs, which have been regarded by Inghirami, as well as by earlier writers, as the *aquæ calidæ ad Vetulonios*, mentioned by Pliny.² They are still used as hot baths.

Campiglia is a town of some consequence, having 2000 resident inhabitants; but in the cool season that number is almost doubled by the influx of the labourers from other parts of the Duchy, who migrate to the Maremma. A recent traveller complains of having been mobbed here, and followed through the streets, as bears and monkeys are by children, and describes the *locanda* as the worst that could possibly exist.³ I did not happen to be mistaken for either of those saltatory quadrupeds; and moreover, in the Locanda of Giovanni Dini, I experienced great civility and attention, and as much comfort as can be expected in a country town, off the high road, and where the tastes and whims of foreigners are not wont to be

¹ Tuscany is indebted for much of this improvement to the assiduous exertions of her present benevolent ruler, Leopold II. "He who in 1832," says Repetti, "visited the desert and unhealthy plain between the Cecina and the height of Rosignano, and returns to it in 1846, cannot but exclaim with me:—The evils of the Tuscan Maremma are not then in every part incur-

able!" Supplem. p. 261.

² Plin. II. 106. The Cornia is supposed to be the Lynceus of Lycophron (Cassand. 1240), a river of Etruria which abounded in hot springs. Cluver. II. p. 472. Inghir. Ric. di Vetul. p. 26.

³ Viaggio Antiquario per la Via Aurelia, p. 14.

studied. Giovanni himself is as obliging and intelligent an host as you will meet in the wide Maremma. Therefore, those visitors to Populonia, who do not accept the hospitalities of the Desiderj, or seek a lodging at Piombino, cannot do better than make the acquaintance of Giovanni of Campiglia.

It is in these mountains, and not far from Campiglia, that Vetulonia was long supposed to have been situated. Leandro Alberti, in 1550, first gave to the world a long and detailed account of some ruins in a thick wood hereabouts, which, from the name of the wood, and from the vicinity of the hot springs of Le Caldane, he concluded to be the remains of Vetulonia, or, as he calls it, Itulonium.

He asserts that between the Torre di S. Vincenzio and the headland of Populonia, three miles from the sea, and in the midst of dense woods, is a spacious inclosure of ancient masonry, composed of blocks from four to six feet long, neatly put together, and without cement ; the wall being ten feet thick. In many parts it is overthrown to the foundations. Within this are many fountains, or reservoirs, almost all ruined and empty ; besides certain wells, some quite choked with earth ; mosaic pavement of marble and other costly stones, but much ruined ; the remains of a superb amphitheatre, in which lies a great block of marble, inscribed with Etruscan characters. Both within and around the said inclosure, among the dense thickets and underwood, lie fragments of statues, broken capitals and bases of columns, slabs, tablets, tomb-stones, and such-like remains of antiquity, together with very thick substructions and fragments of massive walling, which he thinks belonged to some temple or palace. This wood, he says, is called Selva di Vetletta, and the ruins, Vetulia ; which he takes to be Vetulonia, or a temple called Vitulonium. All around these remains are ruined

fountains ; and two miles beyond, on the same wooded hills, is a large building, where alum is prepared ; and three miles further, are the mines, where iron ore is dug up. Following the said hill, which faces the south, for another mile, and descending to its foot, you find the marsh through which the Cornia flows to the sea.⁵

I have given Alberti's account for the benefit of those who would seek for the ruins he describes.

Though Alberti's opinion, as to this being the site of Vetulonia, has been now broached for three centuries, and though it has been adopted, through good faith in his statements, by almost every subsequent writer on Italian antiquities,⁶ no one has hitherto been able to discover a vestige of the ruins he pretends to describe ; yet no one seems to have doubted their existence, accounting for their disappearance by the density of the wood which covers the slopes of these mountains.⁷ The wood, however,

⁵ Alberti, *Descrittione d' Italia*, p. 27. See the Appendix to this Chapter. Inghirami (*Ric. di Vetul.* p. 38) tells us that Leandro Alberti did not describe these ruins from his own personal acquaintance, but copied a manuscript account by a certain Zaccaria Zacchio, a painter, sculptor, and antiquary of Volterra, who wrote long before him ; and pronounces the above account to be the offspring of Zacchio's lively imagination, copied by the credulous Alberti.

⁶ Cluver. *Ital. Ant.* II. p. 472 ; Dempster, *Etrur. Reg.* II. p. 432 ; Ximenes, *Maremma Sanese*, p. 24 ; Targioni-Tozzetti, *Viaggi in Toscana*, IV. pp. 117, 268 ; Müller, *Etrusk. I.* pp. 211, 347 ; Cramer, *Anc. Italy*, I. p. 187. Lanzi (*II.* p. 106) and Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* I. p. 144) do not pronounce an opinion. Some of these writers had made no personal researches in this

district, but contented themselves with repeating the accounts of their predecessors ; and even those who had travelled along this coast, accepted implicitly the assertion, carried away by the great authority of Cluverius, who gave the statement to the world as his own, at least without acknowledging that he had it from Alberti.

⁷ Santi (*Viaggio*, III. p. 189, cited by Inghir. *Ric. di Vetul.* p. 47) sought in vain for a vestige of these ruins ; yet would he not impugn the authority of previous writers, "although no one had been able to ascertain the site of the ancient and irrecoverably lost Vetulonia." Sir Richard Colt Hoare was also disappointed in his search for these ruins, yet did not call in question their existence. *Classical Tour*, I. p. 46. And it must be confessed that Alberti's description, no way vague or extravagant, has all the air of verity.

would not afford an effectual concealment, for it is cut from time to time, at least once in a generation ; so that any ruins among it must, since Alberti's days, have been frequently exposed for years together, and some traditional record of their site could hardly fail to be preserved among the peasantry. Inghirami was the first to impugn Alberti's credibility, after he had sought in vain for these ruins, and for any one who had seen them ; but finding that no one, native or foreigner, had ever been able to discover their site, he concluded them to have existed only in Alberti's imagination.⁸ He admits, however, the currency of such rumours along this coast ; but could never meet with any one who had ocular testimony to offer as to the existence of these ruins, and therefore refers such traditions to their probable source—the statement of Alberti, repeated by subsequent writers, till it has become current in the mouths of the peasantry.⁹

My own experience does not quite agree with Inghirami's ; for though I made many inquiries at Campiglia and Populonia, not only of residents, but of *campagnuoli* and shepherds, men whose life had been past in the neighbouring country, I could not learn that such names as Vetulonia, Vetulia, or even Vetletta, or Vetreta, had ever been heard in this district ; nothing beyond the Valle al Vetro (Vetrieria, as I heard it) which Inghirami speaks of, the valley below Campiglia, towards the Caldane—a name derived from the glass-factories formerly existing there,¹

⁸ Inghirami investigated all this country with the greatest care, but could find no vestige of Alberti's Vetulonia ; nor even, among the traditions of the peasantry, a trace of the name Vetulia, or Vetletta, which he thinks to have been formed by Zacchio or Alberti, from that of Vetreta, which exists in several spots along this coast where there have been in former days manufactories of

glass. He also shows, from other palpably absurd statements of Alberti with regard to Populonia, how little he is worthy of confidence in such matters. Ric. di Vetul. pp. 40, 48, 49.

⁹ Ric. di Vetul. p. 63. To this source he ascribes the tradition of the Massetani, mentioned above, at page 218.

¹ Ric. di Vetul. p. 39.

traces of which are still to be seen in the dross from the furnaces. There are, however, not a few remains of the olden time around Campiglia. At Rocca di San Silvestro, three miles to the north towards the Torre di San Vincenzo ;² at Castel di Biserno, a mile beyond ; at Castel di Monte Pilli, half way between Campiglia and Suvereto ; and also at San Bartolo—are ruins, but all of churches or castles of the middle ages.

Though the ruins Alberti describes are not now to be found, that there was an Etruscan population in the neighbourhood of Campiglia is a fact, attested by tombs that have been opened at Monte Patone, a mile below the town on the road to Populonia. They have been reclosed with earth, but the description I received of their form and contents—sarcophagi with reliefs, and recumbent figures on the lids—fragments of bronze armour, embossed with lions, cocks, boars, serpents, geese, and strange chimæras, such as had never been seen or heard of by my informants—and pottery of sundry kinds—thoroughly persuaded me of their Etruscan character.

The precise site of this Etruscan town I did not ascertain. It may have been at Campiglia itself, though no traces of such antiquity are now to be seen there. In fact, were we to trust to such blind guides as Annio of Viterbo and Leandro Alberti, we should hold that Campiglia was founded by the “sweet-worded Nestor,” who named it after his realm of Pylos, and that the syllable Cam, by some unexplained means, afterwards stole a march on the old appellation, and took its place at the head of the word.³

After all, it is a mere assumption, founded partly on Alberti’s description, and partly on the hot springs at Le

² To this ruined fortress Sir R. C. Hoare was taken. *Classical Tour*, I. p. 47.

³ A modern traveller takes Campiglia

to be a corruption of Capitolium ; for he thinks this town occupies the site of the Arx or Capitol of Vetulonia. *Viaggio Antiquario per la Via Aurelia*, p. 12.

Caldane, that Vetulonia stood in this neighbourhood, as there is no statement in ancient writers which should lead us to look for it here, rather than elsewhere along the coast.⁴ But the fashion was set by Alberti, and it has ever since been followed—fashions in opinion not being so easily cast aside as those in dress.⁵

Roman remains have also been found in this neighbourhood. I heard of sundry pieces of mosaic, and other traces of Roman villas, that had been recently brought to light.⁶

The summit of the hill above the town is called Campiglia Vecchia, but there are no remains more ancient than the middle ages. Forbear not, however, to ascend ; for you will thence obtain one of the most magnificent panoramas in all Italy—where mountain and plain, rock

⁴ Cluver (II. p. 473) proposes to alter the "Velinis," which the Peutingerian Table places on this coast north of Vada Volaterrana (*ut supra*, p. 212), into "Vetulonis," and to transpose it so as to place it between Vada and Populonia, ten miles from the latter. Cramer (I. p. 187) and Mannert (p. 358) agree with him. But this is a purely arbitrary transposition, suggested by a belief in Alberti's statements.

⁵ Professor Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 194) suggests three causes, which may have given rise to this opinion. The hot springs of the Caldane—the reported existence of the names of Vetulia, Vetleta, &c., in the neighbourhood—and "the order in which Ptolemy mentions Vetulonia, after having cited Rusellæ and Arretium and before passing to Suana, Saturnia, and Volci." With regard to the latter reason, nothing more can be deduced from the order of these places than from the latitude and longitude Ptolemy assigns

them, as it is evident they follow no geographical arrangement—"Pisæ, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, Fæsulæ, Perusia, Arretium, Cortona, Acula, Biturgia, Manliana, Vetulonium, Sæna, Suana, Saturnia, Eba, Volci, Clusium," &c.

⁶ Near Campiglia some ancient mines have of late years been reopened and worked with great success by an English gentleman, who, as I heard the story, was led to turn his attention to this spot from observing the mention made by Strabo (V. p. 223) of some abandoned mines near Populonia. *ut supra*, p. 220. According to Dempster (II. p. 432), Campiglia could boast of mines of a richer metal, for he calls it—"argenti fodinis nuper ditissima, ac monetæ officina." In the mountains of Campiglia also are quarries of white marble, to which the Duomo of Florence is more indebted for its beautiful incrustations than to the marble of Carrara. Repetti, I. p. 421.

and wood, sea and sky, lake, river, and island, are brought together into one mighty spirit-stirring whole, where Nature exults in undying strength and freshness.

Turn your back on the deep valley of the Cornia and the lofty mountains inland, and let your eye range over the other half of the scene. Campiglia lies at your feet, cradled in olive-groves, and its feudal castle, in ivy-grown ruin, scowls over the subject town. Now glance southward, far across the green and red Maremma and the azure bay of Follonica, to the headland of Troja, with the islet at its foot. Far beyond it, in the dim horizon, you will perceive another island, the Giglio, so favourite a feature in the scenery of Corneto. To the west rises the lofty rock of Monte Cristo. Nearer still, the many-peaked mass of Elba, once the whole realm of him for whom Europe was too small, towers behind the heights of Piombino; and on the northern extremity of these heights gleams the castle of Populonia, overhanging its sail-less port. Due west, Capraja rises from the blue deep; and far, far beyond, the snow-capt mountains of Corsica faintly whiten the horizon. More to the north, seen through a gap in the olive-clad heights on which you stand, is the steep islet-rock of Gorgona.

How delightful at times is ignorance! How disenchanting is knowledge! Look over these luxuriant, variegated woods, these smiling lakes at your feet; admire them, rejoice in them—think not, know not, that for half the year they “exhale earth’s rottenest vapours,” and curdle the air with pestilence. Let yon castle on its headland be to you a picturesque object, placed there but to add beauty to the scene; listen not to its melancholy tale of desolation and departed grandeur. Those islands, studding the deep, may be, some at least, barren, treeless, storm-lashed rocks, the haunt only of the fisherman, or forsaken as

unprofitable wildernesses ; but to you who would enjoy this scene, let them be, one and all, what they appear,

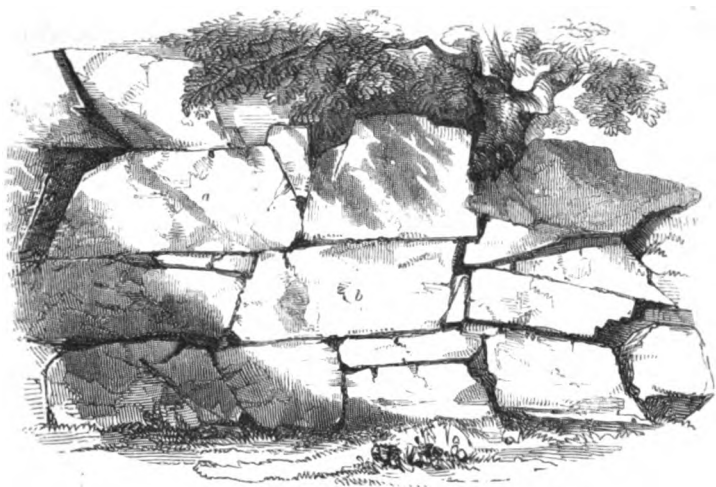
"Summer-isles of Eden, lying
In dark purple spheres of sea."

Keats's "Lockley Hall"

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLII.

ALBERTI'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PRETENDED RUINS OF VETULONIA.

Voglio descrivere alcune cose, che sono fra la Torre di Santo Vincenzo, ed il Promontorio, sopra lo quale era posta Populonia, fra quelle selve, e folti boschi tre miglia da 'l mare discosto. Vedesi adunque in questo luogo tutto silvoso, un grande e lungo muro (che abbraccia molto paese) fabricato con gran sassi lunghi comunemente di piedi 4 in 6, tanto diligentemente composti insieme, che paiono esser composti senza calce ed altro bitumo. Onde si può conoscere la gran diligenza de gli artefici in drizzare tanta fabrica. Ella è larga piedi 10, ben è vero che in alcuni luoghi vedesi intiera, ed altrove mezo rovinata, ed anche totalmente insino ai fondamenti disfatta. Sono ne' l mezo di questa muraglia molte Fontane, dico edificij per li quali scendevano l'acque che hora sono quasi tutti guasti, e così sono mancate l'acque. Etandio scoprensi alquanti pozzi, qual totalmente pieno di terra, e qual mezo vuoto, e chi coll' acqua, e chi senza. Vedensi assai silicati alla mussaica molto maestrevolmente composti di preciose pietre, traversati di vaghi compassi di finissimi marmi. Vero è che ella è guasta per maggior parte tanta opera. Altresi si rapresenta parte d'un superbo Amphitheatro, da laquale facilmente si può giudicare la grandezza, e sontuosità di quello, quanta ella fusse, quando era in essere. Quivi giace un gran pezzo di marmo molto misuratamente intagliato di lettere Etrusche, come affermano i curiosi vestigatori dell' antichitati. Ritrovansi tanto dentro da detta muraglia, quanto di fuori, per i vicini luoghi, fra folti boschi, e cespugli, e pruni, pezzi di nobili marmi, capitelli spezzati, basamenti, tavole di pietre, mesule, aveli, ed altre simili vestiggi d' antichitati molto artificiosamente lavorate. Per le quali si può giudicare che fossero ornamenti de nobili edifici, o di qualche Tempio o Palagio, scoprendosi etiamdio grossissimi fondamenti con alquanti pezzi di grandissime mura in piedi. Per quanto io posso divisare, credo che questo fusse edificio (hora tanto rovinato, e abbandonato, quanto si vede) da gli habitatori de' l paese, Vetulia dimandato, e questi folti boschi nominati la Selva di Vetletta, quel luogo da Tolemeo Vetulonium nominato. . . . E se deve scrivere questo luogo, Italonio, e così si vede esser corrotto Tolemeo. . . . Fuori di questi rovinati edifici, da ogni lato se dimostrano fontane guaste e derrochatte. Piu avanti camminando lungo quei colli tutti selvaggi e pieni di cespugli e di pruni, da Vetulia due miglia discosto, appare un grand' edificio, ove si confettà l' alume, e quindi a tre, vedense le Fodine overo il luogo ove se cava il Ferro molto crudo. Pur piu oltre seguitando l'antidetto colle, che riguarda al mezo giorno, per un miglio, e scendendo alle radici, ritrovasi una Palude che mette capo nella marina. . . . e il fiume Cornia finisce il suo corso a questa Palude.



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF POPULONIA.

CHAPTER XLIII.

POPULONIA—*POPULONIA*.

Proxima securum reserat Populonia litus
 Qua naturalem ducit in arva sinum
 Agnoscere nequeunt sevi monumenta prioris
 Grandia consumpsit mœnia tempus edax.
 Sola manent interceptis vestigia muris ;
 Ruderibus latis tecta sepulta jacent.—RUTILIUS.

So long they travel'd with little ease,
 Till that at last they to a castle came,
 Built on a rocke adjoyning to the seas;
 It was an auncient worke of antique fame
 And wondrous strong by nature and by skilful frame.

SPENSER.

HE who would drive from Campiglia to Populonia must make a wide circuit by the Torre di San Vincenzo. I chose the direct track, which is practicable only on foot or horseback, and entered the jungle which stretches from

the Leghorn road westward to the heights of Populonia. The wood was dense enough in parts, yet I could catch an occasional glimpse of the castle-crowned headland to which I was bound. The ground was swampy ; the paths, mere tracks made by the cattle ; yet such difficulties were in time overcome, and I was approaching Populonia, when I encountered a more formidable obstacle in a flock of sheep. Not that, like the knight of La Mancha, or his heroic prototype, Ajax Telamonius, I took them for foes to be subdued ; but some half-a-dozen dogs, their guardians, large and fierce as wolves, threatened to dispute my further progress. Seeing no shepherd at hand to calm their fury, and not caring to fight a passage, or to put Ulysses' example and Pliny's precept into practice, and sit down quietly amongst them,¹ I made a *détour* by the sea-shore, where a range of sand-hills concealed me from their view. Here the sand, untrodden perhaps for ages, lay so loose and deep that I verified the truth of the saying—

Chi vuol patir nel mondo una gran pena,
Dorma diritto, o cammini per arena.

This was the beach of the celebrated port of Populonia, once the chief mart of Etruscan commerce ; but not a sail, not even a skiff now shadowed its waters, which reflected nothing but the girdle of yellow sand-hills, and the dark headland of Populonia, with the turreted ruins on its crest, and the lonely Tower of Baratti at its foot.

Let future travellers take warning, and trust to the legs of a horse or mule, rather than to their own, in crossing this Maremma.

It is a steep ascent up the olive-clad slope to Populonia.

¹ Homer (Odys. XIV. 31) tells us that Ulysses, on being attacked by the dogs of Eumæus, knowingly sat down,

and let his stick drop. Pliny (VIII. 61) also says that you may calm dogs' fury by sitting down on the ground.

Just before reaching the Castle, a portion of the ancient wall is passed, stretching along the brow of the hill ; but this is by no means the finest fragment of the Etruscan fortifications.

The Castle of Populonia is an excellent specimen of the Italian feudal fortress ; its turrets and machicolated battlements make it as picturesque an object as its situation renders it prominent in the scenery of this district. The ancient family of the Desiderj have been the hereditary lords of Populonia for centuries ; and though the donjon and keep are no more, though the ramparts are not manned, and no warder winds his horn at the stranger's approach, the Desiderj still dwell within the castle walls, in the midst of their dependents, retaining all the patriarchal dignity and simplicity of the olden time, without its tyranny ; and with hospitality in no age surpassed, welcome the traveller with open doors. I had not the good fortune to make the acquaintance of this amiable family, as they were in the metropolis at the time of my visit ; but a friend, who in the previous spring had visited Populonia for the sake of its antiquities, was persuaded—compelled I may say—to stay a week at the Castle, finding it impossible to refuse the urgent hospitality of the Cavaliere. It is refreshing to experience such cordiality in a foreign land—to find that hospitality which we are too apt to regard as peculiarly of British growth, flourishing as luxuriantly in another soil. However reluctant to receive such attentions from strangers, in a case like this where there is no inn, nor so much as a wineshop where refreshment may be had, one feels at liberty to trespass a little. This dependence, however, on the good offices of others must interfere with liberty of action, and might be no slight inconvenience, were the antiquities of Populonia very extended or numerous. As it is, the traveller may

drive over in the morning from Piombino, five miles distant, or even from Campiglia, see thoroughly the remains at Populonia, and return at an early hour the same day.

There are few relics of antiquity extant at Populonia beyond its walls, which may be traced in fragments along the brow of the hill, showing the Etruscan city to have had a circuit of little more than a mile and a half.² The area thus inclosed is of the form of a shoulder of mutton, with the shank-end towards the north-east. These dimensions place Populonia in the rank of an inferior city, which must have derived its importance from its situation and commerce, rather than from the abundance of its population.

Populonia has been supposed one of the Twelve chief cities of the Etruscan Confederation,³ but without adequate grounds. Nothing said of it by ancient writers marks it as of such importance; and the only statement that can in any way be construed to favour such a view, is made by Livy, who mentions it among the principal cities of Etruria, but at a time when the whole of that state had long been subject to Roman domination.⁴ The authority of Servius, indeed, is directly opposed to that view, in the three traditions he records of it:—first, that it was founded by the Corsicans, “after the establishment of the Twelve cities of Etruria;” secondly, that it was a colony of Volaterræ; and thirdly, that the Volaterrani took it from

² Micali's Plan of Populonia (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. II.) makes the circuit of walls to be more than 8000 feet.

³ Dempster, II. p. 56.

⁴ Liv. XXVIII. 45. Livy can only mean that Populonia at the time referred to was among the first cities of the Roman province of Etruria. It is

not improbable, however, as Niebuhr (I. p. 118, Eng. trans.) suggests, that Populonia, though not one of the original Twelve Cities, may in after times have taken the place of some one already extinct—perhaps Vetulonia, “if the topography be correct which places Vetulonia near it.”

the Corsicans.⁴ At any rate, it was an inferior and dependent town in Etruscan times, and its consequence arose from its commerce, from its being a great naval station, and also from the strength of its position, which enabled it to defy the attacks of pirates, to which cities on this coast were then subject.⁵ Moreover, it was the grand depôt and factory of the iron of Elba, which, as at the present day, was not smelted in the island, but brought for that purpose to the neighbouring continent.⁶

The antiquity of Populonia is undoubted. Virgil represents it sending forces to the assistance of Æneas, and bears testimony to its importance in early times.⁷ Yet we find no historical mention of this city till the end of the Second Punic War. When Scipio made a demand on the resources of the province of Etruria to supply his fleet, each of the principal cities furnished that in which it abounded—Cære sent corn and other provisions; Tarquinii, sailcloth; Volaterræ, ship-tackle and corn; Arretium, corn, weapons, and sundry implements; Perusia, Clusium, and Rusellæ, corn and fir for ship-building; and Populonia, iron.⁸

⁴ Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* X. 172. Millingen (*Numis. Anc. Ital.* p. 163), from the character of certain coins of Populonia, attributes the foundation of the town to the Phocæans, during their settlement in Corsica, and thinks it possible that they may have long held possession of it.

⁵ Strabo (*V.* p. 223), and Pliny (*III.* 8) tell us it was the only one of the ancient Etruscan cities which was situated, properly speaking, on the sea. Whence it is evident that Telamon, Gravisæ, Pyrgi, and the other places on this coast were not cities; probably mere landing-places—ports to the great cities in their vicinity. Even Cosa, though similarly situated to Populonia,

was not, from its small size, entitled to rank as a city. See Müller's remarks, *Etrusk. I.* p. 348.

⁶ Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Varro, *ap. Serv. ad Æn.* X. 174; Pseudo-Aristot. *de Mirab. Auscult.* c. 95.

⁷ Virg. *Æn.* X. 172. Whereas the whole island of Elba sent only 300 warriors, Populonia sent 600—

Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
Expertos belli juvenes; ast Ilva tre-
centos.

⁸ Liv. XXVIII. 45. It is subsequently mentioned in the year 552, when Claudius Nero the consul took refuge in this harbour from a storm. Liv. XXX. 39.

Like Volaterræ, Populonia sustained a siege from the forces of Sylla, and was almost destroyed by the victor ; for Strabo, who visited it nearly a century afterwards, says the place would have been an utter desert, were it not that the temples and a few of the houses were still standing ;⁹ even the port at the foot of the hill was better inhabited. It seems never to have recovered from this blow, though we find it subsequently mentioned among the coast-towns of Etruria.¹ At the beginning of the fifth century of our era it was in utter ruin, and the description of Rutilius is quite applicable to its present condition.² Micali ascribes its final destruction to the Saracens in A. D. 826 and 828 ;³ but Repetti makes it more than two centuries earlier, referring it to the Lombards in the time of Gregory the Great.⁴

Within the walls of Populonia are to be seen a line of six parallel vaults, *concamerationes*, sometimes erroneously called an amphitheatre ; a curious piece of mosaic, with a variety of fishes ;⁵ and some reservoirs of water—all of Roman times. Nothing is Etruscan within the walls. On the highest ground is a tower, where the French established a telegraph. Strabo tells us that in his time there was a look-out tower on this promontory, to watch the arrival of the tunny-fish ;⁶ just as is the practice

⁹ Juno had a temple at Populonia. Macrob. Sat. III. 11. And there was a very ancient and curious statue of Jupiter here, hewn from the trunk of an enormous vine. Pliny (XIV. 2) speaks of it as extant in his day, though of great antiquity—*tot sævis incorruptum*.

¹ Mela. II. 4. Plin. III. 8. Ptolemy (p. 68, ed. Bert.) even calls it a city.

² Rutil. Itin. I. 401—412. See the heading to this Chapter.

³ Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 150.

⁴ Repetti, IV. p. 580.

⁵ See Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 150, for an account of this mosaic from the pen of Inghirami, who mentions the various fish under their scientific names.

⁶ Strabo, loc. cit.—*θυμνοσκοτειόν*. Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluv. p. 29) interprets this word as *piscatio thunnorum* ; and does not think there was any tower. But he stands alone in this opinion. It was probably this same tower which was standing in the time of Rutilius, four centuries later, who speaks of a

at the present day along the coasts of Italy. It may have stood on this height, which commands a wide view of the Mediterranean, though Repetti thinks it probably occupied the eastern cliff, which is still known by the name of Punto della Tonnarella. From this "specular mount" you perceive that Populonia is situated, as Strabo describes it, "on a lofty promontory, sinking abruptly to the sea, and forming a peninsula." The Castle hides the view of the bay; but on the north the coast is seen trending away in a long low line towards the mountains around Leghorn; and even the snowy Apennines above the Gulf of Spezia may be descried in clear weather. As the eye sweeps round the horizon of waters, it meets the steep rock of Gorgona, then the larger and nearer island of Capraja, and, if the weather be very clear, the mountain-crests of Corsica beyond. But those of Sardinia are not visible, though Strabo has recorded his experience to the contrary, and Macaulay, on his authority, has sung of

"sea-girt Populonia,
Whose sentinels descry
Sardinia's snowy mountain-tops
Fringing the southern sky."

Macaulay's Horatius, st. 4.

Even were the distance not too great, the broad mass of Elba which fills the south-western horizon, would effectually conceal them from the view. That island rises in a long line of dark peaks, the loftiest of which on the right is Monte Campana; and the highest at the other end of the range, is crowned by the town of Rio.

beacon-tower on the fortifications, instead of a Pharos built as usual on the mole; so that a double purpose was served (I. 403—8):—

Non illic positas extollit in æthera moles

Lumine nocturno conspicienda
Pharos;

Sed speculam, validæ rupis sortita
vetustas,

Qua fluctus domitos arduus urget
apex.

Castellum geminos hominum funda-
vit in usus,

Præsidium terris, indiciumque
fretis.

Midway lies the Bay of Portoferraajo, so called from its shipments of iron ore; and the town itself, the court of the exiled Emperor, is visible on a rock jutting into the bay.⁶

The finest portions of the Etruscan walls lie on this western side of Populonia, and from the magnitude of the masonry are appropriately termed "I Massi."⁷ They are formed of blocks, perhaps less rectangular than those of Volterra, but laid horizontally, though with little regularity. More care seems to have been bestowed on smoothing the surface of the masonry than on its arrangement; and it is often vain to attempt to count the number of courses, as blocks of very different heights lie side by side. None of them are of the vast dimensions of some at Fiesole and Volterra.⁸ But the frequent splitting of the rock often

⁶ Portoferraajo is 20 miles from Populonia, but the nearest point of Elba is not more than 15 miles. He who would cross to that island must do so from Follonica or Piombino—better from the latter from which it is only 8 miles distant, and whence there is a regular communication. As the island belonged to the Etruscans, remains of that people may be expected to exist there, but I have never heard of such being discovered; and I have had no opportunity of visiting it for personal research. Sir Richard C. Hoare describes some ancient remains at Le Grotte, opposite Portoferraajo, and on Capo Castello, where they are called the "Palazzo della Regina dell' Elba,"—both he considers to be of the same date, and his description seems to indicate them as Roman.—*Classical Tour*, I. pp. 23, 26. But he who would gain information on the antiquities of Elba, should seek an introduction to Signor François, the experienced and successful excavator of Tuscan Etruria, who is

now a resident at Portoferraajo. Elba, however, has more interest for the naturalist than for the antiquary. It is, as Repetti observes, "the best stored mineralogical cabinet in Tuscany." Its iron mines have been renowned from the days of the Romans (*ut supra*, page 237), and Virgil (*Æn.* X. 174) truly calls Elba,

Insula inexhaustis chalybum generosa metallis.

For an account of this beautiful island and its productions see Repetti, II. *v.* *Isola dell' Elba.*

⁷ It is this portion of the walls which is represented in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter. The block marked *a* is 6 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in.—that marked *b* is 5 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in.

⁸ The largest I could find was 7 feet in length; few are more than 2 feet in height, and many much less than one. It may be observed here, as at Volterra and other sites in northern Etruria, that the smallest and shallowest blocks

renders it difficult to determine their original size and form ; and in parts gives them a very irregular character.⁹ In other parts, more to the south, the walls are composed of long and very shallow courses, the rock having there a tendency to split in thin *laminæ*. As in all other Etruscan walling, there is an entire absence of cement or cramping.

In every part of the circuit, the walls of Populonia are embankments only, never rising above the level of the city, as is sometimes the case at Volterra. In no part are they now to be seen more than ten or twelve feet in height.

The other Etruscan remains of Populonia are a few tombs in the surrounding slopes. About a quarter of a mile below the walls to the south, are some sepulchres, called, like the vaults in the theatre of Fiesole, *Le Buche delle Fate*—"the Fairies' Dens." They are hollowed in low cliffs of yellow sandstone, and have passages cut down to them, as in the southern part of Etruria, but have no monumental façade. They seem to have been circular, but the rock is so friable that the original form is nearly destroyed. How long they have been opened I could not learn. They are not to be found without a guide, as the path to them lies through a dense wood of tall *lentiscus*.

are generally at the bottom, as if to make a good foundation for the larger masses.

⁹ The walls of Populonia have been styled polygonal (Gerhard, *Memor. Inst.* I. p. 79) ; but I could perceive nothing to warrant such a nomenclature. It is true that small pieces are often inserted to fill the interstices, and few blocks are strictly rectangular ; but if carefully examined it will be generally found that the most irregular are mere splittings from larger blocks, for the rock, a schistose sand-stone, has

split, perhaps from the superincumbent weight, and often diagonally, so as to convert a quadrangular mass into two or more of triangular form ; an example of which is shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter. In truth, it is singular to observe how closely this masonry in some parts resembles the natural rock, when split by time or the elements. The most irregular masses, however, are trapezoidal or triangular ; and horizontality is throughout the distinctive character of the masonry.

On the hill to the east of Populonia, and about one mile from the castle, are other tombs, opened in 1840 by Signor François ; and known by the name of Le Grotte. They are within a tumulus ; and other similar mounds, probably containing tombs, rise on this spot.¹ They had already been rifled of their most precious contents in former ages, so that little was learnt of the sepulchral furniture of Populonia. Some painted vases, however, are said to have been found in the neighbourhood, near the chapel of San Cerboni, at the foot of the hill.

Not a vestige now remains of the docks or slips which Strabo tells us anciently existed at Populonia.²

We learn from coins that the Etruscan name of this city was "PUPLUNA,"³—a name which seems to be derived from the Etruscan Bacchus—"PHUPHLUNS ;"⁴ as Mantua was from the Etruscan Pluto—Mantus ; if it be not rather a compound word ; for "Luna" being found in the names of three Etruscan towns, all on the coast—Luna, Pup-luna, Vet-luna—seems significant of a maritime character.⁵

Populonia is one of the few Etruscan cities of which coins, unquestionably genuine, have been found. They are

¹ Inghirami, Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 148.

² Strabo, V. p. 223.

³ It is sometimes written "PUPLANA," or contracted into "PUP." The town was called Populonia by Virgil, Servius, Mela, and Rutilius—Populonii, by Livy—and Poplonium, or Populonium, by Strabo, the Pseudo-Aristotle, Stephanus, Ptolemy, and the Itineraries.

⁴ Bacchus is so designated on several Etruscan mirrors—e. g. that which forms the frontispiece to Vol. I. of this work. See Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. LXXXIII. LXXXIV. XC. Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 173) would

derive Populonia from this source ; and so also Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 193 ; Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 29.) But may it not be, on the contrary, that the god took this name from the town, as Venus did hers of Cypris and Cytherea, from her favourite islands ? It is not improbable that the Etruscan name "Pupli," "Puplina," (Publius) had some affinity to "Pupluna." For the distinction between Phuphluns and Tina, see Grotefend, Ann. Inst. 1835, pp. 274—8.

⁵ *Ut supra*, page 83.

of gold and silver, as well as of copper, and generally have one or two small crosses, which mark their value. The emblems are often significant of the commerce of the town. The head of Vulcan ; a hammer and tongs, on the reverse—in allusion to its iron-foundries. The head of Mercury ; a *caduceus* and trident—indicative of its commerce and maritime importance. The head of Minerva ; an owl, with a crescent moon and two stars.⁶ But the most remarkable type on the coins of Populonia is the *Gorgonion* ; not here “the head of the fair-cheeked Medusa—”⁷

“A woman's countenance with serpent locks,”—
Shelley, On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci

as it is represented by the sculptors of later Greece, and by Leonardo da Vinci, in his celebrated picture ; but a monstrous fiend-like visage, just as in the subjoined woodcut,⁸

⁶ Another type of Populonia is a female head, helmeted, with a fish by its side ; this Lanzi thinks refers to the tunny fisheries mentioned by Strabo. Other coins have a wild-boar—an apt emblem of the Maremma ; or a lion, about to seize his prey, which Millingen thinks is an evident imitation of an Ionic coin. One mentioned by Eckhel with a female head covered with a lion's skin, and a club on the reverse, Müller considers significant of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans. Many of the coins of Populonia have the peculiarity of having the reverse quite bare. For descriptions and illustrations of the coins of Populonia, see Passeri, *Paralip.* in Dempst. tab. V. 3—5 ; Lanzi, *Saggio*, II. pp. 27, 81, tav. II. 1—3 ; Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. CXV. ; *Ital. av. Rom.* tav. LIX—LXI. ; Müller, *Etrusk.* I. pp. 323, 330 ; Mionnet, *Med. Ant.* I. pp. 101—2 ; Suppl. I. pp. 199—203 ; Sestini, *Geog. Numis.* II. p. 5 ; Millingen, *Numis. Anc. Italie*,

p. 163, *et seq.* ; cf. Capranesi, *Ann. Inst.* 1840, p. 204. ; Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, taf. XI. 1—3 ; Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 348, *et seq.* tav. LIV.

⁷ Pindar, *Pyth.* XII. 28.

⁸ This cut is taken from a vase from Chiusi, but it is characteristic of the Etruscan Gorgonion.

The Gorgon's head, according to the Orphic doctrines, was a symbol of the lunar disk. Epigenes, ap. Clem. Alex. and. *Strom.* V. p. 676, ed. Potter.

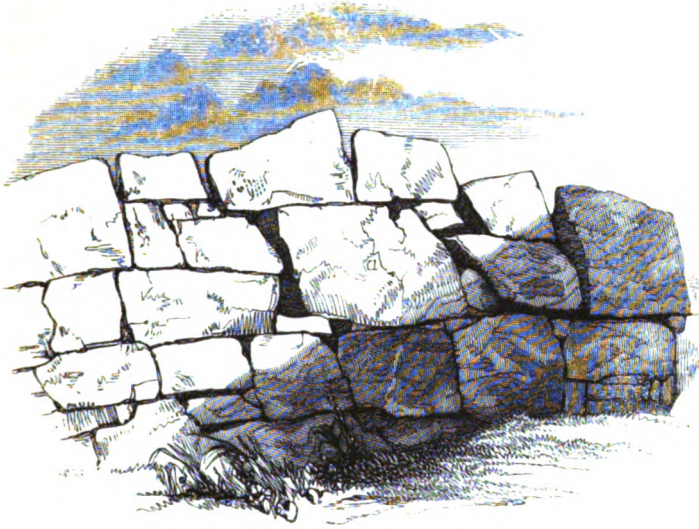
A singular opinion has been broached by Dr. Levezow of Berlin—that the type of the Gorgon of antiquity was nothing but an ape or ourang-outang, seen on the African coast by some early Greek or Phœnician mariner ; and that its ferocious air, its horrible tusks, its features and form caricaturing humanity, seized on his imagination, which reproduced the monster in the series of his myths. See a review of Levezow's work by the Duc de Luynes, *Ann. Inst.* 1834, pp. 311—332.

with snaky hair, with gnashing tusks, and tongue lolling out of

“The open mouth, that seemed to containe
A full good pecke within the utmost brim,
All set with yron teeth in raunges twaine,
That terrifide his foes, and armed him,
Appearing like the mouth of Orcus griesly grim.”



ETRUSCAN GORGONION.



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF RUSELLÆ.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ROSELLE.—*RUSELLÆ*.

Jam silvæ steriles, et putres robore trunci
 Assaraci pressère domos, et templa Deorum,
 Jam lassâ radice tenent, ac tota teguntur
 Pergama dumetis ; et jam periëre ruinæ.—*LUCAN.*

It is a tedious drive of nearly thirty miles from Follonica to Grosseto. There is a track along the coast direct to Castiglion della Pescaja, leaving the Torre di Troja, the Trajanus Portus of antiquity,¹ to the right ; but the high-road, formed of late years, leaves the coast at Follonica, and runs for half the way through a long barren valley. At the distance of nine miles is the Locanda della Potassa,

¹ Ptol. Geog. p. 68, ed. Bert.

a wretched *osteria*, yet the best halting-place on the road. Beyond Gavorrano, Caldana, and Giuncari^o, the scenery begins to improve, and Colonna on a wooded height is a picturesque feature in the landscape. This is supposed to be the Colonia, near which, in the year of Rome 529, took place the great rout of the Gauls, commonly called the battle of Telamon.²

The half-way house to Grosseto is Lupo, a wretched *cabaret*—a mere *wolf's* den. Here you emerge from the valley into a vast, treeless, houseless moor, or rather swamp, containing the waters of the Lake Castiglione, the *Lacus Prelius* or *Aprilis* of antiquity, and realizing all your worst conceptions of the Maremma, its putrescent fens, its desolate scenery. You must make a wide circuit at the edge of the swamp, beneath the Monte Pescali, ere you reach the gates of Grosseto. If the morass have its horrors, it is not necessary to linger amid them, for the road is excellent.

Grosseto, the capital of the Tuscan Maremma, stands on the very level of the plain. It has two or three thousand inhabitants—a population almost doubled in winter; and in comparison with the towns and villages in its neighbourhood, seems an oasis of civilization; for it has an air of neatness and cleanliness, a small but pretty cathedral, a faint reflection of the glories of Siena, a theatre! and an inn, whose praises I cannot express better than by saying

² It is Frontinus (*Strat.* I. 2, 7) who mentions Colonia as the site of that battle. Polybius (*II.* 27) says it was fought near Telamon. This Colonna di Buriano is said to have the remains of Cyclopean walling and Roman pavement on the summit of the hill; and vases, Roman coins and other antiquarian treasures are stated to have been there discovered. I was not aware

of the same when in that part of the country, or I should not have passed the spot without examination. Repetti (*I.* p. 784) does not think this Colonna can be the site of the said battle, which he would rather place at a village, Colonnata, in the neighbourhood of Toscanella. Cluver (*II.* p. 475) takes this Buriano to be the site of the Salebro of the Itineraries.

it is one of the best in Tuscany, south of Florence. The *padrona*, the widow Palandri, is known far and wide through the Maremma—nay, throughout the Duchy—not only for the excellence of her accommodation, but for her boast of having resided, maid, wife, and widow, more than sixty years at Grosseto, summer as well as winter, and in robust, uninterrupted health—a living monument of the elasticity of the human frame, and of its power to resist by habituation the most noxious influences of Nature. For Grosseto, though protected from the assaults of man by strong fortifications, has no safeguard against the insidious attacks of the marsh-fever, which desolates it in summer ; and the proverbial saying, "*Grosseto ingrossa*"—save in the case of La Palandri, where it applies literally—is no mere play upon words, nor is it to be taken ironically, but refers to the bloating, dropsifying effect of the oft-recurring fever. Grosseto has no interest to the antiquarian, beyond its vicinity to the ancient Etruscan city of Rusellæ, which lies a few miles to the north, near the high-road to Siena.

At the distance of about four miles on this road are the hot-springs, called I Bagni di Roselle. Above them rises a lofty hill, Poggio di Moscona, crowned with ruins, which the traveller will be apt to mistake for those of Rusellæ, as did Sir Richard Colt Hoare.³ At the little wineshop hard by the Baths a guide is generally to be had. I found not one, but half a dozen—young peasants, who had come to hear mass in the little chapel, and were returning to the site of Rusellæ, where their cattle were grazing. There are two ways hence to the ancient city, one on each side of the lofty hill of Moscona. It would not be amiss to go one way and return the other. I took the path to the right, and after traversing a forest of underwood for a

³ Classical Tour, I. p. 49.

couple of miles, ascended the steep slope on which Rusellæ was situated. The hill is one of those truncated cones sometimes chosen by the Etruscans for the site of their cities, as at Orvieto, Saturnia, and Cosa; and the slopes around it are covered with wood, so dense that it effectually conceals the walls from the spectator at a distance. By this road I entered Rusellæ on its south-western side. I then turned to the right and followed the line of walls, which are traceable in detached fragments along the brow of the hill.

At first, the masonry was horizontal—rudely so indeed, like that of Volterra and Populonia, but such was its decided character, though small stones were inserted in the interstices of the large masses.⁴ But when I had gained the eastern side of the city, I found all rectangularity and horizontality at an end, the walls being composed of enormous masses piled up without regard to form, and differing only from the rudest style of Cyclopean, as described by Pausanias, in having the outer surfaces smoothed. Speaking of Tiryns in Argolis, that writer says, “The walls, which are the only ruins remaining, are the work of the Cyclops, and are formed of unhewn blocks, each of which is so huge that the smallest of them could not be in the least stirred by a yoke of mules. Small stones were fitted in of old, in such a way that each of them is of great service in uniting the large blocks.”⁵ In these walls of Rusellæ small blocks are intermixed with the large masses, occupying the interstices, and often in some measure fitted to the form of

⁴ It is this regular portion of the walls which is represented in the wood-cut at the head of this chapter. They are here about 15 feet high; the block marked *a* is 7 feet 4 inches long, by 5 feet 4 inches in height.

⁵ Pausan. II. 25, 7. Τὸ δὲ τεῖχος δὲ δὴ μόνον τῶν ἐρειπίων λείπεται, Κυ-

κλώπων μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, πεποιήται δὲ ἀργῶν λίθων, μέγεθος ἔχων ἕκαστος λίθος, ὡς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν μὴδ’ ἂν ἀρχὴν κινηθῆναι τὸν μικρότατον ὑπὸ ζεύγους ἡμόνων. λίθια δὲ ἐνῆρμυσται πάλαι, ὡς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλαις λίθοις εἶναι. cf. II. 16, 4.

the gap. The irregularity and shapelessness of this masonry is partly owing to the travertine of which it is composed ; that material not so readily splitting into determinate forms as limestone, although it has a horizontal cleavage.⁶

The masses are in general very large, varying from six to ten feet in length, and from four to eight in height. Some stand vertically seven or eight feet, by four or five in width, and I observed one nearly thirteen feet in length.⁷ The walls on the eastern side of the city are in several parts fifteen or twenty feet high ; but on the north, where they are most perfect, they rise to the height of twenty to thirty feet. Here the largest blocks are to be seen, and the masonry is most Tirynthian in character ; here also the walls are not mere embankments, but rise above the level of the city. On the western side there are few

⁶ These walls are cited by Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 40 ; cf. 1831, p. 410, tav. d'agg. F. 1.) as an example of the rudest and most ancient kind of Cyclopean masonry, similar to those of Tiryns and Mycenæ in Argolis, and of Arpino and Aufidena in Italy ; but the smoothing of the outer surface distinguishes them from the Cyclopean walls of Pausanias, as well as from the ancient walls above Monte Fortino, thought to be those of Artena of the Volsci, and from those at Civitella and Olevano, on the opposite range of mountains ; all of which are in every respect unhewn. Mr. Bunbury (Class. Mus. V. p. 180) speaks of portions of the walls of Russellæ being "decidedly polygonal"—a term by no means applicable ; for there is nothing here resembling the ancient masonry of Cosa, or of Segni, Alatri, and other polygonal fortifications of Central Italy. Mr. Bunbury, however, does not speak from personal acquaintance with Russellæ. He also states that all the

polygonal portions of these walls are of hard limestone, while the regular masonry is of *macigno*, or stratified sandstone. I may be allowed to question this fact, for to me the rock appeared to be travertine throughout. This is confirmed by Repetti, IV. p. 820.

⁷ I add the dimensions of a few of these blocks—8 feet 4 inches high, by 3 feet 2 inches wide—12 feet 8 inches long, by 2 feet 10 inches high—7 feet 4 inches, by 4 feet 10 inches—6 feet 4 inches, by 5 feet 4 inches.

The difficulty of raising such huge blocks into their places would be immense ; but I believe that in nearly all these cases where the walls are formed of the local rock, they have been let down from above—that the top of the insulated height chosen for the site of the city was levelled, and the masses thus quarried off were used in the fortifications. There are still some deep pits in one part of the city, whence stone has been cut.

fragments extant, and those are of smaller and more regular masonry than in any other part of the circuit. On this side are many traces of an inner wall banking up the higher ground within the city, and composed of small rectangular blocks, corresponding in size with those usually forming city-walls in the volcanic district of the land. The space between this outer and inner line of wall reminded me of the *pomærium*, the sacred space within and without the walls of Etruscan cities, no signs of which have I been able to trace on any other ancient site.⁸ It is true that in this part the inner wall embanks the high mound to the north, which there is reason to suppose was the *Arx*; but the same walling is to be traced round another mound at the south-eastern angle, as well as at several intermediate points; which makes me suspect there was a continuous line of it.

The area enclosed by the walls forms an irregular

⁸ The *pomærium* was a space marked out by the founder within, or without, or on both sides of, the walls of an Etruscan city, or of those cities, which, like Rome, were built according to the Etruscan ritual; and it was so called by the Romans, because it was *post murum*, or *pone muros* as A. Gellius says, or *proximum muro* as Festus intimates. Though its name is Roman, its origin was undoubtedly Etruscan; and it was marked out by the plough, according to the rites which the Etruscans observed in founding their cities. It was ever after held sacred from the plough and from habitation, and was used by the augurs in taking the city-auspices, being divided into "regions" for that purpose. But when the city was enlarged the *pomærium* was also carried further out, as was the case with Rome, where one hill after another was in-

cluded within it. Its boundaries were marked by *cippi* or *termini*. The space it enclosed was called the *ager effatus*. Liv. I. 44; Dion. Hal. IV. p. 218; Varro, L. L. V. 143; Plutarch. Romul.; Aul. Gell. XIII. 14; Tacit. Ann. XII. 24, 25; Festus, v. *Prosimurium*; Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* VI. 197; Cicero, de Divin. I. 17; II. 35; cf. Müller, Etrusk. III. 6, 9. Niebuhr (I. p. 288) thinks the "word *pomærium* seems properly to denote a suburb taken into the city, and included within the range of its auspices."

If the above-mentioned space in the walls of Rusellæ were the *pomærium*, of which I am very doubtful, it was the inner portion. But the inner line of masonry may be merely the embankment of the higher ground within the city-walls, or it may be a second line of fortifications.

quadrangle, between ten and eleven thousand feet, or about two miles, in circuit.⁹ The city then was much smaller than Volterra, yet larger than Populonia or Fiesole.

I traced the sites of six gates—two on the northern side, one at each angle; two in the eastern wall, and two also in the western. In the southern I could perceive no such traces.

Let no one venture to explore the site of Rusellæ who is not prepared for a desperate undertaking, who is not thorn-proof in the strength or the worthlessness of his raiment. To ladies it is a curiosity more effectually tabooed than a Carthusian convent, since they can hardly even approach its walls. The area of the city and the slopes around are densely covered with a thorny shrub, called "*marruca*," which I had often admired elsewhere for its bright yellow blossoms, and delicate foliage; but as an antagonist it is most formidable, particularly in winter, when its fierceness is unmitigated by a leafy covering. Even could one disregard the thorns, the difficulty of forcing one's way through the thickets is so great that some of the finest portions of the walls are unapproachable from below, and in very few spots is it possible to take a sketch.¹⁰ Within the city, the thickets are not so dense.

⁹ See Micali's Plan of Rusellæ (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. III.), and that of Ximenes (Esame dell' Esame d'un libro sopra la Maremma Sanese) from which it is taken. Müller (Etrusk. I. 3, 3) cites Rusellæ as an instance of the usual quadrangular form of Etruscan cities.

¹⁰ When writers describe the walls of Rusellæ as "of well hewn parallelopiped blocks" (Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 144), or "of squared blocks of immense size" (Cluver. II. p. 514), it is clear they must have contented themselves with the portions to the south and west,—such as that represented in the wood-

cut at the head of this chapter—and were stopt by the *marruca* from seeing the finest fragments. This shrub seems to have a long hereditary *locus standi* in this part of Italy; for it is most probably to this that Polybius (II. 28) refers, in his description of the battle between the Romans and Gauls in this neighbourhood. The latter were evidently "freshmen" in the Maremma, or they would not have been so ready to denude themselves, lest their clothes should impede them in passing through the thickets.

Such at least I found the state of the hill in 1844. Let him therefore, who would explore this site, keep in mind the proverb—" *tal carne, tal coltello* "—" as your meat is, so must your knife be"—and take care to arm himself for the struggle.

Within the walls are sundry remains. On the elevated part to the north, which I take to have been the Arx, besides fragments of rectangular masonry, are some vaults of Roman work, which have been supposed, it seems to me on no valid grounds, to have formed part of an amphitheatre.¹ At the south-eastern angle of the city is a mound, crested by a triple, concentric square of masonry, which Micali takes to have been the Arx, though it seems to me more probably the site of a temple or tower.²

On the south-western side of the city are three parallel vaults of Roman *opus incertum*, about a hundred feet long. They are sunk in the high embanked ground already mentioned, in which, not far from them, are traces of a gate through the inner line of wall.³

¹ Ximenes (Esame, &c.), who published in 1775, was the first to give a plan of these ruins as an amphitheatre; but Hoare (Class. Tour, I. p. 64), in 1818, could see nothing of such a structure, beyond the form; and that is not at the present day very apparent. Repetti (IV. p. 820), however, speaks of it as an undoubted amphitheatre, but perhaps only on the authority of Ximenes, whom he cites.

² The foundations of the two outer quadrangles are not now very distinct, though the terraces can be traced; but the inner square preserves its foundations unmoved, consisting of the small rectangular blocks already described—the only sort of masonry within the city-walls. The square is 48 feet, and the thickness of the wall 5 feet 6 inches.

Within the square the ground sinks in a deep hollow. This would seem to indicate a tower rather than a temple, but its small size precludes to my mind the idea of its being the citadel, which on other Etruscan sites is not a mere castle or keep, as this must have been, but an inclosure of such extent as to contain within its area a triple temple, like that on the Capitoline at Rome.

³ At this spot the masonry of the embankment, each course of which recedes from that below it, as at the Ara Regina of Tarquinii, terminates abruptly, so as to leave an even break all the way up, making it clear that here was a gate, or a roadway, to the high ground within the embankment.

From the height of Rusellæ you look southward over the wide vale of the Ombrone, with the ruined town of Istia on the banks of that river; but Grosseto is not visible, being concealed by the loftier height of Moscona, which is crowned by the ruins of a circular tower.⁴ On the east is a wooded hollow; but on the north lies a wide bare valley, through which runs the road to Siena, and on the opposite heights stands the town of Batignano, of proverbial insalubrity—"Batignano fa la fossa." There resides the present proprietor of Rusellæ, hight Jacobetti. On the west the valley widens out towards the great lake of Castiglione, the *Lacus Prelius*, or *Aprilis*, of antiquity, which of old must have been as at present a mere morass, into which several rivers discharged themselves; but it had then an island in the midst,⁵ which is no longer distinguishable.

⁴ I did not ascend this height, but Sir Richard Hoare who sought here for the ruins of Rusellæ, describes this tower as built over subterranean vaults, apparently reservoirs. The same traveller speaks of a small house in the plain beneath Rusellæ, belonging to one Franchi, or Franceschi, which has many inscribed tablets built into the wall, but with their faces turned inwards. *Classical Tour*, I. pp. 50, 68.

⁵ This lake, or rather swamp, is called "Aprilis," by the Itineraries (see page 212). Cicero (*pro Milone*, 27) calls it "Prelius," and speaks of its island. Pliny (*III.* 8) must mean the same when he mentions the "amnes Prille," a little to the north of the Umbro. These "amnes" seem to refer to several mouths or emissaries to the lake. The island of which Cicero speaks is by some supposed to have been the hill of Badia al Fango, nearly two miles from the lake, but Repetti (*IV.* p. 10) considers it rather to have been a little mound now called Badiola, on which

are still some remains of ancient buildings, and which he thinks in the time of Cicero may have stood in the midst of the marsh, instead of hard by it, as at present. It is impossible to say of what extent the lake was of old; before the hydraulic operations commenced in 1828 for its "bonification," as the Italians term it, it had a superficial extent of 33 square miles, but it is now reduced by the means taken, and still taking, for filling it up; this is done by letting in the waters of the Ombrone, which bring down abundant deposits from the interior. It would seem from the forcible possession Clodius took of the island in its waters, as related by Cicero (*loc. cit.*), that this spot was much more desirable as a habitation in ancient times than at present, when it is "the very centre of the infection of the Tuscan Maremma." Repetti gives good reasons for regarding this lake or swamp as originally the bed of the sea. An interesting account will be found in the same writer (*II.* r.

Castiglione della Pescaja is seen on the shore at the foot of the hills which rise behind the promontory of Troja.

Scarcely a trace of the necropolis has been discovered at Rusellæ. The hardness of the rock and the dense woods which for ages have covered the hill, in great measure account for this. It is probable that here, as on other sites of similar character, the tombs were of masonry, heaped over with earth. Such is the character of one on the ascent to the city from the south, not far from the walls. It is a chamber only seven feet by five, lined with small blocks of unhewn masonry like the Tirynthian in miniature, and covered with large slabs, about eighteen inches thick. The chamber was originally of greater depth, being now so choked with earth that a man cannot stand upright in it. It can be entered only by a hole in the roof, where one of the cover-slabs has been removed; for the original doorway, which opened in the slope of the hill, and which is covered with a horizontal lintel, is now blocked up. As it is therefore a mere pit, without any indications above the surface, it is not easy to find. From the peculiarity of the masonry, and from the general analogy this tomb bears to those of Saturnia, I do not hesitate to pronounce it of high antiquity. This was the only sepulchre I could perceive, or that I could hear of, in the vicinity of Rusellæ, though many others probably exist among the dense woods below the walls. No excavations have been made on this site within the memory of man.⁶

Grosseto) of the attempts made at various periods and by different means to reduce the extent of stagnant water, and lessen the unhealthiness of this district.

⁶ This tomb has a great resemblance in construction, if not in form, to the Sepulture di Giganti of Sardinia, which

are long, passage-like sepulchres of rude stones, and covered in with unhewn slabs. De la Marmora, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, pl. IV. pp. 21—35; and Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 125, *et seq.* tav d' Agg.; Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 240, taf. IV. 6a—d.

Micali (*Mon. Ined.* tav. XVII. 11,

The walls of Rusellæ, from their stupendous massiveness, and the rude shapelessness of the blocks, are indisputably of very early date, and may rank among the most ancient structures extant in Italy. While those of Cosa and Saturnia, in the neatly joined polygonal style, have been referred to later, even to Roman, times, no one has ever ventured to call in question the venerable antiquity of Rusellæ; which therefore needs no confirmation from historical sources. The limited extent of the city, only two miles in circumference, and not more than a fourth the size of Volterra, does not seem to entitle it to rank among the Twelve chief cities of Etruria. Yet this honour is generally accorded to it; principally on the ground of a passage in Dionysius, where it is cited in connection with Clusium, Arretium, Volaterræ, and Vetulonia, all cities of the Confederation, as taking part in the war against Tarquinius Priscus, independently of the rest of Etruria;⁷ which it could not have done had it not been a city of first-rate importance. This is the earliest mention made of Rusellæ in history. We next hear of it in the year 453 of Rome, in the dictatorship of M. Valerius Maximus, who marched his army into the territory of Rusellæ, and there "broke the might of the Etruscans," and forced them to sue for peace.⁸ And again in the year 460, the consul, Postumius Megellus, entered the territory of Rusellæ, and not only laid it waste, but attacked and stormed the city itself, capturing more than 2000 men, and slaying almost as many around the walls.⁹ When we next find it mentioned in history, it is among the cities of Etruria, which

p. 109) describes a small bronze lamp found near Rusellæ; which is in no way peculiar, except as coming from this site; for, as far as I could learn, it is all that has yet been found here. Cluver (II. p. 514), however, speaks of sundry

marbles, columns, bronze figures, and ancient coins having been dug up before his time.

⁷ Dion. Hal. III. p. 189.

⁸ Liv. X. 4, 5.

⁹ Liv. X. 37.

furnished supplies to Scipio in the Second Punic War. It sent him its quota in corn, and fir for ship-building.¹ It is afterwards mentioned among the Roman colonies in Etruria.² It continued to exist after the fall of the Western Empire, and for ages was a bishop's see, till in 1138, its population had sunk so low, and the site was so infested by robbers and outlaws, that its see and inhabitants were transferred to Grosseto, its modern representative.³ Since that time Rusellæ has remained as it is now seen—a wilderness of rocks and thickets—the haunt of the fox and wild boar, of the serpent and lizard—visited by none but the herdsman or shepherd, who lies the live-long day stretched in vacancy on the sward, or turning a wondering gaze on the stupendous ruins around him, of whose origin and history he has not a conception.

¹ Liv. XXVIII. 45.

² Plin. III. 8. Ptol. p. 72, ed. Bert.

³ Repetti, II. pp. 526, 522. This writer shows that at the period of the transfer of the bishopric to Grosseto,

either this latter city could not have been as unhealthy as at present, or Rusellæ could not have been deserted on account of malaria.

CHAPTER XLV.

TELAMONE.—TELAMON.

— dives opum Priami dum regna manebant ;
Nunc tantum sinus, et statio malefida carinis.

VIRGIL. *Aen.* ii. 22,

SOUTH of Grosseto, the next place of Etruscan interest is Telamone, or Talamone, eighteen miles distant. For the first half of the way the road traverses a wide plain, crossing the Ombrone by a ferry. This, the Umbro of antiquity—*non ignobile flumen*—is a stream of no great width, and ought to be spanned by a bridge. In Pliny's time it was navigable;¹ but for what distance we know not. Passing Alberese and its quarries,² the road enters a wooded valley, with a range of hills on the right renowned as a favourite haunt of the wild-boar and roebuck—

Ubi cerva silvicultrix, ubi aper nemorivagus.

Calcutt 63, 72.

Hither accordingly the *cacciatori* of Rome and Florence resort in the season, taking up their quarters at Collecchio,

¹ Plin. III. 8.—Umbro, navigiorum capax, et ab eo tractus Umbriæ. Rutilius (I. 337—341) speaks of the snug port at its mouth. Cluver (II. p. 474) thinks from Pliny's mention of it, that it gave its name to the Umbrians; but Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 12) on the contrary considers it to have received its name from that ancient people; and interprets Pliny as meaning that a dis-

trict on the river was called Umbria.

² A modern writer opines that Alberese may be the site of the Eba of Ptolemy. *Viaggio Antiquario per la Via Aurelia*, p. 43. But an ancient etymology is here quite superfluous, for the name is manifestly derived from the limestone—*alberese*—which is quarried here.

a way-side inn, twelve miles from Grosseto.³ Where this range sinks to the sea, a castle on a small headland, a few houses at its foot, and a vessel or two off the shore, mark the port of Telamone.

Telamone lies nearly two miles off the high road, and to reach it you have to skirt the sandy shores of the little bay, sprinkled with aloes, and fragments of Roman ruin. The place is squalid beyond description, almost in utter ruin, desolated in summer by malaria, and at no time containing more than some hundred and fifty befevered souls—*febricitanti*, as the Italians say—on whose heads Heaven has rained

“The blistering drops of the Maremma’s dew.”

Shelley, Sonnet, A. iv. 5, 6.

Inn there is none; and no traveller, who seeks more than mere shelter and a shake-down, should think of passing the night here, but should go forward to Orbetello, twelve miles to the south. Indeed, I know not why the antiquarian traveller should halt at Telamone, for the castle is only of the middle ages, and nothing within it is of higher antiquity; though the shores of its bay are covered, like those of Baiæ, with abundant wrecks of Roman villas.⁴ No vestiges of Etruscan times could I perceive or hear of at Telamone, or in its immediate neighbourhood; although the place can lay claim to that remote antiquity. There are said to be Roman remains also on the tower-crested headland of Telamonaccio, which forms the eastern horn of the port, and which even

³ Not far from Collecchio is a ruined tower, called Torre della Bella Marsilia; and tradition asserts that a fair daughter of the Marsilj family was in bygone ages seized here by some Barbary corsairs, and carried to Constanti-

nople, where her beauty raised her to share the throne of the Sultan. Repetti, I. p. 765.

⁴ There are said to be some Roman vaults on the heights above Telamone, but I sought them in vain.

disputes with Telamone the honour of being the site of the Etruscan town.

Telamone has retained its ancient name, which is said to be derived from Telamon, the Argonaut, who touched here on returning from the celebrated expedition to Colchis, prior to the Trojan war, and thirteen centuries before Christ.⁵ But such an origin is clearly fabulous. There is no doubt, however, of its high antiquity; but whether it was founded by the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, who built many towns on this coast,⁶ or was simply of Etruscan origin,⁷ we have no means of determining.

There is no historical mention of Telamon in the times of Etruscan independence. We hear of it first in the year 529, when the Romans defeated, in this neighbourhood, an army of Cisalpine Gauls, who had made an irruption into Etruria.⁸

It was at the port of Telamon that Marius landed on his return from Africa (87 B. C.), to retrieve his ruined

⁵ Diod. Sic. IV. p. 259, ed. Rhod. Diodorus calls it 800 *stadia* (100 miles) from Rome, which is rather less than the distance by the road. Lanzi (II. p. 83) suggests that this port may have received its name from its form of a girdle—*Τελαμών*. Telamon is not the only Argonaut mentioned in connection with Etruria. Jason also is said to have landed in Elba, whence Porto Ferrajo received its ancient name of Argous Portus (Strabo, V. p. 224; Diodor. loc. cit.); and to have contended with the Tyrrhenes in a naval combat. Possis of Magnesia ap. Athen. VII. c. 12, p. 296.

⁶ Cluver (II. p. 477) ascribes its origin to the Pelasgi; and so also Cramer, I. p. 192.

⁷ Mela (II. 4) in mentioning it among the coast-towns of Etruria, says they

were all Etruscan both in site and name—*Etrusca et loca et nomina*; but this must be taken with reservation, as in the same list are Pisæ, Pyrgi, and *Castrum Novum*, as manifestly Greek and Roman respectively in name, as they are known to have been in origin. cf. Steph. Byzant. v. *Τελαμών*.

⁸ Polybius (II. 27) places the site of this battle near Telamon; Frontinus (Strateg. I. 2, 7) says it was at a place called Colonia, which some think was Colonna di Buriano, between Grosseto and Follonica (Cramer, *Anc. Italy*, I. p. 194); but Repetti (I. p. 784) opines that it was fought much to the south, in the neighbourhood of Toscanella. Some editions of Frontinus have "*Pop- lonia*" instead of "*Colonia*."

fortunes.⁹ This is the last historical notice we have of it in ancient times; and except that it is mentioned in the catalogues of the geographers and in the Itineraries,¹ we have no further record of its existence till the beginning of the fourteenth century.²

Though we do not learn from ancient writers that Telamon was used as a port in Etruscan times, it is impossible to believe that the advantages of a harbour, sheltered from every wind save the south, and protected even in that quarter by the natural break-water of Monte Argentaro and its double isthmus, could have been overlooked or neglected by the most maritime nation of their time, the "sea-kings" of Italy.³ The recent discovery of an Etruscan city of great size in the neighbourhood, sufficiently establishes the fact,⁴ which is further confirmed by the evidence of its coins.⁵

⁹ Plutarch. Marius.

¹ Plin. III. 8—*portusque Telamon*. Ptolemy (p. 68) speaks of its "promontory."

² Repetti, V. p. 498.

³ Diodorus (IV. p. 259) indeed calls it a port in the time of the Argonauts, but beside that such a record of fabulous times cannot be received as authentic, the word he uses may signify merely a natural haven, without the addition of a town.

⁴ See Chapter XLVIII. on Vetulonia. Müller hesitates whether to regard Telamon as the port of Rusellæ, Saturnia, or Vulci, but inclines to the latter. Etrusk. I. p. 296. cf. 333. But Müller knew not of the existence of a first-rate city, only a few miles inland, to which it must undoubtedly have served as a port. Though Stephanus calls Telamon a "city," it can have been but a small town, or a fortified landing-place; just as Gravisæ, the port of Tarquinii, and Pyrgi, the port of Agylla, together with

Alsium, appear to have been. See Vol. I. p. 395; II. pp. 13, 70.

⁵ The coins attributed to Telamon are in general just like the *as* and *semis* of early Rome, having the bearded Janus-head on the obverse, and the prow on the reverse, but with the addition of "TLA" in Etruscan characters. Sometimes in place of the Janus, there is the head of Jove, or that of a helmed warrior, whom Lanzi takes for Telamon, as it was customary to represent heroes or heroines on coins. And he interprets the prow also as referring to the Argonauts. One, a *decussis*, has the legend of "TLATE," in Etruscan characters, which Lanzi proposes to blend in such a way as to read "TLAMNE," or Telamon; but Müller suggests that these coins may belong to the *fedus Latinum*—Tlate being put for Tlatium. A *sextans* with the head of a young Hercules, and a trident between two dolphins, with the legend "TEL," is referred by Ses-

The bay is now so choked with sand and sea-weed, that even the small coasting craft, when laden, have much ado to enter ; and in summer the stagnant pools along the shore send forth intolerable effluvia, generating deadly fevers, and poisoning the atmosphere for many miles around. What little commerce is now carried on, consists in the shipment of corn, timber, and charcoal.

The road to Orbetello runs along the swampy shore, with low bare heights inland, once crowned by one of the proudest cities of Etruria, whose site had been forgotten for ages ; and with the lofty headland of Monte Argentaro seaward, and the wooded peaks of the Giglio—*Igili silvosa cacumina*⁶—by its side ; often concealed by the woods of pine, which stretch for miles in a dense black line along this coast. The river Osa, the Ossa of antiquity,⁷ has to be crossed by a ferry, where large masses in the stream proclaim the wreck of the Roman bridge, by which the Via Aurelia was carried across. Four or five miles beyond, is the Albegna, anciently the Albinia,⁸ a much wider river, with a little fort on its left bank, marking the frontier of the Presidj, a small district on this coast, which belonged first to Spain, then to Naples, and was annexed to Tuscany at the Congress of Vienna. This stream is also crossed by a ferry. There is a saying—"When you meet with a bridge, pay it more respect than you would to a count"—

Quando vedi un ponte,
Fa gli più onor che non ad un conte—

and with good reason, for counts in Italy are plentiful as

tini to Telamon. Lanzi, II. pp. 28, 84, tav. II. 4—6 ; Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 333 ; Sestini, Lett. Numis. III. pp. 11—13 ; Mionnet, Suppl. I. pp. 203—4. Cramer, Anc. Italy, I. p. 192. Millingen (Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 173) doubts if these coins should be referred to Telamon.

⁶ Rutilius, I. 325. Cæsar, Bell. Civ. I. 34 ; Mela, II. 7. Called also Ægilium ; by the Greeks, Ægilon. Plin. III. 12.

⁷ Ptolem. Geog. p. 68.

⁸ Called Albinia by the Peutingerian Table, Almina by the Maritime Itinerary.

blackberries—you meet them at every turn ; but bridges ! —they are deserving of all reverence, albeit patronised by neither saint nor sovereign. Three rivers in a morning's drive along one of the best roads in Tuscany, and all still under the protection of St. Christopher, the first Christian ferryman ! For the next five or six miles the road traverses pine-woods, and then branches off to Orbetello, which lies at the extremity of a long tongue of sand, stretching into its wide lagoon, and is overshadowed by the double-peaked mountain-mass of Argentaro.

Tenditur in medias mons Argentarius undas,
Ancipitique jugo cœrula rura premit.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ORBETELLO.

Cyclopum mœnia conspicio.—VIRGIL.

ORBETELLO makes a threatening front to the stranger. A strong line of fortifications crosses the sandy isthmus by which he approaches it; principally the work of the Spaniards, who possessed the town for a hundred and fifty years—from 1557 to 1707. On every other side it is fenced in by a stout sea-wall. But its chief strength lies in its position in the midst of the wide lagoon, protected from all attacks by sea by the two necks of sand which unite Monte Argentaro to the mainland; and to be otherwise approached only by the narrow tongue, on whose tip it stands—a position singularly like that of Mexico.¹

This Stagno, or lagoon, the “sea-marsh” of Strabo,² is a vast expanse of stagnant salt-water, so shallow that it may be forded in parts, yet never dried up by the hottest summer; the curse of the country around, for the foul and pestilent vapours, and the swarms of musquitoes and other insects it generates at that season, yet blessing the inhabitants with an abundance of fish.³

¹ I have here described its original position. The causeway which now connects it with Monte Argentaro, is of very recent construction, completed only a few years since.

² Strabo, V. p. 225.—*λιμνοθάλαττα*.

³ The fishery is generally carried on

at night, and in the way often practised in Italy and Sicily—by harpooning the fish which are attracted by a light in the prow of the boat. It is a curious sight, says Repetti (III. p. 675), to see on calm nights hundreds of these little skiffs or canoes wandering about with

Orbetello has further interest for the antiquary. The foundations of the sea-wall which surround it on three sides, are of vast polygonal blocks, just such as are seen on many ancient sites of Central Italy—Norba, Segni, Palestrina, to wit—and such as compose the walls of the neighbouring Cosa. That these blocks are of ancient shaping no one acquainted with the so-called Pelasgic remains of Italy can for a moment doubt; and that they are also in great measure of ancient arrangement, is equally manifest; but that they have been in some parts rebuilt, especially in the upper courses, is also obvious from the wide interstices between them, now stopt with mortar and bricks. The masonry tells its tale as clearly as stones can speak—that the ancient fortifications, having fallen into decay, were rebuilt with the old materials, but by much less skilful hands, the defects in the reconstruction being stopt up with mortar and rubble—that the blocks, even where they retain their original positions, have suffered so much from the action of the elements, especially from the salt waves of the lake, which often violently lash the walls, as to have lost much of that smoothness of surface, and that close, neat fitting of joints, which characterise this sort of masonry; and that the hollows and interstices thus formed have been in many parts plastered over with mortar.⁴ Ancient masonry of

their lights, and making an ever moving illumination on the surface of the lake.

⁴ Hoare (Class. Tour, I. p. 61) came to the conclusion that the blocks in these fortifications must have been brought, either from some Roman road, or from the neighbouring ruins of Cosa. But they are of larger size, and of much greater depth than the ancient paving-stones; nor are they of basalt,

the usual material in roads. Still less likely is it that they have been brought from Cosa, for the walls of that city on this side, and towards the sea generally, are too perfect to have supplied so great a mass of material; and again the masonry of Cosa is wholly of limestone; that of Orbetello is principally of crag, or marine conglomerate, as though it had been quarried near the shore.

this description never had and never needed cement ; holding together by the enormous weight of its masses.

It seems highly probable from the character of this masonry, and the position of the town on the level of the shore, that Orbetello, like Pisa, Pyrgi, and Alsium, was originally founded by the Pelasgi ; to whom I would attribute the construction of these walls. But that it was also occupied by the Etruscans is abundantly proved by the tombs of that people, which have been discovered in the close vicinity of the city, on the isthmus of sand which connects it with the mainland. Most of them were found in the vineyard of Signor Raffael de Wit, an inhabitant of the town, who has made a collection of their contents. No tombs now remain open ; in truth, the soil is so loose that they are found with their roofs fallen in, and their contents buried in the earth. The articles brought to light are, sarcophagi of *nenfro*, though the dead were generally laid uncoffined on a slab of rock, and covered with tiles—vases, seldom painted, and then coarsely, like those of Volterra rather than of Vulci—tripods, and other articles in bronze ; but nothing of extraordinary beauty or value.⁵

Orbetello, then, by these remains is clearly proved an Etruscan site. What was its name ? Some take it to have been the Succosa of the Peutingerian Table ;⁶ but I hesitate

⁵ Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 7 ; 1830, p. 254. Here was found a *sistrum*, with a little cow on the top, representing Isis, in whose worship these instruments were used. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 109, tav. XVII. 10) says it was found not far from Cosa. It is now in the Laboratory of the Duke of Tuscany. In Signor De Wit's garden there is the capital of a column, taken from an Etruscan tomb, which resembles that

of Paris and Helen in Campanari's Garden at Toscanella (Vol. I. p. 451), in having human heads between the volutes.

⁶ Gerhard, Bull. Inst. 1830, pp. 251, 254 ; Memor. Inst. III. p. 83 ; Repetti, III. p. 665. The Peutingerian Table, which alone makes mention of Succosa (see Vol. I. p. 388), places it two miles to the east of Cosa, while Orbetello is four or five miles to the west. The

to assent to this opinion, and am rather inclined to regard it as an Etruscan town, the name of which has not come down to us. That it was also inhabited in Roman times is proved by columns, altars, *cippi*, and other remains which have been found here. Its ancient name cannot be traced in its modern appellation, which is apparently a mere corruption of *urbicula*,⁷ unless it be significant of its antiquity—*urbs vetus*. It must suffice for us at present to know that here has stood an ancient town, originally, it may be, Pelasgic, certainly Etruscan, and afterwards Roman.⁸

Orbetello is now a place of some size, having nearly 3000 inhabitants, and among Maremma towns, is second only to Grosseto.⁹ Instead of one good inn, it has two indifferent ones, called Locanda dell' Ussaro, and that of

correctness of these Itineraries may indeed often be questioned. But I think it more probable that Succosa, or Subcosa, was a station at the foot of the hill on which Cosa stands, only called into existence after the ruin of that Etruscan city. See Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 34. Some have even taken Orbetello to be the site of Cosa itself. Mionnet, *Suppl. I.* p. 197.

⁷ So called, it may be, to distinguish it from the larger city of Cosa on the neighbouring heights. Certainly the name cannot be derived, as has been suggested, "from the rotundity of its walls, which form a perfect circle," (*Viag. Antiq. Via Aurelia*, p. 50); seeing that the said walls form a truncated cone in outline, without any curve whatever. There is nothing round about Orbetello. Nor is it more likely to be derived from *Orbicum* and *Tellus*, as Repetti (*III.* p. 665) proposes in preference to the *Urbs Vitelli*, suggested by Lami. That it was derived from *urbicula*, or *urbicella*,

seems confirmed by the fact of its being called Orbicellum in a papal bull of the thirteenth century. Dempster, *II.* p. 432.

⁸ That such a town is not mentioned by Strabo or Mela, by Pliny or Ptolemy, in their lists of places along this coast, is explained by its distance from the sea, from which it could not be approached. It must have been regarded as an inland town, and may be mentioned under some one of those names of Etruscan towns, for which no site has yet been determined.

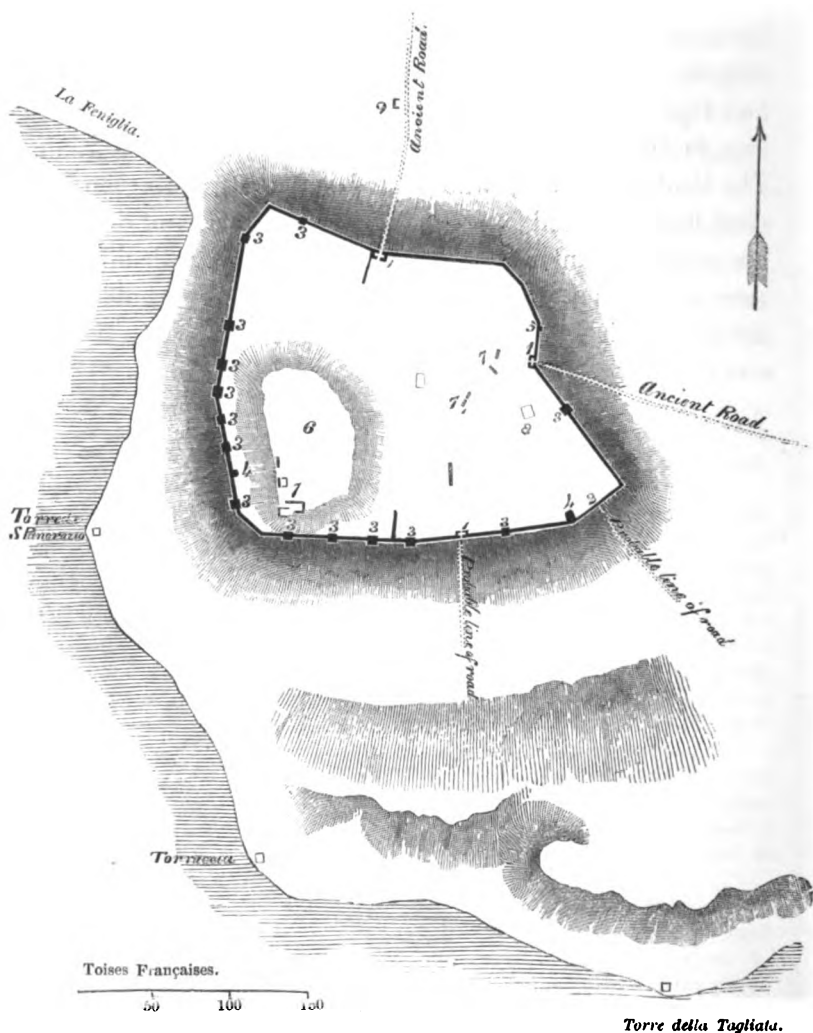
⁹ It is a proof how much population tends to salubrity in the Maremma, that Orbetello, though in the midst of a stagnant lagoon, ten square miles in extent, is comparatively healthy, and has almost doubled its population in 24 years; while Telamone, and other small places along this coast, are almost deserted in summer, and the few people that remain become bloated like wine-skins, or yellow as lizards. Repetti, *III.* p. 680.

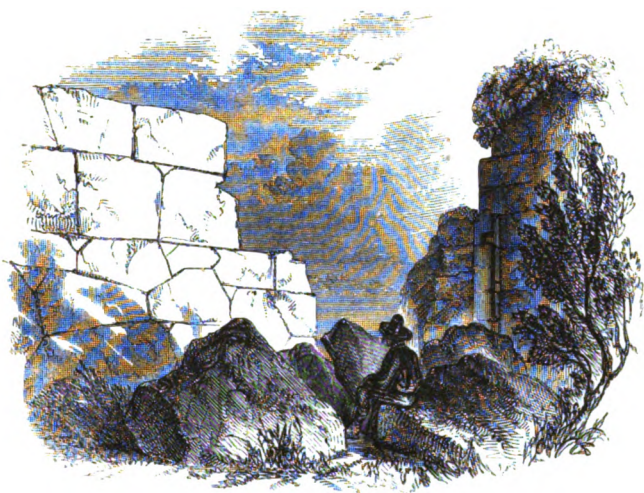
La Chiave d'Oro. There is little difference, I believe, in their merits ; but I have generally heard the former preferred. At the supper-table I met the arch-priest of Telamone, a sprightly, courteous young pastor, whom I had seen in the morning among his flock, and a motley group of proprietors, or country gentlemen, wild boar hunters, commercial travellers, monks, bumpkins, and *vetturini* ; among whom the priest, on account of his cloth, and I as a foreigner, received the most attention. Travelling in this primitive land levels all distinctions of rank. The landlord's niece, who waited on us, presuming on her good looks, chatted familiarly with her guests, and directed her smartest banter against the young priest, ridiculing his vows of celibacy, and often in such terms as would have driven an English female from the room. Yet Rosinetta was scarcely sixteen !

Hic nullus verbis pudor, aut reverentia mensæ.

PLAN
OF
COSA,
ADAPTED FROM MICALI.

1. Ancient gates.
2. Probable site of a gate.
- 3, 3. Square towers, external and internal.
- 4, 4. Circular towers, internal.
5. Round tower of Roman work.
6. The Acropolis.
7. Ruins, — Etruscan, Roman, and mediæval.
8. Deep pit, perhaps a quarry.
9. Roman columbarium.





ANCIENT GATE AND WALLS OF COSA.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ANSEDONIA.—*COSA*.

Cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas,
Et desolatæ moenia fœda Cosæ.

RUTILIUS.

Go round about her, and tell the towers thereof.
Mark well her bulwarks ; that ye may tell them that come after.

PSALM.

As Cosa was in the time of the Emperor Honorius, such is it still—a deserted waste of ruins, inclosed by dilapidated walls ; fourteen centuries have wrought no change in its condition. Yet it is one of the most remarkable Etruscan sites, and should not fail to be visited by every one interested in ancient fortifications.

It occupies the flat summit of a truncated conical hill,

about six hundred feet high, which from its isolation, and proximity to the sea, forms a conspicuous object in the scenery of this coast. It stands just outside the Feniglia, the southernmost of the two necks of sand which unite Monte Argentaro to the main-land; and is about five or six miles to the south-east of Orbetello.¹ It were best to leave the high-road, where it begins to rise at the foot of the hill of Cosa, and turn down a lane to the right. You will presently perceive a lonely house in a garden, called La Selciatella, the only habitation hereabouts. Here you can leave your vehicle; but if you have a *cavalcatura* you need not dismount—only ask for one Pietro Fruggioni, who dwells here, and will act as your guide to the ruins; and a more obliging, civil-spoken *cicerone* you will nowhere meet. Some travellers who have visited Cosa have followed the high road to the further side of the city, and taken as their guide a soldier from the Torre della Tagliata; but this is unnecessary, for Pietro knows the site as well as any one, having tended his cattle there for many a year, and can point out all the lions, which is as much as can be expected from these country *ciceroni*; the traveller must exercise his own judgment as to their origin, antiquity, and purpose. Enquire not for “Cosa,” or you will be answered by a stare of surprise, and “*non c'è quì tal roba,*” but for “Ansedonia,” the modern appellation of the site.

It is a steep ascent of a mile or more to the walls of

¹ The site of Cosa has been much disputed. Some have placed it at Orbetello, others at Santa Liberata, near Santo Stefano on Monte Argentaro; yet Strabo (V. p. 225) has described its position so as to leave no reasonable doubt of its whereabouts. “Cossa, a city a little above the sea. The lofty height on which the town is situated lies in a bay. Below, lies the

Portus Herculis, and hard by, the sea-marsh; and on the headland which overhangs the bay is a tower for watching the tunny-fish.” He also states that Cossa is 300 *stadia* (37½ miles) from Gravisæ; and from Populonium nearly 800 *stadia* (100 miles), though some say 600 *stadia* (75 miles). Cf. Rutil. Itin. I. 285 *et seq.*

Cosa. You may trace the ancient road all the way to the gate, running in a straight line up the rocky slope ; it is but a skeleton, marked by the kerb-stones, for the inner blocks are in few places remaining. On the way it passes some Roman ruins of brick, among them a *columbarium*.

He who has not seen the so-called Cyclopean cities of Latium and Sabina, of Greece and of Asia Minor, those marvels of early art, which overpower the mind with their grandeur, bewilder it with amazement, or excite it to active speculations as to their antiquity, the race which erected them, and the state of society which demanded fortifications so stupendous on sites so inaccessible as they in general occupy ;—he who has not beheld those sublime trophies of early Italian civilization—the bastion and round tower of Norba—the gates of Segni and Arpino—the citadel of Alatri—the many terraces of Cora—the covered way of Præneste, and the colossal works of the same masonry in the mountains of Latium, Sabina, and Samnium, will be astonished at the first view of the walls of Cosa. Nay, he who is no stranger to this style of masonry, will be surprised to see it on this spot, so remote from the district which seems its peculiar locality. He will behold in these walls immense blocks of stone, irregular polygons in form, not bound together with cement, yet fitted with so admirable nicety, that the joints are mere lines, into which he might often in vain attempt to insert a penknife : the surface smooth as a billiard-table ; and the whole resembling, at a little distance, a freshly plastered wall, scratched over with strange diagrams.

The form of the ancient city is a rude quadrangle, scarcely a mile in circuit.² The walls vary from twelve

² Micali's Plan of the city, from which that annexed is adapted, makes it about 2,640 *braccia*, or 5,060 feet English, in circumference.

to thirty feet in height, and are relieved, at intervals, by square towers, projecting from eleven to fifteen feet, and of more horizontal masonry than the rest of the fortifications. Fourteen of these towers, square and external, and two internal and circular, are now standing, or to be traced;³ but there were probably more, for in several places are immense heaps of ruins, though whether of towers, or of the wall itself fallen outwards, it is difficult to determine.

Though Cosa resembles many other ancient sites in Italy in the character of its masonry, it has certain peculiarities. I remember no other instances of towers in polygonal fortifications, with the exceptions of the bastion and round tower of Norba, a similar bastion at Alatri, near the Porta S. Francesco, and the towers at Fondi, apparently of no high antiquity.⁴ In no case is there a continuous chain of towers, as round the southern and western walls of Cosa. Another peculiarity of these forti-

³ On the northern side there is but one tower and that in a ruined state; but on the western, or that facing the sea, which was most open to attack, I counted, besides a circular one within the walls, seven external, in various states of preservation, the southernmost being the largest and most perfect. This tower is 22 feet wide, and about 20 high, as it now stands. In the wall to the south are five towers square and external, and one, internal and circular, 42 feet in diameter. On the eastern side there is but one ancient square tower, and one semicircular of smaller and more recent masonry. Though I have called these towers external, they also project a little inward, from the line of walls. In Micali's Plan many of these towers are omitted.

It will be observed that here, as at Falerii, the external towers are not of

that form recommended by Vitruvius (I. 5), who says they should be either round or many-sided, for the square ones are easily knocked to pieces by the battering-ram, whereas on the circular it can make no impression. The weakness of square towers, however, was ascertained long before the time of Vitruvius; for in one of the very early and curious Assyrian reliefs from the ruins of Nineveh, recently placed in the British Museum, which represents the siege of a city, the battering-ram is directed against the angles of a tower, from which it is fast dislodging the blocks.

⁴ Memor. Inst. III. p. 90. Even Pyrgi, which was fortified with similar masonry, though its name signified "towers," retains no trace of such in its walls (*ut supra*, page 16).

fications is, that in many parts they rise above the level of the area they enclose, as is also the case at Volterra and Rusellæ ; whereas the walls of the Latin and Sabine towns are generally mere embankments.⁵ The outer half of the wall also is raised three or four feet above the inner, to serve as a rampart : this I have seen on no other site. The total thickness of the wall in this superficial part is between five and six feet. The inner surface is not smoothed like the outer, but left in its natural state, untouched by hammer or chisel ; showing in the same piece of walling the rudest and the most finished styles of Cyclopean masonry, and bearing testimony that the outer surface was hewn to its perfection of smoothness after the blocks were raised. A fourth peculiarity is, that while the lower portions of the walls are of decidedly polygonal masonry, the upper parts are often composed of horizontal courses, with a strong tendency to rectangularity, and the blocks are generally of smaller dimensions than the polygonal masses below them. The line between these different styles is sometimes very decidedly marked, which seems confirmatory of the notion suggested by the first sight of this masonry, that it is of two different epochs ; the rectangular marking the repairs—a notion further strengthened by the fact, that the material is the same throughout—a close grey limestone. For if the peculiar cleavage of the rock had led to the adoption of the polygonal style in the first instance, it would continue to do so throughout ; and any deviation from that style would seem to have been the work of another race, or subsequent age. On the

⁵ I have visited most of those ancient cities in the mountains of Latium, and in the land of the Æqui, Volsci, and Hernici, and remember no other instance than the round tower at Norba, which rises

above the level of the city. The height of the eastern wall of Cosa above that level varies from a few feet to twelve or fifteen, and externally the wall is at least double that height.

other hand it may be said, that this rectangular masonry is but the natural finishing off of the polygonal, just as the latter generally runs into the horizontal at angles, as may be observed in the gates and towers of this same city.⁶

From the ramparts you may perceive that the walls fall back in some degree, though never so much as in a modern *revêtement*, but the towers are perpendicular on every side, save in a few cases where the masonry is dislocated, and they topple over.⁷

Of gates there is the orthodox number of three ; one in the centre of the northern, southern, and eastern walls of the city respectively.⁸ They are well worthy of attention, all of them being double, like the two celebrated gateways of Volterra, though without even the vestige of an arch. The most perfect is that in the eastern wall, which is represented in the woodcut at the head of this chapter.⁹

⁶ These features are shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter, which represents the eastern gate of Cosa. The masonry, though decidedly polygonal, appears in the door-post of the gate to be rectangular. In the fragment of walling to the left, the blocks are polygonal below, and regular above, or at least laid in horizontal courses. The manner in which small pieces were fitted into the interstices is also shown. But the peculiarities of the masonry are not so striking in this, as in many other portions of the fortifications. It was selected from several sketches, as illustrative also of the gate. On this side of the city the masonry is smaller than on the others. The largest of the blocks in the woodcut is not more than 4 feet square, and the height of the wall is only 15 or 16 feet.

⁷ The bastion and round tower of Norba, on the contrary, narrow upwards considerably.

⁸ There may have been a postern in

the south-eastern angle of the walls, at the spot marked 2 in the Plan. Sir R. C. Hoare also thought he could perceive four gates ; and he speaks of four ancient roads. *Classical Tour*, I. p. 58.

⁹ Its entrance is about 12 feet wide, but the passage within is double that in width and 28 feet long ; the inner gate is no longer standing, though indications of it are traceable. The depth of the outer doorpost, or in other words the thickness of the wall, is 7 feet, 8 inches. Gateways on a similar plan are found in the Cyclopean cities of Latium—the *Porta di S. Francesco* at Alatri, and the *Porta Cassamara* at Ferentino for instance ; the latter however is probably of Roman construction.

The gates of Cosa, unlike those of Volterra, do not exemplify the precepts of Vitruvius (I. 5), that the road to a gateway should be so arranged, that the approaching foe should have his right side, or that unprotected by his shield, open to the attacks of the besieged.

It is evident that it was never arched, for the door-post still standing rises to the height of nearly twenty feet in a perfectly upright surface ; and as in the Porta di Diana of Volterra, it seems to have been spanned by a lintel of wood, for at the height of twelve or fifteen feet is a square hole, as if for its insertion.¹⁰ The arch indeed is never found, in Italy at least, in connection with this style of masonry ; but the gateways of Cyclopean cities were either spanned by flat slabs of stone, or when of too great a width, by lintels of wood, or else by stones overlapping each other, and gradually converging till they met and formed a rude sort of Gothic arch.¹

The other two gateways, though more dilapidated, show that they have been formed on the same plan as this in the eastern wall. In the one to the south is a block, nine feet by four, the largest I observed in the walls of Cosa. In this gate also is a large round hole in the inner doorpost for the insertion of a wooden lintel.

I observed no instances of sewers opening in these walls, as usual in Etruscan fortifications, and as are found also in

¹⁰ It is shown in the woodcut, together with the upright groove for the *saracinesca*, or portecullis, like that in the Porta all' Arco of Volterra.

¹ In Greece, however, regularly arched gateways have been found in connection with this polygonal masonry. At Ceniadae, in Acarnania, is a postern of a perfect arch in the polygonal walls of the city. Leake, Northern Greece, III. pp. 560 *et seq.* ; Mure, Tour in Greece, I. p. 109 ; and Ann. Inst. 1838, p. 134. Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. LVII. And at Xerokampo, in the neighbourhood of Sparta, is a bridge on the true arch-principle, in the midst of masonry of irregular polygons, though of un-

usually small size. It was discovered by Dr. Ross of Athens, but first made known to the world by Colonel Mure, in the Ann. Inst. 1838, p. 140 ; Mon. Ined. Inst. loc. cit. ; and afterwards in his interesting Tour in Greece, II. p. 248. Several archæologists of eminence, however, who have seen it have declared to me their full conviction that this bridge is of late date and of Roman construction. Cf. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 77. In the polygonal walls of Cenoanda in the Cibyrtis, north of Lycia, there is a gateway regularly arched, with Greek inscriptions on tablets in the masonry by its side ; as I learn from the portfolio of Mr. Edward Falkener.

certain other Cyclopean cities of Italy.² Yet such may exist, for I found it impossible fully to inspect the walls on the southern and western sides, the slopes beneath them being covered with a wood so dense as to be often impenetrable, though the difficulties are not aggravated, as at Rusellæ, by any thickets more formidable than myrtle, lentiscus, and laurestinus.

Within the city, all is ruin—a chaos of crumbling walls, overturned masonry, scattered masses of bare rock, and subterranean vaults, “where the owl peeps deeming it midnight,”—all overrun with shrubs and creepers, and acanthus in great profusion. The popular superstition may be pardoned for regarding this as the haunt of demons; for ages it was the den of bandits and outlaws, and tradition, kept alive by the natural gloominess of the spot, has thus preserved, it may be, the remembrance of their atrocities. At the south-western corner of the area was the *Arx*, for the ground here rises considerably above the ordinary level, and is banked up with masonry in parts polygonal, but in general regular, like that in similar situations at Rusellæ. On this platform are several ruins, bare walls rising to the height of twenty feet, apparently of the low Empire, or still later, of the middle ages; and numerous foundations, some of the same small cemented masonry, others of larger rectangular blocks, decidedly Roman, and some even polygonal, like the city-walls. It is probable

² Besides the instances of such openings in the walls of Norba, Segni, and Alatri, referred to in a former Chapter (see page 121), I may mention a sewer in the walls of the latter city, close to the bastion by the *Porta di San Francesco*, which is of very peculiar form—a truncated cone inverted, apparently 2 feet wide above, tapering to 1 foot below, and about 3 feet in height.

The better known opening in the walls of the citadel of Alatri, I do not believe to be a sewer, but a postern. In the Cyclopean walls of Verulæ, now Veroli, in the rudest and most ancient parts of the masonry, are several sewers—tall upright openings, like that in the walls of Norba, or yet more similar in form and dimensions to those so common in the cities of southern Etruria.

that the latter, as the earliest masonry—for in many parts the Roman work rests on it—marks the foundations of the three temples which the Etruscans were wont to raise in every city to the divine trio, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.³

Within the gate to the east, are many remains of buildings, some with upper stories and windows; and not far from this is a deep hollow with precipitous walls of rock, which seems to have been a quarry.

Joyfully will the traveller hail the view from the ramparts of Cosa; and in truth it were hard to find one on this coast more singular, varied, and grand. Inland, rise lofty walls of rock—rugged, stern, and forbidding—blocking up all view in that direction. At his feet spreads the sun-bright bay, with Porto Ercole and its rocky islet on the further shore,⁴ but not a skiff to break the blue calm of its waters; the wide lagoon is mapped out by its side; and the vast double-peaked mass of Monte Argentaro, the natural Gibraltar of Tuscany, overshadows all, lying like a majestic vessel along the shore, moored by its three ropes of sand⁵—the castellated Orbetello being but a knot in the centre of the middle one. To the north he looks along the pine-fringed coast to the twin headlands of the bay of Telamone, and then far away over the level Maremma, to the distant heights of Troja and the

³ Servius, ad Virg. *Æn.* I. 422.

⁴ The *Portus Herculis* of Rutilius (I. 293), and the *Itineraries*. It was also called *Portus Cosanus*. Liv. XXII. 11; XXX. 39. I did not visit it; but Sir R. C. Hoare says it is a singular town, and “resembles a flight of steps, each street bearing the appearance of a landing-place.” *Classical Tour*, I. p. 56. There are said to be no antiquities remaining. *Viag. Ant. per la Via Aurelia*, p. 54.

⁵ It is highly probable that the Monte Argentaro was once an island; but it is

difficult to account for the formation of the two isthmi. The Tombolo, or that to the north, may have been deposited by the Albegna, which opens hard by; but for the Feniglia—there is no river discharging itself hereabouts. The circuit of 36 miles, which Rutilius (I. 318) ascribes to this promontory, is much exaggerated. For the physical features and productions of this singular district, see Brocchi, *Osservazioni naturali sul promontorio Argentaro*, *Bibliot. Ital.* XI., and Repetti, *s. v.* Orbetello.

grey peaks of Elba. The Giglio, the so called "Lily" island, is lost behind the Argentaro; but, as it travels southwards, the eye rests on the islet of the Giannutri;⁶ and, after scanning the wide horizon of waters, meets land again in the dim hills above Civita Vecchia. The intervening tract is low, flat, desert,—here a broad strip of sand,—there a long, sea-shore lagoon, or a deadly fen or swamp,—now a tract dark with underwood,—now a wide, barren moor, treeless, houseless—

Arsiccia, nuda, sterile, e deserta.

Yet in this region, all desolate as it now appears, stood Vulci, that mine of sepulchral treasures, and Tarquinii, the queen of Etruscan cities, with her port of Gravisæ; and Corneto, her modern representative, may be descried, thirty miles off, lifting her diadem of towers above the nearer turrets of Montalto.

Around the walls of Cosa there are few relics of antiquity. It is said that in the plain below are "very extensive remains of a wall of much ruder construction" than those of the city;⁷ but I did not perceive them. Near the Torre della Tagliata are several ruins of Roman date, of which those commonly called Bagni della Regina are the most remarkable. You enter a long cleft in the rock, sixty or seventy feet deep, and on one side perceive a huge cave, within which is a second, still larger, apparently formed for baths; for there are seats cut out of the living rock—*vivo sedilia saxo*—but all now in utter ruin. The place, it has been remarked, recalls the grotto of the Nymphs, described by Virgil;⁸ but popular tradition has peopled it with demons, as says Faccio degli Uberti—

Ivi è ancor ove fue la Sendonia,
Ivi è la cava, ove andarno a torme,
Si crede il tristo, overo le demonia.

⁶ The Dianium, or Artemisia of the ancients. Mela, II. 7; Plin. III. 12.

⁷ Classical Museum, V. p. 180.

⁸ Æn. I. 167; Repetti, III. p. 679.

Among the ruins on the shore at this spot is some mosaic pavement. The site has been taken, with considerable probability, for that of Subcosa.⁹

No tombs are to be seen on the slopes around Cosa.¹ It is probable, that, like the one at Rusellæ, and those of Cortona and Saturnia, they were constructed of rude masonry, and covered over with earth. Such seems to have been the plan adopted on sites where the rock was too hard to admit of easy excavation. At Volterra and Populonia it was not necessary, for there were soft strata in the neighbourhood.

The walls of Cosa, so unlike those of most cities of Etruria, to what people, and to what age shall we refer them? Can it be that they were raised by the Etruscans themselves—induced to depart from their general style of masonry by the local rock having a natural cleavage into polygons? Or are the peculiarities of these and similar walls in Etruria characteristic of the race which constructed them, rather than of the materials of which they are formed? Are they to be attributed to the earliest occupants of the land, the Umbri or the Pelasgi?—or to much later times, and to the Roman conquerors? The latter view seems now in favour. It was first broached by Micali, the great advocate of the indigenous origin of the Etruscans, and who sought, by invalidating the antiquity of this polygonal style, to enhance that of the regular masonry, which is more peculiarly Etruscan. He

⁹ Mannert, *Geog.* p. 366. According to this writer, it is this spot which is called Ansedonia, and not the ruined city above. Holstenius (*Annot. ad Cluver.* p. 30) made the same distinction; but both seem to have been led to this conclusion by the lines of Faccio degli Uberti, quoted above; for the city itself is certainly now called Ansedonia.

¹ Yet excavations have been made in the neighbourhood. Micali (*Mon. Ined.* p. 328) states that what was found here in 1837, was presented by himself to the late Pope; and speaks of a flat vessel of bronze, containing an odorous gum, which, when burnt, gave forth a most agreeable perfume.

maintains that the walls of Cosa, and of Saturnia, which resemble them, are among the least ancient in the land ; and he suggests that they may have been raised by the Roman colony, established here at the close of the fifth century of the City, seeing that the Romans are known to have employed this masonry in certain of their public works.²

It would demand more room than the limits of this work will allow, to discuss this subject to its full extent. But I must make a few remarks.

This polygonal masonry is of high antiquity, long prior to Roman times, though every instance of it cannot claim to be of so remote a date. It must, however, be of later origin than that composed of unhewn masses, rudely piled up, with no further adjustment than the insertion of small blocks in the interstices—that style which, from the description of Pausanias, is sometimes designated “Cyclopean ;”³ for this polygonal masonry is the perfecting

² Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* II. pp. 144, 196; III. p. 6. “A mere glance,” he says, “at the walls of Cosa, so smooth and well preserved, proves their construction to be of small antiquity in comparison with those of Fiesole and Volterra, of quadrilateral blocks, and of genuine Etruscan workmanship.” The superior sharpness and freshness in these walls of Cosa, however, are no proof whatever of a less remote antiquity. Micali’s argument, to have any weight, should show that the material of which these walls are respectively composed, is either the same, or one equally affected by atmospheric influences. Whereas the fortifications of Volterra and Fiesole, and, it may be added, of Populonia and Cortona, are either of *macigno*, stratified sandstone, or of other rock equally friable, while those of Cosa and Saturnia are

respectively of hard limestone and travertine. I cite Micali in this instance, not as the writer who has treated the subject in the most able manner, but as the originator of the opinion of the Roman origin of Cosa, and as one who has been referred to as authority on the point.

³ Pausan. II. 16, 4 ; 25, 7 ; VII. 25. Pausanias, however, applies the same term to the walls of Mycenæ, which are of hewn polygonal blocks, and even to the celebrated Gate of the Lions, which is of regular, squared masonry. The term is also repeatedly used by Euripides, in reference to the walls of Mycenæ, or of Argos (*Elect.* 1158 ; *Iphig. Aul.* 152, 534, 1501 ; *Orest.* 963 ; *Troad.* 1083 ; *Herc. Fur.* 944 ; compare Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 997 ; Statius, *Theb.* I. 252). It is therefore clear that the term

of that ruder mode of construction.⁴ Yet that this smooth-surfaced, closely-joined style, as seen in the walls of Cosa, is also of early origin, is proved, not only by numerous instances of it on very ancient sites in Greece and Italy—some referred to as marvels of antiquity by the ancients themselves—but also by the primitive style of its gateways, and the absence of the arch in connection with it.⁵ The fact of the Romans adopting this style of masonry, as they seem to have done in the substructions of some of their great Ways, and perhaps in a few cities of Latium,⁶ in no way militates against the high antiquity of the type. The Romans of early times were a servile race of imitators, who had little original beyond their

"Cyclopean" cannot with propriety be confined, as it has been by Dodwell, Gell, and others, to masonry of the rudest unhewn description, in contradistinction to the neater polygonal, or to the horizontal style. The term was employed in reference to the traditions of the Greeks, rather than to the character of the masonry; or if used in this way it was generic, not specific; applicable to any walling of great massiveness, which had the appearance, or the reputation of high antiquity. "*Arces Cyclopum autem, aut quas Cyclopes fecerunt, aut magni ac miri operis; nam quicquid magnitudine sua nobile est Cyclopum manu dicitur fabricatum.*" *Lactant. ad Stat. Theb. I. 252; cf. I. 630.* Though rejected altogether by Bunsen (*Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 145*), the term is convenient—*se non è vero, è ben trovato*—and in default of a better, has some claim to be retained. On this ground I have made use of it in the course of this work in its generic sense, applying it alike to all early massive irregular masonry.

⁴ Gell held the contrary opinion—that the polygonal was more ancient by

some centuries. *Topog. Rome, II. p. 165.*

⁵ Gerhard (*Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 40*), remarking on this fact, says it seems certain that even the least ancient remains of this description preceded the invention of the arch. But this is refuted by the recent discovery of arches in connection with this masonry in Greece and Asia Minor. *Ut supra*, page 275. In none of these cases, however, have the structures an appearance of very remote antiquity.

⁶ In the Via Salaria, near Rieti, and in several places between Antrodico and Civita Ducale; in the Via Valeria, below Roviano, and elsewhere between Tivoli and Tagliacozzo; and in the Via Appia, between Terracina and Fondi. The cities, whose polygonal fortifications have been ascribed to the Romans, are Norba and Signia. Gerhard, *Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 55, et seq. 83, et seq.*; Bunsen, *Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 144*; Bunbury, *Classical Museum, V. p. 167, et seq.* Strabo (*V. p. 237*) states that most of the cities on the Via Latina, in the lands of the Hernici, Æqui, and Volsci, were built by the Romans.

bellipotentia, and were ever borrowing of their neighbours, not only civil and religious institutions, and whatever ministered to luxury and enjoyment, but even the sterner arts of war. Thus in their architecture and fortifications : in Sabina they seem to have copied the style of the Sabines, in Latium of the Latins, in Etruria of the Etruscans. How much they may have been led to this by the local materials, is a question for separate consideration.

Conceding that the style of masonry must to a considerable extent have been affected by the character of the materials employed, I cannot hold, with some, that it was the natural and unavoidable result—I cannot believe in a constructive necessity—that with certain given materials every people in every age would have produced the same or a similar description of masonry. There are conventionalities and fashions in this as in other arts. It were easy, indeed, to admit the proposition in regard to the ruder Cyclopean style, which is a mere random piling of masses as detached from the quarry ; a style which may suggest itself to any people, and which is adopted, though on a much smaller scale, in the formation of fences or of embankments by the modern Italians and Tyrolese, and even by the peasantry of England and Scotland, on spots where stone is cheaper than wood. But the polygonal masonry of which we are treating stands on a totally different ground ; and it seems unreasonable to suppose that the marvellous neatness, the artistic perfection displayed in polygonal structures like the walls of Cosa, could have been produced by any people indifferently who happened to fix on the site. For it is not the mere cleavage of the rock into polygonal masses that will produce this masonry. There is also the accurate and laborious adjustment, the careful adaptation of parts, and the subsequent smoothing of the whole into an uniform, level surface. If

ever masonry had the stamp of peculiarity it is this. Not the regular *isodomon* of the Greeks, nor the *opus reticulatum* of the Romans has it more strongly marked. I could as readily believe that the Corinthian capital was invented by every nation by which it has been adopted, as that this style of masonry had an independent origin in every country where it has been found.⁷

The question next arises, to what particular race is this peculiar masonry to be ascribed. No doubt when once introduced, the fashion might be adopted by other tribes than that which originated it,⁸ but the type, whose source alone we are considering, would still be proper to one race. Now at the risk of being thought to entertain old-fashioned opinions, I must confess that I can refer it to no other than

⁷ The adoption of this style by the Romans in the pavements of their high-ways, in no way affects the question. The earliest of these roads, the Via Appia, was constructed only in the year 442 (B.C. 312) — ages later even than those polygonal cities which are sometimes ascribed to the Romans; and it may be that they but imitated the roads of their predecessors. Still less can the use of polygonal pavement by the modern Florentines, be admitted as an argument against the peculiarity of the type, as Micali would fain have it. *Ant. Pop. Ital.* I. p. 197. They have but adhered to the style which was handed down to them from antiquity, while the modern Romans have preferred the *opus reticulatum*, as the model for their pavements. And though Micali contends for a constructive necessity, it is completely set aside by the fact, which he mentions, that the stone for the pavement of Florence is brought from the heights of Fiesole; for the horizontal cleavage of that rock is most manifest and notorious.

Nor can the existence of polygonal masonry in the fortresses and other structures of the aboriginal Peruvians, be regarded as opposed to the peculiarity of the type. Too great a mystery hangs over the origin of that singular race, and of its civilization, for us to admit them as evidence in this question. The style seems to have differed from that of the polygonal masonry of the old world, resembling it in little more than the close-fitting of the masses. If anything is to be learned from these structures, it is that they contradict the doctrine of a constructive necessity; being of granite or porphyry, which have no polygonal cleavage; and are rather suggestive of a traditional custom. See Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, I. pp. 16, 143.

⁸ Chevalier Bunsen maintains that many of the polygonal fortifications of Italy were raised by the Volsci, Æqui, and Hernici. *Ann. Inst.*, 1834, p. 142. But if this be admitted, it does not prove that the type originated with them.

the Pelasgi. Not that, with Sir W. Gell, I would cite the myth of Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, and founder of Lycosura, as *proof* that this masonry was of Pelasgic origin⁹—I might even admit that “there is no *conclusive evidence* in any one instance of the Pelasgian origin of the monuments under consideration,”¹⁰—yet the wide-spread existence of remains of this masonry through the countries of the ancient world, the equally wide diffusion of the Pelasgic race,¹ and the remarkable correspondence of the lands it occupied or inhabited with those where these monuments most abound; to say nothing of the impossibility of ascribing them with a shadow of reason to any other particular people mentioned in history—afford satisfactory evidence to my mind of the Pelasgic origin of the polygonal masonry. And here it is not necessary to determine the much *vexata quæstio*, what and whence was that Pelasgic race, which was so widely diffused throughout the ancient world; it is enough to know that in almost every land which it is said to have occupied, we find remains of this description.² In Thessaly, Epirus, and the Peloponnesus,

⁹ Gell, Rome, II. v. Pelasgi.

¹⁰ Bunbury, *Clas. Mus.* V. p. 186. Yet there is, in most instances, the same kind and degree of evidence as lead us to ascribe the walls of Fiesole and Volterra to the Etruscans, those of Pæstum to the Greeks, or Stonehenge to the Druids. We find it recorded that in very early times the lands or sites were occupied by certain races; and finding local remains, which analogy marks as of high antiquity, and not of Roman construction, we feel authorised in ascribing them to the respective people.

¹ “It is not a mere hypothesis,” says Niebuhr, “but with a full historical conviction, that I assert, there was a time when the Pelasgians, then perhaps

more widely spread than any other people in Europe, extended from the Po and the Arno almost to the Bosphorus.” I. p. 52, Eng. trans.

² Gerhard (*Memor. Inst.* III. p. 72) takes these structures of irregular polygons to be Pelasgic. Müller (*Archäologie der Kunst*, p. 27) thinks that most of the so-called Cyclopean walls of Epirus and the Peloponnesus were erected by the Pelasgi. We know that they built the ancient wall round the Acropolis of Athens; and the way in which this fact is mentioned by Dionysius (I. p. 22), in connection with their wandering habits, favours the opinion of some, that these Pelasgi were the great fort-builders of antiquity, a migratory race of warlike masons, who went

the peculiar homes of this people, such monuments are most abundant ; they are found also in the Isles of the *Ægean* Sea, and on the coasts of *Asia Minor*, which were at some period occupied or colonised by the *Pelasgi*. In *Italy* also, those regions which abound most in such monuments were all once in possession of the *Pelasgi*, though it must be acknowledged on the other hand, that we have historic mention of that race in certain other districts—at the head of the *Adriatic*, and in *Ænotria*—where no such remains have been discovered ;³ nor indeed do we find walls of this character in all the ancient cities of central *Italy*—even of *Etruria*—which are said to have had a *Pelasgic* origin.⁴ These discrepancies, whether real or apparent, whether occasioned by the character of the local rock,⁵ or by the entire destruction of the earliest

about from land to land, sword in one hand, hammer and chisel in the other, fortifying themselves wherever they conquered.

³ It is asserted that no polygonal structures are to be found in *Basilicata* or *Calabria* ; nor, indeed, north of the *Ombrone*, nor south of the *Vulturnus*—some say the *Silarus*. *Memor. Inst. I.* p. 72 ; *Ann. Inst.*, 1834, p. 143. But, as regards the south of *Italy*, the assertion is premature. Have sufficient researches been made among the *Calabrian Apennines* ! *Petit-Radel*, who maintains the *Pelasgic* construction of this masonry, asserts that there are remains of it far south, in *Apulia* and *Lucania*. *Memor. Instit. III.* pp. 55—66. I have heard also, on good authority, that a German gentleman has recently made some singular discoveries of very extensive polygonal remains in this part of *Italy*, and is about to give an account of them to the world. That no such walls are to be found on the ancient sites at the head of the *Adriatic*, where

the *Pelasgi* first landed in *Italy*, may be explained by the nature of the low swampy coast, which did not furnish the necessary materials.

⁴ At *Falerii*, *Agylla*, and *Cortona*, which were *Pelasgic*, we find regular, parallelopiped masonry ; at *Pyrgi* and *Saturnia*, on the contrary, whose *Pelasgic* origin is equally well attested, we have remains of purely polygonal construction.

⁵ It is very probable that the local rock sometimes, though not always, determined the style of the masonry. Where it naturally split into rectangular forms, as is the case with the *macigno* of *Cortona*, and the volcanic tufo of southern *Etruria*, there the horizontal may have been preferred, even by those who were wont to employ a different description of masonry. This seems to have been the case at *Agylla*, where the rock is of tufo ; there are no traces of polygonal construction ; even in the most ancient tombs the masonry is rectangular. See page 29. Yet, in spite of these natural

monuments of the land, are but exceptions to the rule, and do not invalidate the evidence for the Pelasgic origin of this peculiar masonry.

With respect to Cosa, there is no reason whatever for regarding its walls as of Roman construction. There is nothing which marks them as more recent than any other ancient fortifications in Italy of similar masonry. The resemblance of the gateways to those of Volterra, and the absence of the arch, point to a much earlier date than the establishment of the Roman colony, only two hundred and seventy-three years before Christ ; but whether they were erected by the Pelasgi, or by the Etruscans copying the masonry of their predecessors, is open to doubt. As the walls of Pyrgi and Saturnia, known Pelasgic sites, were of the same polygonal construction ; it is no unfair inference that these of Cosa, which has relation to the one by proximity, to the other by situation on the coast, are of a like origin. The high antiquity of Cosa is indeed attested

inducements to the contrary, the favourite style was sometimes carried out, as is proved by the *tholus* of polygonal construction at Volterra, formed of travertine (*ut supra*, page 160) ; by the polygonal walls of Saturnia of the same material—a stone of decidedly horizontal cleavage, and used abundantly in regular masonry in all ages, from the Etruscan walls of Clusium and Perugia, and the Greek temples of Pæstum, to the Colosseum, St. Peter's, and the palaces of modern Rome. This is also proved by the travertine and crag used in the polygonal walls of Pyrgi (see page 12), and by the crag in the similar fortifications of Orbetello (see page 264) ; and even these walls of Cosa afford abundant proof that the builders were not the slaves of their materials, but exerted a free choice in the adoption of

style ; for the same stone which was hewn into horizontal masonry in the towers, gateways, and upper courses, as shown in the wood-cut at page 269, could have been thrown into the same forms throughout, had not the builders been influenced by some other motive than the natural cleavage. Another singular instance of disregard of cleavage is exhibited in the walls of Empulum, now Ampiglione, near Tivoli, where the masonry, though of tufo, is decidedly polygonal ; this is the only instance known of that volcanic rock being thrown into any other than the rectangular forms it naturally assumes. See Gell's *Rome*, v. Empulum. These facts will suffice to overthrow the doctrine of a constructive necessity, often applied to this polygonal masonry.

by Virgil, when he represents it, with other very ancient towns of Etruria, sending assistance to Æneas.⁶ Some, however, have inferred from Pliny's expression—*Cossa Volcientium*—that it was a mere colony of Vulci, and one of the latest of Etruscan cities ;⁷ but Niebuhr with more probability considered that the original inhabitants of Cosa were not Etruscans, but an earlier race who had maintained their ground against that people.⁸ The connection indeed between Vulci or Volci, and Volsci, is obvious, and from the fact that at one time the Etruscans

⁶ Virg. *Æn.* X. 168 ; Serv. in loc. Müller (*Etrusk.* I. 3, 1) remarks that the walls of Cosa are by no means to be regarded as not Etruscan, because they are polygonal, and considers them as evidence of its antiquity (II. 1, 2). Orioli (*ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus.* IV. p. 161) also thinks the walls of Cosa confirm the antiquity assigned to it by Virgil. Abeken (*Mittelital.* p. 21) takes Cosa to be Pelægic ; and Gerhard inclines to the same opinion (*Ann. Inst.*, 1831, p. 205), and reminds us that there was a city of the same name in Thrace. He thinks the name may have an affinity to the Doric *κόττα*, *κοττά*, a head. It is written *Cossæ* by Strabo and Ptolemy, but Cluver (II. p. 479) thinks this was merely owing to the habit of the Greeks of doubling the *s* in the middle of a word. It is not written so by any Roman author but Pliny, though Virgil gives it a plural termination. If the Etruscan name were analogous it must have been spelt with an *u*—*CUSA*. We find in Etruscan inscriptions the proper names of "Cusis" or "Cusim," "Cusinei," "Cusithia,"—Lanzi, II. pp. 371, 402, 416 ; Vermigl. *Iscriz. Perug.* I. p. 324. "Cusiach" also at Cervetri, (*ut supra*, page 27), and "Cusu" at Cortona. See Chap. LVI.

⁷ Plin. III. 8. Cluver (II. p. 515),

Lanzi (II. p. 56), Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* I. p. 147), and Cramer (I. p. 195), interpret Pliny as saying that Cosa was a colony of Vulci. But the expression he uses is shown by Gerhard to have indicated merely the territory in which a town stood, without reference to its origin ; as "*Alba Marsorum*" signified the Latin colony of Alba in the land of the Marsi. *Ann. Inst.*, 1829, p. 200. Mr. Bunbury (*Classical Museum*, V. p. 180) argues that as Vulci itself did not begin to flourish till after the decline of Tarquinii, for which he cites Gerhard's authority (*Ann. Inst.*, 1831, p. 101), Cosa, its colony or offset, must needs belong to a late period. But—the question of the colony apart—that Vulci was of so recent a date is wholly unsupported by historic evidence, nay, is refuted by the very archaic character of much of the furniture of its sepulchres. And Müller (*Etrusk.* II. 1, 2) justly observes that Pliny's mention of Cosa does not prove that before it was colonised by the Romans the town had no existence.

⁸ Niebuhr, I. p. 120 ; cf. p. 70. He founds this opinion on the mention by Livy (XXVII. 15) of a people called Volcentes, in connection with the Hirpini and Lucani, whom he took to be of the same race as the Volsci.

possessed the land of the Volsci, it would seem that this was not one of name merely.⁹ But the Volsci were of Opican or Oscan race, and what affinity existed between them and the Pelasgi is doubtful; whether an affinity of origin, or one arising merely from the occupation of the same territory at different epochs. Confusion of names and races on such grounds is common enough in the records of early Italy. As the Etruscans were frequently confounded with their predecessors, the Tyrrhenes, so the Volsci may have been with the Pelasgi.¹ It is well known that walls precisely similar to these of Cosa abound in the territory of the Volsci, but whether erected by the Pelasgi, by the Volsci themselves, or by their Roman conquerors, is still matter of dispute; yet by none are they assigned to a later date than the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, two centuries and a half before the Roman colonization of Cosa, which was in the year 481.² I repeat that there is no solid ground whatever for ascribing these polygonal walls of Cosa to so recent

⁹ Cato, ap. Serv. ad Æn. XI. 567. The connection between the Etruscans and the Cistiberine people, especially the Oscan races, is very apparent from the names of places. Velathri (Volterra) has its counterpart in Velitræ (Velletri) —Fregensæ in Fregellæ—Perusia in Frusinum—Sutrium in Satricum. A Ferentinum and an Artena existed in both lands; so also a river Clanis. There was a Compsæ in Samnium, and a Cossa in Lucania, as well as a river Cosa in the land of the Hernici; and Cora also seems connected with Cosa, the *s* and *r* being frequently interchangeable. That the Vulturnus on which Capua stood had an Etruscan name needs no proof. Capua itself is analogous to Capena (Vol. I. p. 175); so is Falerii to Falernus, whose last

syllable is merely the ancient adjectival termination. Alatrium seems connected with Velathri, by the dropping of the digamma; so also Æsula with Fæsulæ. Instances of such analogies might be yet further cited.

¹ The names, indeed, bear a strong affinity. Niebuhr (I. p. 72) points out the analogy between the names Volsci and Falisci; the latter people, he thinks, were Æqui, but they are called in history Pelasgi; and the similarity of the words Falisci and Pelasgi is also striking. (Vol. I. p. 140).

² Val. Pat. I. 14; Liv. Epit. XIV.; Cicero (in Verr. VI. 61) speaks of Cosa as a *municipium*. Gerhard suggests that she may have been colonised with the remains of the population of Vulci. Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 404.

a period. With just as much propriety might the massive fortifications of Pæstum, which was colonised in the same year, be referred to the Romans.³

Beyond the mention made by Virgil, which can only be received as evidence of her high antiquity, we have no record of Cosa in the days of Etruscan independence. She probably fell under the Roman yoke at the same time as Vulci—on or soon after the year 474 (B. C. 280).⁴ Her fidelity during the Second Punic War, when with seventeen other colonies she came forward and saved the Republic, at a time when Sutrium, Nepete, and other colonies refused their aid, is highly commended by Livy.⁵ At what period the city was deserted, and fell into the utter ruin which was witnessed by Rutilius at the commencement of the fifth century after Christ, we know not;⁶ we only learn from the same poet the traditional

³ If the Romans had any hand in the construction of these walls, it must have been in the upper courses alone, which differ so widely from the lower, though the material is the same throughout. It is possible they may have thus repaired the walls. But if Virgil's testimony as to the antiquity of Cosa be admitted—and who can reject it!—the Romans cannot have raised them entirely, or what has become of the prior fortifications? It is hardly credible that at so early a period they could have been raised to the foundations, so as not to leave a vestige.

⁴ Vol. I. p. 404.

⁵ Liv. XXVII. 9, 10. She is subsequently mentioned in Roman history. Liv. XXXII. 2; XXXIII. 24; Caesar, Bell. Civ. I. 34; Cicero, ad Attic. IX. 11. Tacitus (Annal. II. 39) speaks of Cosa as "a promontory of Etruria." The Emperor Vespasian was brought up in its neighbourhood (Sueton. Vespas. c. 2);

at least Cluver (II. p. 479) and Pitiscus consider the Cosa of Etruria is here meant; but Repetti (I. p. 829) thinks it is the Cossa of the Hirpini.

⁶ Rutil. I. 285, *et seq.* Inscriptions, however, prove the city to have been in existence in the middle of the third century of our era. Repetti, I. p. 828; Reines. III. 37, cited by Müller, I. p. 348.

There are certain coins—with the head of Mars on the obverse, and a horse's head bridled, and the legend COSANO or COZA on the reverse—which have been attributed to Cosa. Lanzi, II. pp. 24, 58; Mionnet, Med. Ant. I. p. 97; Suppl. I. p. 197. Lanzi infers from the type an analogy with Consus, an equestrian name of Neptune, whence the public games of the Consualia were called (Tertul. de Spect. c. 5), and thinks Cosa to a Roman must have been equivalent to Posidonia to a Greek. Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 340), who does

cause of such desolation, with needless apologies for its absurdity. The mountain laboured and brought forth, not one "ridiculous mouse," but so many as to drive the citizens from their fire-sides—

Ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam
 Promere, sed risum dissimulare piget.
 Dicuntur cives quondam migrare coacti
 Muribus infestos deseruisse lares.
 Credere maluerim pygmææ damna cohortis,
 Et conjuratas in sua bella grues.

not ascribe these coins to Cosa, shows that they cannot in any case belong to the times of the Etruscans, because that people had no O in their language. Cramer (I. p. 195) refers them to

Compea in Samnium; and so also Milingen (Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 170); but Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 4) to Cossea, a city of Thrace.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

VETULONIA.

Mæoniseque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis.

SIL. ITALICUS.

The deep foundations that we lay
Time ploughs them up, and not a trace remains.
We build with what we deem eternal rock—
A distant age asks where the fabric stood.

COWPER.

IN former chapters I have spoken of the ancient city of Vetulonia, and of various sites that have been assigned to it; and have shown that all of them are far from satisfactory.¹ In the course of my wanderings through the Tuscan Maremma in the spring of 1844, I had the fortune to fall in with a site, which has stronger claims to be considered that of Vetulonia than any of those to which it has hitherto been referred.

Vague rumours had reached my ear of Etruscan anti-

¹ It may be well to restate the various sites where Vetulonia has been supposed to have stood. At or near Viterbo (Vol. I. pp. 195, 200)—on Monte Calvi, three miles from the sea, buried in a dense wood (*ut supra*, p. 226)—at Massa Marittima, or five miles westward from that town (*ut supra*, pp. 217, 218)—on the site of Vulci (Vol. I. p. 405)—and on the hill of Castiglione Bernardi, near Monte Rotondo (*ut supra*, p. 214). The nearest guess is that of

Ermolao Barbaro, the earliest writer on the subject, who places it at Orbetello (see Dempster, II. p. 56). I should state that when Mannert (Geog. p. 358) asserts that the village of Badiola on an eminence by the river Cornia, and a geographical mile-and-a-half (about six miles English) from the coast, preserves the memory of the ancient city, he evidently refers to the site five miles west of Massa.

quities having been discovered at Magliano, a village between the Osa and the Albegna, and about eight miles inland ; but I concluded it was nothing beyond the excavation of tombs, so commonly made at this season throughout Etruria. I resolved, however, to visit this place on my way from Orbetello to Saturnia. For a few miles I retraced my steps towards Telamone, but, turning to the right, crossed the Albegna some miles higher up, at a ferry called Barca del Grassi ; from this spot there was no carriage-road to Magliano, and my vehicle toiled the intervening five miles through tracks sodden with the rain.

Magliano is a squalid, innless village, of three hundred souls, at the foot of a mediæval castle, in picturesque ruin.² On making inquiries here I was referred to an engineer, Signor Tommaso Pasquinelli, then forming a road from Magliano to the Saline at the mouth of the Albegna. I found this gentleman at a convent in the village, amid a circle of venerable monks, whose beards outshone their robes and the refectory table cloth, in whiteness. I was delighted to learn that it was he who had made the rumoured discovery in this neighbourhood, and that it was not of tombs merely, but of a city of great size. The mode in which this was brought to light was singular enough. Nothing was visible above ground—not a fragment of ruin to indicate prior habitation ; so that it was only by extraordinary means he was made aware that here a city had stood. The ground through which his road had to run being for the most part low and swampy, and the higher land being a soft friable tufo, he was at a loss for the materials he wanted, till he chanced to uncover some large blocks, buried beneath the surface, which he

² Magliano does not appear to be an ancient site ; yet like all other places of this name in Italy it probably derives

its name from the *gens Manlia*, and must have been anciently called Manlium.

recognised as the foundations of an ancient wall. These he found to continue in an unbroken line, which he followed out, breaking up the blocks as he unearthed them, till he had traced out the periphery of a city.

With the genuine politeness of Tuscany, that "rare land of courtesy," as Coleridge terms it, he proposed at once to accompany me to the site. It was the first opportunity he had had of doing the honours of his city, for though the discovery had been made in May 1842, and he had communicated the fact to his friends, the intelligence had not spread, save in vague distorted rumours, and no antiquarian had visited the spot. News always travels on foot in Italy, and generally falls dead lame on the road. I had heard from the antiquarians of Florence, that something, no one knew what, had been found hereabouts. One thought it was tombs; another had heard it was gold *roba*; another was in utter ignorance of this site, but had heard of a city having been discovered on Monte Catini, to the west of Volterra.

The city lay between Magliano and the sea, on a low table-land, just where the ground begins to rise above the marshy plains of the coast. In length, according to Signor Pasquinelli, it was somewhat less than a mile and a half, and scarcely a mile in breadth; but taking into account its quadrilateral form, it must have had a circuit of at least four miles and a half.³ On the south-east it was bounded

³ This account differs from that I heard on the spot, and which I have elsewhere given to the world:—viz., that the circuit was not less than six miles. I have since received more accurate details from Signor Pasquinelli, who says that the city was 7200 English feet in length, by 4800 in width. He also states that a certain spot in the city was about 11,000 English yards from

the sea, 5,800 from Magliano, 3,200 from the river Albegna, and 5,000 from the Osa. "A distanza di circa 5,500 tese Inglesi dal mare, 1,600 dal fiume Albegna, 2,500 dal torrente Osa, e 2,900 dal paese di Magliano, sotto la superficie della campagna, senza nessun vestigio apparente, esistevano da secoli sepolti gli avanzi di numerose fabbriche, alcune delle quali ella potè vedere in detta

by the streamlet Patrignone, whose banks rise in cliffs of no great height ; but on every other side the table-land sinks in a gentle slope to the plain. At the south-western extremity, near a house called La Doganella, the only habitation on the site, was found a smaller and inner circuit of wall ; and this, being also the highest part of the table-land, was thus marked out as the site of the Arx.

Though scarcely a vestige remained of the walls, and no ruins rose above the surface, I had not much difficulty in recognising the site as Etruscan. The soil was thickly strewn with broken pottery, that infallible and ineffaceable indicator of bygone habitation ; and here it was of that character found on purely Etruscan sites, without any admixture of marbles, or fragments of verd-antique, porphyry, and other valuable stones, which mark the seats of Roman luxury.⁴ Though the walls, or rather their foundations, had been almost entirely destroyed since the first discovery, a few blocks remained yet entire, and corroborated the Etruscan character of the city.⁵

Within the walls a road or street had been traced by the foundations of the houses on either hand. Many things had been dug up, but no statues, or marble columns, as on Roman sites—chiefly articles of bronze or pottery.⁶

circostanza, circoscritte entro un recinto quadrilatero di mura rovinate, lungo circa 1,200 tese, largo 800."

⁴ Signor Pasquinelli mentioned two exceptions only to this—a small oval stone, somewhat like black porphyry, and a fragment of white marble, found near the foundations of a building which seemed to have been a temple.

⁵ As to the style of masonry, little or nothing could be ascertained, seeing these were mere foundations ; but the blocks themselves were indicative of an Etruscan origin—some of *macigno*, re-

sembling those of Populonia in their size and rude shaping ; others of tufo, or of the soft local rock, like that of Corneto, agreeing in size and form with the usual blocks of this material found on Etruscan sites. Some of the former had been found nine or ten feet in length. But the blocks were not generally of large dimensions, though always without cement. On one spot, where a portion of the walls had been uncovered, at the verge of a hollow, a sewer opening in them was disclosed.

⁶ Among the latter was a huge pot,

I myself saw a piece of bronze drawn from the soil, many feet below the surface, which proved to be a packing-needle, ten inches in length, with eye and point uninjured ! It must have served some worthy Etruscan, either in preparing for his travels, perhaps to the Fanum Voltumnæ, the parliament of Lucumones, perhaps for the *grand tour*, such as Herodotus made, which is pretty nearly the *grand tour* still ; or, it may be, in shipping his goods to foreign lands from the neighbouring port of Telamon. This venerable needle is now in my possession.

While it is to be lamented that to future travellers scarcely a trace of this city will be visible, it must be remembered, that but for the peculiar exigencies of the engineer, which led to the destruction of its walls, we should have remained in ignorance of its existence. Other accidents might have led to the uncovering of a portion of the wall ; but it is difficult to conceive that any other cause could have brought about the excavation of the entire circuit, and the consequent determination of the precise limits of the city. So that in spite of the wholesale macadamisation, the world is greatly indebted to the gentleman who made the discovery.⁷

Outside the walls to the north were many tumuli, originally encircled with masonry, which had been broken up for the road. Some were twenty-five or thirty feet in

one *mètre* in diameter, and not much less in height, of rough red ware, with its rim covered with lead, clamped into it with spikes ; the lead alone weighed 27 lbs. This pot was found full of burnt matter. The bronzes consisted of *fibule*, lances, javelins, nails, and little figures of deities or *lares* ; some of decidedly Etruscan character.

⁷ I am the more desirous of referring the merit of this discovery to its rightful owner, because Signor Pasquinelli

complains of not having received justice from a party to whom he committed for publication a plan he had made of the city and its environs, drawings of the paintings in the tombs, and many other particulars, and who has since publicly claimed the honour of the discovery for himself. Nor does Repetti (Suppl. p. 133), who mentions the fact of the discovery on the occasion of forming the road, record the name of the engineer.

diameter. On this side also, *i. e.*, towards Magliano, I saw some Roman remains—the bases of small Doric columns ; and the site of Baths, where mosaic pavement and many coins of the Empire had been found, was also pointed out to me.⁸ On the high grounds to the south-east, I heard that many tombs had been opened, undoubtedly Etruscan in character and contents. They were not hollowed in cliffs, but sunk beneath the surface, as at Volterra and Vulci.⁹ At Magliano I saw many articles found within them—a lion of *peperino*, about a foot long—a small sphinx—Egyptian-like figures—a little bronze idol, with sickle in his hand—and sundry other articles in sculpture, pottery, and bronze, which my experience enabled me to pronounce indubitably Etruscan, and chiefly of the most archaic character. I saw no figured pottery, but much of the common black ware, like that of Chiusi and Volterra ; and I was told that the tall black vases with relieved decorations, so abundant at Sarteano, had been discovered here. Scarabei of cornelian had also been brought to light.

I learned, moreover, that several painted tombs had been opened in this neighbourhood, on the heights between Magliano and the Albegna. I could not see them, as they had been reclosed with earth ; but of one I received a description from Signor Pasquelli, who had copied its paintings. It was a square chamber, divided into two by a wall hewn from the rock, on each face of which figures were painted. One was an archer on horseback, drawing his bow ; another was a centaur with a long black beard,

⁸ These coins are of silver as well as copper. Some of the latter are of Vespasian.

⁹ Many of these tombs were mere holes in the earth, of the size of a body, and

lined with rude masonry. From what I could learn, traces of interment were much more numerous on this site than of cremation.

wings open and raised, and a tail terminating in a serpent's head; beside which there were dolphins, and flowers, and "serpents with hawks' heads;" as they were described to me—probably dragons.¹ The existence of Etruscan tombs in this neighbourhood has, indeed, been known for some years, and excavators have even come hither from Chiusi on speculation; but tombs are of so frequent occurrence in this land, that the existence of an Etruscan town or city near at hand, though necessarily inferred, was not ascertained, and no researches were made for its site,² To those, however, who know Italy, it will be no matter of surprise that the existence of this city should have been so long forgotten. Had there even been ruins of walls or temples on the site, such things are too abundant in that land to attract particular attention; and generation after generation of peasants might fold their flocks or stall their cattle amid the crumbling ruins, and the world at large remain in ignorance of their existence. Thus it was with Pæstum; though its ruins are so stupendous and prominent, it was unknown to the antiquary till the last century. Can we wonder, then, that in the Tuscan Maremma, not better populated or more frequented,

¹ It must be this tomb which was opened by Don Luigi Dei, of Chiusi, in 1835 or 6, and is described as having two chambers with chimerical figures in monochromes, red, green, and sky-blue (Bull. Instit. 1840, p. 147). The same is also described by an eye-witness (Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 22), with more minuteness as to the chamber, but no further details of the paintings. He says this tomb is about one mile only from Magliano.

² Before Pasquinelli's discovery it had been suggested that the Etruscan city of Calettra stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of Magliano. Repetti thought either at Montemerano, or more

probably on the heights of Colle di Lupo, three miles north-east of Magliano, where sundry relics of ancient times had been discovered (V. p. 207). He adds that many sepulchral urns, fragments of Roman inscriptions, bas-reliefs, and other works of sculptural adornment in the local travertine, had been at various times brought to light in the district of Magliano, and especially on a lofty hill between Colle di Lupo and Pereta, which from the sepulchral remains found there, was called the Tombara (III. p. 18). On a hill, a mile from Magliano, stands the ruined church of S. Brizio, of the low Empire, with other remains of higher antiquity.

because not more healthy, than the Campanian shore, a city should have been lost sight of, which had no walls or ruins above ground, and no vestige but broken pottery, which tells no tale to the simple peasant?—a city

“Of which there now remains no memorie,
Nor anie little moniment to see,
By which the travailer, that fares that way,
This once was she, may warned be to say.”

As I stood on this ancient site, and perceived the sea so near at hand, and the Bay of Telamone but a few miles off, I exclaimed, “This must have been a maritime city, and Telamon was its port!” The connection between them was obvious. The distance is scarcely more than that between Tarquinii and her port of Graviscaë, and between Cære and the sea. When I looked also over the low marshy ground which intervened, I could understand why the city was situated so far inland; it was for strength of position, for elevation above the unhealthy swamps of the coast, and for room to extend its dimensions *ad libitum*, which it could not have done on the rocky heights above Telamone, or on the small conical headland of Telamonaccio. The peculiarity of the position on the first heights which rise from the level of the swamp, seemed to me a sure index to the character of the city. It was a compromise between security and convenience. Had it not been for maritime purposes, and proximity to the port of Telamon, the founders of this city could not have chosen a site so objectionable as this, but would have preferred one still further inland, which would have combined the advantages of more natural strength and greater elevation above the heavy atmosphere of the Maremma, in every age more or less insalubrious.³

³ At the present day the swamps of healthy in summer. Repetti, III. p. 14; V. p. 497. Yet the soil is wonder-

Another fact which forced itself on my observation, was the analogy of position with that of the earliest settlements on this coast—with the Pelasgic towns of Pisæ, Tarquinii, Pyrgi, Alsium, Agylla—a fact greatly in favour of the high antiquity of this site.

Here then was a city genuinely Etruscan in character, of first-rate magnitude, inferior only to Veii, equal at least to Volaterræ, probably of high antiquity, certainly of great importance, second to none in naval and commercial advantages; a city, in short, which must have been one of the Twelve. Is it possible it could have been passed over in silence by ancient writers? But what was its name? Which of the still missing cities of Etruria can this have been? I called to mind the names of these outcasts—Caletra, Statonia, Sudertum, Salpinum, &c.—and reviewed their claims to a site of such magnitude and importance; but all were found wanting, all, save the most celebrated—Vetulonia; which, after much consideration, I am convinced must have stood on this spot.

Let us see what has been said of that city by the ancients. It is first mentioned by Dionysius as one of the five Etruscan cities which engaged to assist the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus. He states, that not all the cities of Etruria agreed to afford assistance, but these five only—Clusium, Arretium, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, and also Vetulonia.⁴ This, as already shown, is a strong argument for regarding each of these cities as of the Twelve, for second-rate, or dependent towns, could not have acted in opposition to the rest of the Confederation.⁵ Silius Italicus

fully fertile, and presents every encouragement for cultivation. A proof of this exists in a venerable olive, hard by Magliano, which has a circumference of thirty feet.

⁴ Dion. Hal. III. p. 189, ed. Sylb.

⁵ This is the opinion of Cluver (II.

p. 473), and of Müller (Etrus. II. 1, 2). Mannert (Geog. p. 358) also took Vetulonia for one of the Twelve. Vetulonia has even been supposed the metropolis of Etruria (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 190), but on no valid grounds.

bears testimony to the antiquity and former glory of Vetulonia, and even asserts that it was from her that the twelve *fasces* with their hatchets, and the other symbols of power, the curule-chairs of ivory, and the robes of Tyrian purple, as well as the use of the brazen trumpet in war, were all first derived.⁶ Beyond this we find no mention of Vetulonia except in the catalogues of Pliny and Ptolemy;⁷ both place it among the "inland colonies" of Etruria; the one adds its latitude and longitude, and the other elsewhere states, that there were hot waters at Vetulonii, in Etruria, not far from the sea, and that fish lived in the waters.⁸

The sum total then of what we learn from the ancients on this point, may be comprised in a few words. Vetulonia was a city of great antiquity, importance, and magnificence, with very strong claims to rank among the Twelve chief cities of the land; having hot springs in its neighbourhood, and though not situated exactly on the shore, it must have stood at a short distance from the sea.⁹

⁶ Sil. Ital. VIII. 485.—

Mæoniesque decus quondam Vetulonia
gentis.

Biasenos hæc prima dedit præcedere
fasces,

Et junxit totidem tacito terrore se-
cures;

Hæc altas eboris decoravit honore
curules,

Et princeps Tyrio vestem prætexuit
ostro;

Hæc eadem pugnas accendere pro-
tulit ære.

⁷ Plin. III. 8. Ptol. p. 72, ed. Bert.
Ptolemy calls the city Vetulonium—
Οὐερουλώνιον.

⁸ Plin. II. 106.—(aquis calidis) ad
Vetulonios in Etruriâ, non procul
a mari, pisces (innascuntur). It has
already been stated (*ut supra*, p. 230),
that Cluver and others took the "Veli-
nia" of the Peutingerian Table to be a

corruption of "Vetulonis;" but there is
no solid ground for such an opinion.

Dionysius (II. p. 104) speaks of an
Etruscan city called Solonium, whence
a Lucumo, probably Cæles Vibenna,
came to the assistance of Romulus.
Cluver (II. pp. 454, 473) took this to
be a corruption of Vetulonium. Cas-
aubon thought it meant Populonium.
But Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 116), by com-
paring Propertius (IV. 2, 4), comes
to the more probable opinion that it was
Volsinii that was here intended.

⁹ Dr. Ambrosch, in order to reconcile
the insignificant hill of Castiglione Ber-
nardi (*ut supra*, p. 214) with the site of
Vetulonia, endeavours to invalidate the
testimony of Silius Italicus as to the im-
portance and magnificence of that ancient
city. He founds his view on the mention
Dionysius makes of it, and the place he
assigns it at the end of the sentence, after

Such are the requisites of the long-lost Vetulonia. Every one of them is fulfilled by this newly-found city. On its antiquity and importance it is not necessary to enlarge. Its size alone, without the possession of such a port as Telamon, would give this city a right to rank among the Twelve. In situation it also corresponds, being near enough to the sea to agree with Pliny's "*non procul a mari*," and far enough inland to come within the category of "*intus coloniæ*," being scarcely further from the shore than Tarquinii and Cære, kindred cities similarly classed.¹ As to the springs, where the fish in Pliny's time had got, in a double sense, into hot water, I had the satisfaction of learning that near Telamonaccio, two or three hundred yards only from the sea, were hot springs; but I had no opportunity of returning to the coast to ascertain if the advantages the ancients possessed, in fishing out par-boiled mackerel and mullet, have descended to the modern Tuscans. For any traces of the ancient name existing in the neighbourhood, I inquired in vain; but that in no way affects my opinion, as no traditional memory exists of

the other four cities, its confederates; but chiefly on the silence of Livy and other historians, of Strabo and Virgil; for he considers it impossible, if Vetulonia had been of the importance Silius Italicus ascribes to it, that no mention should be made of it by the principal writers of Rome. *Ricerche di Vetulonia*, pp. 65—92; *Memor. Inst. IV.* pp. 137—155. The limits of this work will not allow me here to reply to these arguments further than by stating that Cluver and Müller put a totally different interpretation on the words of Dionysius—that other cities of Etruria, some of no less importance than Vetulonia, are past by in equal silence by the said writers on Roman legends, history, and geography—and that the authority of Silius

Italicus is gratuitously impugned in this matter, as that writer had the reputation among his contemporaries for care and accuracy, not for a lively imagination. For a more detailed reply to Dr. Ambrosch, I must be allowed to refer the reader to my notice of Vetulonia in the *Classical Museum*, No. V.

¹ In the same article in the *Classical Museum*, I have shown, that the arguments Inghirami adduces, from the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy, in favour of Vetulonia occupying the hill of Castiglione Bernardi, may be applied with superior force to this ancient site near Magliano; though at the same time I disclaim as unsubstantial all evidence drawn from this source. *Ut supra*, page 215, note 8.

Veii, Fidenæ, Cosa, and many other ancient cities whose sites have been fixed beyond a doubt.

One important feature of Vetulonia, which is nowhere indeed expressly mentioned by the ancients, but may be inferred from their statements,² and is strongly corroborated by coins³ and other monumental evidence, is its maritime character. This feature has been little regarded by Inghirami and Ambrosch, who would fix the site of this ancient city at Castiglione Bernardi, fourteen or fifteen miles from the sea.⁴ But it is one which tends most strongly to esta-

² An analysis of the passage in Silius Italicus will lead us to the conclusion that Vetulonia must have been a seaport, or at least so situated as to be able to carry on a foreign commerce. The city which first introduced the use of ivory chairs and Tyrian purple into Etruria must surely have had direct intercourse with the East, such as could not have been maintained had she been far removed from the coast. We are told that the purple robes which the Etruscan cities sent to Tarquin, among the other *insignia* of royalty, in token of submission to his authority, were such as were worn by the Lydian and Persian monarchs, differing only in form. Dion. Hal. III. p. 195. Now whatever may have been the origin of the Etruscan race, it is manifest that a city which first introduced a foreign custom like this, must, if that custom were brought directly from the East by its founders, have been on, or near, the coast; or if subsequently, owing to commercial relations with those lands, must either have been, or have had, a port.

³ There are certain coins with a head and the legend "VATL" in Etruscan characters on the obverse, and on the reverse a trident, whose two outer prongs rise from the bodies of dolphins.

One *as* has a wheel and an anchor, with the legend "VATL . . A," for "VATLUNA," in Etruscan letters. Lanzi describes some as having a crescent, though a wheel and an axe are the most frequent types, the one indicating the lictors, the other the curule chair; the origin of both being ascribed by Sil. Italicus to Vetulonia. Micali sees in the anchor a proof of the proximity of this city to the sea, and of her maritime commerce. Passeri, Paralip. in Dempst. p. 183, tab. VI. 1; Guarnacci, Orig. Ital. II. tav. XIX. 6—16; Lanzi, Sagg. II. pp. 31, 110, tav. III. 4—6; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 144; III. p. 191, tav. CXV. 8. It is asserted indeed by Millingen (Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 174) that these coins are not found in any known collection, and therefore they ought to be considered imaginary. But Lanzi (II. p. 30) and Passeri speak of one as in the Museo Olivieri; nor is their existence questioned by Mionnet (Suppl. I. pp. 205—7, 214), Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 5), or Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 336), who, however, ascribe them to Vettuna, now Bettona, in Umbria. They are also stated to have been found in the urns of Volterra. Bava, ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 87.

⁴ *Ut supra*, p. 214 *et seq.*

blish the identity of Vetulonia with this newly-discovered city near Magliano.

The maritime character of Vetulonia is indeed established by a monument discovered at Cervetri in 1840, and now in the Lateran Museum. It is a bas-relief, bearing the devices of three Etruscan cities—Tarquinii, Vulci, and Vetulonia. The latter, which is indicated by the inscription VETVLONENSES, is symbolised by a naked man with an oar on his shoulder, and holding a pine-cone, which he seems to have just plucked from a tree over his head. Dr. Braun, the learned secretary of the Archæological Institute of Rome, whose opinion is of great weight in such matters, says :—“ that this figure represents Neptune, seems to me beyond a doubt ; it is shown not only by the attribute in his hand, but also by the tree, sacred to that deity, which stands at his side. However it be, no one can presume to deny that the figure bearing an oar indicates a maritime city, such as Pliny in truth implies Vetulonia to have been.”⁵

We are quite in the dark as to the period and causes of Vetulonia's destruction or abandonment. It may have been malaria ; it may have been the sword which desolated

⁵ Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 38, tav. d'Agg. C. Another learned antiquary of Rome, who agrees with me as to this being the site of Vetulonia, takes the figure with an oar to represent Telamon, the Argonaut. Dr. Braun suggests, from a consideration of this monument, that there was probably a pine-wood in the neighbourhood of Vetulonia. It so happens that there is such a wood extending for miles along the shore between Telamone and Orbetello, which may be the remains of a forest yet more extensive in ancient times.

Dr. Braun is of opinion, in which he is

joined by the Cavalier Canina (Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 93), that this bas-relief formed one of the sides of a square pedestal, whose other three sides bore emblems of other cities—the Twelve of the Etruscan Confederation ; and they think that as the relief was found near a statue of Claudius, the pedestal originally supported that statue, and that the Twelve Cities of Etruria were symbolised thereon in compliment to that emperor having written a history of Etruria. To me, however, the relief appears rather to have formed part of a throne, for at one end it is decorated on both sides.

it.⁶ In truth, the little mention made of it by ancient writers, seems to mark it as having ceased to exist at or before the time of Roman domination.⁷ The total silence of Livy and Strabo is also thus best explained. The absence of Roman remains on the site of this city is in accordance with this view. Yet that Vetulonia existed, or rather re-existed, in Imperial times, is proved by the mention made of it by Pliny and Ptolemy, and by an inscription found at Arezzo.⁸ The many Roman remains in the immediate vicinity of this site, and further inland, probably belong to that colony; and it is not unlikely that the ancient city, like Veii, had previously lain desolate for centuries, and that when a colony was to be established, a neighbouring spot was chosen in preference to the original site, which was abandoned as too near the unhealthy swamps of the coast.

I have the satisfaction of learning that my opinion as to this city being the long-lost Vetulonia, is concurred in by some of the leading antiquaries of Rome—Germans as well as Italians. But be it Vetulonia or not, it is manifest that it must have been of great importance in the early days of Etruria; as it is surpassed but by one city of that land in size, and by none in naval and commercial advantages of situation.

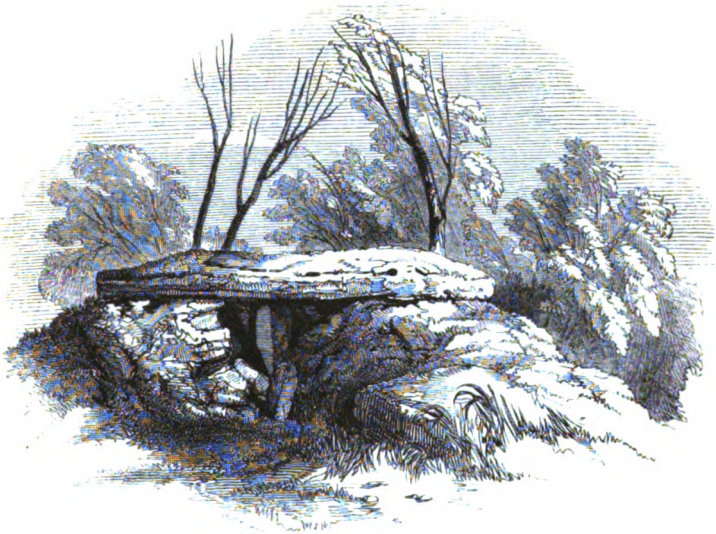
⁶ Signor Pasquinelli remarks that from the confusion in which the blocks of masonry were found, overturned in the foundations of the buildings, mingled with fragments of pottery, with burnt matter and fused metal, this city had probably undergone a violent destruction.

⁷ This was given out by Dempster (*Etrur. Reg.* II. p. 56) as a mere conjecture; but has been assumed as a fact by a recent writer, who

even specifies the period of the city's destruction.

⁸ Gruter, p. 1029, 7.—

Q . SPVRINNAE . Q . F .
P QVINTIANO
EQ . PVBL . LAVR . LAVIN
AEDIL . HVIR . CVRAT
KALEND . PLEB . ARRET
CVR VBL . VETVLO
NENSIVM . PLEBS
VRBANA
L . D . D . D



ANCIENT TOMB, SATURNIA.

CHAPTER XLIX.

SATURNIA.—*SATURNIA*.

A few rude monuments of mountain stone
Survive ; all else is swept away.

WORDSWORTH. *The Record in S. S.*

Ed io : maestro, quai son quelle genti,
Che seppellite dentro da quell' arche
Si fan sentire !

DANTE. *Inf. ix. 275.*

ONE of the most ancient of Etruscan sites is Saturnia, which lies in the valley of the Albegna, twenty miles from the sea. It may be reached either from Orbetello or Grosseto.¹

¹ Saturnia is about 28 miles from Cosa, 13 from Scansano, nearly 30 from Grosseto, 11 or 12 from Pitigliano

by the direct track through Sovana, but 16 or 17 by the high road through Manciano.

The road from Orbetello runs on the left bank of the Albegna, passing through Marsiliana and Monte Merano, and is carriageable to this latter place, which is but three miles from Saturnia. Those who would take the more direct track must leave their vehicles at Marsiliana, and on horseback follow the banks of the Albegna. But this will not do after heavy rains, as the river has to be forded no less than fourteen times!

From Magliano I took the route of Scansano, a town some nine or ten miles to the north. Half way is Pereta, a small village, with a ruined castle on a height, overhanging a deep valley; and a steep ascent of some miles leads hence to Scansano. This is a town of some size, near the summit of a mountain, but with no interest beyond being the only halting-place between Grosseto and Saturnia. Inquire for the house of Domenico Bianchi—the lack of comfort will be as far as possible atoned for by civility and attention. Grosseto is sixteen or seventeen miles distant, and the road is excellent, but terminates at Scansano. For the first four miles from Grosseto it crosses the plain to Istia, a ruined village on the right bank of the Ombrone, with a double circuit of crumbling walls, telling of vanished greatness. Here the river is crossed by a ferry, but when swollen by heavy rains, it is difficult of transit. I had much ado to cross it on my way from Scansano, but on my return a few hours afterwards, it had so overstept the modesty of its nature as to rival the Tiber, nine times its volume, as the saying goes—

“ Tre Ombroni fanno un Arno,
Tre Arni fanno un Tevere,
Tre Teveri fanno un Po;
E tre Po di Lombardia
Fanno un Danubio di Turchia ”—

and as to oblige me to leave my vehicle behind, and do

the rest of the way on foot. For the thirteen miles hence to Scansano it is a continual ascent, through woods of oak, chesnut, and Maremma shrubs. The laurestinus, then in full bloom, and numerous flowers of varied hue and odour, gave the country the appearance of a vast shrubbery, or untrimmed garden—

“ A wilderness of sweets— *Par. Lost, v. 294.*
Flowers of all hue and weeds of glorious feature.” *

But never did shrubbery or lawn command a view so magnificent as that from these heights. From the headland of Troja to those of Telamone and Argentaro,

“ That lovely shore of solitude and light ”

lay unrolled beneath, with its bounding belt of the blue Mediterranean, studded with many a silvery islet.

From Scansano to Saturnia there are thirteen miles, which I expected to accomplish on horseback in three hours, yet six elapsed ere I reached my destination. The track is a mere bridle-path, utterly impracticable to vehicles ; here, running through dense woods ; there, crossing moors which the rains had converted into quagmires ; and often disappearing altogether ; and my guide did his best to enhance its delights by assuring me the Albegna would be too swollen to be fordable, and we must certainly retrace our steps to Scansano. However—*al fin si canta la gloria*—we reached the left bank of the stream, and ascended the long slope to Saturnia.

The situation of this city is most imposing. Like Cosa and Rusellæ, it occupies the summit of a truncated cone ; but, still more like Orvieto, it also rises in the midst of an amphitheatre of lofty mountains ; and as the circuit of its walls is complete, it appears at a distance to be well inhabited. It is only on entering its gates that the desolation within is apparent.

The modern Saturnia is the representative of the ancient merely in name. It occupies but a fractional part of the original area, and is a miserable "*luoghetto*," with a church and some score of hovels, and only one decent house—that of the Marchese Panciatichi Ximenes, a noble of Aragonese blood, whose family has possessed this manor for the last two hundred and fifty years. It were folly to expect an inn in such a hamlet. There is indeed what is called an *osteria*, but a peep within it confirmed all I had heard of its horrors, and determined me to effect a lodgement in the palace. This was no difficult matter. The *fattore*, or agent of the Marchese, readily agreed to accommodate me; and the heifer being offered, as Sancho would say, I was not long in fetching a rope—

Quando se diere la vaquilla
Corre con la soguilla.

Moreover he furnished me with a guide to the antiquities—one Domenico Lepri, whom I can recommend to future visitors.

The form of the ancient city is an irregular rhomboid, the angles facing the cardinal points. It may be rather more than two miles in circuit,² its extent being determined by the character of the ground, which breaks into cliffs at the top of the cone. In this respect also Saturnia resembles Orvieto, and differs from Cosa and Rusellæ, which have no cliffs. The existing fortifications were erected on the ruins of the ancient in the fifteenth century, and are evidently prior to the use of artillery.³

² Sir R. C. Hoare calls the circuit three miles (Classical Tour, I. p. 52), but that is certainly an overstatement. It can scarcely be the two miles and a half which Santi ascribes to it. Viaggio, p. 88, cited by Müller, I. 3, 3. I have

never seen a plan of Saturnia, and regret that I did not measure it myself.

³ In a few parts are remains of Roman work—*opus incertum* and *reticulatum*—the repairs of the still earlier fortifications.

In three spots only could I perceive remains of the original walls. The finest portion is on the south, beneath the ruined castle, and hard by the village. Here is a gateway, called *Porta Romana*, whether from the direction in which it opens, or from its evident antiquity, matters not. On either hand of it is polygonal masonry, precisely like that of Cosa in its smooth surface and the close "kissing" of its joints; but whether topt in the same way with horizontal courses cannot be determined, the loftiest fragment not rising above twelve feet.⁴ The gateway, though now arched over with the work of the middle ages, is manifestly coeval with these walls, for the masonry here running into horizontal forms as usual at angles, terminates abruptly in doorposts;⁵ and there are no traces of an ancient arch, the gate having been spanned, like those at Cosa and kindred sites, by a horizontal lintel of stone or wood. The pavement of the old Roman road still runs through the gate into the city.

In the eastern wall, at a spot called *Il Marrucatone*, just above the *Campo Santo*, is another fragment of polygonal masonry. Only two courses are now standing, and there may be about twenty blocks in all; and these show more tendency to regularity and horizontality than the portion at the *Porta Romana*.

On the opposite side of the city is a third fragment, in

⁴ The blocks here are not of great size. Two of the largest I found to be respectively—5 ft. 7 in. in length, by 4 ft. 7 in. high; and 4 ft. 7 in. long, by 3 ft. 2 in. high. A view of this fragment of the walls of Saturnia is given in *Ann. Inst.* 1831, *tav. d' Agg. E.*

⁵ It must have been the horizontality in the doorposts that led Repetti to speak of this masonry as composed "of great blocks of squared *macigno*." If

he had not given the date of his visit I should have doubted that he had ever been at Saturnia. It is surprising that the peculiar character of this masonry, so decidedly polygonal, could have escaped his eye. His inaccuracy in describing it as *macigno* must also be attributed to want of observation; and his opinion that it is "rather Roman than Etruscan," can therefore have little weight. See Repetti, *V.* p. 206.

the foundations of the modern walls. Beyond this I could not perceive, nor could I learn, that there were any remains of the ancient fortifications ; but it is almost impossible to make the entire tour of the walls externally, on account of the dense thickets and scattered rocks, which in parts forbid a near approach. Unlike Cosa, Saturnia has but these few *disjecta membra* left of her former might, but these suffice to attest it—*ex pede Herculem*.

The wide area within the walls is in summer a cornfield * —*seges ubi Troja fuit* ; in winter a sheep-walk. Here are but few relics of the olden time. Near the Marrucatonè is a singular square inclosure of artificial concrete, called Bagno Secco ; but that it was anciently a Bath is very doubtful. It must be of Roman times.⁶

The few other antiquities are within the village. The most remarkable is a tall massive pilaster, square in front, but rounded at the back, and having a fluted half-column, engaged at one corner, and hewn out of the blocks of travertine which compose the structure. If not of more ancient date, it probably formed part of a Roman temple, rather than of an arch or gateway, as has been supposed.⁷

There are also sundry scattered relics—tablets—altars—*cippi*—statues—cornices—all of Roman times. Nothing did I perceive that could be pronounced Etruscan.⁸

Few ancient sites in Etruria have more natural beauties than Saturnia. Deep vallies and towering heights all around, yet variety in every quarter. Here the cliff-bound, olive-spread hill of Monte Merano ; there the elm-tufted

⁶ It has only two courses, each 2 feet high, but the blocks are 20 feet in length. It forms a square of 49 feet.

⁷ Hoare, *Class. Tour*, I. p. 52.

⁸ In front of the Marchese's house stand two large altars of travertine, with very long inscriptions, so defaced

as to be scarcely legible, but I could perceive them to be of the time of Marcus Aurelius. On the opposite side of the Piazza is a Roman sepulchral monument. There are other inscriptions built into the wall of the church.

ridge of Scansano ; and there the hoary crests of Monte Labbro and Santa Fiora. From the northern ramparts you command the whole valley of the Albegna. You see the stream bursting from a dark gorge in its escape from the regions of mountain frost ; and where it is not lost behind the rock-mingled foliage on the slope, snaking its shining way joyously down the valley ; and its murmurs come up with the fainter sheep-bell from the echoing hollow. Whatever Saturnia be within, it has a paradise around it. If you be an artist, forget not your portfolio when you stroll around the walls. These ruins of art and nature—these crumbling walls, half-draped with ivy, clematis, and wild vines—these rugged cliffs beneath them—this chaos of crags and trees on the slope—revel among them, and declare that never have you found more captivating studies of rock, wood, and ruin !

Here is food for the antiquary also. Some few hundred yards west of the Porta Romana he will observe among the crags of travertine which strew the slope, one upright mass about fifteen feet high, whose squared faces bear marks of the hand of man. What may have been its purpose, he is at a loss to conjecture. High at one end he will espy the remains of a flight of steps hewn in the rock, and formerly leading to the summit. Let him scramble up, and he will behold three sarcophagi or graves sunk in the level summit of the mass, each about the size of a body, having a ledge for the lid, which may have been of tiles, or more probably was a slab of rock carved into the effigy of the dead. Strange this trio must have appeared, half rising as it were from the tomb. This is a singular position for interment—unique, as far as is yet known, in Etruria.⁹ The natural rock is used abundantly for sepulture,

⁹ In the island of Thera in the Greek archipelago, there are several such isolated rocks with sarcophagi sunk in them. Professor Ross calls them *θηκαί*

but the tomb is either beneath, or within, the monumental façade;—here alone it is above it. For the rock itself has been carved with architectural decorations, perhaps on each face, though the southern one alone retains such traces.¹ The extreme simplicity of the details seems to mark this monument as Etruscan.

No other monument could I perceive near the walls ; but on the slope beneath the city to the south, and on the way to the Bagni, are several ancient tombs, similar in character but of smaller size and more ruined than those in the Pian di Palma, which I am about to describe. This spot is called La Pestiera. The necropolis of Saturnia does not lie so much on the slopes around, as at Volterra, or on the opposite heights, as at Tarquinii ; but in the low grounds on the other bank of the Albegna, two miles or more from the city. This may be in great measure owing to the rocky nature of these slopes, which would not readily admit of excavation ; for the early Italians always sought the easiest materials for their chisels, and never attempted the marvels in granite, porphyry, or basalt, achieved by the children of Ham.

On these slopes are traces of several Roman roads—all of the usual polygonal pavement.²

λατόμῃται. Ann. Inst. 1841, pp. 16, 19. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. XXVI. I have observed them also in the necropolis of Syracuse.

¹ Here are two pilasters with square *abaci*, of most simple character, supporting an architrave, which is divided in the middle by a sort of chimney—the whole in very low relief, forming indeed but a panelling to the smooth face of the rock. No traces of figures or of inscriptions are visible, and from the hardness of the travertine, which would preserve any such works of the

chisel committed to it far better than the tufo or sandstone of which most Etruscan monuments are hewn, it seems probable that there were none.

² Sir R. C. Hoare traced five of these roads—running from Saturnia towards Rome, Monte Argentaro, Rusellæ, Siena, and Chiusi, respectively. The first, which issues from the Porta Romana, is almost perfect for some distance down the slope. This must be the Via Clodia. See Vol. I. p. 463. The second, which led down the valley of the Albegna, I traced by its kerb-stones on the ascent from Scan-

As an excursion to the necropolis in the Pian di Palma demands half a day, I deferred it to the morrow. On returning to my quarters I found the *fattore* and his people about to sit down to their evening meal. Whether something extraordinary had been prepared on my account, I cannot say, but I am certain no English peasant sits down nightly to such a supper as this, which needed no apologies from Signor Gaspare. There was soup, beef, kid, poultry, game, and a dessert of dried fruits and cheese, all the produce of the estate — cooked in the spacious hall in which it was served, and by the labouring men, who on bringing a dish to table sat down and partook of it. It was a patriarchal and excellent meal—

Prorsus jucundè cœnam produximus illam !

Nov. 1. 1870.

I was no less satisfied with the accommodation up stairs, where everything did credit to the *fattore* and his men ; for, be it known, to all this crew of shepherds and swains there was not one

“Phyllis, Charyllis, or sweet Amaryllis” —

Spence's "Italian Sketches" 1870.

not “one fair spirit for a minister.”

Let future visitors to Saturnia follow my example, and exchange the hostelry for the palace. No one of course can receive accommodation in this way gratis ; and if the traveller pay double what he would in the *osteria*, he is no loser, seeing he gains comfort, preserves his skin and his temper, and retains a pleasing remembrance of the place. Happy he who in his by-road wanderings in Italy meets no worse welcome than from the sun-ruddied face and jovial smile of Signor Gaspare !

sano. That to Rusellæ is also very traceable ; and I observed some vestiges of that running eastward ; but that to

the north, which probably led from the Porta di Montagna, I did not perceive.

Let the traveller eschew the summer months for a visit to Saturnia. In spite of its elevation the *ariaccia* is then most pestilent; whether arising from the sulphureous springs in its neighbourhood, or wafted from the swamps on the coast, it well-nigh desolates the spot; and when the harvest is cut scarcely a soul remains within the walls.

Ere the sun had risen, I was on my way to the Piano di Palma. The track down the slope followed the line of a Roman road, probably that leading to Rusellæ. The Albegna was still swollen but fordable, and about a mile beyond it I reached some ploughed fields strewn with fragments of pottery, mingled with large stones and slabs. Here lay the tombs of the ancient dwellers of Saturnia.

It may be remarked that the name attached to ancient sepulchres differs in various parts of Italy, and it is well to know the local appellation. In some places they are *sepolcri*—in others, though rarely, *tombe*—in some, *ipogei*—in a few, *camere*, or *celle*—in many, *grotte*—here they were none of these, but *depositi*. In truth they required a peculiar name, as they differed from anything to be seen elsewhere in Etruria. They were very numerous; piles of blocks and slabs being scattered over the plain, each bearing traces of regular arrangement, yet this was so often disturbed or almost destroyed that the original character of the monuments could only be learned from a few which remain entire, and serve as keys to the rest. They are quadrangular chambers, sunk a few feet below the surface, lined with rough slabs of rock, set upright, one on each side, and roofed over with two huge slabs resting against each other so as to form a rude penthouse; or else with a single one of enormous size, covering the whole, and laid at a slight inclination, apparently for the same purpose of carrying off the rain. Not a chisel has touched these rugged masses, which are just as broken off from

their native rock, with their edges all shapeless and irregular; and, if their faces are somewhat smooth, it is owing to the tendency of the travertine to split in laminar forms. These are the most rude and primitive structures conceivable; such as the savage would make on inhaling his first breath of civilization, on emerging from his cave or den in the rock. Their dimensions vary from about sixteen feet square to half that size, though few are strictly of that form.³ Many are divided into two chambers or compartments for bodies, by an upright slab, on which the cover-stones rest.⁴ In most there is a passage, about three feet wide, and ten or twelve feet long, leading to the sepulchral chamber, and lined with slabs of inferior size and thickness.

These tombs are sunk but little below the surface, because each is inclosed in a tumulus; the earth being piled around so as to conceal all but the cover-stones, which may have been also originally buried.⁵ In many instances

³ I add the dimensions of some that I measured:—16 feet long by somewhat less in width—14 feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$ —14 feet by $7\frac{1}{2}$ —11 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$ —9 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 6—9 feet by 8—8 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$. All the tombs were about 5 or 6 feet high within. It should be borne in mind that as each side is composed generally of a single slab, so the dimensions of the tombs indicate those also of the slabs, except as regards the cover-stones, which lap over about a foot each way and are therefore so much larger. When single, these cover-stones are of great size—one 16 feet by 12—another 16 feet by $10\frac{1}{2}$ —and a third $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. In some few instances where the tomb is very large there are two slabs on one side, and the interstices between them, as they are not cut to fit, are filled with small stones and fragments

of rock. One tomb indeed was lined entirely with small stones rudely put together, very like the solitary sepulchre I have described as existing at Rusellæ, but of ruder construction. *Uti supra*, p. 254.

⁴ This is shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter. It is in general about two-thirds of the tomb in length, i. e., when placed longitudinally, for it is sometimes, though rarely, set transversely, in which case it is shaped above into a gable to support the cover-stones. This partition-slab is generally set rather obliquely. Some tombs are even divided into three compartments, one at the end and one on each side, with a passage between them, just as in so many of the rock-hewn sepulchres of Etruria. But these are rare.

⁵ See the woodcut at the head of

the earth has been removed or washed away, so as to leave the structure standing above the surface. Here the eye is startled by the striking resemblance to the cromlechs of our own country. Not that one such monument is actually standing above ground in an entire state ; but remove the earth from any one of those with a single cover-stone, and in the three upright slabs, with their shelving, overlapping lid, you have the exact counterpart of Kit's Cotty House, and other like familiar antiquities of Britain ; and the resemblance is not only in the form, and in the unhewn masses, but even in the dimensions of the structures. We know also that many of the cromlechs or kistvaens of the British Isles have been found inclosed in barrows, sometimes with a circle of small upright slabs around them ; and from analogy we may infer that all were originally so buried. Here is a further point of resemblance to these tombs of Saturnia.⁶ In some of the cromlechs, moreover, which are inclosed in tumuli, long passages, lined with upright slabs, and roofed in with others laid horizontally, have been found ; whether the similar passages in these tombs of Saturnia were also covered in, cannot now be determined.

The shelving or dip of the cover-stone in the cairns or cromlechs has induced antiquaries to regard them as Druidical altars, formed with this inclination in order that the blood of the victims might more easily run off. But it is now generally agreed, from the remains found within them, that they are sepulchral monuments ; and there can

this Chapter, which represents one of these tombs with a single cover-stone, 16 or 18 feet each way, and about 1 foot in thickness. The tumuli, as far as it is possible to ascertain, were about 25 or 30 feet in diameter. Mr. Ainsley remarked one which appeared

to have been quadrangular.

⁶ I observed only one instance of a tumulus encircled by small slabs ; but it is probable that the custom was general ; the small size of these slabs offering a temptation to the peasantry to remove them.

be no doubt that these structures of Saturnia are of that character, though nothing beyond analogy and tradition now remains to attest it. Here the slope of the cover-stone is evidently to carry off the rain.

These tombs have stood for so many ages open and dismantled—the haunts of the fox, the porcupine, and unclean reptiles—that no traces of the ancient dead are now visible, beyond the broken pottery which strewn the plain. At a spot called Il Puntone, west of the Pian di Palma, and nearer the banks of the Albegna, are more of these singular sepulchres. Those at La Pestiera on the south of Saturnia have already been mentioned; and it is possible that more exist on other sides of the city, but I could not ascertain the fact.

These monuments of Saturnia are particularly worthy of notice, as nothing like them is to be seen on any other site in Etruria. Similar tombs, however, have in ages past been discovered at Cortona,⁷ and of late years at Santa Marinella;⁸ but no traces of them now remain on either site. I have never seen any description of these tombs in the Pian di Palma; nor am I aware that any traveller has visited them, besides Mr. Ainsley and myself.⁹

To what era, and to what race, are we to attribute these tombs? Prior to the Roman conquest they must be, for that people never constructed such rude burial-places for their dead. Can we assign them to the Etruscans—to

⁷ Baldelli, MS. quoted by Gori, *Mus. Etrus.* III. pp. 75—6, and Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* IV. p. 72.

⁸ *Ut supra*, page 8.

⁹ Sir R. C. Hoare merely states that “several subterraneous grottos are still open in the neighbouring fields, but there is great reason to suppose that many more exist undiscovered, for in various spots the water suddenly dis-

appears after hard rains.” *Classical Tour*, I. p. 52. But he does not appear to have seen them, or he must have been struck by their peculiar character. Repetti (*V.* p. 207) only mentions those on the slope beneath Saturnia, towards the Bagni, and describes them simply as “*fosse coperte da lastroni di travertino*,” containing human bones and nothing else.

that race of whose care in decorating their tombs with architectural façades, or internally with painting and sculpture, we have so many proofs? If we are to regard the Regulini-Galassi tomb of Cære, with its regular, squared masonry, as of Pelasgic antiquity, surely such savagely rude structures as these cannot be of later date. Be it remembered that the masses are wholly unwrought—not even hammer-dressed, but simply split off from the laminous rock; the principal difficulty lying in the transport of them to their present sites. If not of Etruscan construction, to whom can they be attributed? The prior occupants of the land, as we learn from ancient writers, were first the Umbrians or Siculi, and then the Pelasgi. As the antiquity of these monuments is connected with that of the city-walls, we will consider both, in reviewing the few notices we find of Saturnia in ancient writers.

Dionysius mentions Saturnia together with Agylla, Pisa, and Alsium, as one of the many towns either built by the united Pelasgi and Aborigines, or taken by them from the Siculi, the original inhabitants.¹ Beyond this there is little mention of it. We learn that it was one of the Roman colonies in Etruria, that it had originally borne the name of Aurinia;² that it was in the territory of Calettra, and that it was colonised in the year of Rome 571 (B. C. 183).³

Though we may not be able to accord Dionysius

¹ Dion. Hal. I. p. 16. It may be thought by some that Dionysius referred to the original town on the site of Rome — “Saturnia, ubi nunc Roma est” (Plin. III. 9)—but it is evident that this town of Etruria was intended, as all the other places mentioned are in this land, and are said by him to have been afterwards conquered by the Etruscans.

² Plin. III. 8.—“Saturnini qui ante Aurinini vocabantur.” It is also mentioned as a colony by Ptolemy (p. 72, ed Bert.), and a *præfectura* by Festus (v. *Præfecturæ*). The Etruscan family-name of “Sauturine,” or “Sauturini” (Vermigl. Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 267, 313), seems to bear some relation to Saturnia.

³ Liv. XXXIX. 55.

unreserved credit in his accounts of such remote periods, we may safely admit his testimony as to the great antiquity of Saturnia. The very name, the earliest appellation of Italy itself, is corroborative of this fact. We are therefore prepared for relics of very ancient times on this spot. Yet Micali would fain have it that its polygonal walls do not indicate a high antiquity, and probably date only from the time of the Roman colony.⁴ It is unnecessary to repeat what has been said in a previous chapter in refutation of his views ; but what was there said in support of the antiquity and Pelasgic origin of this style of masonry,⁵ applies with more than usual force to Saturnia, which has the addition of historical testimony in its favour. It is enough to entertain doubts in those cases where we have no record of a definite Pelasgic origin. Where such record exists, we may take it to be authenticated by the walls, if of accordant structure, and the walls to be characterised by the tradition. Either alone may be open to suspicion, but together they substantiate each other into genuineness. In the case of Saturnia, moreover, we are particularly entitled to ascribe these walls to that people, with whom polygonal masonry was the rule, rectangular the exception, rather than to any subsequent race. For the doctrine of the material having alone determined the character of the masonry, is here utterly at fault. It is not limestone, which is said to split so readily into polygonal forms ; it is travertine, which all the world knows has a horizontal cleavage. The natural superfluities of the blocks

⁴ Ant. Pop. Ital. I. pp. 144, 196. Micali's objection is mere supposition—" *forse* "—" *si può credere* "—" *potrebbe essere* "—or assertion ; the only argument he uses is the high finish of the masonry, an argument which, if it have any force, will apply to all similar

masonry wherever found—in Italy, Greece, or Asia Minor ; though we are well assured that in many instances walls of this description were raised in very remote times, prior to the invention of the arch.

⁵ *Ut supra*, pages 279—286.

were not squared down as the Romans always treated this material, but cut into those angular forms which best pleased the builders.⁶ So much for the doctrine of constructive necessity as applied to Saturnia.

But if the walls of Saturnia be Pelasgic, can the tombs have the same origin? Their primitive rudeness would accord better with walls of unhewn Cyclopean masonry, like those above Monte Fortino, or at Civitella and Olevano, and seems hardly consistent with the highly-wrought character of the polygonal style,—it is difficult to believe that the same hands constructed both tombs and walls. Yet it may be urged in favour of a Pelasgic origin for the former, that they are very similar to ancient tombs found at Santa Marinella, on that coast which is studded with Pelasgic settlements; and the resemblance the least rude among them (those with gabled roofs) bear to the sepulchres of Pæstum and of Magna Græcia generally, favours a Greek origin. They are, however, more like the structures of a ruder people, such as we may conceive the Umbri or Siculi, the earliest possessors of the land, to have been. We learn from Dionysius, that the Aborigines who joined the Pelasgi in expelling the Siculi from Etruria, had cemeteries of tumuli like this, but of the internal structure of their tombs we know nothing.⁷ Unfortunately we have here no furniture remaining to assist our inquiries.⁸ But it may be objected—if these be the sepulchres of the earlier occupants of the site, where are those of the Etruscans? It is a question which may be asked at Fiesole, Roselle, Cosa, Pisa, and many other sites, where no exca-

⁶ It has been asserted that polygonal masonry was never formed of travertine (*Memor. Inst.* III. p. 90), but this is contradicted by these walls of Saturnia.

⁷ *Dion. Hal.* I. p. 12.

⁸ The articles found in a similar tomb at Cortona, as far as can be gathered from the description of Baldelli (*ut supra*, p. 317), seem to mark it as Etruscan.

vations have been made. Future research, either by finding some of these rude tombs intact, or by discovering others of a different character, may be expected to throw light on the subject.⁹

Yet this form of sepulchre can hardly be indicative of any one race in particular. The structure is so rude and simple, that it might have suggested itself to any people, and be naturally adopted in an early state of civilization. It is the very arrangement the child makes use of in building his house of cards. This simplicity accounts for the wide diffusion of such monuments over the Old World ; for they are found in different climates and widely distant countries, from the mountains of Wales and Ireland to the deserts of Barbary, and from the western shores of the Iberian Peninsula to the steppes of Tartary, and the eastern coasts of Hindostan. They are found on mountains and in plains, on continents and in islands, on the sea-coast and far inland, by the river and in the desert, solitary and grouped in multitudes.¹ That in certain

⁹ The quantity of coarse broken pottery strewn over the plain, hints the character of their contents ; but Repetti (V. p. 207) says that in the similar tombs on the other side of Saturnia, already mentioned, were found human bones alone, without any articles of sculpture, or urns, fictile vases, and the usual furniture of Etruscan tombs. "Di tempi incerti è una specie di Camposanto che ci fu indicato ne' campi sotto il poggio e presso il Bagno di Saturnia, dove furono trovate delle ossa umane dentro fosse coperte da lastroni di travertino, senza alcun oggetto di scultura, senza urne, senza vasi di terraglie e cose simili, facili a scuoprirsi nei sepolcreti di etrusco nome." If the peasantry may be credited, the bones found here were of

gigantic proportions. The very similar tombs near Santa Marinella contained articles like those found in the earliest sepulchres of Etruria, of very archaic character—some even purely Egyptian.

¹ How numerous these monuments are in the British Isles is well known. They are found also on the continent of Europe, particularly in the north of France ; and also in the Spanish Peninsula, though to what extent they exist there is unknown, as the antiquities of that land have been little investigated. (See Borrow's Bible in Spain, Chapter VII.). On the shores of the Mediterranean they are particularly abundant. Besides the other two sites in Etruria, they are found in Sardinia and the Balearics ; and it may not be generally known that they exist

instances they may be the work of the same people in different countries is not to be gainsaid,² but there is no necessity to seek for one particular race as the constructors of these monuments, or even as the originators of the type.

I trust that this notice of the tombs of Saturnia will excite interest in this unfrequented spot, and lead to further investigation. This district of Italy is a new field to the antiquary. No excavations have been made, nor even researches for monuments above ground.³

From Saturnia you may proceed to Pitigliano, Sovana, and Sorano. There is a carriage-road to those places from Monte Merano, only three miles from Saturnia. On

in abundance in the Regency of Tunis, anciently the territory of Carthage, as I learn from the notes and sketches of Mr. Catherwood, who has penetrated far into that unexplored region, and possesses artistic records of its monuments of such value and interest as to demand publication. From these documents I learn that the tombs of the African desert exactly accord in construction and measurements with the better-known monuments of this character. The three sites on which he found them were, Sidi Boosi, to the north-east of Hydrah, Welled Ayar, and Lheys. At the first place they were particularly numerous. I am not aware that any have been discovered in Greece, but in Asia they are not wanting. Captains Irby and Mangles describe a group of them on the banks of the Jordan. Holy Land, p. 99. Colon. Libr. edit. They are said also to have been found among the mountains of the Caucasus, and on the steppes of Tartary; and recent researches have brought them to light in the Presidency of Madras. For in a letter read at the Asiatic Society, January 17th, 1846, Captain Newbold

stated that near Chittoor in North Arcot, he had seen a square mile of ground covered with such monuments, mostly opened and destroyed by the natives for the sake of the blocks which composed them, yet a few remained entire to testify to the character of the rest. In them were found sarcophagi, with the bones of the dead, and pottery of red and black ware. They were here paved with a large slab, and entered by a circular hole in one of the upright slabs, which formed the walls.

² In the British Isles and in France they are probably of Celtic construction. In the Peninsula and the isles of the Mediterranean they may be of Punic origin, like those in the territory of Carthage; though those of Sardinia and Etruria are more probably the work of the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi.

³ On a hill three miles to the E.S.E. of Saturnia are some ruins, called Le Murelle. I had no opportunity of visiting them, but from the description I received I doubt not they are Roman *concamerationes*, probably the remains of a villa. On other spots in the neighbourhood, there are said to be ruins.

the way to it you pass the Bagni, a spring of sulphureous water, like the Bulicame near Viterbo, which falls in a cascade, encrusting the cliffs with a many-hued deposit. The table-land on which Monte Merano stands is strewn with pottery, which may possibly mark the Etruscan necropolis of Saturnia. Three miles beyond is Manciano, on a height commanding one of those glorious and varied panoramas which give such a charm to Italy. Here you are on the very frontier between the Tuscan and Roman States. The Maremma, its well-known headlands, the isle-studded deep, Saturnia in the vale of the Albegna, at the foot of Monte Amiata—are all in the Grand Duchy ; while the Patrimony of St. Peter greets you in the vast Etruscan plain, with the Ponte della Badia, the towers of Montalto and Corneto, the Monti di Canino, and many other familiar objects on its wide surface, which is bounded by the dark-crested Ciminian, and the distant Apennines, a range of icy peaks all burnished with gold—sublime as the Alps from the Jura.⁴

Beyond Manciano, on the descent to the Fiora, some tombs and sepulchral niches in the cliffs, and fragments of pottery on the slopes, proclaim the site of an Etruscan town.⁵ I could make no researches here, as the sun was on the horizon as I passed, and I had no opportunity of returning to the spot ; but it seemed to me that the town must have stood on the cliff-bound height, now crested with a castle in ruins. What its name was, we have no means of determining. It may be remembered, however,

⁴ From Manciano a road leads southward to Montalto and Corneto. There is also a track to the Ponte della Badia. The traveller who would make an excursion from Corneto to Cosa and Saturnia will have no difficulty in crossing the frontier. It used to be neces-

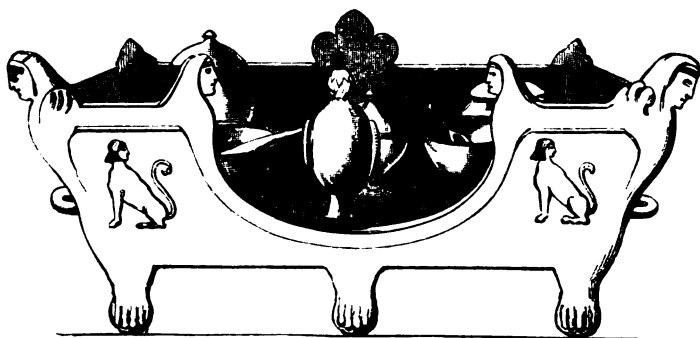
sary to have the passport *visé* at Montalto, but under the proposed system of an Italian Customs' Union, that may probably be dispensed with.

⁵ It has been already stated that Campanari has made slight excavations in this neighbourhood. Vol. I. p. 474.

that Calettra stood somewhere in this district, for Saturnia was in its territory.⁶ The Fiora has here the same character as at Vulci—a rapid stream overhung by lofty cliffs, half draped with wood. The rocks are of the same formation—dark red or brown tufo, overlaid with a stratum of white travertine, like a wedding cake with its top-crust of sugar ; but as the plums are not visible till the cake has been cut, so you can only see the soft volcanic rock, where the hard aqueous deposit which covers it has been broken away.

⁶ Liv. XXXIX. 55. It will be observed that Livy does not speak of a town of this name, merely of an *ager*—“Saturnia colonia civium Romanorum in agrum Caletranum est deducta ;” and from this, and more clearly from Pliny’s notice (III. 8)—“*oppidorum veterum nomina retinent agri Crustuminus, Caletranus*”—it appears that the Etruscan town had ceased to exist before Imperial times—a fact which may assist researches for its site. It

has been already observed (*ut supra*, p. 297), that Repetti suggests for Calettra a site in the neighbourhood of Magliano, and some would identify it with the newly found city between that village and the sea ; but there is no reason to suppose from the only two notices we have of Calettra, that it was ever of such importance as that site would indicate, which corresponds with far more probability to the ancient Vetulonia.



FOCOLARE—BLACK WARE OF CHIUSI.

CHAPTER L.

CHIUSI.—*CLUSIUM*.

THE CITY.

I pray you let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and the things of fame,
That do renown this city.

SHAKESPEARE.

Museum ante omnia.

VIRGIL. *—Aeneid, lib. 6.*

I MUST transport my reader from the banks of the Fiora, where I left him at the close of the last Chapter, to the door of the Convent of S. Antonio in the little town of Città della Pieve, some forty miles to the north-east, and within the Roman frontier. He will have no reason to regret the change of scene. He will find himself on a lofty height, commanding a wide, deep valley, with many a slope and undulation, among which

“sweet Clanis wanders
Through corn, and vines, and flowers.”

—Blackley, in “Poetical Sketches,” 1733.

Chiusi, once the proud capital of Porsena, crests an olive-clad eminence on the right; and on the other hand is a long range of wooded heights studded with towns—Cetona, with its impending castle nearest the eye; Sarteano, on the hill-brow beyond; still farther, Chianciano and Montepulciano, apparently blended into one—all representatives of Etruscan towns, and all nestling beneath the majestic Alpine mass of Monte Cetona.¹

Città la Pieve retains no traces of remote antiquity, though Etruscan urns have been found in its neighbourhood.² But as it contains numerous works of Pietro Perugino, who was born here, to say nothing of his genuine letters and paint-pots, the traveller from Orvieto to Chiusi will probably be induced to halt for the night. Let him eschew the inn called La Luna, which is a mere *bettola*, and knock at an opposite house with the name of “Valentini” over the door, where he will find bed and board, average comfort, and abundant attention.

It is but six miles from La Pieve to Chiusi, and the road is delightful, through woods of brave old oaks, baring their lichen-clad boughs to the bright winter sky; the luxuriant vale of Chiana, and the broad Thrasymentine with its islands, in the distance; and the Apennines stretching their snow half across the horizon. The frontier is crossed in the valley below Chiusi.³

¹ The road from Pitigliano to Chiusi is hardly carriageable throughout. It runs through Sorano, crosses the high-road to Florence near the Ponte Centino, skirts the base of the wild mountain of Radicofani, through San Casciano de' Bagni and Cetona, to Chiusi. Another track runs through Acquapendente, but is to be avoided because it enters the Roman territory, and exposes the traveller to the annoyance of two custom-

houses. The entire distance may be done in one day, by starting early. The Baths of San Casciano are proved by numerous remains to be of ancient date. Repetti (I. p. 225; V. p. 25) takes them for the Fontes Clusini mentioned by Horace (Epist. I. 15, 9).

² Lanzi, Sagg. II. p. 53. Its name, derived from Civitas Plebis, seems also to indicate a classical origin.

³ Chiusi is 40 miles from Arezzo,

Chiusi is the representative of Clusium, the city of the magnanimous Porsena, one of the most ancient in Italy, among the Twelve of the Etruscan Confederation ;⁴ indeed it would appear that for a time

"The banner of proud Clusium
Was highest of them all."

Macaulay's Horatius

Its original name was Camars,⁵ whence it has been

22 from Cortona, about 35 from Orvieto, 5 from Cetona, as many from Sarteano, 8 from Chianciano, 12 from Montepulciano, 20 from Radicofani, 23 from Acquapendente, 20 from Pienza, 48 from Siena, and 88 from Florence.

Polybius (II. 25) says Clusium was three days journey from Rome ; Strabo (V. p. 226) calls it 800 *stadia*, or 100 miles, which is less than the distance by the modern road, and than by the ancient Via Cassia, according to the Antonine Itinerary.

Roma	
Baccanas	XXI.
Sutrio	XII.
Forum Cassii	XI.
Vulsinius	XXVIII.
Clusium	XXX.

The Peutingerian Table, in the part of this road after Sutrium, is defective and very incorrect.

Roma	
Ad Sextum	VI.
Veios	VI.
Vacanas	VIII.
Sutrio	XII.
Vico Matrini	—
Foro Cassii	III.
Aquas Passaris	XI.
Volsinis	VIII.
Pallio fl.	—
Clusio	VIII.

⁴ That Clusium was one of the Twelve is manifest from the prominent part she

took in the war which Etruria, under her chieftain Porsena, waged against Rome. The very name of Clusium struck terror into the Senate—"non unquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit, adeo valida res tum Clusina erat, magnumque Porsense nomen." Liv. II. 9. A city, whose ruler headed the forces of the whole Etruscan State, cannot have been of second-rate importance. See Florus, I. 10. Dion. Hal. V. pp. 303, 304. Plutarch (Pullicola) also says Lars Porsena had the greatest power among the princes of Italy. There is no reason however to believe, that though Clusium on this occasion took a prominent part among the cities of the Confederation, she was, as Dempster (II. p. 71) infers, the metropolis of Etruria. This city has further claims to rank among the Twelve, as being one of the five which assisted the Latins against the first Tarquin. Dion. Hal. III. p. 189.

⁵ Liv. X. 25 ; cf. Polyb. II. 19, 5. Niebuhr (III. p. 377), however, thinks that Polybius here refers to Camerinum in Umbria, and says Livy remembers at an improper time that Clusium was called Camars in Etruscan.

There are certain coins with the type of a wild boar, on both sides, and the legend $\kappa\alpha$ or $\kappa\alpha\mu$, which are ascribed to Camars, or Clusium. Yet the legend is peculiar in running from left to right, and if the letters are

inferred that it was founded by the Umbri, the earliest inhabitants of Etruria.⁶ Whatever its origin, it is certain that from a very remote age it was a city of great might and importance, and that it maintained this condition throughout the period of Etruscan independence. Though Virgil represents it as assisting Æneas against Turnus,⁷ the earliest notice of it that can be regarded as

Etruscan, the word would be *KAS*. One of those illustrated by Lanzi, to the legend *KA* on one side, adds that of *RAET*, in Etruscan letters, on the other. Müller (*Etrusk.* I. p. 332) hints that the *KAS* may possibly have reference to *Cisra*, the native name of *Cære* (*ut supra*, p. 22)—which city, as he remarks, had certainly as much necessity for coins as *Clusium*—and that "*Ka-raet*" may find its equivalent in *Cærete*. Certain coins, however, with this type have the legend *KAM* in Etruscan characters, and running from right to left. Lanzi thinks the wild boar was an appropriate type for *Clusium*, characteristic of the country. See Lanzi, *Saggio*, II. pp. 24, 56; *tav. I.* 1, 2; Guarnacci, *Orig. Ital.* II. p. 206. *tav. VIII.*; Mionnet, *Med. Ant.* p. 97; *Suppl. I.* p. 196. Yet Millingen has pronounced, on what authority does not appear, that these coins are all counterfeits. *Numis. Anc. Italie*, p. 170. There are two other series of coins which have been assigned respectively to *Clusium Vetus* and *Clusium Novum*. On the obverse is a wheel, on the reverse an anchor, with the mark of value and the legend *CH* or *CHA* in Etruscan characters. Marchi and Tessieri, *Æs Grave*, cl. III. *tav. VII—IX.*; cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1839, p. 124. But Lepsius thinks the attribution of these coins to *Camars* cannot be justified on any ground. *Verbreitung des Italischen Münzsystems*, p. 68; *Ann. Inst.* 1841, p. 108.

⁶ Cluver. II. p. 567; Cramer, I. p. 219. Müller (*Etrusk. einl.* 2, 12) considers the ancient name of the city, *Camars*, to be a proof that the *Camertes* of Umbria had once occupied it. Cluver thinks that these *Camertes*, the original inhabitants of *Camars*, were driven across the Tiber by the *Tyrrhene-Pelaagi*, and retained their ancient name in their new settlement; and that the *Pelaagi* gave the city the name of *Clusium*, from *Clusius*, son of *Tyrrhenus* the *Lydian*, as *Servius* states (*ad Æn.* X. 167), who however leaves its origin doubtful between *Clusius* and *Telemachus*. That *Camars* or *Camars* was an Umbrian rather than a *Pelasgic* name is the more probable, as *Lepsius* assures us it is not derived from the Greek. *Ann. Inst.* 1836, p. 201. Mention is made of these *Camertes* of Umbria by *Livy*, IX. 36; *Pliny*, III. 19; *Cicero*, *pro Balbo*, 20; *Strabo*, V. p. 227; *Sil. Italic.* VIII. 463; *Frontin. Strat.* I. 2, 2. *Pliny* (*loc. cit.*) also mentions a *Clusium* above *Interamna* in Umbria. The *Camars* of Umbria is supposed by Cramer (*I.* pp. 262, 274) to have occupied the site of *Camerata*, a town between *Todi* and *Amelia*, but Cluver (*II.* p. 613) thinks it identical with *Camerinum*, now *Camerino*, on the borders of *Picenum*.

⁷ *Virg. Æn.* X. 167. *Virgil* elsewhere (*X.* 655) says *Clusium* had a king *Osinius*.

historic is that with Arretium, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, and Vetulonia, it sent aid to the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus.⁸ We hear no more of it till the Tarquins, on their expulsion from Rome, induced Porsena, its king or chief Lucumo, to espouse their cause. That war, its stirring events, its deeds of heroism, are among the cherished memories of our boyhood, and need no record here. Yet modern criticism snatches from us

“Those old credulities to nature dear,”

And so the memory of Tarquin Italy, IV.
and teaches us to regard the deeds of Horatius, Scævola, Clœlia, Publicola, as mere fictions of the old Roman minstrels, sung in the heroic “Lay of the Tarquins.”⁹

When Clusium next appears in history it is as the occasion of the destruction of Rome by the Gauls. It was in the year 363 (B.C. 391), just after the capture of Veii, that one Aruns, a native of Clusium, having been dishonoured by a youthful Lucumo, his pupil, who had debauched his wife, and not being able to obtain justice from the law, owing to the young noble's rank and influence in the state, determined to have his revenge, even at the sacrifice of his country. The prototype of Count Julian, who for vengeance sold Spain to the Moslem, he induced the Senonian Gauls to take up his cause, tempting them by the figs, the oil, and above all the rich wine of Tuscany—the royal Montepulciano, it may have been—to march against Clusium. The citizens, terrified at the strange and ferocious aspect, and the vast hosts of these unlooked-for

⁸ Dion. Hal. III. p. 189.

⁹ Niebuhr (I. p. 551) maintains that of this war, from beginning to end, not a single incident can pass for historical. It is evident that the ancients had some such suspicions themselves, for Florus (I. 10) speaks of the heroes, as “pro-

digies and miracles, which were they not in our annals would now-a-days be accounted fables”—Tunc illa Romana prodigia atque miracula, Horatius, Mucius, Clœlia; quæ nisi in annalibus forent, hodie fabulæ viderentur.

foes, sent to beg succour of Rome, though bound to her by no tie of friendship or alliance. Flattered by this compliment to their power and martial spirit, the Romans in an evil hour interfered, and diverting the fury of the Gaulish hordes from Clusium to themselves, opened the way for the capture and destruction of the Seven-hilled City.¹⁰

In what year Clusium fell under the Roman yoke is not recorded; not, however, immediately after the fatal rout of the Etruscans in the year 445 (B.C. 309) at the Vadimonian Lake, though Perugia was in consequence compelled to surrender;¹ for in the year 459 (B.C. 295) a Roman legion was left before Clusium, during the war with the Etruscans, and was there cut to pieces by the Senonian Gauls, their allies.² In the same year also, after the great rout of the Gauls and Samnites in the territory of Sentinum, the Clusini, in conjunction with the Perusini, sustained a defeat from Cn. Fulvius the Roman proprætor.³ We hear no more of Clusium in the time of Etruscan independence; for the next notice of it is that the Gauls marched a third time to this city, just before their defeat near Telamon in 529.⁴ Clusium, with the other cities of Etruria, assisted Rome in the Second Punic War, supplying the fleet of Scipio with corn, and fir for ship-building.⁵ More than a century later Sylla defeated an army of his foes near Clusium, which, it is probable, had joined others of the Etruscan cities in espousing the cause of Marius.⁶

¹⁰ Liv. V. 33, 35; Dion. Hal. Excerpt. Mai. XII. 24, 25; Flor. I. 13; Plut. Camillus; Diod. Sic. XIV. p. 321, ed. Rhod. Dionysius' version of the story of Aruns differs somewhat from that of Livy.

¹ Liv. IX. 39, 40.

² Liv. X. 25, 26.

³ Liv. X. 30.

⁴ Polyb. II. 25.

⁵ Liv. XXVIII. 45; cf. Sil. Ital. VIII. 479. The grain, indeed, of Clusium was celebrated for its whiteness. Columella, de Re Rustica, II. 6. Martial (XIII. 8) also recommends the meal of Clusium.

⁶ Vel. Patere. II. 28. Appian. Bell. Civ. I. 89. An inscription has been found which shows that the Clusini raised a statue to Sylla, two years

Inscriptions prove Clusium to have continued in existence under the Empire, nor does she seem, like too many of her fellows, ever to have been utterly desolated or deserted, but has preserved her name and site from the remotest antiquity to the present day.⁷ Yet so fallen and reduced was this illustrious city in the middle ages, principally through the pestilent vapours of the neighbouring lakes and marshes, that for eight centuries and more, says Repetti, she might be called "a city of *sepulchres*." Chiusi is even cited by Dante, as an instance of the melancholy decay of cities—

Se tu riguardi Luni ed Urbisaglia
Come son ite, e come se ne vanno
Diretro ad esse Chiusi e Sinigaglia,
Udir come le schiatte si disfanno,
Non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
Poscia che le cittadi termine hanno. *22. xvi. 73.*

Since the draining of the Val di Chiana, she has risen from her low estate, and though she no longer holds her head proudly among the cities of Italy, she has an air of snugness and respectability, with two or three thousand inhabitants, and an inn, the Leon d'Oro, of more than ordinary bye-road comfort.

In his excursions to the numerous and widely scattered points of Etruscan interest, the visitor cannot do better

after this battle, or 80 B.C. Repetti, I. p. 714.

⁷ Repetti, loc. cit. This writer thinks the colony of Clusium Novum spoken of by Pliny (III. 8) was established by Sylla. Clusium is mentioned also by Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.), and by the Antonine and Theodosian Itineraries. The catacombs in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, moreover, prove its existence in the early ages of the Christian era ;

which is confirmed by the Church of S. Mustiola, built in the year 765. It has been supposed that the site of the original Camars, was not at Chiusi, but at Sarteano (Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 4) ; but I see no valid ground for this opinion, which is founded on the discovery at the latter place of a number of Etruscan urns of the family, "Cumere." See Chapter LIII. p. 406.

than have at his elbow Giambattista Zeppoloni, the “souter Johnny” of Chiusi, who claims to be at once “shoemaker, saddler, *cicerone* and landed proprietor.”

Chiusi retains few traces of Etruscan times on her site, beyond the contents of her museums, drawn from the sepulchres around. Of her ancient fortifications some fragments are extant, but these are not sufficiently abundant or continuous to determine the precise extent or limits of the city. Where still standing, they form the foundations of the mediæval walls. The fragment of most easy access is beneath the Duomo, near the Porta delle Torri, or di Pacciano. It is composed of rectangular blocks of travertine, a few of large size, but generally small and shallow—all without cement.⁸ Another portion of the ancient walls is to be seen beneath the Prato, or public promenade. This is also of travertine, of similar and rather more regular masonry; but still of small blocks, rarely exceeding three feet in length, and never so much as two in height.⁹ It can be seen from the Giardino Paolozzi, adjoining the Prato. Beneath this garden, which seems the site of the ancient Acropolis, and is still called La Fortezza, are some buttresses of Roman work, under which are also a few courses of the earlier, or Etruscan masonry.

The style of all these fragments is very similar to that of Perugia and Todi, and very unlike that of the more

⁸ I am surprised to find Repetti (l. p. 720) describing this masonry as “of large polygons;” when it is as horizontal as that of Perugia or Todi, though not so regular. He also errs in calling it the only fragment of the Etruscan walls. The travertine must have been brought from a distance, probably from Sarteano, for the hill of Chiusi is of that friable sandstone con-

taining marine deposits, which prevails in this district of Italy.

⁹ Though of *opus quadratum*, it is not *isodomon*, and the blocks are arranged without any symmetrical relation to those above or beneath them. The finest portion is below a brick arch, at the further end of the Prato. The courses vary from 15 to 21 inches in height.

northern cities—Fiesole, Volterra, or Cortona; the blocks being much smaller, the courses more uniform, and the sharpness of the edges, preserved by the hardness of the travertine, giving the whole a much more modern appearance.

In the Piazza del Duomo are more traces of this ancient masonry, and in many of the buildings of the city, as well as in the fences without the walls, are large blocks of travertine, probably from the ancient fortifications, as this is not a local stone.

There are many relics of early days, scattered through Chiusi. Fragments of architectural decorations built into the houses. Over a well in the main street is a sphere of stone resting on a cube, with a sphinx, in a quaint style, carved on each side. On Signor Paolozzi's gate are two similar monuments, with lions instead of sphinxes.¹ But on the Prato hard by, are numerous sarcophagi and urns, and a menagerie of wild beasts, more like those with which "the learned stock the constellations" than anything that ever trod terrestrial desert—the most uncouth savageness ever beheld or conceived, grotesque caricatures of ferocity—the majesty of the king of beasts relaxed to a ridiculous grin—buffos of the *leo* species.

In the Paolozzi garden is a so-called "Labyrinth." The mere word brought to mind the celebrated Tomb of Porsena, described by Varro as existing at Clusium, and I eagerly rushed into the cavern. To my disappointment it was merely a natural hollow in the rock, of some extent,

¹ Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. P 5) gives a plate of a similar monument, with a sphinx, a lion, a griffon, and an augur with his *lituus*, on each side respectively. The style of art is very archaic. These were probably Etrus-

can cippi, or tomb-stones. They remind us of the sphere and cylinder on the tomb of Archimedes, at Syracuse—i. e. on the real sepulchre discovered by Cicero (Tusc. Quæst. V. 23), not that shown now-a-days under the name.

but without a sign of labyrinthine passages.² But in the cliffs of this very height, immediately beneath the Palazzo Paolozzi, are some singular subterranean passages, running far into the heart of the rock, yet being half filled with water they have never been penetrated. It is asserted, however, that there are seven of these *strade*, but whether running parallel like the Sette Sale at Rome, or radiating from one point like the Seven Dials of the Great Metropolis, I could not ascertain. The only passage I saw was hollowed in the sandy rock, and rudely shaped into a vault; the marks of the chisel being very distinct. Rumour says there are many other such passages; the whole city, indeed, is supposed to be undermined by them, and by subterranean chambers, though what purpose they may have served is a mystery no one can fathom.³

² On complaining of this I was told that a passage had been discovered here, a few years since, but it was not penetrated, being full of water; I could perceive no traces of it. In this garden are remains of Roman baths.

³ One entrance to these underground "streets" is near the church of San Francesco. Another is on the Piazza del Duomo. In 1830, in lowering this Piazza, four round holes, 2 feet in diameter, were discovered, and they were found to be for lighting a square chamber, vaulted over with great blocks of travertine, and divided by an arch. It was nearly full of earth, but in it were found a large flask of glass, fragments of swords, pieces of marble, broken columns. About 100 feet distant was another light-hole, giving admission to a second vault, about 27 feet deep, but so large that its extent could not be ascertained. In the Bishop's garden, close to the Piazza, another subterranean chamber, very profound

and spacious, was opened, and on one side of it was a small well. Signor Flavio Paolozzi has also discovered two underground streets, about 3 feet wide and 10 high, partly built up with large squared blocks of travertine. Capitano Sozzi takes them to be conduits, because many pipes of lead and terra cotta were found in them, and because water still chokes them. Bull. Inst. 1831, pp. 99. —102. Perhaps it is these two which rumour has multiplied into seven. Under the house of the Nardi Dei is also known to be a passage, opened forty or fifty years since; and it is said that a reverend prelate ventured to penetrate it, but found it so labyrinthine, that had he not provided himself with a clue, he would never have seen again the light of day. It is by some pretended that these subterranean passages form part of the Labyrinth of Porsena, but that this opinion is unfounded will be shown in a subsequent Chapter. They are much more

Chiusi, unluckily for the sight-seer, has not, like Volterra, its Etruscan relics gathered into one public Museum, but scattered in numerous private collections. By far the largest and most important is the property of Signor Ottavio Casuccini. Next to his ranks that of Signor Paolozzi; and these two alone have a permanent character, the others varying from year to year, increased by fresh discoveries, or diminished by sales. The collections of miscellaneous character are those of the Conte Ottieri, Don Luigi Dei, the Signori Luccioli and Ciofi. Those of Capitano Sozzi and Signor Galanti are now in the "Gabinetto," in the high street. The bishop has a number of choice vases, and the canons Pasquini and Mazzetti, and the arch-priest Carducci, besides the ordinary articles, are rich in *scarabæi*.⁴ None of these collections are difficult of access. A request from a stranger will meet with prompt attention, and he will be received with all that courtesy and urbanity which distinguish the Tuscan character.

MUSEO CASUCCINI.

This, the largest private collection of Etruscan antiquities in Italy, second in the number and interest of its urns only to the Museum of Volterra, is the produce of many a season's excavation, by Signor Pietro Bonci Casuccini, the grandfather of the present proprietor. To visit it should be the first object of every traveller who would gain an acquaintance with the peculiarities of the

probably connected with the system of sewerage; and the subterranean chambers may have been either cellars to houses or *favissæ* to temples. However, the idea of a labyrinth has been connected with such passages, for more than a century past. See Maffei, *Osserv. Letter.* V. p. 314. From the description,

they seem to bear a close analogy to the *Buche de' Saracini* which are hallowed in the base of the hill on which Volterra stands. *Ut supra*, pp. 165, 166.

⁴ Captain Cecchini has now disposed of his collection.

Etruscan relics of Chiusi. On entering, he is instructed "how to observe" by this notice—

O voi che quà movete il passo amico
 I pregi ad ammirare del bello antico,
 Qui posate ogn' impaccio, e sia per gli occhi
 Libero il giro, ma la man non tocchi.

This collection is crammed into three chambers. The object that first arrests the eye, is the figure of a female, almost as large as life, seated in the midst of the room, holding out a pomegranate, as if to present it to whoever approached her. The first feeling excited is one of astonishment at its singularity; the next, of amusement at its droll quaintness—its more than Egyptian rigidity—its utter want of anatomical expression. It looks like a stone effigy, not of that form which tempted angels to sin, but of a jointed doll, or an artist's lay-figure.⁵ Further examination proves this stiffness to arise from the arms, feet, head, and even the crown, being in separate pieces, removable at pleasure, fixed in their places by metal pins. This figure is at once the effigy of the deceased, and the urn to contain her ashes, which were found within it; in truth, it is but a variety of the Etruscan practice of representing the dead reclining upon their own coffins. The limbs were jointed, probably from the inability of the artist to carve them from the same block, or from the brittleness of the material, which would not allow of it.

⁵ This figure has been styled by Mrs. Hamilton Gray (*Sepulchres of Etruria*, p. 475), "the gem of Chiusi," and said to be "in a beautiful style of art." It were paying that lady a poor compliment to believe she took a note to that effect. Her lively imagination, in after contemplation of the figure, invested it with a halo it does not possess. Nor could I perceive any of that moral

beauty which almost melted Mrs. Gray to tears. Instead of regarding it as "the most beautiful and solemn manner of embellishing death, that ever entered a mortal's head," I could see in it only a caricature of humanity—a woman made her own coffin—interesting only for its singularity, its undoubted antiquity, and archaic style of art.

The pedestal of the chair on which the figure sits is decorated with bas-reliefs—chariot and foot-races—of corresponding archaic character. Red paint is to be traced on the drapery, sandals, and seat; and the whole monument was probably originally coloured. It is of *cispo*, or fetid limestone, a yellowish brittle material, much used in the most ancient monuments of this district.⁶ Upright Etruscan statues in stone, be it observed, are extremely rare; most of those extant being of bronze or terra-cotta.

From this Museum the traveller will learn that the

⁶ For a plate of this monument see Micali, *Mon. Ined.* tav. XXVI. The height of the figure is about four feet. *Bull. Inst.* 1838, p. 73. Micali (p. 152) regards its position in the chair as indicative of the supreme beatitude of the soul. Inghirami gives illustrations of a very similar statue found near Chiusi (*Museo Chiusino*, tav. XVII. XVIII); which he takes to represent Proserpine, and thinks the ashes of the deceased were deposited in the effigy of the Queen of Hades, because the soul was supposed to be committed to her keeping. *Bull. Instit.* 1831, p. 55. Micali (*op. cit.* tav. XXVI. 2) also represents a similar figure of a man, found in a tomb at Chiusi; the face a portrait, and the body being hollow. A colossal statue of a male, with jointed arms and in sitting position, was discovered in 1839. One of this description, of most archaic style, the bust of which is the lid, and the lower half of the body, the urn, has recently been placed in the British Museum. Another of these statue-urns has been found of alabaster, yet of a very curious and Egyptian-like style. *Bull. Inst.* 1840, p. 150. Similar figures have also been found at Chiusi, of much inferior size,—one a female, with a pomegranate in her hand, very like this in the

Museo Casuccini, but only 20 inches high. *Bull. Inst.* 1836, p. 29; 1837, p. 21. There is a close affinity between these early works of the Etruscan chisel, and those of a corresponding period in Hellenic art. Let any one compare with these the terra-cotta figures of Minerva and another female found at Athens, and illustrated by Stackelberg in his *Graeber der Hellenen*, taf. LVII. LVIII. They are only 5 or 6 inches high, but are in similar attitudes, and of a very analogous style of art; but are painted red, white, blue, and green, and the ornaments are gilt. Sir C. Fellows gives a cut of a similar figure in terra cotta, found in a tomb near Abydos. *Asia Minor*, p. 81.

The most remarkable monument of this description from the tombs of Chiusi, was a group, the size of life, representing a man on a couch, embracing a winged genius who was sitting on his hip. A boy and dog stood at their feet. Even this was a cinerary urn, for in the drapery of the couch, where it was folded on the man's thigh, was a hole with a stopper, which gave access to the ashes. *Bull. Inst.* 1837, p. 21. What has become of this singular coffin, I cannot learn.

tombs of Chiusi and its neighbourhood yield articles more singular, quaint, and archaic in character, than those of any other part of Etruria, with the exception of Veii and Cære.

The most remarkable of these early monuments are the square or round pedestals of *cippi*, sometimes supposed to be altars. They are almost invariably of the fetid limestone, peculiar to this district. Their interest lies in being, next to the bronzes, the earliest and most genuinely national works of the Etruscan chisel. Though possibly of different epochs, a characteristic archaicism is always preserved: the figures are in very low, almost flat relief, and with a strong Egyptian rigidity and severity. The style, in fact, may be said to be peculiar to these monuments, and in some measure may be owing to the material, which would not admit of the finish and delicacy of the high reliefs in alabaster and travertine.⁷ The subjects are also purely national—religious or funeral rites and ceremonies—scenes of civil or domestic life—figures in procession, marching to the sound of the double-pipes, or dancing with Bacchanalian furor to the same instrument and the lyre.⁸ There is no introduction of Greek myths, so frequently represented on the sepulchral urns.

⁷ So brittle is this stone that it is rare to find a monument formed of it in a perfect state. Whence it has been unnecessarily imagined that these pedestals were purposely broken before being placed in the tomb. Such monuments are found throughout the Val di Chiana, and some even at Perugia.

⁸ One of this subject is given by Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. LIV. LV; and in the Museo Chiusino, tav. II.—V. On the top of the monument are traces of animals, probably lions, couchant. In this case it can hardly have served as a

pedestal, and must have been a *cippus*.

Inghirami gives a plate of a very singular monument of this description—a square *cippus*, with a female figure sitting on the top, holding a chaplet. In the relief below, are two females sitting opposite, and holding a chaplet between them. Inghirami thinks these two are in Tartarus, and the upper one in Elysium. Against the sides of the monument stand two large figures, as if supporters to the female on the top. *Mus. Chius.* p. 185, tav. CXCI. I do not remember to have seen this curious relic.

One of these square monuments has, on each of its sides, a couple of warriors on horseback, turning from each other. They retain traces of red colour, and are in a better style than usual.⁹

Another pedestal displays a judicial scene—two judges, with wands of office, sitting on a platform, with their secretary, who has *stylus* and tablets to take notes of the proceedings; a lictor or attendant stands by with a rod in each hand. Before the bench a warrior fully armed—helm, spear, shield, and greaves—appears to be awaiting judgment. A woman behind him, dancing with castanets to the music of a *subulo*, seems to mark him as some hero or victor in the public games. The judges are consulting as to his merits; and their decree seems to be favourable, for the officer of the court is pointing to half a dozen skins or leathern-bottles, beneath the platform, which, full of oil, probably constitute his reward.¹

A bas-relief, not forming part of one of these monuments, but similar in style, represents several figures at a banquet, with hands and *pateræ* raised in that peculiar manner characteristic of early Etruscan art.² Another fragment represents a youth, with veiled head, falling to the ground.³ On a third relief, in this archaic style, is a race of *trigæ*, or three-horse chariots—a very rare subject. The resemblance of the details to those of similar scenes in the painted tombs of Chiusi, is remarkable; though the

⁹ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. LII. 1. Inghirami (*Mus. Chius.* tav. I.) takes them for Castor and Pollux; but needlessly, thinks Gerhard. *Bull. Inst.* 1831, p. 54.

¹ Micali, *Mon. Ined.* tav. XXIV. 1. This writer considers this relief to hint either at some honourable deed in the life of the deceased, or to represent his judgment in Tartarus, in which case

he connects the scene unnecessarily with the mythology of Egypt. See Braun's strictures on him. *Ann. Inst.* 1843, p. 359.

² Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. LVIII. 1; *Mus. Chius.* tav. XXXVIII.

³ Micali, *op. cit.* tav. LII. 4; *Mus. Chius.* tav. XXX. Beneath him is an Etruscan inscription.

latter are by no means in so early a style of art.⁴ Akin to this is a relief with a contest of wrestlers.

But the most common subject represented on these monuments is the death-bed. The corpse is stretched on its couch, the helmet and greaves lie neglected beneath it, the relatives stand mourning around, and the *præfica*, or wailing-women, are tearing their hair. In another similar scene, a child is closing the eyes of its parent, while the figures around are tearing their hair and beating their breasts.⁵

On a round *cippus* are fragments of three warriors, marching to the sound of the double-pipes; probably part of a funeral procession. It is in a very rigid style of art.⁶ One of the figures is shown in the annexed wood-cut.

A glance round this Museum will show that the Etruscans of Chiusi, as of Volterra, were wont to burn rather than



ETRUSCAN WARRIOR, MUSEO CASUCCINI.

⁴ Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. XXIV. 2. The *aurigæ* have the reins round their bodies; the horses' tails are knotted; and the trees which are introduced are as much like paddles as those in the painted tombs.

⁵ On this monument one of the figures is represented with a full face, though the style of art is so very

archaic. I recollect no other instance of this in early Etruscan paintings or reliefs, except in the cases of Gorgons, whose faces are always represented in full.

⁶ Micali (Mon. Ined. tav. XXV. 1.) pronounces this to be in the best archaic style. In the same plate Micali gives an illustration of another of these monuments, with warriors on foot and

bury their dead. The cinerary urns are most numerous, piled up from floor to ceiling, but of sarcophagi there are but two or three examples. The most remarkable of these bears on its lid the headless figure of a female, richly draped and ornamented, and in too good a style to be of early date. The jewellery carved about her neck is very curious, and its counterpart in gold has been found in the tombs of Chiusi. The relief on the body of the monument represents the farewell embrace of a married pair. He is designated "LARTH APHUNA;" in Etruscan characters; she has the feminine inflexion, "APHUNEI;" and it is probable, as there is not the usual inscription to set forth the name and family of the deceased, that this figure represents the lady who reclines in effigy above. She is gently drawn from her husband's arms by a female winged demon, the messenger of Death, whose name is almost obliterated.⁷ Another woman, named "THANCH"⁸—a contraction of Thanchvil, or Tanaquil—probably their daughter, lays her hand on the old man's shoulder, as if to rouse him from his sorrow, and remind him of the ties which yet bind him to life. Four others of his family stand by, three of them males, each with a scroll in his hand. One of these, called "LARCE APHUNA," is evidently the son of the severed couple.⁹ Next to this group stands a female demon,

horseback, some armed with swords and Argolic shields, like that in the above wood-cut, but others with a battle-axe in one hand and a bow in the other. This monument was, and may be still, in the possession of Dr. Emil Braun, of Rome, who pronounces it to be of "the most magnificent style of which the Etruscans were ever capable." *Ann. Inst.* 1843, p. 359.

⁷ Migliarini and Valeriani (*Museo Chiusino*, II. p. 213) give this name as *FASTI* (*Fausta*), and regard it as the

prænomen of the dying wife.

⁸ Part of her name is obliterated, but the feminine termination . . EI, probably of *Aphunei*, is remaining. She has been taken for the sister, and the men for the brothers of the husband. *Mus. Chius. loc. cit.* "*Aphuna*" seems equivalent to the Latin, *Aponius*, or *Apponius*.

⁹ The other males are called "*VEL. ARNTNI*," and "*LARSA*" The female is designated "*LARTH PUNEI*." But if, as I read it, it be "*Pursnei*,"

looking on, with some nondescript instrument under her arm.¹ She is named "VANTH." In the corner of the scene a Fury or Fate, called "CULMU," with flaming torch on her shoulder, and large shears in her hand, is issuing from a gateway, the portal of Death.²

On another sarcophagus is a male recumbent figure, larger than life, with remarkably fine head and features. Like the former, it must be of the times of Roman domination, though with an Etruscan inscription attached.

The sepulchral urns of Chiusi are usually of travertine, or sandstone, rarely of alabaster; yet are much like those of Volterra in size and character, and differ chiefly in being generally of an earlier style of art. They more frequently retain traces of colour, both on the recumbent figures, which were painted red, and on the reliefs below. The subjects of these reliefs are very similar, often identical; and were I to give a detailed account of the "ash-chests" of this Museum, it would be little more than a repetition of what has been said of those of Volterra. I shall therefore have some regard for my reader's patience, and confine my descriptions to a few of the most remarkable monuments.

her name will be equivalent to *Lartia Porsena*, the feminine of the celebrated chieftain of Chiusi, *Lars Porsena*.

¹ It bears some resemblance to the instruments of torture used by the demons in the *Grotta Tartaglia* of *Tarquinius*. Vol. I. p. 348.

² *Migliarini* and *Valeriani* think the name of *Culmu* belongs not to the Fury, but to the gateway. *Mus. Chiusi*. II. p. 213. For illustrations see that work, *tav. XIII. XIV*; and *Micali*, *Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. LX*. This monument is evidently of a late period in Etruscan art, as is proved by the attitudes, full faces, and flow of drapery.

The shears seem also an adoption from Greek fable, whether alluding to *Atropos*, who cuts the thread of life spun out by her sister *Clotho*, or to *Proserpine*, who severs the hair from the head of the doomed. *Virg. Æn. IV. 698*; *Stat. Sylv. II. 1, 147*. The late date of this monument is also shown by the material—marble, which is found in very few works of the Etruscan chisel; never in those of high antiquity. There are several other urns in this collection of the same stone, which, however, does not appear to be from the quarries of *Luna*.

It has been often asserted, that the recumbent figures on Etruscan urns and sarcophagi are portraits of the deceased. The correspondence of sex and age with the inscriptions, and the individual peculiarities of physiognomy, attest this beyond a doubt. Here is a singular instance of portraiture. An elderly gentleman is represented blind.³ Yet he was no Œdipus or Belisarius; he was not dependent on others for support as well as guidance. He seems to have been a noble, for he wears a large signet-ring; and as a Lucumo, he was probably skilled in augury—perhaps a Tiresias, a blind seer of the will of heaven, who knew alike the past, the present, and the future—

Ὅς ᾔδῃ τὰ τ' ἔοντα, τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρὸ τ' ἔοντα.
Blind, i. 7a

One of these urns bears the effigies of a wedded pair reclining on it, as on the banqueting couch. Both are half draped and decorated with ornaments. She lies on his bosom, while he has one hand on hers, the other holding a *patera*,—a specimen of Etruscan conubials highly edifying. The relief below displays a furious combat, a contrast, perhaps, intentionally introduced to show the turmoil and struggle of this life, as opposed to the blissful repose of a future existence, which the Etruscans could only express by scenes of sensual pleasure.⁴

These urns of Chiusi have not so frequently subjects from the Greek mythical cycle, as those of Volterra. Yet there are a few of the favourite subjects—Pyrrhus slaying Polites⁵—Paris kneeling on an altar defending himself against his brothers⁶—combats of Greeks with Amazons,

³ Mus. Chius. tav. XXIX. He is not, however, represented blind in this plate.

⁴ Mus. Chius. tav. XXV. XXVI. Inghirami interprets this combat as Amphiaræus before Thebes, with the

severed head of Menalippus in his hand.

⁵ Mus. Chius. tav. XV. Inghirami calls it the death of Astyanax.

⁶ Mus. Chius. tav. LXXXI.

now one, now the other victorious⁷—Centaurs carrying off women⁸—and sundry illustrations

"Of the dark sorrows of the Theban line."⁹ *of Thebes, below the "Excursion" B. vi.*

An unusual subject is Hercules slaying Laomedon, who has fled for refuge to an altar, hard by the ashes of his forefathers; and a female demon is standing, with torch inverted, at each end of the scene.¹

In one relief reclines a man with a *patera* in one hand, and a pen or feather in the other.²

Many of these urns have combats, sometimes, it may be, representing a well-known event in classic mythology;³ sometimes, an ordinary contest between warriors, without any individual reference, or illustrative of some unknown native tradition—

"The reflex of a legend past
And loosely settled into form."

seeing in the "Lay-dream," p. 25.

Of such a character appears the scene, where two men kneeling on an altar, one holding a severed head in his hand, are defending themselves against their foes.⁴

⁷ Mus. Chius. tav. XLIII. CXCH. There is a sarcophagus with this subject.

⁸ Mus. Chius. tav. XCIII. CLIX.

⁹ Museo Chiusino, tav. LXXVII. CLXXXIX.

¹ So this urn is explained by Inghirami (Mus. Chius. tav. LXIII). Were it not for the lion's skin, it might be interpreted as the common subject of Pyrrhus and Polites.

² Micali (Mon. Ined. tav. XLVIII. 4, p. 307) calls this not a pen, but a "sacred bough," and thinks the figure represents the deceased who had entered into a purified state.

³ One of these combats is interpreted as Achilles overcoming Æneas (Mus. Chius. tav. XXVII.), but there is nothing

so to distinguish it. Micali, who also illustrates this monument (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. LIX. 5, 6, 7), does not attach any particular signification.

⁴ There are some urns with this subject in the Museum of Volterra, *ut supra*, p. 180, n. 2. Inghirami puts a strange interpretation on it—Perseus contending with the followers of Bacchus, or the opposition the Bacchic rites encountered in Greece, from the adherents to the old Pelasgic religion! Mon. Etrus. I. tav. LVIII. LIX.; VI. tav. A 5. It seems akin to another scene in this Museum, which he interprets as Amphiaræus before Thebes. Mus. Chius. I. tav. XXV.

The ministers of death are generally represented at such scenes, ready to carry off their victims, or rushing in between the combatants.⁵ Sometimes demons of opposite characters are present, both waiting, it would seem, to claim the soul. Charun, with his hammer, plays a conspicuous part, and is often attended by a female demon with a torch; as in a farewell-scene, where the departing soul stands in the very gate of Death, guarded on either hand by one of these fearful spirits.⁶

In truth there is no lack of such monsters in this Museum, which is an excellent school for the study of Etruscan demonology. What with urns, sarcophagi, and pottery, we seem to have here specimens

"Of all the demons that are found
In fire, air, flood, or underground."

Milton - Il Pens. l. 93.

A favourite subject is Scylla, here wielding an anchor in each hand, as if combating an invisible foe; there, armed with an oar, contending with two warriors. She is sometimes winged, sometimes not; always with a double fishes tail.⁷

Other marine emblems are abundant—winged sea-horses—dolphins—*hippocampi*; and on one urn is a horse galloping, with a dolphin above it—a double emblem of Neptune.⁸

Nor is there any lack of terrestrial monsters—Gorgons' heads, winged and snaked, sometimes set in acanthus-leaves—centaurs—griffons devouring stags or women, or

⁵ As on an urn where a winged Fury with a torch rushes in between the Theban Brothers, dying by each other's hands. Mus. Chius. tav. LXXVII. CXC.

⁶ These demons have occasionally neither wings, buskins, nor anything but the attributes in their hands to distinguish them from ordinary mortals.

⁷ See Mus. Chius. tav. CXVII., and Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. CXI. for an illustration of one of these urns, in which the monster, being apparently a male, represents rather Glaucus than Scylla. *Ut supra*, p. 182.

⁸ Mus. Chius. tav. CLXXXVIII.

overcoming warriors—and a chimæra with human head, lion's body, and the hind parts of a dragon.

A *patera* is a very common device on these urns, and it is generally set between a pair of *peltæ*, or half-moon shields.⁹ The favourite sport of hunting the wild-boar is not omitted in these sepulchral reliefs.¹

The urns of *terra cotta* are very numerous. They are miniatures of those in stone, being rarely more than twelve or fifteen inches long, but the figures on the lids are not generally reclining as at a banquet, but are stretched in slumber, muffled in togas.² A few of unusually large size are even in a sitting posture, decorated with very long and highly-wrought torques, and with rings, which for size might be coveted by Pope or Sultan.³ There is never much variety of subject on these urns. They were multiplied abundantly from the same moulds. The mutual slaughter of Polynices and Eteocles, and Jason or Cadmus vanquishing with the plough the teethsprung warriors, are the most frequent devices.⁴ These little urns were all painted—both the figure on the lid, and the relief below; and many retain vivid traces of colouring—red, blue, purple, and yellow.

Some of the inferior sort of cinerary urns of *terra cotta* are bell-shaped, with inscriptions in red paint.

⁹ The *patera* in these scenes, has been taken by a fanciful writer, whose theories distort his vision, to represent a nautical compass! Etruria Celtica, II. p. 270.

¹ Mus. Chius. tav. CCIV.

² The toga, which was originally an Etruscan article of dress, borrowed by the Romans, was used, in Juvenal's time, as a shroud alone in great part of Italy (Sat. III. 171)—

Pars magna Italiæ est, si verum
admittimus, in quâ
Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus.

Its reference to the sepulchre may perhaps be shown by these recumbent figures.

³ The art displayed in these large figures is superior to that usually seen in the urns of stone. Indeed these *terra-cotta* monuments seem in general of later date.

⁴ Here, however, there is a little variety—parting-scenes at gateways—marine monsters—griffons—*gorgonia*—a lion's head between two *peltæ*—a gate, without any figure, but a simple fillet hung on each side.

There are some curious sphinxes in stone, with wings curled up like elephants' trunks ; they were found in the tombs of the Poggio Gajella.⁵

There are also numerous sepulchral tiles, two or three feet long, bearing Etruscan inscriptions—one in the ancient style called *boustrophedon*,⁶ rarely found on the monuments of this people.

The pottery in this Museum is deserving of particular attention. It is not of the beautiful, painted description so abundantly found at Vulci, though such vases are by no means rare at Chiusi. It is chiefly of coarse, black, unbaked ware, of uncouth forms, grotesque decorations, rude workmanship, and no artistic beauty, yet of extraordinary interest as illustrative of Etruscan art in its earliest and purest stages, ere it had been subjected to Hellenic influence.⁷ Such ware is peculiar to Chiusi, Sarteano, Castiglione del Trinoro, and the neighbouring Etruscan sites. It consists of tall, slender-necked *amphoræ*, with cock-crowned lids, or of quaint, knobbed jars—as unlike the Greek in form as in decoration ; with strange figures in relief—grinning masks, scowling, tusk-gnashing gorgons, divinities of most ungodlike aspect, sphinxes, *pegasi*, chimæras of many a wild conception, travesties of the human form and face divine, and many an uncouth specimen of beast, fowl, fish, and flower—symbols, it may be, of the earliest creed and rites of the Etruscans, or dim allusions to their long forgotten myths.¹ All this is novel

⁵ See the wood-cut at p. 395.

⁶ Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 180. These tiles are discovered either in tombs as covers to urns, or in niches in the rock—two or three being arranged so as to form a little penthouse over a cinerary urn ; and the epitaph, instead of being on the urn, is sometimes inscribed on a tile.

⁷ If the early ware of Cære and the coast should be referred to the Pelægic inhabitants of the land, rather than to the Etruscans, as Professor Lepsius is of opinion (Tyrrhen. Pelas. p. 44), this of Clusium cannot be of inferior antiquity.

¹ Illustrations of this ware are given

to the stranger—he finds himself in a new world of Etruscan art; for this ware is not to be seen in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome, in the Louvre, in the British Museum, nor in any other of Italy, with the exception of Florence, where, however, it is seen but imperfectly. The smaller ware—the jugs, pots, and goblets, with handles moulded into every form of life, real or unreal, and bands of minute figures of mysterious import and more than Egyptian rigidity and shapelessness—is not less archaic and curious, though not confined to this district of Etruria.

Perhaps the most curious articles in this ware are the *focolari* or *recipienti*; of which, however, there are no superior specimens in this collection. And how, oh reader! shall I make thee understand what a *focolare* is? It is a square, paw-footed, wall-sided tray, half open in front, set

at pages 92, 101, 352. See also Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. XXII—XXVI; *Mon. Ined.* tav. XXVIII—XXXI; *Mus. Chius.* tav. XII. XIX—XXI. XLV. LXXXII. This ware is not baked, but merely sun-dried, and unglazed, though slightly varnished. It is generally designated "*creta nera*." Micali thinks it was not of ordinary use, but merely for sepulchral rites. It is certain that it is more illustrative of the religious creed of the Etruscans than any other pottery found in the land. Inghirami took the chimæras on this ware for "the chaotic monsters which preceded the order of nature" (*Mus. Chius.* I. p. 11). The cock, which crests so many of these jars, is thought by the same writer to have been an augury of prosperity to the dead. It had certainly a sepulchral reference, but in what way it is symbolical is not very evident; perhaps of the funeral games, as Gerhard remarks (*Bull. Inst.* 1831, p. 58) that the cock in Greek and Etruscan art was

the symbol of athletic and gymnastic exercises.

It is said that this black ware is formed of no peculiar earth, and that when broken it sometimes shows a gradation of colour from the surface to the centre, where it is of the natural yellow of the clay. Depoletti and Ruspi, who differ from the ordinary opinion in considering it to be baked, think the black hue was thus obtained. When moulded, the vase was put into a receptacle of larger size; the intervening space, as well as the vase itself, was filled with shavings, or sawdust, and the whole plastered over with mud, so as to prevent the escape of the smoke. Being then placed in the furnace, the woody matter carbonising by slow and equal heat, coloured the vase with its smoke. They ascertained by experiment that by this process the desired effect might be obtained. *Bull. Inst.* 1837, pp. 28—30.

about with prominent figures of veiled women, supposed to represent *Larvæ*, the spirits of the dead,² or of winged demons, masks, or chimæras; and it contains, that is, when found in the tomb, the strangest set of little odds and ends of crockery, which Mrs. Hamilton Gray naturally enough mistook for a tea-service.³ Indeed the resemblance to that useful piece of furniture is striking, though the sugar-basins inconveniently outnumber the cups and saucers; but there are these, as well as milk-jugs, and spoons and ladles, of the same black ware. It is just such a quaint, clumsy, primitive thing as you could imagine—peculiarities of art apart—might have served as a tea-tray in the time of Alfred, if our sturdy Saxon ancestors could have condescended to such effeminate potations. Certain strange articles, however, quite upset the tea-tray—*unquantaria*, or perfume-bottles—vases in the forms of cocks,⁴ ducks, and other animals—and flat strips or tablets of black pottery, sometimes scratched with Etruscan inscriptions, which have been jocularly styled—in ignorance of their purpose—“visiting-cards.”

The purpose of these *focolari* is matter of dispute. Some think them intended for the toilet, and the pots and pans for perfumes; others take them for culinary apparatus, or braziers; while a third consider them as purely sepulchral in application and meaning. If the latter view be correct, I should still regard them as imitations of domestic furniture once actually in use, and rather pertaining to the *triclinium* than to the toilet. Being raised

² Mus. Chius. I. p. 17. Here represented, thinks Inghirami, to remind survivors of their duties in performing the sepulchral rites. Gerhard thinks they may have reference to the sacerdotal costume. Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 58.

³ Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 444.

⁴ The middle pot in the woodcut at page 325, is in the form of a cock, though, being fore-shortened, it is not very clearly shown, but the beak, crest, and wings are visible.

from the ground by their claw-feet, they seem intended to stand over a fire. In domestic life they were probably used to keep meats or liquids hot, like some of the braziers in the Museo Borbonico. At the sepulchre, they may have served the same purpose for the funeral feast, or they may have been for fumigation, equivalent to the censers, or wheeled cars of bronze, sometimes found in early Etruscan tombs.⁵

Not all the pottery in this Museum is of this archaic, un-Hellenic character. There are specimens of figured vases and *tazze* in the various styles of Etrusco-Greek art. For while Chiusi has a pottery peculiar to itself, it produces almost every description that is found in other Etruscan cemeteries, from the plain black or yellow ware of Volterra, to the purest Greek vases of Tarquinii and Vulci; and it is a singular fact that the largest vase, the most rich in figures and inscriptions ever discovered in Etruria, "the king of Etruscan vases," was from the soil of Chiusi.⁶ It must be admitted, however, that the painted ware of this district is by no means so abundant, or in general so excellent, either for clay, varnish, or design, as that of some other Etruscan sites,⁷ though occasionally articles of extreme beauty are brought to light.

⁵ Inghirami thinks they were not actually used as braziers, but were left in the tomb at the close of the funeral ceremonies, as substitutes for those of bronze which had been used. Mus. Chius. I. p. 29. These wheeled cars or censers—*θυμιατήρια*—have been found in the most ancient tombs, viz.—the Grotta d'Iside at Vulci (Vol. I. p. 423), and the Grotta Regulini-Galassi at Cervetri (*ut supra*, p. 48; cf. Mus. Chius. tav. XXXIX.; Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. VIII. p. 66); and specimens of the ordinary braziers of Etruscan sepulchres

are to be seen in almost every Museum of such antiquities. Illustrations of *focolari* are given by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. XXVI. XXVII. See also Mus. Chius. tav. XXXI. XXXII. XL.

⁶ *Ut supra*, pp. 99, 115, *et seq.* It was found at a spot called Fonte Rotella, about a mile west of Chiusi.

⁷ Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 212. It has been remarked that on the painted vases and *pateræ* of Chiusi, it is common to find just twelve figures on the outside. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 149.

Among the curiosities of pottery here is a *rhyton*, or drinking-cup, in the shape of a man's leg, kneeling, with a human face at the upper part of the thigh.⁸ *Rhyta*, terminating in animals' heads are common enough, but of this form, they are very rare.

In the middle room are copies of paintings found in the Etruscan tombs of Chiusi.

This Museum is rich in bronzes;—tripods—jugs—strainers—strigils—a large round shield, embossed—weapons—idols, though these are not numerous—and *specula*, or mirrors, some figured, and some gilt. Neither the gold ornaments, nor the *scarabæi*, are numerous.

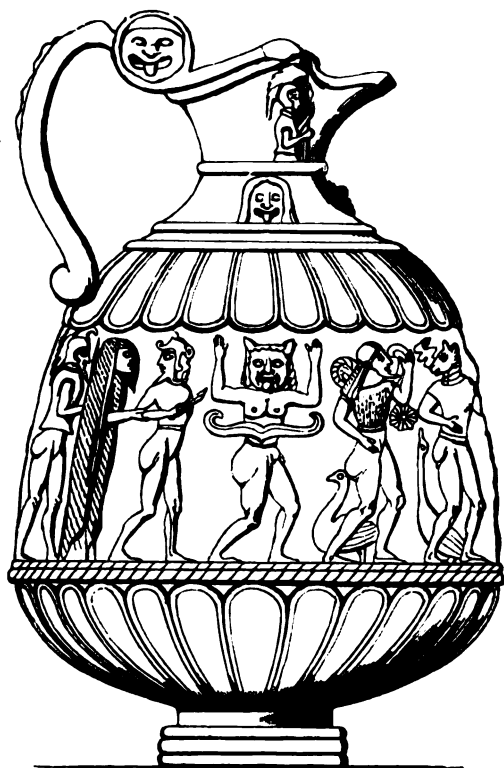
As in every other collection of Etruscan antiquities in Italy, public or private, there is here no catalogue, and unless the traveller have the guidance of some learned friend, he is left to put his own knowledge to the test; for the guardians of these treasures are mere doorkeepers; and in the Museo Casuccini the visitor will look in vain for a ray of antiquarian light from the flashing eyes of the fair *custode*.

The choicest vases in the possession of the Casuccini are not in this Museum, but in his Palazzo. The most beautiful is one in the best Greek style, representing the Judgment of Paris; indeed this is one of the finest works of art ever rescued from the tombs of Clusium. The happy shepherd is not alone with "the three Idæan ladies," as Spenser calls them, for Mercury, Cupid, a warrior, a female thought to be Ænone, and a Victory, are also present to inspect their charms. This vase was found in the singular labyrinthine tumulus, called Poggio

⁸ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. CI. 12; Mus. Chius. tav. LXXVI. Micali takes the face to be that of Bacchus, and thinks its position is manifestly symbolical of the mysterious birth of that deity.

Gajella.⁹ Another beautiful vase represents the birth of Erichthonius.¹

But the most remarkable monument here is a large jug in the peculiar black ware of Chiusi, studded with grinning



THE ANUBIS-VASE—BLACK WARE OF CHIUSI.

masks, and banded with figures, in a group of six, repeated three times round the body of the vase. The first of these figures, shown in the above wood-cut, is a monster in

⁹ An illustration and description of this vase are given by Dr. Braun in his work on the Poggio Gajella, Rome,

1840. See also Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 148.

¹ Ann. Inst. 1841, pp. 91—98. Braun. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. XXX.

human shape with the head of a beast, supposed to be a dog, which, from its resemblance to the Egyptian god, is generally called Anubis.² Next to him is a winged deity, probably Mercury the conductor of souls; then a Fury with Gorgon's head, and wings springing from her breast, is gnashing her teeth for her prey, and with hands up-raised seems about to spring upon it. The rest of the group represents a veiled female between two warriors, who though in the semblance of this world are supposed to have reference to the next. Various are the interpretations put upon this singular scene; but from the manifestly remote antiquity of the monument, it is probable that it bears no reference to any subject in the Greek mythical cycle, but illustrates some doctrine or fable in the long perished creed of the mysterious Etruscans.³

MUSEO PAOLOZZI.

The collection next in interest at Chiusi is that of Signor Flavio Paolozzi, once much more extensive than at present. It still contains, however, some excellent specimens of early Etruscan art.

Among the most remarkable is one of the square *cippi*

² There is no necessary relation, however, to Anubis; for there was a tradition among the ancients that monsters of this description were common in mountainous regions. Ctesias, the Greek writer on India, declared there were more than a hundred thousand of them. Plin. VII. 2. The head of this figure, however, being as much like a bull's as a dog's, may mark it as the Minotaur, which is usually so represented on painted vases.

³ Illustrations, descriptions, and opinions of this vase are given by Inghirami, Mus. Chius. p. 29, tav. XXXIII.

XXXIV.; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 20, tav. XXII.; Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 63. Levezow interpreted it as Perseus, attended by Minerva, about to cut off the Gorgon's head; Mercury and a genius or Gorgon in front; the swans indicating the neighbourhood of the Tritonian lake. The Duc de Luynes saw in it Ulysses conducted by Circe or a Sibyl to the infernal regions, indicated by the Gorgon, Fear, the Minotaur, and the Stymphean birds. Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 320—3. Cavedoni also regards it as the descent of some hero to the lower world. Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 59.

of fetid limestone, with archaic reliefs, representing the death of an Etruscan lady. She is stretched on a couch—her spirit has just fled—several women, perhaps hired mourners, are wailing around her, tearing their cheeks and hair—a *subulo* at the foot of the couch is endeavouring to drown their cries in the shriller notes of his double-pipes—while in contrast with all this extravagance of sound and gesture, a little boy leans on his mother's couch, with one hand to his head; and his subdued attitude proclaims as strongly as stone can speak, the intensity of his grief. His feelings, as Inghirami remarks, could not have been better expressed by the most skilful artist of our days. On another face of the monument are *præficæ*, with dishevelled hair, beating their breasts, wringing their hands, and tearing their cheeks and garments. A third side shows some togaed figures with wands, and an augur with his *lituus*—taking part in the funeral rites. What the females on the fourth side are about is hard to determine. They appear to be parting the raiment of the deceased among them.⁴

On this *cippus* stands another, of round form, and of a much later style, representing women dancing to the sound of the *syrix*. On this is a slab with a bilingual sepulchral inscription, Etruscan and Latin.⁵ Another

⁴ This *cippus* has been illustrated by Inghirami, Mus. Chius. I. tav. 53—56, and by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 56. It is very similar to a relief at Perugia. Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. Z 2. But it still more resembles, as regards two of its sides, another *cippus* from Chiusi, once in the Mazzetti collection, and now in the Museum of Berlin. Abeken, Mittelitalien, taf. VIII.; Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. XXII. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 150. The *præficæ* beat their breasts, it is said, to squeeze out the milk, and

tore their flesh to make the blood flow, because the souls of the dead were supposed to be pleased with milk and blood. Serv. ad Virg. Æn. V. 78; Varro, ap. eund. III. 67. By the laws of Solon and by the Twelve Tables women were forbidden thus to tear their cheeks, and to wail the dead. Cic. de Leg. II. 23.

⁵ The Etruscan would run thus—

VL . ALPHNI . NUVI .

CAINAL .

if rendered into Latin letters. The

fragment of a relief represents a faun dancing behind a Menad, on one side ; and a magnate on a curule chair, with attendants around him, on the other.⁶

One urn displays the attack on a city, which is defended by a figure hurling stones on the assailants. A Fury is present to mark the slaughter.

Another monument bears a subject not very common. A bull is represented overturning a chariot. The driver is thrown to the earth, and a genius with a torch bestrides his body. It is the death of Hippolytus, whose horses took fright at the bull of Neptune. His history is thus quaintly told by Spenser:—

“ Hippolytus a jolly huntsman was,
That wont in charett chace the foming bore ;
He all his peeras in beauty did surpas :
But ladies love, as losse of time, forbore.
His wanton stepdame loved him the more ;
But when she saw her offred sweets refusd,
Her love she turnd to hate, and him before
His father fierce of treason false accusd,
And with her gealous termes his open eares abusd ;

Who, all in rage, his sea-god syre besought
Some cursed vengeance on his sonne to cast ;
From surging gulf two monsters streight were brought
With dread whereof his chasing steedes aghast
Both charett swifte and huntsman overcast.
His goodly corps, on ragged cliffs yrent,
Was quite dismembred, and his members chast
Scattered on every mountaine as he went,
That of Hippolytus was lefte no monument.”

One urn bears none of the usual reliefs, but is carved into the form of a banqueting-couch, with elegant legs, cushions, and the *scamnum*, or small low stool beneath it,

Latin inscription is

C. ALFIVS . A . F .

CAINNIA . NATVS .

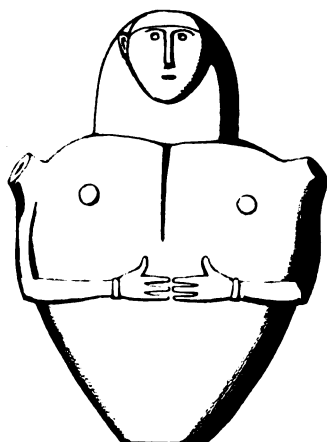
One may not be a translation of the

other ; though Kellermann thinks otherwise. Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 51.

⁶ Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 53, 1.

for the Ganymede or Hebe to stand on while replenishing the goblets of the revellers.⁷

In this collection are some curious specimens of *Canopi*, or head-lidded jars. They are of the same full-bellied form as those of Egypt, but always of pottery, instead of stone or alabaster ; and they are surmounted, not by the



ETRUSCAN CANOPUS, MUSEO PAOLOZZI.

heads of dogs or other animals, but always by those of men, or what are intended for such. The jar itself represents the bust, which is sometimes further marked by nipples, and by the arms either moulded on the jar, as in the annexed wood-cut, or attached to the shoulders by metal pins. These are all cinerary urns, and there is a hole either in the crown, or at each shoulder, to let off the

effluvium of the ashes. The heads are portraits of the deceased, though some imagine them to represent Pluto or Proserpine, according to the sex, seeing that the soul of the deceased had passed into the charge of those deities.⁸

⁷ Mus. Chius. tav. CXXXIX.

⁸ Inghirami thought the jar symbolised the world, and the head the presiding deity. It is true that in the Egyptian *canopi*, the lids are generally the heads of known divinities, but from the analogy of the Etruscan sarcophagi and urns, and of the heads in terra-cotta, it is much more reasonable to suppose them here to be portraits. "The great variety of the countenances," says Micali, "the different ages, the various modes of wearing the hair, the purely

national character of the physiognomy, the agreement of the facial angle, leave no doubt that these are veritable portraits—so much the more important, as they faithfully and without any embellishment, show us the physical type of our forefathers." Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 11. Illustrations of *canopi* are given by Inghirami, Mus. Chius. tav. 49, 67 ; Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. G 5 ; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 14, 15 ; Mon. Ined. tav. 33. They are generally in the black ware of this district, but a few

There are numerous small urns of terra-cotta, with the subjects usual on such monuments.⁹

The pottery here is chiefly of the black ware of this district, with or without reliefs; some with a metallic varnish, bright as if fresh from the maker's hands.

The Paolozzi collection was once renowned for its bronzes; and there are still many remaining—mirrors—*pateræ*—*candelabra*—cauldrons, and other articles of culinary or sacrificial use—figures purely Egyptian, domestic animals, and other votive offerings—and many small figures of gods or Lares, of marine monsters, and other chimæras, which the Etruscans delighted to honour, or which were symbols of their creed. There is also a cabinet of medals, coins, and *scarabæi*, which can be inspected only with the proprietor's special permission.

In the high street has recently been opened a "Gabinetto," or shop for the sale of Etruscan relics; chiefly from the collections of Captain Sozzi and Signor Galanti.¹⁰

are of yellow clay. The eyes are sometimes represented by coloured stones. Some have been found resting on stools of earthenware; others placed on small chairs, in form very like those of rock in the tombs of Cervetri (*ut supra*, pp. 34, 35, 59), either of oak, preserved by a coating of calcareous matter, or of terra-cotta. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 68. They must be curule chairs, and indicative of the dignity of the defunct. Such jars evidently bear a close analogy to the sitting statues, like that in the Museo Casuccini, which are also cinerary urns. The style of art likewise shows a similar epoch. Yet Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 151), while admitting the *canopi* to be of very early date, pronounces the statues to be as late as the seventh or eighth century of Rome. Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 275), on the other hand, thinks the *canopi* not to be

of the earliest days of Etruscan art. All analogy, however, is opposed to his opinion.

⁹ There was formerly a remarkable monument of this material in the Paolozzi collection. In the centre of the scene sat a woman with a babe at her breast, taking farewell of her husband who stood by her side. Hard by sat Charun, with his wonted hammer in one hand, and an oar in the other—a fact which removes all doubt as to the Etruscan Charon being akin to the Greek—and he was waiting to conduct his victim to the Gate of Hell, which yawned close at hand, surrounded with the heads of wild beasts, and surmounted by Furies, brandishing their torches and threatening their expected victim. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 153.—Braun.

¹⁰ I looked in vain in the Gabinetto

The articles are principally of pottery and bronze, and the prices are attached ; and very moderate. It would be well for the visitor who intends carrying away with him reminiscences of the city of Porsena, to cast an eye round this chamber before making purchases elsewhere ; as he may thus learn somewhat of the market-prices of such *anticaglia*. Here is a singular *canopus* with a pendant of bronze in one ear, and bracelets of the same metal. But the strangest monument is a pot of uncoloured clay, with a large female figure standing on the lid, of most archaic character, with arms attached by metal pins ; holding in one hand an apple or other fruit. Her body is hollow, and the effluvium of the ashes in the urn passed off through a hole in her crown. She rises like a giantess from a circle of eleven Lilliputian females with hands on their breasts ; and round the outer edge of the urn stand seven other similar figures, alternating with large heads of snakes or dragons, with open jaws. All these figures are removable at pleasure, being merely attached to the urn by pegs. This is one of the most remarkable articles to be seen at Chiusi ; in truth, though its details find analogies elsewhere in Etruria, as a whole it is unlike every other monument of this antiquity yet discovered, and in the uncouth rudeness of its figures and their fantastic arrangement, you seem to recognise rather the work of New Zealand or Hawaii, than a production of classical antiquity.¹

Count Ottieri's collection is very interesting for its

for some monuments I had seen in Signor Sozzi's possession, on a former visit to Chiusi. On one urn, the soul of a female was represented being led by the minister of death through the portal of the lower world. Another relief showed a female on her death-bed, and two others pouring ointments upon her head—which recalls to mind

the origin of the Roman Catholic sacrament of extreme unction—while a third stood at the foot of the couch, waving a fan to cool the dying one. Micali (Mon. Ined. tav. XLVIII. 3) gives an illustration of this monument.

¹ This urn stands about three feet in height. It is illustrated by Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 188, *et seq.* tav. 33 ; cf.

archaic articles. Here are three Egyptian-like figures of fetid limestone, four feet and a half high, extremely like that from the Grotta d'Iside, at Vulci, and if not by the same hand, evidently of the same period.² Here are also some bas-reliefs,—the chief of them having a banqueting-scene of very rigid style, the figures in which have red borders to their robes—one of many illustrations of the *toga prætexta*, which the Romans received from the Etruscans.³ And here, moreover, besides the usual black ware of Chiusi, are some painted vases—a beautiful *paterna*, with banqueting-scenes—a *pelike*, representing Ganymede holding his hoop, seized by Jupiter—and a large *skyphos* with *athletæ*; all in the Perfect style.

The visitor should not omit to see the painted vases in the possession of the Bishop, taken from his excavations in the Poggio Paccianesi; nor the pottery and bronzes in the houses of Signor Luccioli and Don Luigi Dei. Signor Ciofi has also some bronzes; and he who studies beetles will find no lack of matter in the cabinets of the reverend canons Carducci, Mazzetti, and Pasquini. As all, or most, of these gentlemen are willing to part with their treasures, no offence will be given by inquiring the prices of the articles.⁴

Bull. Inst. 1843. p. 3; Ann. Inst. 1843. p. 361. Micali takes the small female figures for Junones; and reminds us that the number seven was a sacred or mystic number among the Etruscans as well as among the Jews and other people of antiquity, being supposed to have relation to the term of human life. Censorin. de Die Nat. cap. XI; Varro, ap. eund. cap. XIV. Cicero calls seven—*numerus rerum omnium fere nodus*. Repub. VI. 18; ap. Macrob. Somn. Scip. I. 6; II. 4.

² See Vol. I. p. 422.

³ Liv. I. 8; Flor. I. 5; Plin. VIII. 74; IX. 63.

⁴ There was a marble cube in the *Canonico* Carducci's garden, which is said to be quite sublime for the magnificent style of its reliefs. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 151. Notices of the articles discovered during the last twenty years at Chiusi and its neighbourhood will be found in the publications of the Archaeological Institute at Rome.



DOOR OF AN ETRUSCAN TOMB AT CHIUSI.

CHAPTER LI.

CHIUSI—*CLUSIUM*.

THE CEMETERY.

Have they not sword-players, and every sort
Of gymnastic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,
Jugglers, and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics ?

MILTON.

No Etruscan site has more general interest than Chiusi. On some this centres in walls ; on others, in tombs ; on these, in museums ; on those, in historical associations. Chiusi combines all, though not to an equal extent. Her

weak point is her fortifications ; but for this she makes amends by her mysterious underground passages. Her excavations yield as abundantly as those of Vulci, though a different *roba* ; her museums together may rival that of Volterra ; and in the extent of her necropolis, and the variety, singularity, and rich decorations of her sepulchres, she is second only to Tarquinii. As regards her painted tombs, it must be confessed that she is inferior to the city of Tarchon and Tages, and not in number merely ; there is here less variety of style and subject. Nevertheless, the sepulchral paintings of Chiusi display scenes of great spirit and interest, differing in many points from those of Corneto.

The tombs of Chiusi which are kept open for the visitor's inspection are not, as at Tarquinii, on one side of the city, but lie all around it, sometimes several miles apart ; and as the country tracks are not easily travelled on foot after wet weather, it would be well, especially for ladies, to procure beasts in the town. Another inconvenience is that each tomb has its own *custode*, who must be dispatched expressly from Chiusi with the keys, and the visitor in his rounds runs the risk of not finding this keeper at his post at the appointed hour, and of being obliged to pass by some of the lions, or to return expressly for their inspection.

The most accessible of these painted tombs is the

TOMBA DEL COLLE CASUCCINI.

It lies " a short mile " to the east of Chiusi. It is hollowed in the side of a hill, and is entered by a level passage cut in the slope. At Chiusi, indeed, almost all the tombs now open are entered in this manner, instead of by a descending flight of steps, as at Corneto, Vulci, and Cervetri.

The marvels of this tomb meet you on its threshold.

The entrance is closed with folding-doors, each flap being a single slab of travertine. You are startled at this unusual sort of door—still more, when you hear, what your eyes confirm, that these ponderous slabs are the original doors of the tomb, still working on their hinges as when they were first raised, some twenty and odd centuries since. Hinges, strictly speaking, there are none ; for the doors have one side lengthened into a pivot above and below, which pivots work in sockets made in the stone lintel and threshold ; just as in the early gateways of Etruscan cities,¹ and as doors were hung in the middle ages—those of the Alhambra for instance. There can be no doubt of the antiquity of these doors ; it is manifest in their very arrangement ; for the lintel is a huge mass of rock buried beneath a weight of superincumbent earth ; and must have been laid *after* the slabs were in their places ; and it is obvious that none but those who committed their treasures to this sepulchre, would have taken so much labour to preserve them.² This was not a common mode of closing the tomb, which was generally done with one or more slabs of rock, often fitted to the doorway, and sometimes highly adorned with reliefs, as in the Grotta delle Inscrizioni at Tarquinii.³

Just outside the door a small chamber opens on either hand, probably for the freedmen or slaves of the family. The tomb itself has three chambers, two only decorated with paintings, the third unfinished. The first is the largest,⁴ and has a doorway in the centre of two of its

¹ *Ut supra*, pp. 150, 153.

² This ancient doorway is shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter. The door is 4 ft. 4 in. high, and each leaf or flap is about 18 inches wide, and more than 4 thick. The depth of the architrave is 16 inches. The iron handles are a modern addition.

³ With the exception of one tomb in this necropolis, no longer to be seen (Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 3), this is the only instance known of an Etruscan tomb preserving its door, still working as it was raised.

⁴ The dimensions of this chamber are 14 ft. 2 inches by 10 ft. 2 inches : the

walls, opening into the other chambers ; but on the third wall is a false door painted to correspond, as in the tomb of Tarquinii just mentioned. All the doors, true or false, narrow upwards, and have the usual Etruscan mouldings. The ceilings are not carved, as usual on other sites, into rafters, but coffered, as in the Grotta Cardinale at Tarquinii, in concentric squares and oblongs recessed, and painted black and red.

The paintings do not stand out forcibly, though on a white ground.⁵ Beyond this, the walls have undergone no other preparation than smoothing. The rock is a sort of sandstone, which will not take a very fine surface, and therefore hardly allows of a high finish or of much force of colour.

The figures are in a band about twenty-two or three inches deep, which surrounds the chamber as a frieze. They are twenty-six in number, and are divided into two subjects, banquets and games, both having a funereal reference. On the portion of the frieze facing you as you enter, are the palæstic games. To the right of the central door is a race of three *bigæ*. The charioteers are dressed in white scull-caps and tunics, and the reins are as usual passed round their bodies. Each pair of horses is black and red, and red and black, alternately.⁶ By the side of each chariot is a tree, or what in the conventional system of the Etruscans was intended to represent such, though to our eyes it is more like a tall bullrush, or a paddle stuck into the ground, the stick being painted red, and the blade bright blue. Such trees may be intended for

height to the cornice is 6 ft. 8 in., and about 7 ft. 5 in. to the central beam ; which runs transversely and is 2½ ft. broad.

⁵ This chamber is peculiar in being whitened. In most of the tombs of

Chiusi, the colours are laid on no other ground than the natural rock, which is of a yellowish grey hue.

⁶ The red horses have black hoofs and blue tails ; the black have blue hoofs.

cypresses—*cupressus funebres*. The action of both men and horses is natural and easy ; the latter especially, though with native peculiarities, have more spirit and freedom than any of those in the painted tombs of Tarquinii.⁷

To the left of the central door, are represented the games on foot. First is a pair of wrestlers, or it may be tumblers, for one is inverted with his heels in the air and his body resting on the shoulders of the other, who is kneeling.⁸ They strongly resemble certain figures in the painted tombs of Egypt. An agonothete in blue *pallium*, and holding a wand, stands by to direct the sport. Next, a naked man, whose attitude may remind you of the celebrated dancing faun at Naples, is boxing with an imaginary opponent, to the sound of the double-pipes.⁹ A female follows, dancing to the same music, and to the castanets which she rattles herself. She is draped with boddice and light transparent gown, and a *chlamys* or scarf on her shoulders ; and in attitude as well as costume she is very like the dancing-girls in the tombs of Tarquinii.¹ Next to this group is a naked man, with crested helmet, round shield, and long wavy spear, running as if to charge the foe ; or he may be practising an armed dance, such as the ancients were wont to perform.² The last figure is a naked

⁷ The whole race-scene is very like one on a relief in the Museo Casuccini; but the latter is more stiff and archaic, and the chariots are *trigæ* instead of *bigæ*. *Ut supra*, p. 339. Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. XXIV. 2.

⁸ For illustrations of Etruscan tumblers see Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. LVI.

⁹ This figure seems at first to be beating nothing but the air with his hands, and time with his feet ; but that he is a pugilist is rendered evident by a precisely similar figure in the Deposito

de' Dei, who has an opponent. He has no *cestus*, though one fist is closed. Mus. Chius. tav. CLXXXII.

¹ See Vol. I. pp. 275, 289.

² That the Etruscans had armed dances is proved by other monuments, especially by a silver gilt vessel in very archaic style found at Chiusi. Dempster, I. tab. 78 ; Inghir. Mon. Etrus. III. tav. XIX Müller (Etrusk. IV. 1, 7) is of opinion that the Etruscan *histriones*, who formed an essential part of the pageantry of the circus, danced armed, because they are compared by Valerius

man, exercising himself with *halteres*, or, in plain English, using the dumb-bells, which, with the ancients, served the same purpose as with us.³

Half of the frieze in this chamber being devoted to games, the other half is pictured with the banquet. Here are five couches, each bearing a pair of figures, all males, young and beardless, half-draped, and crowned with blue chaplets. The absence of the fair sex shows this to be a *symposium*. Their gestures, animated and varied, betray the exhilarating influence of the rosy god. One holds a chaplet, another a flower, a third a branch, apparently of myrtle, and several have *pateræ*, which the slaves are hastening to replenish. The whole goes forward to the music of the double-pipes. At one end of the scene stands a tripod with a large triple basin, either a wine-cooler, or containing the beverage, mixed to the palates of the revellers;⁴ and a slave is busied at it, replenishing wine-jugs. A second figure, who, with arm uplifted, is giving

Maximus (II. 4, 3) to the Curetes. And the armed dances of the Salii in honour of Mars, which according to one tradition (Serv. ad *Æn.* VIII. 285) were of Veientine institution, Müller would refer to an Etruscan origin. The figure, however, in this painted tomb of Chiusi, can have no relation to the Salii, who danced in purple robes, with brass belts, helmets, swords, and bucklers of a peculiar form, described by Plutarch (Numa), and represented on a singular Etruscan gem in the Uffizj Gallery at Florence. *Ut supra*, p. 106.

³ Mart. VII. 67, 5—

gravesque draucis

Halteras facili rotat lacerto—

cf. XIV. 49; Juv. Sat. VI. 421; Seneca, Epist. XV. 4; LVI; Pollux, X. c. 17. Seneca says they were of

lead. Those represented in this tomb are nearly of the form now in use, but on the painted vases, as on some in the British Museum, they are represented flat, of an oval form, with a hole for the insertion of the hand (Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 29), as they are described by Pausanias (V. 26) who, however, speaks of their handles as attached, like those by which shields were grasped.

⁴ This basin seems to answer the purpose of the *crater*, or ordinary mixing-bowl. A similar basin and tripod is shown on a bas-relief from Chiusi, representing the funeral feast and dances, in very archaic style, now in the possession of Thomas Blayds, Esq., of Englefield Green (Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 140, tav. 23); and also on a singular sarcophagus recently discovered at Perugia. Mon. Ined. Inst. IV. tav. 32.

the slave directions — “*Deprome, o Thaliarche, merum diotá!*” — is evidently the butler; and the *patera* suspended on the wall marks this corner as his pantry. Should curiosity be excited as to the costume of butlers in Italy some two or three-and-twenty centuries since, I must reply that this Etruscan worthy is “in leathers,” as the Spaniards say, though not in buff, chamois, or cordovan.

One of the slaves in this scene holds a long ladle—*simpulum*, or *capidula*—with a handle bent into a hook, for the purpose of suspension on the rim of the wine-vessel. Such *simpula*, in bronze, shown in the annexed woodcut, are occasionally found in Etruscan tombs.

The inner chamber is of smaller dimensions,⁵ surrounded by a bench of rock. It has also a frieze of figures, here only fourteen inches high—a chorus of youths; one with a *patera*, another with a chaplet, a third has the double-pipes, and a fourth a lyre, by which they regulate the dance. All are naked, with the exception of a light *chlamys* on their shoulders.⁶



SIMPULUM.

The natural interpretation of these scenes is that they represent the funeral rites of the Etruscans. Though antiquaries of great renown have attached a symbolical meaning to them, I see no reason why they should not

⁵ About 9 ft. 10 in., by 7 ft. 9 in.; and it is 7 ft. 8 in. high.

⁶ This *chlamys* may be introduced merely for the sake of the colour; as it varies—red, black, blue, and white, in succession. For variety's sake also, these figures are made to alternate with trees, all painted black, both stems and foliage, and not paddle-shaped, like those in the outer chamber, but branching out with more nature and freedom

than usual in Etruscan tombs. One of these figures, not being painted red like the rest, must be intended for a woman. They have all been carelessly scratched in before being coloured; and the artist has not always adhered to his outline, which in some cases has evidently been retouched. This chorus is very like one once existing in the inner chamber of the Mercureccia tomb at Corneto. Vol. I. p. 362, n. 7.

represent the feasting, music, dances, and palæstric games, actually held in honour of the dead.⁷ It is possible that they may be at once descriptive and symbolical. This is a point on which every one is at liberty to hold his own opinion.

The figures in these paintings are generally outlined with black. The colours are hardly so well preserved as in those of Tarquini; the blues and whites are the most vivid. Yet all have been seriously injured. Let the visitor have a care as he moves through these tombs. The medium, whatever it were, with which the colours were laid on, having perished after so many ages, they now remain in mere powder on the walls, and might be effaced by a touch of the finger, or by the sweeping of a garment.

These paintings have no *chiaro-scuro*, no perspective, no foreshortening; the faces are always in profile; the figures sometimes unnaturally elongated; the limbs clumsy; the attitudes rigid; the drapery arranged in stiff, regular folds—all features of archaic character. Yet there are more

⁷ I may add to what has been stated elsewhere (Vol. I. p. 296), that Inghirami regards such scenes as "an apotheosis of virtuous souls"—i. e., that the figures in these scenes do not represent the survivors, thus expressing their sorrow for the dead, but symbolise the souls of the departed, thus depicted in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, because the ancients had no other way of representing the delights of Elysium. In truth, some of them considered that the highest reward the gods could bestow on the virtuous in another life was an eternity of intoxication. Musæus, ap. Plat. Repub. II. p. 363, ed. Steph. Inghirami thinks such an interpretation the more appropriate

to the scenes in this tomb, because the usual tables for food being wanting, the figures are drinking, not eating; and souls in bliss would be served with nectar alone. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 22. But this difference merely indicates a drinking-bout instead of a regular meal—a *symposium*, not a *deipnon*. In either case it may be a funeral feast, in its late, rather than early stage. In the trees of the dancing-scene in the inner chamber, he sees the "fortunata nemora," and the "luci opaci" of the Elysian regions (Virg. *Æn.* VI. 639, 673), and further quotes Virgil (*Æn.* VI. 647) to prove the orthodoxy of the lyre in this scene.



ease and power than are usually found in connection with such signs of antiquity. They seem the work of a man who could do better things, but who either felt tomb-painting to be a degradation of his talents, or was restrained by conventionalities from the free exercise of them. These are of later date than most of the paintings of Tarquinii, yet must be of Etruscan times; they can hardly belong to the period of Roman domination, still less, as Inghirami opines, to the decadence of art.⁸

This tomb was discovered in May 1833, by accident, while making "bonifications" to the soil. It must have been rifled in past ages, for nothing but fragments of pottery and urns was found within it.⁹

DEPOSITO DE' DEI.

On the opposite side of Chiusi, and about three miles from the tomb just described, is another with paintings so strikingly similar, that on entering you are ready to abuse your guide for leading you back to what you have already seen. The resemblance is not only in subject, mode of treatment, and style of art, but individual figures are almost identical, and afford convincing proof that this tomb and the Tomba del Colle Casuccini were decorated by the same hand. Even in the plan, number, and arrangements of the chambers, these sepulchres exactly correspond. But the Deposito de' Dei has suffered more from time; the surface of the wall has flaked off largely, and the whole threatens a speedy decay.¹

⁸ Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 26.

⁹ Illustrations of the scenes in this tomb are given in the Museo Chiusino, tav. 181—185. For further notices see Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 19, *et seq.* —Inghirami.

¹ This tomb receives its name from the family in whose ground it lay. Since its discovery in 1826, it has passed into the hands of Signor Felice Giulietti of Chiusi. It lies about two miles from the city, to the north-west,

The frieze round the principal chamber is devoted entirely to games. Here is a race of three *bigæ*, as in the other tomb, but drawn with more variety and spirit. The steeds are springing from the ground, as in the gallop, but the middle pair is refractory, and in their rearing and plunging have broken the shaft and kicked the chariot high into the air, and the unlucky *auriga*, still holding reins and whip, is performing a somerset over their heads.

There is a repetition of the subjects of the Tomba del Colle, but with some variety. A female is dancing with *crotala* to the music of a *subulo*,—two pugilists are boxing with the *cestus*, one being the exact counterpart of the figure in the other tomb,—a naked man is performing an armed dance,²—another leaping with the dumb-bells,—a pair of wrestlers, or tumblers, in almost the same position, with an agonothete leaning on his staff and seeing fair play; and a pot of oil rests on a slender pole hard by, from which they may anoint their limbs.

In addition, there is a *discobolus*, about to cast his quoit, —a man with two long poles, which I cannot explain,³—a boy with two nondescript articles attached to a string⁴—four youths about to contend in a foot-race, under the directions of a *pædotribe*, who appears to be marking the

in a hill, from which it has received the second name of Tomba del Poggio al Moro. Chevalier Kestner describes it under the name of Grotta delle Monache Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 116.

² It is possible that this figure is intended to be hurling his lance. If so there are depicted in this tomb all the games of the Pentathlon, or Quinquertium, viz. leaping (here with dumb-bells)—the foot-race—casting the *discus*—hurling the spear—and wrestling.

³ Chevalier Kestner (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 118) calls it a damaged figure, and

does not attempt to describe it; nor does Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 110), though he represents this man (tav. 70) as holding a long curved pole. Inghirami (Mus. Chius. II. tav. 125) more correctly divides this into two sticks, which he takes for darts.

⁴ Kestner (loc. cit.) takes these articles for quoits; but to me they seemed more like unguent-pots, such as are sometimes represented tied by ribbons to *candelabra* (ut supra, p. 37), and as have been discovered in Etruscan tombs. Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 194.

starting-post,⁵—two men playing at *ascolia*, or trying to leap on to a greasy vase, over which one is tumbling unsuccessfully⁶—and a pair of figures which I can only explain as an athlete, playing at ball with a boy, *i. e.*, making the boy his ball, *à la Risley*, for he has one knee to the ground, with his hand raised as if to catch the boy, whom he has tossed into the air. Hard by, are a couple of stout sticks, propt against each other, which seem to have something to do with his operations.⁷

The banquets in this tomb are painted in the pediments over the side-doors. In each scene are three figures, males, reclining on cushions. One plays the lyre; another holds a flower; a third, a branch of olive; a fourth offers a goblet to his neighbour. In one corner a slave is busy at a mixing-vase, like that in the Tomba del Colle. In each pediment is something which may be a dog, or a saddle, or anything the imagination pleases; it seems introduced merely to fill the angle. But what is more remarkable—in each pediment one of the figures has the

⁵ The meaning of these figures has been doubted by Inghirami (*Mus. Chius.* II. p. 132. tav. 131), because one of these youths has a stick in his hand; but the subject is obvious.

⁶ It was not generally vases, but leathern bottles—*askoi*—that were used in this sport; or goat-skins filled with wind, and greased, as Virgil (*Georg.* II. 384) describes them—

Mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.

See also Pollux, IX. cap. 7. This was an amusement also of the Athenians, and it was of Bacchic character, for the goat whose skin furnished the sport had previously been sacrificed to the jolly god. The skin became the prize of him who succeeded in keeping his foot-

ing on it. Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1129. It was an amusement much akin to the greasy pole and flitch of bacon of our own rustic fairs and merry-makings. From the action of hopping in this game, the term came to be applied to hopping on any occasion. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* Pollux, II. c. 4. Inghirami (*Mus. Chius.* tav. 124) fancied the man stumbling over the vase, was gathering dust!—more than enough, no doubt—and that the vase itself contained dust with which to strew the arena.

⁷ Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 110) designates this game, "*il salto del cavallo-letto*," formed by two sticks balanced. These may represent the spring-board, by which the boy is thrown into the air.

face of a dog; it is at least so scratched on the wall, though the colour is almost effaced.⁸

The only painting in the inner chamber is a hideous mask, or Gorgon's face, with tongue hanging out.⁹ Here, as well as in the other two chambers, are a number of urns and other sepulchral monuments, which, however, are said not to have been found in the tomb. One of the sarcophagi has a female figure reclining on the lid, and holding a small bird in her hand—the effigy of some Etruscan Lesbia with her sparrow, her *deliciæ*,

Quem plus illa oculis suis amabat ;

and her mourning Catullus chose thus to immortalize her and her passion in stone.¹⁰

Among the sepulchral inscriptions there is one of bilingual character.¹

⁸ A painted tomb, very like the two just described, was opened as long since as 1734, in a hill near Poggio Montolli, about a mile from Chiusi. It has been long reclosed, but a record of it is preserved by Gori (*Mus. Etrus.* III. pp. 84—7. cl. II. tav. 6), who shows us a pair of wrestlers in the same singular positions—a pair of pugilists, with an oil-pot on a column hard by—the agonothele with his rod, and with a *tutulus*, or high-peaked cap—a *subulo* with double-pipes,—a bearded dwarf—a charioteer in his *biga*, followed by a man with a palm-branch in token of victory—a recumbent figure with a *patera*, to indicate the banquet, though Gori takes it for the soul of the deceased—and two men, with rods and something twisted round them, which seems to be a serpent, as in the Grotta delle Bighe of Corneto; but Gori takes these figures to be centurions with their *vites*. Other figures of hunters, dogs, and wild beasts, all prostrate in the midst of a

wood, together with two other chariots, were seen in this tomb when first opened, but they soon faded from its walls.

⁹ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. CII. 4.

¹⁰ In a tomb near this, Signor Luccioli discovered, in 1839, about a hundred vases of the black relieved ware, all glued together in a mass by the sandy earth, and in the centre was a painted *tazza* in the best style. *Bull. Inst.* 1840, pp. 5, 61, 153.

¹ The Etruscan inscription in Latin letters would run thus, VEL. VENZILEAL. PHNALISLE. The Roman epitaph is

C. VENIVS. Q. F.
CAESIA NATVS.

Here again it will be observed that the names do not seem to correspond, the “Velus” of the Etruscan, as in the other bilingual inscription, given at page 354, being rendered by “Caius” in the Latin. Yet Kellermann seems to regard them as referring to one and the same

B B 2

DEPOSITO DELLE MONACHE.

Not far from the sepulchre just described, is the "Tomb of the Nuns," so called, not from containing the ashes of ancient religious virgins—Etruscan civilization, so far as we can learn, never having encouraged voluntary celibacy in either sex—but from being in the grounds of the nunnery of Santo Stefano. It lies about a mile and a half from Chiusi, to the north-west, in a hollow, called Val d'Acqua. It is a vaulted chamber of small size, rudely hollowed in the rock, and unpainted; possessing no interest beyond the preservation of its monuments, just as they were discovered, with the exception of a few which have been sold. There are still ten left—two sarcophagi, for unburnt bodies; the rest, cinerary urns, of alabaster and travertine.

On one of the sarcophagi reclines a figure, nearly seven feet long; its eyes are painted black, and its drapery retains traces of colour.

One of the urns exhibits the colour yet more distinctly. The relief represents a bull goring a man in a Phrygian cap. Another man runs to his deliverance, spear in hand. A Juno stands by, holding a second bull by the nose; and she seems to be the good genius who urged the man to the rescue; just as the Virgin is often represented on modern *ex votos*, seizing a bull by the horn, or a runaway horse by the bridle. The robes of these figures, as well as the wings of the Juno, are of a rich red, the old Tyrian purple; and her eyes, eyebrows, hair, lips, are all coloured naturally. The sepulchral urns of this district are more generally painted than those of Volterra; but the poly-

individual. Bull. Inst. 1833. pp. 49, 51.

This tomb is illustrated and described
by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 69, 70.

III. pp. 108—111. Inghirami, Mus.

Chius. tav. 122—133. Kestner, Ann.
Inst. 1829. pp. 116—120.

chrome system of the Etruscans is seen to most advantage at Cetona and Perugia.

Of the other urns, one has a wild boar hunt ; another, some Etruscan legend, not easily explained ;² a third, the figure of a panther—an uncommon device on urns. On the last reclines a figure, full of expression. Pass him not hastily ; for he is called “ ARNTH CAULE VIPINA ”—in which you may recognise the name of Cæles, or Cælius, Vibenna, the Etruscan chieftain who assisted Romulus against the Sabines, and gave his name to the Cælian hill.³ From what city that illustrious warrior came to Rome, we know not ;⁴ though it seems probable he was from this district of Etruria. The individual whose ashes are inclosed in this urn may be presumed to be of the same illustrious race.

But this is an interloper—he is not of the family to which the sepulchre belonged, which, from the majority of the epitaphs, was evidently that of “ Umrana.” This is

² It is illustrated in the Museo Chiussino, tav. 212. Inghirami (op. cit. II. p. 206) suggests that it may represent the Theban Brothers ; but there is nothing in the scene to favour this view. A warrior, fallen from his horse, is supported by a comrade ; a figure with Phrygian cap, and a torch in hand, probably a genius, seizes the bridle. A warrior stands opposite. Chaplets are suspended behind, and a column supporting a vase stands in one corner.

³ The bronze tablet found at Lyons, containing a fragment of an oration by the Emperor Claudius, represents him as the chieftain and friend of Mastarna, afterwards Servius Tullius. Gruter, p. 502.

⁴ Festus (v. Tusculum Vicum), who chops his name in half, and makes two brothers out of it, seems to hint at Veii ; but the word is imperfect—“ entes ” only

remaining. Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 117) would read it “ Volcientes,” because of the neighbourhood of Volsinii, to which city he would refer the hero. The Lucumo, whom Dionysius (II. p. 104) represents as coming to the assistance of Romulus, “ from Solonium, a city of the Etruscans,” both Müller and Niebuhr (I. p. 297) identify with Cæles Vibenna ; but as no such city is mentioned by any other writer, it is probable that the text is corrupt ; though whether we should read “ Vetulonium,” as Cluver (II. pp. 454, 473) imagines, or “ Volsinium,” as Müller opines, or “ Populonium,” as Casaubon and others would have it, it is not easy to determine. The name of Vibenna—Vipi, Vipina, Vipinanas—has been found on sepulchral inscriptions also at Toscanella, Volsinii, and Perugia.

an interesting fact, for in this word we recognise the name of Umbria; and it is confirmatory of the historical record of the early relations between that country and this city of Clusium.⁵

This tomb was discovered in 1826, by some *clairvoyant* peasant, it is said, dreaming that he found a sepulchre on this spot. But the fact loses much of the marvellous when it is recollected that the discovery of tombs around Chiusi is of every-day occurrence; the neighbourhood being so full of them, that on any spot a man might select, he would probably meet with traces of ancient sepulture. But such is "the stuff that dreams are made of" in Italy, where the lower orders place implicit faith in them, and consult soothsayers and somnipotent books for the interpretation thereof. In lottery matters, dreams are the Italian's oracles. Before purchasing a ticket he tries to dream of "*buoni numeri*;" or if no numbers enter into his visions, the circumstances of the dream determine its character, and the phantasmagoria of his somnolent hours are translatable into numerals.

Not far from the Tomba del Colle, and to the east of Chiusi, is a sepulchre called Tomba del Postino, from its proprietor, the postmaster of the town, or sometimes Tomba

⁵ The last syllable of Umrana is but the usual augmentative, as from Titi is formed Titine, from Pumpu, Pumpuni, from Vipi, Vipina. On an urn in the Museo Casuccini the very word Umbria, expressed as well as it can be in the Etruscan, which has no B, occurs as a family-name—"Larthia Umria Puia." From the known relation between Camars or Clusium, and the Camertes of Umbria (*ut supra*, p. 328), we might expect to find traces of that connection in the names of families, which, among the Etruscans, as among other nations, were

often derived from regions, cities, rivers, &c.; and the discovery of a family-name of this character at Chiusi is corroborative of the historical record. It may be further observed that the appellation Livy (IX. 36) attaches to the foreign kindred of the Clusians,—"*Camertes Umbri*," has its equivalent in this tomb, for in one of the epitaphs the names are coupled together—"Phastia Umranei Cumerunasa"—which, divested of the adventitious terminations, would be—Umrā Cumere.

di Pomponini. It contains seven chambers, full of urns, the fruit of excavations made in the neighbourhood. In the cliff hard by have been discovered many urns in niches, covered with tiles.⁶

Beyond this on the way to the Deposito del Sovrano, you pass a slope called Campo degli Orefici, or the "Jeweller's Field," from the number of *scarabæi* there brought to light. For these valuable relics of ancient days, which are found much more abundantly at Chiusi than on any other Etruscan site, are very rarely the produce of her tombs,⁷ or the fruit of systematic research, but

"the unlettered ploughboy wins
The casual treasure from the furrowed soil."

Why they should be more abundant on this slope, than on any other around the town, is matter for speculative inquiry. But there can be no doubt that this branch of ancient Etruscan art was carried on extensively, if not even exclusively, at Clusium.

Not far from this are the Catacombs of the early Christians; which are too like those of Rome and its Campagna, Naples, and Syracuse, to require particular notice.

At the foot of these slopes lies the Lake of Chiusi, a piece of water about two square miles in extent, and of no great beauty, yet heightening the charms of the surrounding scenery. Though often styled the "Chiaro di Chiusi," it is the muddiest lake I have ever seen; as

⁶ Near this, a tomb was discovered in 1837, having two figures of the Etruscan Charun, as large as life, sculptured in high relief in the doorway, and armed with hammers as if to guard the sepulchre against violation. Ann. Inst. 1837. 2, p. 258. Unfortunately this tomb has been reclosed.

⁷ Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 13. Other articles of jewellery, however, are discovered in the tombs of Chiusi, such as acorns of gold, and chaplets of laurel or other leaves in the same metal, like those of Vulci. Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 180; 1840, pp. 2, 61.

golden in hue as the Tiber, the Tagus, or the Guadalquivir. Its eastern shore forms the frontier, and at its southern extremity two towers frown defiance at each other, and seem to say, in words which have been applied to them as names—"Beccati questo," and "Beccati quest'altro." In the olden time the chief magistrate of Chiusi used yearly to wed this little lake with a ring, as the Doges of Venice espoused the Adriatic; yet the Chiusians had no great reason to be fond of their misnamed Chiaro, for its stagnant waters render the city unhealthy in summer, in spite of its elevation.⁷ The atmosphere at that season is more or less impregnated with miasma; it is always "*grossa*," sometimes even "*balorda*."

DEPOSITO DEL GRAN DUCA

or "del Sovrano," is so called from lying in the property of the Crown. It is also known as the "Camera della Paccianese." It lies nearly two miles to the north-east of Chiusi, in a slope above the lake. I was startled on entering; so unexpected was the sight. Yet the walls blazed not with gorgeous colours—no Bacchanals danced before me—no revellers lay on their couches—no *athletæ* contended in the arena. All was colourless and sombre. But the tomb was vaulted over in a perfect arch! with neat masonry of travertine;⁸ and on the benches around

⁷ Chiusi stands nearly 500 feet above the lake, and about 1300 above the level of the sea.

⁸ The masonry is not massive, the courses being from 10 to 18 inches high, and the blocks varying from 2½ to 3½ feet in length. It is entirely without cement. The tomb is 12 ft. 6 in. long, by 9 ft. 9 in. wide, which is consequently the span of the vault. The height is 7 feet 11 inches.

It has been asserted that the measurements of this tomb correspond throughout with the multiples and divisions of the Tuscan *braccio*, which is known to be just double the ancient Roman foot; and it is hence fairly inferred that the Romans took that measure from the Etruscans, and that it has descended unaltered to the modern inhabitants of Tuscany. See the observations of the architect Del Rosso, appended to Ver-

lay the urns exactly as they were found, undisturbed for more than two thousand years. If other proof were wanting, this tomb would suffice to show that the Etruscans understood and practised the arch.⁹

There are here eight urns of travertine, some without recumbent figures on their lids; and none with reliefs of great interest—Gorgon's heads, winged, and snaked—sea-divinities and *hippocampi*—a *patera* between two half-moon shields; the most striking is a male riding on a panther, probably representing Bacchus. The inscriptions, which are painted in red or black, show this to be the tomb of the PERIS—one of the noble families of Clusium.¹⁰

The doorway of this tomb is worthy of notice. It has a lintel of a single stone, but above that is a low, camber arch, of cuneiform blocks, springing from the masonry of the doorposts, which seems introduced to lessen the pressure of the superincumbent earth upon the lintel. The door was formed like that of the Tomba del Colle Casuccini, shown in the woodcut at the head of this chapter, but one flap is now removed, and the other no longer works on its hinges.¹

This tomb was discovered in 1818. From the style of

miglioli's description of this tomb, Perugia, 1819. I have often been struck with this same accordance, on measuring ancient masonry and tombs in Etruria with the Tuscan *braccio*. It may be observed in several of these sepulchres at Chiusi. What other instance can be shown of a standard measure being handed down unchanged through so many ages?

⁹ Though now in the slope of the hill, it is probable that this tomb was originally built up as an independent structure, and then covered with earth—a method adopted, it would seem, because the ground in this part was too loose

and friable to admit of a tomb being excavated.

¹⁰ One of the males, called "Au. Pursna. Peris. Pumpual," must have been of the illustrious race of Porsena by a mother of the great Etruscan family of Pumpus, or Pompeius. The other males are called "Au. Pulphna. Peris. Au. Seiantial."—"Lth. Peris. Matausnal."—"La. Pulphna. La." . . . The females are "Thania. Seianti. Perisal."—"Thana. Arntnei. Perisalisa."—"Thana. Arinei. Perisalisai."

¹ The door is six feet high, and about half as wide.

its urns, rather than from the character of its construction, it may be pronounced of no early period of Etruscan art.²

TOMBA DELLA SCIMIA.

On the Poggio Renzo, or La Pellegrina, an oak-covered hill, about a mile from Chiusi to the north-east, a tomb was opened in March, 1846, with paintings of singular interest. For though the style proves them to be of very early date, the subject has features which recall the days of chivalry. I shall call it the "Monkey Tomb."

This sepulchre is entered by a deep passage sunk in the rock; in form and arrangement it bears a great resemblance to the other painted tombs, but has four chambers.³ That in the centre is surrounded by a band of figures, thirty inches high, representing palæstric games. The only spectator is a lady, veiled, sitting beneath the shade of an umbrella, just like those of modern times, and indicative, it is probable, of her rank and dignity.⁴ Her

² A tomb very similar to this in every respect was opened in 1839, in the Vigna Grande, about three quarters of a mile to the south of Chiusi. It was, however, of larger dimensions. It contained eight urns, which showed it to be the family-vault of the "PHERINI." The door was perfect, of two leaves of travertine, working just like that of the Tomba del Colle; and each leaf had had a handle of bronze, which was broken off. Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 2, 3. Signor Ciofi, in his "Visita ai Sepolcri presso Chiusi," speaks of this tomb as if it were still open; but in neither of my visits to Chiusi have I seen it, and I was told that it had been reclosed with earth.

Mr. Stuart describes a tomb near Afghan Kiu, in Phrygia, very similar to this in construction, though nearly

double the size; and he assigns to it a very high antiquity. Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia, p. 5.

³ The fourth chamber opens in the side-wall, where there is merely a false door in the other painted tombs, already described. The ceilings here are similarly coffered. The first or outer chamber is 16½ ft. wide, by 13½ ft. deep. The inner one is 11½ ft. by 9½ ft. These two only are painted. There are remains of nails in the walls of these chambers.

⁴ Umbrellas and parasols, be it remembered, are as old as the sun and rain. Though of modern introduction into this country, they were well-known in the olden time. In the East the umbrella has been used from time immemorial, though chiefly by the great; and proud is the oriental de-

foot-stool is marked with a pair of eyes, like so many of the painted vases. Before her, is a table or couch at which stands a *subulo*, blowing his pipes for her amusement.

There is a race of three *bigæ*, as in the other painted tombs, the goal being indicated by a ribbon suspended; and here stands the umpire, ready to bestow a branch on the victor. Under each chariot lies something like a bag or skin, probably of oil, the usual prize in such contests. The artist was unable to group them together, and therefore scattered them in the vacant spots of his picture. In other parts of the scene a groom is exercising a pair of horses, and a man is riding with a boy, perhaps instructing him in the *manège*; in both cases the riders are seated sideways, as horsemen are often represented in Etruscan monuments. The steeds are black, red, or white, and though of no desirable forms, are not deficient in spirit. Beneath one of the chariots a boy is playing with a greyhound.

The other figures are as follows:—A pair of wrestlers, in even more difficult attitudes than in the other tombs—

spot, who can style himself, "Brother of the Sun and Moon, and Lord of the Umbrella.", Assyrian monarchs stood beneath its shade while receiving homage from their vanquished foes; and Lycian princes sat under such shelter while directing the siege of a hostile city; as the reliefs recently brought from the ruins of Nineveh, and the coast of Lycia, and now in the British Museum, satisfactorily attest. The proudest trophy of the Gallic arms in Africa was the umbrella of Abd-el-Kader, till he himself shared its fate; though he was soon avenged by his victor being compelled to abandon his in a far ignobler manner. Umbrellas preserved the complexion of "the fair-cheeked" Helen, and sheltered many

a fair one of Greece and Rome from Phœbus' gaze, as we learn from ancient vases, bas-reliefs, and paintings. They were borne by the men, as well as by the Maids of Athens in the days of Pericles (Aristoph. Equit. 1345; Thesmoph. 830; Aves, 1508, 1549); and Roman gallants were wont to hold them over their mistresses. Ovid. Art. Amat. II. 209. In this tomb we have proof, the first proof, that they were used in Etruria also. Yet though an umbrella often shadowed the rich cheek of Cleopatra, and softened the glow of Aspasia's charms, in London, the centre of modern civilisation, not a century since, Jonas Hanway was ridiculed for carrying one through the streets.

an agonothete in blue "high-lows," seeing fair play.—A pair of pugilists, boxing with the *cestus*, holding one hand open for defence, the other closed for attack.; their robes on a stool between them.—A man in white armour—helm, cuirass, greaves, Argolic shield, and wavy spear—probably a gladiator; his helmet has the two long cockades, so often represented on the painted vases.—A naked figure, who seems to have been hurling a long straight lance, having a looped cord attached to it, is taking a flask of oil or wine from a boy, who also offers him a bough.—A minstrel with lyre and bough.—A trumpeter with a large horn, a peculiar specimen of



ETRUSCAN LITUUS OR TRUMPET, OF BRONZE.

this instrument, which was of Etruscan invention.⁵—A priestess, distinguished by a string of huge brown beads, crossed on her bosom, as the female demons wear their bands, is bearing a tall *candelabrum* on her head.—Two dwarfs with bushy black beards—one with *tutulus* and chaplet, is teaching the double-pipes to a youthful *subulo* of fair proportions; the other, bearing a large paddle-like leaf on his shoulder, has his arm seized by an athlete, who

⁵ It is not the round trumpet or *cornu* represented on the urns of Volterra (*ut supra*, p. 188), but curved like a *pedum*, or *lituus*; and it must be of that sort designated by the latter name. See Vol. I. p. 312. The curved part is supported by cross bars, and at the extremity is a ring for sus-

pension. The trumpet represented above was found at Vulci, and is now in the Gregorian Museum at Rome; it is the only specimen I remember to have seen of an Etruscan trumpet, and its exact counterpart is not to be found on any native monument,—painting or sculpture. It is about four feet in length.

seems to wish to instruct him in gymnastics, to which the little man naturally shows reluctance.⁶

Dwarfs and monkeys are associated in our minds ; and so apparently in those of the Etruscans. Here, amid the *athletæ*, sits an ape chained to a rock ; from his action he seems to be taking a pinch of snuff, though the foul weed never tickled Etruscan nostrils. He has no apparent relation to the scene, and it may be that, like the dwarfs, he is introduced to fill an awkward space under the projecting lintel of a door.

It is impossible not to be struck with the mediæval character of much of this scene. It requires no great exercise of the imagination to see a castle-yard in the days of chivalry. There is the warder with his horn, the minstrel with his lyre, the knight in armour, the nun with her rosary, the dwarfs and monkey—and even some of the other figures would not be out of place. Yet the style of art, bearing a close resemblance to that of the Grotta delle Inscrizioni at Corneto, proves this to be without a doubt the most ancient of the painted tombs of Chiusi, and at least four or five centuries before the Christian era.

Below the figures is a band of the Egyptian and Greek meander-pattern. Above them on the cornice, on each wall, is the head of a female with dishevelled hair.

The inner chamber has only two figures painted—one on each side-wall. They are boys ; one holding a flask of wine or oil ; the other a bill-hooked lance. Like the outer chamber this has a sepulchral couch hewn from the rock ; but in one corner a square mass is left, which would hardly be intelligible, were not the arm of a chair painted on the wall above it, indicating its analogy to the curule chairs in the tombs of Cervetri.⁷ The arm in this case

⁶ Some of these *athletæ* have leathern pads to their knees and heels.

⁷ *Uti supra*, pp. 34, 59.

represents a spotted snake, a proof among many others, that the Etruscans, like other nations of antiquity, were wont to introduce imitations of animal life into their furniture. Above the seat, the wall is painted to represent drapery.

In the square coffer in the ceiling are painted four ivy leaves, alternating with as many *Sirens*, each with long dishevelled hair, hands to her bosom as if beating it in grief, and two pair of wings, like the Cherubim of the Jews.

The sexes of the figures in this tomb are as usual distinguished by their colour; the males being a strong red, the females white. Many were first scratched in, then drawn with strong black outlines, and filled up with colour. Some show that the artist made many attempts before he could draw the form to his satisfaction.⁸

Hard by the "Tomb of the Monkey," a remarkable circular well or shaft has been recently discovered, sunk to a great depth in the hill, and having windows at intervals opening into tombs, of which there are supposed to be several stories, but the well has not yet been fully excavated. The absence of niches in its walls seems to mark it as a means of ventilation rather than of entrance to the tombs.

On the hill-slope below the Tomba della Scimia, is a tomb recently opened, which contains the only Etruscan inscription yet discovered on this site, graven or painted on the rock. It is cut over a large body-niche in the inner chamber, as in the tomb by the Ponte Terrano, at Civita Castellana. The inscription is legible, but does not appear to be a proper name.

⁸ Near this tomb, another was opened at the same time, having three chambers, one of which was painted with the scene of a hare-hunt, a novel subject in Etruscan tombs. The style of

art was very inferior, and the walls much dilapidated, so that it was not thought worthy of being kept open for public inspection, and was therefore reclosed with earth.

TOMBA D'ORFEO E D'EURIDICE.

About a mile or more to the west of Chiusi, at a spot called I Pianacci, is another painted tomb, opened a few years since, and now from neglect and humidity almost destroyed.⁹ It has three chambers, two of them with painted walls. In one, a man, with a light *pallium* on his shoulders, is playing the lyre in the midst of a group of dancers; one of whom is a female. Antiquaries of high credit think to see in this scene Orpheus fetching Eurydice from the shades; and the inclination of the two figures towards each other, and the outstretched arms of the female, would seem to favour this opinion. In this case, the other dancers might represent souls attracted and animated by the magic of his lyre. But I doubt if this be the real purport of the scene, for there is no other instance of a mythological subject being depicted on the walls of a tomb. It more probably represents the ordinary dance at the funeral rites. Trees, more freely drawn than usual, alternate with the figures.

The other chamber contains festive scenes—males reclining at the banquet, a *subulo* playing the pipes, and a mixing-jar, with a satyr painted on it, standing on the ground. Here were also the funeral games, as indicated by a figure with a lance, and another with dumb-bells; but the surface of the wall has been so much injured, that little is now distinguishable. It is evident, however, that in point of design, this tomb has a decided superiority to every other yet discovered at Chiusi.

The paintings in this and the Tomba della Scimia have

⁹ This tomb has not been placed under lock and key, and will therefore soon cease to be worthy of a visit. It does not come into the cicerone's list

of lions, and will not be shown unless especially demanded. One Monni, a restorer of vases at Chiusi, knows its whereabouts.

never been described, as far as I am aware ; but they have been copied, and will shortly be published by the Archæological Institute of Rome.

In a hill near the Poggio Gajella, called Poggio Paccianesi, or del Vescovo, because it is episcopal property, is a tomb with seven chambers, arranged like *atrium* and *triclinia*, some of which bear traces of paintings ; but little is now to be distinguished beyond a pair of parti-coloured lions in one of the pediments. As the tomb is often flooded, these lions may be left unbearded by those who have seen the other painted tombs. Here were found the beautiful vases, now in the possession of the Bishop of Chiusi.

The novel wonders of the Poggio Gajella demand a separate chapter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LI.

ETRUSCAN FAMILY-NAMES.

AMONG the Etruscan families mentioned in the sepulchral inscriptions of Chiusi and its neighbourhood, are the following; many of which are well known in their Roman form:—

Achni, Alphna, Ani, Aphune, Apluni, Arini, Arntni, Atina. Cae, Caina, Camarina, Carcu, Carpna, Carna, Causlini, Cenci, Clauca or Clauce, Creice, Crisu, Cucuma, Cumeruni, Cutlisna. Larena or Larcne, Latini, Lautni. Marcni, Matausna. Papasa, Patislana, Peris, Perna, Pethna, Pherini, Phulne, Phuphle, Plauti, Presnti, Purna, Pursna, Pulphna, Pumpu. Reicna, Remzana, Resna. Satna, Seianti, Seianti, Sentinati, Sethna, Sethre, Spaluria, Stenia. Tanasa, Tetina, Titi, Thesnti, Thurmnna, Tlesna, Trepu, Tulus, Tuna, Tutna. Umrana, Umria, Urinati or Vrinati. Varna, Vecnati, Velsi, Velthurus, Vensi, Vetì, Vipi, Vipina, Vusine.

CHAPTER LII.

CHIUSI.—*CLUSIUM*.

POGGIO GAJELLA.

Crede mihi, vires aliquas natura sepulcris
Attribuit ; tumulos vindicat umbra suos.

SENECA.

Ut quondam Cretâ fertur Labyrinthus in altâ
Parietibus textum cæcis iter, ancipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, quâ signa sequendi
Falleret indeprencus et irremeabilis error.

VIRGIL.

It is a notable fact that but one description of an Etruscan tomb is to be found in ancient writers ; and that tomb was at Clusium—the mausoleum of Lars Porsena. It is thus described by Varro, as quoted by Pliny :—

“He was buried under the city of Clusium, in a spot where he has left a monument in rectangular masonry, each side whereof is three hundred feet wide, and fifty high, and within the square of the basement is an inextricable labyrinth, out of which no one who ventures in without a clue of thread, can ever find an exit. On that square basement stand five pyramids, four at the angles, and one in the centre, each being seventy-five feet wide at its base, and one hundred and fifty high, and all so terminating above, as to support a brazen circle and a *petasus*, from which are hung by chains certain bells, which, when stirred by the wind, resound afar off, as was formerly the case at Dodona. Upon this circle four other pyramids are based, each rising to the height of one

hundred feet. And above these, from one floor, five more pyramids, the height whereof Varro was ashamed to mention. The Etruscan fables record that it was equal to that of the rest of the structure."

This description is so extravagant, that it raised doubts even in the mind of the all-credulous Pliny, who would not commit himself by recording it, save in the very words of Varro.¹ Can we wonder that the moderns should be inclined to reject it *in toto*? Niebuhr regarded it as a mere dream,—“a building totally inconceivable, except as the work of magic,”—no more substantial than the palace of Aladdin.²

But at the same time that we allow such an edifice as

¹ Plin. N. H. XXXVI. 19, 4.—Namque et Italicum (labyrinthum) dici convenit, quem fecit sibi Porsenna rex Etruriæ sepulcri causâ, simul ut externorum regum vanitas quoque ab Italis superetur. Sed cum excedat omnia fabulositas, utemur ipsius M. Varronis in expositione ejus verbis:—Sepultus est, inquit, sub urbe Clusio; in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato: singula latera pedum lata tricentum, alta quinquagenum; inque basi quadratâ intus labyrinthum inextricabilem: quo si quis improperet sine glomere lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum pyramides stant quinque, quatuor in angulis, in medio una: in imo latæ pedum quinum septuagenum, altæ centum quinquagenum: ita fastigatæ, ut in summo orbis senescit et petasus unus omnibus sit impositus, ex quo pendeant exapta catenis tintinnabula, quæ vento agitata, longe sonitus referant, ut Dodonæ olim factum. Supra quem orbem quatuor pyramides insuper, singulæ exstant altæ pedum centum. Supra quas uno solo quinque pyramides; quarum altitudinem Varro-

nem puduit adjicere. Fabulæ Etruscae tradunt eandem fuisse, quam totius operis: adeo vesana dementia quasiesse gloriam impendio nulli profuturo. Præterea fatigasse regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificis esset.

² Niebuhr, I. pp. 130, 551. Engl. trans. Letronne (Ann. Instit. 1829. pp. 386—395) thinks it nothing more than the fragment of an Etruscan epic, preserved in the religious and poetical traditions of the country. So also Orioli, who puts on it a mystic interpretation. Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 43. Hirt (Geschichte der Baukunst I., p. 249) according to Müller, maintains on this subject a prudent reserve. The Duc de Luynes, however, and Quatremère de Quincy believed the whole tale literally, and have attempted to restore the monument from the description. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 304—9. Mon. Ined. Inst. I., tav. XIII. Canina has also made a restoration of this monument. Archit. Ant. Seg. Sec. tav. CLIX. The worthy father Angelo Cortenovis wrote a treatise to prove it was nothing else than a huge electrifying machine.

Varro describes, to be of very difficult, if not impossible construction, we should pause before we reject the statement as utterly false and fabulous. It is the dimensions alone which startle us. Granting these to be greatly exaggerated, the structure is not impracticable.³ We should consider the peculiarities of its construction, and if we find an analogy between it and existing monuments, we may pronounce it to be even within the bounds of probability. A monument would hardly have been traditional, had it not been characteristic. However national vanity may have exaggerated its dimensions, or extravagantly heightened its peculiarities, it could not have conceived of something utterly foreign to its experience; any more than a Druid bard could have sung of a temple like the Parthenon, or an Athenian fable have described a palace like the Alhambra. That such was the Etruscan tradition we cannot doubt, for Varro was not the man to invent a marvellous tale, or to colour a story more highly than he received it.⁴

No one can doubt that a magnificent sepulchre was raised for Lars Porsena, the powerful chieftain, whose very name struck terror into Rome, and whose victorious arms, but for his own magnanimity, might have swept her

³ Müller (*Etrusk.* IV., 2. 1.) is of opinion that the lower part with the labyrinth really existed, and that the upper, though greatly exaggerated, was not the mere offspring of fancy.

⁴ Müller (*Etrusk.* IV. 2. 1.) is of opinion that Varro must have seen a portion of the monument he describes—"he would hardly have gathered such precise statements from mere hearsay; yet the upper part, from what point upwards is uncertain, was merely pictured to him by the inhabitants of the city." Niebuhr (*I.* p. 130), however,

thinks Varro took his description from the Etruscan books. Orioli (*ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus.* IV. p. 167) thinks Varro's picture must have been not only consistent with the Etruscan style of architecture, but drawn from a real object, just as the palaces of Ariosto's and Tasso's imagination had evidently their originals in Italy. And Abeken (*Mittelitalien*, p. 246) considers it, in its fundamental conditions, to be thoroughly national, and in accordance with other edifices of the land.

from the map of Italy.⁵ The site, too, of such a monument would naturally be at Clusium, his capital. That it

⁵ *Lars* is an Etruscan *prænomen*, supposed to be significant of rank and dignity, as Etruscan princes seem always to have had this name—*Lars Porsena*, *Lars Tolumnius*—a title of honour, equivalent to *dominus*. Müller, *Etrusk. I.* p. 405. The fact of its being the appellation also of the household deities of the Etruscans favours this view. Yet the frequent occurrence of this name, or its varieties, "*Lart*," or "*Larth*," in sepulchral inscriptions, seems to deprive it of any peculiar dignity, and to show that it was used indiscriminately. Perhaps the distinction drawn by the grammarians is correct—that *Lar*, *Laris*, was significant of deity, and *Lars*, *Lartia*, was the Etruscan *prænomen*. The Romans, however, who took both from the Etruscans, seem to have used them indifferently. Müller, *I.* p. 408. Thus we find a *Lar Herminius*, consul in the year 306. *Liv. III.* 65. The old patrician *gens Lartia* derived its name from *Lars*, just as many other gentile names were formed from *prænomina*. *Lars* is supposed by Lanzi (*II.* p. 203) to signify *divus*, but it is more generally believed to be equivalent to "lord;" and it is even maintained that the English word is derived from the Etruscan. Some take *Lars* to be of Pelasgic origin, from the analogy of *Larissa*, daughter of Pelasgus; and others seek its source in the Phœnician. However that be, it can at least, with all its derivatives, be traced with certainty to the Etruscan.

Porsena is often called King of Clusium or of Etruria. *Pliny (II.* 54), however, seems to call him King of *Volturni*. He was properly chief Lucumo of Clusium, and "King of Etruria" only in virtue of commanding the forces of the Confederation.

The name is spelt both *Porsena*

and *Porsenna*, but in any case, thinks Niebuhr (*I.* pp. 500, 541), the penultimate is long, from the analogy of other Etruscan gentile names—*Vibenna*, *Ergenna*, *Perpenna*, *Spurinna*; and he pronounces *Martial* (*I.* 22; *XIV.* 98) guilty of a "decided blunder" in shortening the penultimate. Mr. Macaulay, in his admirable "*Lays of Ancient Rome*" (p. 44), questions the right of Niebuhr or any other modern to pronounce on the quantity of a word which "*Martial* must have uttered and heard uttered a hundred times before he left school;" and cites *Horace (Epod. XVI.* 4) and *Silius Italicus (VIII.* 391, 480) in corroboration of that poet. Compare *Sil. Ital. X.* 484. The following prose-writers, though their authority cannot affect the quantity, also spell it "*Porsena*."—*Liv. II.* 9; *Cicero, pro Sext.* 21; *Flor. I.* 10; *Val. Max. III.* 2. 2; *Tacit. Hist. III.* 72. On the other hand there is the great authority of *Virgil (Æn. VIII.* 646)—

Nec non Tarquinium ejectum Porsenna jubebat;

followed by *Claudian (in Eutrop. I.* 444)

Quæsiit, et tantum fluvio Porsenna remotus—

by *Pliny (II.* 54; *XXXIV.* 13, 39; *XXXVI.* 19), and *Seneca (Epist.* 66; *Benef. V.* 16), for the lengthening of the penultimate—*Porsenna*; *Plutarch (Publicola)* also has *Πορσέννας*, and *Dionysius (lib. V.) Πορσίνος*. *Servius (ad Æn. VIII.* 646) indeed asserts that *Virgil* added an *n* for the sake of the metre, as the penultimate is short. Now, though Mr. Macaulay was at liberty to adopt either mode, I believe him to be right in his choice of *Porsēna*; not on account of *Servius'* assertion, or because the authority of *Horace*, *Martial*, and

was of extraordinary dimensions and splendour is likely enough ; otherwise it would not have been

"A worthy tomb for such a worthy wight"— *corps.*
Shenstone's Vision of Belshazzar 1759.

the greatest Etruscan prince and hero whom history commemorates ; nor would it have been thus traditionally recorded. That it had a square basement of regular masonry, supporting five pyramids, as described by the legend, is no way improbable, seeing that just such a tomb is extant—the well-known sepulchre on the Appian Way at Albano, vulgarly called that of the Horatii and Curiatii.⁶ And though this tomb be Roman and of Republican date, it shows the existence of such a style in early times ; and its uniqueness also favours the antiquity of its model. Whether the analogy was carried further in this monument it is impossible to say, for its cones now support nothing but themselves, and cannot even do that without assistance. The Cucumella of Vulci, with its walled basement and pair of towers, square and conical, and its Lydian cousin, the royal sepulchre of Sardis, with its diadem of five *termini*, though both are circular in the basement, bear also a strong affinity to the Varronian picture.⁷ For

Silius Italicus outweighs that of Virgil and Claudian, but because it is more agreeable to the genius of the Etruscan language, which gives us "*Purana*," as its equivalent (*ut supra*, p. 377) ; and just so the "*Ceicna*" of the Etruscans was written *Cæcina* or *Cæcinna*, by the Romans.

⁶ In that instance, however, there are cones, not pyramids, but the latter word is thought by some to have had a generic application to anything having the tapering form of a flame. Canina (*Ann. Inst.* 1837, 2. p. 56) objects to this on the authority of Cicero (*Nat. Deor.* II. 18) ; who, however, merely

shows that the pyramid had a specific form, distinct from the cone ; a fact not to be questioned. Tombs with square basements of large size, either for mounds of earth, or for the support of pyramids or cones, like that of Albano, are still extant at Cervetri. *Ut supra*, p. 59.

⁷ The *cippi* so commonly found in Etruscan tombs, in the form of truncated cones on square pedestals—sometimes several rising from one basement—bear much analogy to the pyramids of the Clusian legend, still more to the tomb at Albano.

It is not idle then to believe that some vestiges of this labyrinth may still exist, and to expect that it may yet be brought to light. If subterranean, it was in all probability excavated in the rock, and traces of it would not easily be effaced. In truth it has often been sought, and found—in the opinion of the seekers, who have generally placed it on the site of Chiusi itself, in the subterranean passages of the garden Paolozzi, or in those beneath the city; misled perhaps by Pliny's expression, "*sub urbe Clusio*." But that such was its position, the general analogy of the sepulchral economy of the Etruscans forbids us to believe. It must have been outside the walls, and if it were in one of the valleys around, it would be equally "below the city."

Some few years since, the attention of the antiquarian world was much drawn to the tomb of Porsena, in consequence of the discovery at Chiusi of a monument not only novel in character, but with peculiarities strikingly analogous, and in extent surpassing every other Etruscan sepulchre.

About three miles to the north-north-east of Chiusi is a hill called Poggio Gajella, the termination of the range on which the city stands. There is nothing remarkable in the appearance of this height; it is of the yellow arenaceous earth so common in this district;² its crest is of the same conical form as most of the hills around, and

the province of the antiquary to view the details and consider how far they are supported by reason and analogy. Müller, therefore, makes a decided distinction between the upper and lower part of the structure, and is of opinion, not only that the latter had an existence, but that it was still extant in the days of Varro. *Etrusker*, IV. 2, 1. So also think Thiersch (*Abhandlung der*

Münchener Akademie, I. p. 415) and Abeken (*Ann. Instit.* 1841, p. 33; *Mittelitalien*, p. 244) who cites him.

² Gruner calls this rock a volcanic *neufro*, but it is decidedly of aqueous deposition, often containing oyster-shells, and other marine substances. It is compact when moist, but extremely friable when dry; and, like chalk, it has occasional layers of flint.

it is covered with a light wood of oaks. There was no reason to suspect the existence of ancient sepulchres ; for it was not a mere tumulus, but a hill, raised by nature, not by art. Yet it has proved to be a vast sepulchre or rather a cemetery in itself—a *polyandrion*—an isolated city of the dead—situated like other ancient cities on the summit of a hill—fenced around with walls and fosse, filled with the abodes of the dead, carved into the very forms, and adorned with the very decorations and furniture of those of the living, arranged in distinct terraces, and communicating by the usual network of streets and alleys.³

I know not what first induced Signor Pietro Bonci-Casuccini, the owner of the hill, to make excavations here ; it may have been merely in pursuance of his long and systematic researches on his estate. But in the winter of 1839-40 the spade was applied, and very soon brought to light the marvels of the mound.

About the base of the conical crest was unearthed a circuit of masonry, of rectangular blocks of travertine, uncemented, from two to four feet in length ; and around this was a fosse three or four feet wide. Many of the blocks, removed from their original places, lie scattered at the base of the mound ; but the fosse may still be traced, and will be found to mark a circumference of more than nine hundred feet.⁴

Above it the crest of the hill rises some forty or fifty feet, and in its slopes open the tombs, not in a single row, but in several tiers or terraces, one above the other ; and

³ Conical mounds or isolated rocks of other forms, full of sepulchres, are not uncommon in Asia Minor. Mr. Stuart speaks of one at Dogan-lù, in Phrygia (Lydia and Phrygia, p. 11), and Sir Charles Fellows describes and illustrates one at Pinara in Lycia. Fellows' Lycia, p. 139.

⁴ Abeken (Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 31) says 285 *mètres*, which are equal to 938 feet English. A similar wall and fosse have been found encircling tombs at Sta Marinella and Selva la Rocca ; and a fosse is cut in the rock round a tumulus at Bieda. See Vol. I. p. 271.

not in regular or continuous order, but in groups. A single passage of great length cut into the heart of the hill, and at right angles with the girdling fosse, generally leads into a spacious antechamber, or *atrium*, on which open several smaller chambers, or *triclinia*, just as in the tombs of Cære.⁵ Both *atrium* and *triclinia* are surrounded by benches of rock for the support of the bodies or of sarcophagi. The ceilings are generally flat, and coffered in recessed squares or oblongs, as in the other tombs of Chiusi, or they are carved into beams and rafters. They are painted in the usual style, and the walls also in certain chambers have painted figures, which though often almost effaced and in no case very distinct, may be traced as those of dancers or *athletæ*, circling the apartments in a frieze, about twenty inches high.⁶ The benches of rock are not left in unmeaning shapelessness; they are hewn into the form of couches, with pillows or cushions at one end, and the front moulded into seat and legs in relief—so many patterns of Etruscan furniture, more durable than the articles themselves. Many of these couches are double—made for a pair of bodies to recline side by side, as they are generally represented in the banquets painted on the walls. They prove this monument to be of a period when bodies were buried, rather than burned.⁷

The most important tombs are on the lower and second tiers. On the lower, the most remarkable is one that opens to the south. It is circular, about twenty-five feet in diameter, supported in the centre by a huge column

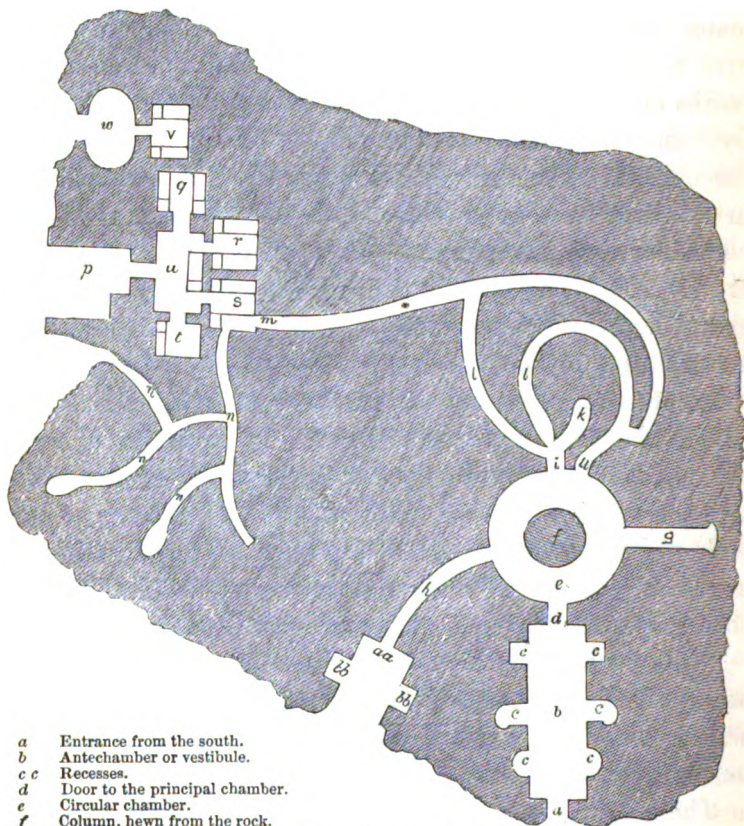
⁵ The antechamber still more nearly resembles an *atrium*, inasmuch as the roof has in most instances fallen in, leaving it open to the sky.

⁶ The principal of these paintings are in a group of tombs to the right of the circular tomb, marked *e* in the Plan.

They are of very simple character, of two colours only, red and black, and in an archaic style. See Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 10.

⁷ The doors of these tombs are all moulded in the usual Egyptian form, with an overhanging square-headed lintel.

PLAN OF A PORTION OF THE PRINCIPAL STORY
IN THE
POGGIO GAJELLA.



- a* Entrance from the south.
- b* Antechamber or vestibule.
- c c* Recesses.
- d* Door to the principal chamber.
- e* Circular chamber.
- f* Column, hewn from the rock.
- g* Cuniculus, or passage cut in the rock, not yet cleared out.
- h* Cuniculus, leading to chamber *aa*.
- i* Original mouth of the passages.
- k* Passages, varying in size, and inclination, but only large enough to admit a man on all fours. At * the original cuniculus *m* seems to have terminated, or to have turned in another direction; the rest of it to *s* being narrower and more irregular.
- l* Spurious mouth of the passages, opening much higher in the wall than *i*.
- ll* Cuniculi, partly unfinished, partly not yet excavated.
- p* Antechamber to the group of square tombs, opening to the west.
- q* Chambers, more or less rude, and all unpainted, with rock-hewn benches.
- r* In *s* are the mouths of the cuniculi *m* and *n*.
- s*
- t*
- u* Antechamber to
- v* A tomb found filled with large stones.
- w* Chamber, now encumbered with earth.
- aa* Chamber, now encumbered with earth.
- bb bb* Recesses in its walls.

The shaded part represents the rock in which the tombs and passages are hewn.

hewn from the rock, ten or eleven feet thick, rudely formed, without base or capital, but in the place of the latter there chances to occur a thin stratum of flints.⁸ The tomb is much injured, retaining no traces of ornament, except over the entrance, where is something like a head in relief on the lintel. Some beautiful vases,⁹ and the curious stone sphinxes of the Museo Casuccini were found here. Nothing is now to be seen but fragments of urns of *cispo*. In this circular tomb, as well as in the group of square chambers on the same level, are mysterious dark passages opening in the walls, and exciting the astonishment and curiosity of the stranger. Of these more will be said anon.



ETRUSCAN SPHINX, FROM THE
FOGGIO GAJELLA.

There are four other groups of tombs in this lower tier, making twenty-five chambers in all, besides two which are unfinished.

On the tier above this are several tombs, some in groups, others single; two to the south seem to have been circular. The finest group is one of five square chambers opening to the south-east, whose walls retain traces of painting, now much injured. Here were discovered articles of great beauty and value :—the magnificent vase of the Judgment of Paris, which forms the gem of the Casuccini collection,

⁸ The entrance to this tomb is by a broad passage, or rather chamber, with large recesses on either hand, indicated in the Plan.

⁹ For an account of these vases, some of which were in the archaic Etruscan style, others of the best Greek art, see Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 128.—Feuerbach.

At the entrance to the round chamber was found part of a winged lion, of *cispo*, in the most severely archaic style; and such, it is thought, must have surrounded this tumulus in great numbers, as at the Cucumella, of Vulci. Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 9.

found in one hundred and twenty minute pieces, now neatly rejoined—another vase on a small bronze stand or stool, with legs like those sculptured on the couches of rock—a cinerary urn in the form of a male statue, with a moveable head as a lid—many small articles of gold and jewellery, and some thin *laminæ* of gold attached to the walls of one of the tombs, as though originally lining it throughout. In two of these chambers open small passages, like those in the lower tier.¹⁰

On the third and highest tier are three groups of tombs, one of which is supported by a column of rock; and here also were found articles of jewellery, and fragments of painted vases.¹

The marvel and mystery of this curious hive of tombs are the dark passages, which have given rise to as much speculation as such obscurities are ever wont to excite, in works sepulchral or literary, ancient or modern, of Cheops or Coleridge. They are just large enough for a man to creep through on all fours. Here, traveller, if curious and enterprising, “you may thrust your arms up to the elbows in adventures.” Enter one of the holes in the circular tomb, and take a taper, either between your teeth, or in your fore-paw, to light you in your Nebuchadnezzar-like progress. You will find quite a labyrinth in the heart of the mound. Here the passage makes a wide sweep or circuit, apparently at random—

¹⁰ The longest of these passages extends to 35 *braccia*, or 67 feet, and is not yet fully cleared out. Another passage, which is nearly 3 feet square, runs some distance in a straight line into the rock, and then meets a third, at right angles, which is still full of earth.

¹ As the tombs on this upper tier are inferior to those below them, Abeken

suggests that they may have been for the slaves or dependents of the family. *Ann. Inst.* 1841, p. 32. But the meanest tombs are at the base of the mound. Some have seen in these a fourth tier, though they can hardly be said to be on a different level from the principal groups.

there it bends back on itself, and forms an inner sweep, leading again to the circular chamber—now it terminates abruptly, after a longer or shorter course,—and now, behold! it brings you to another tomb in a distant part of the hill. Observe, too, as you creep on your echoing way, that the passages sometimes rise, sometimes sink, and rarely preserve the same level; and that they occasionally swell out or contract, though generally regular and of uniform dimensions.²

What can these *cuniculi* mean? is a question every one asks, but none can satisfactorily answer. Had they been beneath a city, we should find some analogy between them and those often existing on Etruscan sites, not forgetting the Capitol and Rock Tarpeian. Had they been beneath some temple, or oracular shrine, we might see in them the secret communications by which the machinery of jugglery was carried forward; but in tombs—among the mouldering ashes of the dead, what purpose could they have served? Some have thought them part of a regularly planned labyrinth, of which the circular tomb was the centre or nucleus, formed to preserve the remains and treasure there deposited from profanation and pillage.³ But surely they would not then make so many superfluous means of access to the chamber, when it already had a regular entrance. Moreover, the smallness of the passages—never more than three feet in height, and two in width, as small, in truth, as could well be made by the hand of man, which renders it difficult to thread them on all fours; the irregularity of their level; and the fact that one has its opening just beneath the ceiling,

² For plans of the several stories in this tumulus, and for illustrations of the articles found in the tombs, see the beautiful work of Dr. Braun cited above.

The plans and plates are by M. Gruner, the well-known artist. The plan given at page 394 is from that work.

³ Feuerbach, Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 8.

destroying the beauty of the walls which were painted with dancing figures, and that another actually cuts through one of the rock-hewn couches—forbid us to suppose they were designed for regular communication, or were constructed throughout on any determined system. In truth, the latter facts would seem to show that in those cases, at least, they must be of subsequent construction to the tombs. Could they then have been formed either by the burrowings of some animal, or by former plunderers of the tombs in their search for treasures?

To the first it may be safely objected that these passages are too large, and in general too regular. In one of the tombs in the upper tier, however, are certain passages too small to admit a man, and therefore in all probability formed by some animal. I learned from the peasants who dwell at the foot of the hill, that badgers have been killed here. On the roofs of several of the chambers, which I was told had been found choked with earth, I observed the marks of that animal's claws. But it is impossible to believe that these labyrinthine passages have been made by that or any other quadruped.

It is more easy to believe that they have been formed in by-gone researches for buried treasure.⁴ That the tombs have been opened in past ages is evident from the state in which they were discovered, from the broken pottery and urns, and from the pieces of a vase being found in separate chambers.⁵ Yet in general there is too much regularity about them, for the work of careless excavators. In one instance, indeed, in the second tier, there is a passage of very careful and curious formation, which

⁴ This was Abeken's more digested opinion (*Mittelital.* p. 244), and that of Micali also (*Mon. Ined.* p. 365).

⁵ The gold and jewellery discovered

must have been overlooked by the first riflers, as is sometimes the case—articles of great value being found occasionally among the loose earth.

gradually diminishes in size as it penetrates the hill, not regularly tapering, but in successive stages—*magna componere parris*—like the tubes of an open telescope. From a careful examination of the *cuniculi* in this hill, all of which I penetrated, I cannot but regard them as generally evincing design ; here and there are traces of accidental or random excavation, such as the openings into the tombs which spoil their symmetry ; but these, I think, did not form part of the original construction ; they must have been made by the riflers carrying on the passages which were left as *cul-de-sacs*.⁶

What the design of this labyrinth may have been, I cannot surmise. Analogy does not assist us here. True, the Grotta della Regina at Toscanella, has somewhat kindred passages, though to a much smaller extent ; but these are involved in equal obscurity ; and in one of the mounds at Monteroni there were found *cuniculi* of this description, though leading not from the tomb, but from the grand entrance-passage.⁷ There seems to be little analogy with the system of vertical shafts and horizontal ways which exists in the same tumulus at Monteroni, in the necropolis of Ferento, and in the Capitoline. There is more apparently with the subterranean passages beneath Chiusi ; still more with the Buche de' Saracini at Volterra ; but these are of most doubtful antiquity, origin, and purpose, and probably not sepulchral. Nor can any affinity

⁶ The passage which connects the circular chamber with the group to the west, narrows very suddenly as it approaches the latter, and opens in it in an irregular aperture, which seems of more recent date. In the circular chamber, one opening is regular, and another quite irregular. Yet in one case it is the neatest and most decidedly artificial passage that cuts through the

bench. May not the passages have been formed *before* certain of the tombs ? May they not have formed part of the original sepulchre in connection with the circular chamber, and have been cut into by the subsequent excavation of other chambers ?

⁷ Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 242) supposes these to have been the work of former riflers.

be discovered to the catacombs of Rome, Naples, and other places in Italy and Sicily. Future researches, either by clearing out these passages where they are now blocked up, or by analogous discoveries, may possibly throw some light on the mystery.

We have now seen the existence of something very like a labyrinth in the heart of an Etruscan sepulchral tumulus, and have thus established, by analogy, the characteristic truth of Varro's description, as regards the substructions of Porsena's monument. I would, however, go no further. I would not infer, as some have done, that this tumulus of Poggio Gajella may be the very sepulchre of that hero. The circular, instead of the square basement, and the comparatively late date of its decorations and contents are opposed to such a conclusion.⁸ Yet its vast extent, and the richness of its furniture, mark it as the burial-place of some of the ancient princes of Clusium; and its discovery, after so many ages of oblivion, encourages the hope that some kindred monument may yet be found, which may unhesitatingly be pronounced the original of Varro's description.⁹

Be this hope realised or not, the memory of Porsena and his virtues is beyond decay. It rests not on mausoleum or "star-y-pointing pyramid," which, without that "monument more durable than brass," are frail and perishing records of human greatness; for, as an old writer observes, "to be but pyramidally extant is a fallacy in duration."

⁸ This is also Abeken's opinion. *Mittelitalien*, p. 245.

⁹ There is another similar, but larger hill, not far off, called Poggio di San Paolo, which tradition has marked as the depository of ancient treasures. Fragments of massive masonry also

seem to indicate the basement of a sepulchral tumulus. Here is a most promising field for such researches. But no excavations have been yet made; and are not likely to be made as long as the mound remains in the hands of its present proprietors.

CHAPTER LIII.

CETONA AND SARTEANO.

Molta tenent antiqua, sepolta, vetusta.

ENNIUS.

— già furo

Incliti, ed or n'è quasi il nome oscuro.

ARIOSTO.

THE hills to the west of Chiusi are rich in Etruscan remains. The several towns of Cetona, Sarteano, Chianciano and Montepulciano are supposed, from the positions they occupy, and the mines of ancient wealth around them, not from any extant remains of fortifications, to indicate the sites of so many Etruscan cities. It is certain at least that in their environs are ancient cemeteries yielding the most archaic relics of Etruscan times. He who visits Chiusi should not omit to extend his tour to these towns, for they are all within a trifling distance of that city, and of each other; and should he feel little interest in their antiquities, he cannot fail to be delighted with the glorious scenery around them. He may make the tour of the whole in a day, for the roads are very respectable.

Cetona is only five or six miles from Chiusi—a clean little town, and a picturesque, on an olive-clad height, with a ruined castle of feudal times towering above it. Moreover, it has a decent *locanda*, kept by Alessandro Davide, where bright eyes will look brighter when the traveller comes.

The Etruscan antiquities now visible at Cetona are all contained in one house, that of the Cavaliere Terrosi, who has drawn most of these treasures from a spot called Le Cardetelle, in the valley of the Astrone, half way between Chiusi and Cetona. This gentleman's collection is not large, but very select—the choicest produce of his excavations. Here are some beautiful specimens of the black pottery of this district—the tall, cock-crested jars, *focolari*, and other articles in the old rigid style of Clusian art; among which a fine goblet of the rare form called *carchesion*, with a band of figures in relief, is conspicuous. There are painted vases also, chiefly in the archaic style, with black figures on a red ground.

But the gems of this collection are two ash-chests. One, on which reclines a female figure, with *patera* in hand, on a cushion that was once coloured blue, bears in the relief below an armed warrior, seized by two figures in human shape, but with the heads of a pig and of a ram. A draped female, who seems to have the warrior's sword in one hand, stands behind him, and lifts a rod over his head with the other, while round the same arm is entwined a serpent. Another female, whose attributes mark her as a Fury, stands at the opposite end of the scene. A second warrior is sinking to the ground in death. It is not difficult to recognise in this scene the attempted enchantment of Ulysses by Circe.¹ The drapery on these figures bears traces of pink colouring.

¹ Who may be the dying warrior is not obvious. Dr. Braun suggests it may be Eurylochus who brought the hero word of the fate of his companions, though he was not slain on this occasion. He might be introduced merely for the sake of the composition, were it not that the Fury seems expressly to indi-

cate his death. Ann. Inst. 1842. p. 48; Bull. Inst. 1843. p. 61. Sozzi (Bull. Inst. 1842. p. 18) took this scene for a Bacchic dance. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 310) confesses his inability to explain it. An illustration of the urn is given in Ann. Inst. 1842. tav. d'Agg. D.; and by Micali, op. cit. tav. XLIX.

The other cinerary urn is the best preserved Etruscan monument of this character I remember to have seen. The relief shows a female without wings, but with a hammer and the other usual attributes of a demon, sitting on an altar, with her arm about a naked youth. On each side a man, with a Phrygian cap and a light robe, stands with drawn bow, threatening the life of the youth. A child sits weeping at the foot of the altar, and a female figure in an attitude of grief, with hands clasped on her lap, sits on the other side of the demon. It is difficult to explain this scene. It may represent the slaughter of Penelope's suitors—the chaste queen being portrayed in the weeping female, if this be not Euryclæa, her nurse; and the two archers being Ulysses and Telemachus.²

The interest of this urn lies not so much in the subject of the relief, as in its high state of preservation, and its peculiar adornments. The necklace, chaplet, zone, and anklets of the genius are gilt; so also the chaplet of the youth, and the Phrygian cap of the warrior; and the drapery of the whole is coloured a rich purple. The recumbent figure on the lid is that of an elderly man, and his chaplet of oak-leaves, his long and thick torque, his signet-ring, and the vase in his hand, are all gilt; while

² This is Dr. Braun's opinion. *Ann. Instit.* 1842. p. 48. *tav. d'Agg. E.* He elsewhere suggests that the demon on the altar may be Proserpine. *Bull. Inst.* 1843. p. 61. He acknowledges that Telemachus is not so represented by Homer; but Etruscan versions of Greek myths generally differ more or less from those which are received. Though there are no corpses represented, he thinks that the demon sufficiently indicates the work of destruction. Who the youth under her protecting arm may be, and what the child weep-

ing at her feet may mean, it is most difficult to conjecture. Micali (*Mon. Ined.* p. 309) sees in the female, Penelope caressed by the insolent suitors, one of whom tries in vain to draw the bow, when Ulysses seizes his weapon and takes his revenge. But the relief will not admit of this interpretation. Sozzi (*Bull. Inst.* 1842. p. 19) takes the demon for Proserpine striving to keep the soul of Alcestis from Hercules. This urn is illustrated by Micali, *Mon. Ined. tav. XLIX.*

the cushion on which he reclines and the drapery on his person are purple. These colours are perfectly fresh, and are set out brilliantly by the pure white alabaster of the monument. The effect of the whole is very rich ; and as the sculpture is not of a high order, the colour does not impair the ideality. It is the best specimen of polychromy, applied to sculpture, that is to be seen in Etruria.

A just value is set on this relic, for it is carefully preserved in a glass case.

The Cavaliere is most courteous to strangers, and permits his treasures to be freely inspected. Those with Cockney tastes will find somewhat in his grounds to delight them.

Another relic of classical antiquity to be seen at Cetona is a statue of marble, the size of life, recently discovered among some Roman ruins near the town. It represents a philosopher or poet, sitting, half-draped, in an attitude of contemplation, and is evidently of Roman times.³ It is in the possession of Signor Gigli.

If Cetona be an ancient site, we have no clue to its original name ; the earliest record we have of it being in the thirteenth century of our era.⁴

From Cetona to Sarteano there are but four miles, and the road is full of beauty. It ascends a steep and lofty height covered with wood, and from the summit commands a magnificent view over the vale of the Chiana—Cetona nestling at the foot of the mountain which bears its name, a mighty mass of hanging woods, in winter all robed in snow ⁵—La Pieve with its twin towers, like horns bristling

³ See Bull. Instit. 1843. p. 153, for further notices of this statue.

⁴ Repetti, I. p. 678. For notices of the excavations on this site see Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 50 ; 1842, p. 17. At Palazzone, six miles south of Cetona, many Etrus-

can relics have recently been discovered.

⁵ Monte Cetona rises 1957 *braccia*, or about 3751 feet, above the level of the sea. In this mountain, says Repetti, we find verified the fable of Janus, who looks with one face at the regions of

from the brow of the long dark hills which stretch up from the south—Chiusi, nearer the eye, on a rival height—the intervening valley, with its grey and brown carpet of olive and oak woods—the lakes gleaming out bluely in the distance—and the snowy Apennines billowing along the horizon.

Sarteano stands on the brow of an elevated plateau, overhanging the valley of the Chiana.⁶ It is a place of some importance, fully as large as Chiusi, surrounded by walls of the middle ages. The inn, kept by a dame of the ethereal name of Serafina, but of as substantial a frame as an hostess could desire, is more respectable than might be expected in a district so little frequented by foreign travellers; but this range of hills is much resorted to by the Tuscans in the hot season, both as a retreat from the burning heat of the low grounds, and for the sake of its mineral waters.

At Sarteano there are three *foci* of interest to the antiquary—the collections of the Cavaliere Bargagli, the Dottor Borselli, and Signor Lunghini.

The first of these gentlemen has some choice urns, found on his estate at a spot called Le Tombe, near the banks of the Astrone.

One represents in its relief Hippolytus attacked by the sea-bull, which Neptune sent against him, and which caused his horses to take fright, so that they dashed him and his chariot to pieces—

littore currum

Et juvenem monstribus pavidis effudere marinis.

Vulcan, with the other at the realm of Neptune; for though it rises in the midst of hills covered with marine substances, it gives vent on every side to sulphureous vapours and hot springs, which have completely incrustated its base; while at a few miles' distance,

rise the lava-cone of Radicofani, and the trachite of Montamiata, I. p. 683.

⁶ Sarteano is only five miles from Chiusi; the road is excellent. About half-way is a hill, called Poggio Montolo, where painted tombs are said to have been discovered.

A female demon or Fury, holding a torch, bestrides the fallen youth, and a warrior seems about to attack her, sword in hand.⁷

There is a very good urn with the trite subject of Eteocles and Polynices. The moment, as usual, is chosen when the brothers are giving each other the death-wound. A Fury rushes between them, not to separate them, but to indicate her triumph over both ; she sets her foot on an altar in the midst, and extinguishes her torch.⁸ This urn is worthy of notice, as having on the lid, beside the usual recumbent figure, which is here a male, a little child also, caressing its father.

Another relief represents Orestes in Tauris ; and indicates the discovery by Iphigenia, that the stranger she is about to sacrifice to Diana, is her own brother. Orestes, naked, sits weeping on the altar ; she, also naked, stands leaning on his shoulder in deep dejection. Pylades is being disarmed by a warrior, to be subjected to the same bloody rite ; and the female attendants of the priestess fill up the scene. The execution of this relief is admirable.

Another scene, where two young warriors are slaying an old man and seizing a maiden, must represent the death of Priam and rape of Cassandra. A female demon, as usual, is in at the death.

These urns, with others, fourteen in all, were found in one tomb, and the inscriptions show them to belong to the family of "CUMERE."¹ The door of the tomb was closed

⁷ This urn is polychrome—the flesh of the men, the horses, the flame of the torch, are all red ; the drapery, the shield, and other parts of the relief bear traces of yellow.

⁸ She has wings on her brows, a serpent round her neck, blue wings to her shoulders, and red buskins. The armour

and weapons also of the warriors are painted.

¹ The name is found also with the inflexions of Cumeresa, Cumerusa, Cumerunia. Lanzi gives other Etruscan sepulchral inscriptions with the names of Camarina, Camurina, and Camas, which last he would read Camara. Saggio, II. pp. 376, 399, 434.

by a large tile, bearing the same name ; it is also in this collection. The discovery of a sepulchre of this family in the neighbourhood has led some to regard Sarteano as the site of the ancient Camars, without sufficient reason,² though the very archaic character of the pottery found in its tombs proves the existence of Etruscan habitation at a remote period.³

Dr. Borselli has a collection of vases ; some painted, but most of the black ware of this district. Among the early pottery are *canopi*, both in black and coloured ware ; and there is also a round urn of stone in the shape of an Egyptian female's head, with a conical cap for a lid ; in it was found a bronze pot containing the ashes of the dead. Of the painted pottery, the best articles have been sold of late years, but a few of merit remain.⁴

Signor Lunghini possesses a large collection of Etruscan pottery, both painted and in the usual black relieved ware.⁵ The most remarkable are two of those tall and very rare vases, commonly called *holmi*,⁶ a good specimen

² Cervetri might as reasonably be supposed the site of the ancient Tarquinii, because the Tomb of the Tarquins is in its neighbourhood. Lanzi (II. p. 451) thinks Sarteano may be traced in the Etruscan name, "Satria."

³ For notices of the urns in the Museum Bargagli, see Bull. Inst. 1836. pp. 30 — 32 (Sozzi) ; 1840. pp. 151 — 2 (Braun).

⁴ An *amphora*, with Hercules leading Cerberus (here with but two heads) and followed by Minerva,—a *celebe*, with a warrior receiving a goblet from a female, in very good style,—a similar vase, with *athletæ* exercising,—a *patera*, with naked youths at the bath, holding strigils,—a *scyphos*, with Fauns, Maenades, and sphinxes. There were formerly in this collection some beautiful

vases with mythological subjects—the deeds of Theseus, and Prometheus delivered from the vulture by the arrows of Hercules. There was also a seat or curule chair of pottery, with bas-reliefs ; much resembling the beautiful marble throne of the Palazzo Corsini at Rome. For notices of this collection, as it was a few years since, see Bull. Inst. 1840. pp. 148, 149, 153.

⁵ On the painted pottery are scenes from the Trojan War—the deeds of Hercules—Europa and the bull—Minerva caressing a horse—fauns feeding the ass of Silenus—fauns pursuing Bacchantes—chariot-races—sacrifices, &c. Here are also some minute cups and saucers, and other toys in pottery—the furniture of a child's sepulchre.

⁶ The *holmos* was also the flat or

of which decorates the Gregorian Museum. They are about three feet high, and are composed of a bowl-shaped vase, resting on a stand. Whether for containing the ashes of the dead, or for perfumes I cannot tell ; but the lid is pierced for the escape of *effluvium*. One of these vases is painted with numerous figures of men and animals in separate bands ; the other is of black ware with decorations in relief. Both are evidently of very early date.

But the most singular article in this collection is an urn of stone in the form of a little temple or small dog-kennel, with a high-pitched roof. Each side displays a scene in very low relief. First is a death-bed—the corpse covered with the shroud—children on their knees in attitudes of grief—wailing-women tearing their hair—*subulones* drowning their cries with the double-pipes. On the opposite side is a race of *trigæ*, or three-horse chariots ; and at the ends are banqueting-scenes—the feasting and sports attending the funeral. On the ridge of the roof at each end is a lion couchant—the symbolic guardians of the ashes. The urn rests on the bodies of two bulls with human, or rather fauns' heads,⁷ representing either river-gods, or, more probably, Bacchus Hebon,—

Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem.

This monument is an excellent specimen of the very early and severely archaic style of Etruscan sculpture.⁸

So rich is the soil around Sarteano in Etruscan treasures, that in the ordinary processes of agriculture articles

hollow plate placed on a tripod, as the seat of the Pythia when she delivered her oracles.

⁷ These heads are like that shown in the wood-cut at page 358 of Vol. I. This is a figure found on many bronze coins of Neapolis of late date ; and is

supposed to represent either Bacchus Hebon, the divinity of Campania, or the Sebethus, a rivulet near that city, or Achelous, or some other river-god. Ann. Inst. 1841. p. 133.

⁸ For a notice of this urn, see Bull. Inst. 1846. p. 162.

are often brought to light, and the various proprietors of land come into the possession of antiquities without the trouble of research. In the hands of Gaetano Bernardini, a shopkeeper of Sarteano, I saw some very curious bronzes ; indeed this necropolis is hardly less abundant in metals than in pottery.

Most of these relics are found near the Madonna della Fea, about a mile to the west ; others also at a spot called Solaja, in the same direction ; but the most archaic pottery is found still further, towards Castiglioncel del Trinoro, a wall-girt village, with the ominous alias of de' Ladri, or, the Robber-hold, three miles from Sarteano, towards Radicofani.⁹

⁹ The tombs of Sarteano are all hollowed in the rock, as usual. They are very simple, without decorations, and have generally but a single chamber,

which, when of great size, is supported by a rock-hewn pillar in the midst. Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 10. None remain open for inspection.

CHAPTER LIV.

CHIANCIANO AND MONTEPULCIANO.

Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.

VIRGIL. *Æn. vii. 356.*

FROM Sarteano to Chianciano it is a drive of seven miles amid glorious scenery. This range of heights, indeed the whole district of Chiusi, is prodigal in charms—an earthly paradise. There are so many features of beauty, that those which are wanting are not missed. Here are hill and vale, rock and wood, towns and castles on picturesque heights, broad islet-studded lakes, and ranges of Alpine snow and sublimity; and if the ocean be wanting, it has no unapt substitute in the vast vale or plain of Chiana—a sea of fertility and luxuriance; while all is warmed and enriched by the glowing sun of Italy, and canopied by a vault of that heavenly blue, that

Dolce color d'oriental zaffiro,

which reflects beauty on everything beneath it. It is the sort of scenery which wins rather than imposes, whose grandeur lies in its totality, not in particular features, where sublimity takes you not by storm, but retires into an element of the beautiful.

Chianciano, like Sarteano, stands on the brow of a hill, girt with corn, vines and olives—a proud site, lording it over the wide vale of the Chiana, and the twin lakes of Chiusi and Montepulciano. It is a neat town of about

two thousand souls, and is much resorted to in summer, for the hot springs in its neighbourhood. Here are two little inns, kept by Faenzi and Sporazzini; in neither will the traveller have much occasion to complain.

There are no local remains of high antiquity at Chianciano, yet it seems very probable, both from the nature of its position, and from the discovery of numerous sepulchres in the neighbourhood, that an Etruscan town occupied this site. In truth the modern name is indicative of the ancient appellation.¹ Many Etruscan tombs have been opened at a spot called Volpajo, near the mound of I Gelli, half a mile from Chianciano.²

The only gentleman who at present makes excavations in this necropolis is the Signor Carlo Casuccini, cousin of the Casuccini of Chiusi. From the collection in his possession, I learned that besides the peculiar black ware of this district—the *ciste mistiche*, the *focolari*, and cock-crowned jars—vases painted in the finest Hellenic style are sometimes brought to light, together with bronzes of various descriptions. I remarked a novelty in a steel dagger, with a ring at the hilt, for fixing it like a bayonet to a pole.³

¹ The derivation from Chiana (Clanis) is obvious; but the very name of this town has been found in an Etruscan inscription, which contains that also of Clusium—"CLUNIA." The form in which it occurs is "CLANICIANISTH." Mus. Chius. II. p. 222. This is probably an adjective, the last syllable answering, it may be, to the Latin adjectival termination,—*ensis*—as *à celo*, *caelestis*—*ab agro*, *agrestis*—an inflexion common also in modern Italian.

² Among the antique treasure here brought to light was a large vase, containing no less than seven axe-heads, and forty-three spades, of bronze, weigh-

ing altogether 100 lbs. Bull. Inst. 1830. p. 63; 1831. p. 38. These were, till lately, in the possession of the Signori Conti of Chianciano. In the same neighbourhood, at a spot called Le Fornaci, was found, half a century since, the remains of an ancient factory of vases and tiles, of Roman times, belonging to a certain L. Gellius. On two of the tiles was inscribed the name of that Sisenna, who was consul in the year of Rome 769, sixteen years after Christ; but though of so late a date the word is written from right to left, in the Etruscan style. Bull. Inst. 1832. p. 33.

³ In the neighbourhood of Chianciano

Chianciano is only four miles from Montepulciano. The road skirts the brow of the hills, which are covered with oak-woods ; about half-way it crosses the Acqua Boglia, a sulphureous and ferruginous spring ; and, on the approach to Montepulciano, passes a bare, conical hill, called Poggio Tutoni, or Tutona—a name, which from its affinity to the Tutni or Tutna, often found in Etruscan inscriptions in this district, appears to be very ancient.⁴

Montepulciano is a city of some three thousand inhabitants, girt by walls of the middle ages, and cresting a lofty height at the northern extremity of this range of hills. It is built on so steep a slope, that it would seem the architects of the Cathedral had leagued with the priests to impose a perpetual penance on the inhabitants by placing it at the summit of the town. The most interesting building is the church of San Biagio, without the walls, a modern edifice after the designs of Sangallo, which owes its existence to a miracle of a Madonna, who is recorded to have winked “her most holy eyes” at two washerwomen, in so fascinating a manner as to bring even a herd of cattle to their knees before her image.

Montepulciano is supposed to be an Etruscan site. Its situation and the remains discovered in its neighbourhood, favour this opinion. Some have ascribed its foundation to Porsena ;⁵ others more modestly have regarded it as the

has been found one of the rare bilingual inscriptions, in Etruscan and Latin. The former would run thus in Roman letters—

CUINT. SENU. ARNTNAL.

which is translated by

Q. SENTIVS. L. F. ARRIA. NATVS.

See Bull. Inst. 1841. p. 14. cf. p. 80. The last letter in the second word of the

Etruscan epitaph, was probably T, a character which in the Etruscan may easily be mistaken for an U.

⁴ In the Museo Chiusino (II. pp. 124, 133, 226) will be found Etruscan inscriptions with this family-name ; and I have observed them both at Chiusi and Cetona.

⁵ Auctores ap. Dempster. Etrur. Reg. II. p. 422.

Arretium Fidens of Pliny,⁶ or as the Ad Novas of the Peutingerian Table.⁷ The earliest record we have of it is in the year 715 after Christ, when it was called Castellum Politianum.⁸ Its ancient name must remain a matter of conjecture, till fortune favours us with some local inscription, throwing light on the subject. No vestiges of ancient walls are now extant, nor are there any tombs open around the town. The only evidence of antiquity is in the collection of monuments, Etruscan and Latin, discovered in the vicinity, and preserved in the Palazzo Buccelli.⁹ Here are sepulchral inscriptions, and reliefs from sarcophagi and urns, embedded in the façade—a prodigal display of antiquarian wealth, which is lost on the eyes of the natives, but has the advantage of attaching the relics to the spot. In the reliefs are centaurs, gorgons, souls on horseback—but nothing of extraordinary interest. Some

⁶ Dempster. II. p. 423.

⁷ Cluver. II. p. 569 ; Cramer, Ancient Italy, I. p. 247. ~~If this be the case, the VIII. of the Table is probably a mis-copy of XIII. ; but Montepulciano seems to lie off the direct road.~~

North of Clusium the Tables give us the following stations, on the ancient Via Cassia.

ANTONINE ITINERARY.

Clusium.	
Ad Statuas	XII.
Arretium	XXV.
Ad Fines, sive Casas	
Cæsarianas	XXV.
Florentiam	XXV.
Pistorium	XXV.
Lucam	XXV.

PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.

Clusium.	
Ad Novas	VIII.
Ad Græcos	VIII.
Ad Joglandem	XII.
Bituriha	X.

Ad Aquileia	XIII.
Florentia Tuscorum	—
Arnum fl.	—
In Portu	III.
Valuata	XVII.
Pisis	VIII.

From Clusium a second road ran more to the west to Sena, and apparently to Florentia, according to the same Table ; but the distances are very incorrect.

Clusium.	
Ad Novas	VIII.
Manliana	VIII.
Ad Mensulas	XVIII.
Umbro fl.	XVI.
Sena Julia	VI.
Ad Sextum	XVI.
—	XXXIII.

⁸ Repetti, III. p. 465.

⁹ Gori, Mus. Etrus. I. tab. 191—5 ;

Lanzi, II. p. 269 ; Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. I. p. 14.

* But the distance from Clusium is much more than nine miles.

of the inscriptions are remarkable for having Etruscan names in Roman letters,¹ as—

TITIA · C · L
FAVSAL

A . . . ABASSA
ARNTHAL · FRAVNAL

Let not the traveller omit to pay his *devoirs* to the liquid “manna of Montepulciano,” the monarch of Tuscan, if not of all other wines, as Bacchus and Redi have pronounced it—

“Montepulciano d’ogni vino è il Rè.”

Hark to the extatic jolliness of the god!—

“Sweet Ariadne—

Fill me the manna of Montepulciano!

Fill me a magnum, and reach it me.—Gods!

How it slides to my heart by the sweetest of roads!

Oh, how it kisses me, tickles me, bites me!

Oh, how my eyes loosen sweetly in tears!

I’m ravish’d! I’m rapt! Heaven finds me admissible!

Lost in an ecstasy! blinded! invisible!

Hearken all earth!

We, Bacchus, in the might of our great mirth

To all who reverence us, and are right thinkers;—

Hear, all ye drinkers!

Give ear and give faith to our edict divine—

Montepulciano’s the king of all wine.”

Montepulciano commands a most extensive view of the vale of the Chiana, which, after lying in confined luxuriance between this range and the triple paps of Chiusi, here swells out and unfolds its beauties in a wide expanse of fertility; stretching northward to the walls of Arezzo and the tower-crowned height of Cortona; and eastward beyond the twin lakes, to the broad and bright-bosomed

¹ Those in the native character mention the families of Varna (Varinus), Trepu (Trebius), Tlesna or Tresna (Telesinus), Latini (Latinus), Seianti

(Sejanus), Velthur (Veturius), Pethni, &c., but the greater part belong to the families of Leene (Licinius) and Tetina (Titinius).

Thrasymene, and to the very base of the hoary Apennines. This was for ages a dreary swamp, proverbial for pestilence ;

“ But that is past, and now the zephyr brings
Health in its breath, and gladness on its wings.”

It is now one of the most fertile tracts in Europe, scarcely less healthy than the heights around it. This surprising change, which had been aimed at in vain for two centuries, has been effected in the last sixty years by filling up the swamp with alluvial deposits ;² and instead of slime and putrid water, it now overruns with oil and wine, and all the wealth of a southern soil, and in place of the fish and wild-fowl, for which it was famed of old,³ are milk-white oxen, fair as the steers of Clitumnus, and flocks of sheep, tended by dark-eyed Chloes and Delias, who sit spinning by the road-side.

A great portion of the plain belongs to the Grand Duke, who has a small palace at Bettolle, eleven miles from Montepulciano, and much of the land is parcelled off into small *poderi* or farms, all built on one plan, and titled and numbered like papers in a cabinet. In appearance the plain is much like Lombardy, the products are similar, the fertility equal, the road almost as level. The traveller who would journey across it to Arezzo may find accommodation at Bettolle or Fojano.⁴

² In the Roman portion of the Val di Chiana, the opposite system of draining has been pursued, and with little success. Repetti, I. p. 685. The Clanis or Chiana originally fell into the Tiber, but is now made to fall into the Arno. This change in its course was contemplated as long since as the reign of Tiberius ; but the Florentines of that day sent a deputation to Rome deprecating such a change on the ground that their lands would be flooded and destroyed ;

and the project was abandoned. Tacit. Annal. I. 79.

³ The *λίμνη περὶ Κλούσιον* of Strabo (V. p. 226), must refer to this swamp, then under water, rather than to either of the small lakes near the town, which were probably hardly distinguishable.

⁴ Montepulciano is 13 miles from Chiusi by the direct road, 7 from Pienza, 18 or 19 from Cortona, and 32 or 33 from Arezzo. A so-called *diligence* runs to the latter city several times a week.

Every one must be struck with the beauty of the cattle on these royal farms. They are either purely white or tinged with grey, which in the sun has quite a lilac bloom; and their eyes are so large, soft, and lustrous, that one ceases to wonder that Juno was called "ox-eyed," or that Europa eloped with a bull.

At various spots in the Val di Chiana, Etruscan tombs have been found; and it would seem that some of the eminences which vary its surface, must have been occupied in ancient times by towns, or villages, though much of the low ground was under water.⁵

There is a good road through Pienza to San Quirico, 13 or 14 miles distant, on the high-road from Rome to Siena and Florence; and there is another road to Siena by Asinalunga and Asciano.

⁵ Near Asinalunga, and also on a hill near the farm of Fonte Rotella, tombs have been found with curious articles in bronze. Bull. Inst. 1834. p. 200; 1835. p. 126. Near Lucignano, in some hills, called "Poggi Grassi," or "delle Belle Donne," a Roman urn of marble and some red Aretine vases have been discovered. Bull. Inst. 1832. p. 54. And

also at the foot of the "Poggio de' Morti," or "Dead Men's Hill," some Etruscan urns, of the families of "Spurina" and "Thurice," with female ornaments of gold and silver, and painted vases in the latest and best style, have been brought to light. Bull. Inst. 1843. pp. 37, 38; cf. Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 213. tav. XXXV. 2. At Marciano, a village on the heights by the road-side, a few miles from Fojano, tombs have been opened, containing numerous urns. Bull. Inst. 1830. p. 202.

CHAPTER LV.

AREZZO.—ARRETIVM.

Sic tempora verti
Cernimus, atque illas adsumere robora gentes,
Concidere has.

OVID.

"CAN any good come out of Nazareth?" was asked of old. "Can any good come elsewhere than from Arezzo?" one is ready to inquire, on beholding the numerous tablets in the streets of that city, recording the unparalleled virtues and talents of her sons. Here dwelt "the monarch of wisdom,"—there "an incomparable pupil of Melpomene,"—this was "the stoutest champion of Tuscany, the dread and terror of the Turks,"—and that,—the world ne'er saw his like,—for

"Natura il fece, e poi ruppe la stampa"—¹

no unapt metaphor for a city of ^{Arretum Orig. Eur. c. x. sc. 6a.} potters, as this was of old. Verily may it be said, "*Parlano in Arezzo ancora i sassi*"—the very stones are eloquent of the past glories of Arezzo, and of her maternal pride. Yet some of her children's names have filled the trump, not of Tuscan, but of universal fame; and the city which has produced a Mæcenæ and a Petrarch may be pardoned for a little vanity.²

¹ This seems the original of those lines of Byron—*travesty on the H. d. line*
"—Nature made but one such man,
And broke the die, in moulding Sheridan."

² Even Mæcenæ, who, having found his bard, might well have dispensed with it, has his monument in Arezzo. On the grass-plot by the Duomo is a granite column to his memory.—"C.

It is not for me to set forth the modern glories of Arezzo—her Cathedral with its choice monuments of sculpture and painting—the quaint-fashioned church of La Pieve—the localities immortalised by Boccaccio—the delightful promenade on the ramparts—the produce of her vineyards, renowned in ancient times,³ and sung at the present day, as the juice which

Vermigliuzzo,
Brillantuzzo,
Fa superbo l' Aretino.

But I may assure the traveller that nowhere on his journeyings in Etruria will he find better accommodation than at La Posta or Le Armi d' Inghilterra, at Arezzo.⁴

This large and lively city is the representative of the ancient Arretium or Aretium,⁵ a venerable city of Etruria, and one of the Twelve of the Confederation. Of its origin we have no record.⁶ The earliest notice of it is, that with Clusium, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, and Vetulonia, it engaged to assist the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus.⁷ We next hear of it in the year 443 (B.C. 311) as refraining from joining the rest of the Etruscan cities in their attack on the town of Sutrium, then an ally of Rome;⁸ yet it must have been drawn into the war, for in the following year, it is said, jointly with Perugia and Cortona, all three among

Cilnio Mæcenati Arretino, Concives tanto nomine decorati, P. C. Prid. Idus Mai 1819, L. D. S. C."

³ Arretium had three sorts of grapes—"talpana, et etesiaca, et consemينيا"—whose peculiarities are set forth by Pliny, XIV. 4, 7.

⁴ Arezzo is 18 miles from Cortona, 31 from Montepulciano, more than 40 from Chiusi, nearly as many from Siena, and 51 from Florence.

⁵ It is spelt both ways by classic writers; but ancient inscriptions always

give Arretium. Cluver. II. p. 571.

⁶ Cluver considered it to have been prior to the Trojan War, and to have been founded either by the Umbri or Pelasgi. But there is no statement to that effect in ancient writers.

⁷ Dion. Hal. III. p. 189. This, as already stated with reference to the other four cities, is a proof of the rank Arretium took as one of the Twelve; which is fully confirmed by Livy.

⁸ Liv. IX. 32.

the chief cities of Etruria, to have sought and obtained a truce for thirty years.⁹

In the year 453 (B.C. 301) the citizens of Arretium rose against their leading family, the Cilnii, whose great wealth had excited their jealousy, and drove them out of the city. The Romans espoused the cause of the exiles, and Valerius Maximus, the dictator, marched against the Arretines and the other Etruscans who had joined them ; but during his absence from the army, in order to reconsult the auspices at Rome, his lieutenant in command fell into an ambuscade, and met with a signal defeat. The Etruscans, however, were eventually overcome in the fields of Rusellæ, and their might was broken.¹

In the war which the Etruscans, in alliance with the Gauls and Umbrians, waged against Rome in the years 459 and 460, Arretium took part, and with Perugia and Volsinii, the mightiest cities of the land, sustained another defeat in the neighbourhood of Rusellæ, and was forced to sue for peace.²

The last mention we find of Arretium, in the time of national independence, is that it was besieged by the Gauls about the year 469, and that the Romans, vainly endeavouring to relieve it, met with a signal defeat under its walls.³ There is no record of the date or the manner of its final conquest by Rome. It was at Arretium that the consul Flaminius fixed his camp before the fatal over-

⁹ Liv. IX. 37 ; Diodor. Sic. XX. p. 773.

¹ Liv. X. 3—5. Some authorities, adds Livy, state that there was no warfare consequent on the insurrection of the Arretines, but that it was peaceably suppressed and the Cilnian family restored to the favour of the people. It was of this "royal" house that

Mæcenas came.

² Liv. X. 37. — Tres validissimæ urbes, Etruriæ capita, Volsinii, Perugia, Arretium, pacem petière.

³ Polyb. II. 19. Orosius (III. 22) refers this event to the year 463, but as he says it was in the consulate of Dolabella and Domitius, he must mean 471 (B.C. 283).

throw on the shores of the Thrasymene.⁴ The city did not remain faithful during the Punic War, but made several efforts to throw off the yoke, and the Romans were compelled to make hostages of the sons of the senators, and put new keys on the city-gates.⁵ Yet towards the close of the war, Arretium furnished her quota of supplies—corn, weapons, and other munitions of war—for Scipio's fleet.⁶ In the civil contests of Sylla and Marius, she sided with the latter, and would have suffered from the victor the loss of her lands and citizenship, but for the eloquence of Cicero, who pleaded her cause.⁷ Many of the colonists afterwards espoused the cause of Catiline.⁸ In the war between Cæsar and Pompey, Arretium was one of the first places seized by the former.⁹ Her fertile lands were three times partitioned among the soldiers of the Republic, and the colonies established were distinguished by the names of Arretium Vetus, Fidens, and Julium.¹ The former was still one of the chief cities of

⁴ Liv. XXII. 2, 3; Polyb. III. 77, 80; Cicero (de Divin. I. 35) tells us that the Consul and his horse here fell suddenly to the ground before a statue of Jupiter Stator, yet he neglected the omen; and when he consulted the auspices, though the holy chickens would not feed propitiously, he refused to regard the warning, and marched out to his own destruction.

⁵ Liv. XXVII. 21, 22, 24.

⁶ Liv. XXVIII. 45.—Arretini triginta millia scutorum, galeas totidem, pila, gæsa, hastas longas, millium quinquaginta summam pari cujusque generis numero expleturos, secures, rutra, falces, alveolos, molas, quantum in quadraginta longas naves opus esset, tritici centum et viginti millia modium, et in viaticum decurionibus remigibusque collaturos.

⁷ Cicero, pro Cæcinâ, 33; ad Attic. I. 19.

⁸ Cicero, pro Murenâ, 24.

⁹ Cicero, ad Divera XVI. 12; Cæsar, Bell. Civ. I. 11.

¹ Plin. III. 8. Repetti (I. p. 113) refers the colony of Arretium Fidens to Sylla; yet Cicero (ad Attic. I. 19) expressly states that though Sylla had confiscated the lands of the Arretini, he was prevented by himself from dividing them among his legions. The Arretium Julium was established under the Triumvirate, as Frontinus (de Coloniais) assures us. Arretium is also mentioned as a colony by Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.), and as a *municipium* by Isidor (Orig. XX. 4) and by inscriptions. Dempster, II. p. 311. Cluver (II. p. 572) thinks it must have been a *municipium* of the third kind described

Etruria under the Empire.² Though said to have been destroyed by Totila, the Vandal, Arretium rose from her ashes, withstood all the vicissitudes of the dark ages, which proved so fatal to many of her fellows, and is still represented by a city, which, though shorn of her ancient pre-eminence, takes rank among the chief of Tuscany.

The walls of Arretium were renowned for the beauty and peculiarity of their construction, being formed of brick³—the only instance on record of such a material being employed in an Etruscan town. It has been asserted that those ancient fortifications still enclose the modern city; but after a careful examination, I am convinced that not a fragment of the existing walls can lay claim to an Etruscan origin.⁴ In truth, as will be presently shown, it is extremely questionable if Arezzo occupies the site of the original city.

by Festus (*sub voce*), of which the inhabitants had the citizenship of Rome, together with the internal administration of their own city.

² Strabo, V. p. 226. He states that it was the most inland city of Etruria, and a thousand *stadia* (125 miles) from Rome; which is less than the real distance. The Antonine Itinerary is nearer the truth in making the distance 139 miles. *Ut supra*, pp. 327, 413.

³ Vitruv. II. 8.—*E latere . . . in Italiâ Aretii vetustum egregie factum murum.* cf. Plin. XXXV. 49.

⁴ The assertion is made in the "Sepulchres of Etruria," p. 503, and copied into Murray's Hand Book. I speak confidently when I state that so far are the walls of Arezzo from being of Etruscan construction, that there is not a fragment of such antiquity in the entire circuit. I paid a third visit to the city in order to satisfy myself on this point. The walls are for the most part of squared stones, not unlike

bricks, in size and form, put together with cement; and they are patched here and there with larger masonry also cemented, and of yet more recent date—all undoubtedly the work of the middle ages, and of no remote period. In the walls in the higher part of the town, around the Cathedral, there are fragments of earlier construction, of brick-work, possibly Roman, for it is like that in Roman buildings of Imperial times. The best fragments are near the Porta del Casentino. This brick-work, if it be Roman, cannot be earlier than the close of the Republic, but may be of very much later date, as this style was employed for ages, and is even imitated at the present day. The brick-work of the Etruscans, the preceptors of the Romans in architecture, would resemble the fragments found at Veii (Vol. I. pp. 15, 16), or the earlier structures of the Romans, rather than any later style of that people.

In the garden of the Passionist Convent, in the lower part of the town, are some Roman ruins, of *opus reticulatum*, commonly called the Amphitheatre, but not a seat remains in the *cavea* to indicate that such was the purpose of the structure. Like the amphitheatre of Volterra, and the theatre of Fiesole, this building was long considered to be Etruscan, but its Roman origin is most manifest.⁵

Arretium was celebrated of old for her pottery, which was of red ware.⁶ Pliny speaks of it in connection with that of Samos, Surrentum, Saguntum, and Pergamos, and says it was used for dry meats as well as liquids, and was sent to various parts of the world.⁷ It was much employed for ordinary purposes, and on this account is sneered at by Martial.⁸

In excavations made at various times within the walls of Arezzo, generally in laying the foundations of buildings, much of this pottery has been brought to light; in one place, indeed, the site of a factory was clearly indicated.⁹ It is of very fine clay, of a bright coral hue, adorned with

⁵ Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. p. 55, cl. I. tab. 7) took it to be Etruscan. Did not remain of seats, steps, and *præcinctiones*, exist beneath the soil, as Gori affirms, I should take the ruin for a bath, as it bears more resemblance to certain structures of that description, than to an amphitheatre.

⁶ Isidor. Orig. XX. 4.

⁷ Plin. XXXV. 46.—*Samia etiamnum in esculetis laudantur. Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italiâ; et calicum tantum, Surrentum, Asta, Pollentia; in Hispania Saguntum, in Asia Pergamum. . . sic gentes nobilitantur. Hæc quoque per maria terrasque ultro citroque portantur, insignibus rotæ officinæ.*

⁸ Mart. l. epig. 54, 6—

Sic Aretinæ violant crystallina testæ.

And again, XIV. 98—

*Aretina nimis ne spernas vasa, monemus;
Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus.*

That the pottery of Arretium was used for ordinary purposes is also proved by Persius (l. 130) who speaks of an ædile breaking those pots which were not of just measure.

⁹ In laying the foundations of the new theatre a quantity of this pottery was found, together with moulds for casting the reliefs, and remains of vitrified earth—marking the site of a pottery. Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 238.

reliefs, rather of flowers than of figures, and bearing the maker's name at the bottom of the vase. In form, material, decoration, and style of art, it is so totally unlike the produce of any Etruscan necropolis, that it scarcely needs the Latin inscriptions to mark its origin.¹ Moreover, the decorations betray a late period of art—the elegance and finish of Augustan times, not the simplicity and severity of the purely Etruscan style—very unlike the quaint reliefs on the pottery of the neighbouring district of Chiusi. The subjects, too, are not the strange chimæras of the early monuments of Etruria, nor the scenes of Etruscan and Greek mythology on the urns, on the walls of tombs, and on the painted vases; but in general unmeaning arabesques, like those of Pompeii, though a figure or two is occasionally introduced. As far as I can learn, none of this ware has been found with Etruscan inscriptions or devices; nor ever in Etruscan tombs, though often in Roman ones of the early Empire.² Therefore, though it were too much to assert that the Etruscans never formed such a ware, it is clear that all hitherto found is of Roman manufacture. It is discovered chiefly, but not exclusively, at Arezzo. Specimens are

¹ The inscription is generally the maker's name alone, though his business and the site of the manufacture are sometimes added, thus—

A . TITI .

FIGVL

ARRET .

Bull. Inst. 1834, pp. 102, 150. For the names stamp on these vases, see Fabroni, Vasi Fittili Aretini, tav. XI; Bull. Inst. 1834, pp. 102, 150. Inghirami remarks that some of these names are Greek; which he regards as a proof that the Etruscans employed Greek artists. Mon. Etrus. V. p. 11.

² The only instance I believe, in

which this pottery has been found in connection with Etruscan articles, is where a small marble urn with a bilingual inscription was discovered in a niche in a rock, half a mile from Arezzo, surrounded by these red vases. Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 149. But from this we can only deduce that the Etruscan character had not wholly fallen into disuse at the period of the manufacture of this ware. Müller (Etrusk. IV. 3, 1) regarded this pottery as Etruscan; but his opinion seems to be formed rather on the notices of the ancients than on practical acquaintance.

occasionally brought to light on other sites in Etruria; and abundance of it at Modena.³

There are two collections of antiquities at Arezzo—the Museo Pubblico, and the Museo Bacci. The latter was once of great renown, but having been reduced by sales, and much neglected of late years, it is shorn of its pristine glory. Yet it still contains a large number of bronzes, chiefly small figures of deities, and *lares*, with coins;⁴ but there are also other articles, among which I noticed particularly a sacrificial knife, and a curious urn in the form of a lion; his body holding the fire, his head containing a square pot for the water, to which his crown serves as a lid, and the steam escaping through a pipe in his mouth—just as the water issues from the mouths of the granite lions at the foot of the Capitol, or of those in the Court of the Alhambra. Of pottery there is none worth notice, except a painted *amphora*, with red figures, representing

³ In the British Museum is a *tazza* of this red ware, with the word “LAPI” on it in Roman letters. It was found, with others of the same description, at Toscanella. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 28. The same pottery has been discovered in some quantity at Cervetri. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 20. And the red ware, found in abundance at Modena, is precisely like this of Arezzo, even to the names and seals of the potters, which are often identical (Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 14; 1841, p. 144)—a fact, which as Mutina had also its peculiar pottery (Plin. loc. cit.—habent et Tralles opera sua, et Mutina in Italiâ) must be explained by the commerce which existed in such articles.

For an account of the Arretine pottery see Dr. Fabroni's work, “Storia degli antichi vasi fittili aretini, 1841, 8vo. pp. 78.” Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. V. pp. 1—12, tav. I. And besides the

notices in the publications of the Archaeological Institute, already cited, see Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 105.

⁴ One is a *quincussis*, 4 inches in diameter. The coins which are commonly attributed to Arretium have a wheel on the obverse; and an anchor or the prow of a ship, on the reverse,—both equally inappropriate emblems for a city which was further removed from the sea than any in Etruria. Nor does the legend, in Etruscan letters, “VPR,” bear any obvious relation to Arretium. More appropriate are those which, with the wheel on the obverse, have a vase on the reverse, either a *crater*, or an *amphora*. Marchi and Tessieri refer those with the former to Arretium Vetus, and those with the latter to the Roman colony of Arretium Fidens. Æs Grave, class. III. tav. V. VI; Bull. Inst. 1839, pp. 123—4; Ann. Inst. 1841. p. 104.

a dance of Bacchanals, Theseus overcoming an Amazon, and Hercules slaying a warrior. It was found more than a century since, in the vicinity of Arezzo, and doubtless in a genuinely Etruscan tomb.⁵

The Museo Pubblico contains a more numerous collection of Etruscan antiquities. Each article is labelled with the name of the spot where it was found—an admirable plan, greatly facilitating an acquaintance with these relics, and which ought to be adopted in every other collection. It is due to Dr. Fabroni, the learned director of this Museum.

Here is an abundance of the red ware, mostly in fragments, and the greater part found within the walls of Arezzo. Here is also the pottery of Sarteano, red as well as black,—a *canopus* from the same place,—a covered pot from Radicofani, with an Etruscan inscription, “Pupli TarIntia,”⁶ which calls to mind the celebrated Ghibelline bishop, Guido Tarlati, whose tomb, so rich in storied reliefs, forms one of the chief ornaments of Arezzo Cathedral,—a tall, painted vase, in the third style, found at Prato Antico, three miles from the city,—another vase, in the same style, representing the departure of a warrior, and his return from the field, discovered at Alberoro, nine miles from Arezzo, on the road to Fojano.⁷

Here are also many cinerary urns of travertine, without recumbent figures on their lids, but with Etruscan inscriptions;—among which I noticed the celebrated name of “Spurina.”⁸ One urn of late date, found in the immediate vicinity of Arezzo, is remarkable for a bilingual

⁵ Dempster, I. tab. XIX.

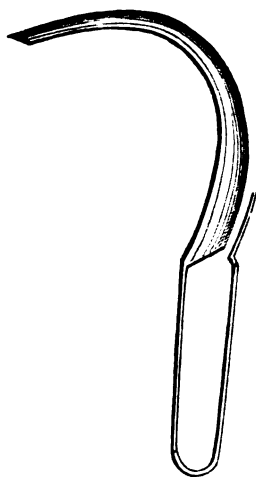
⁶ Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 386, tav. LV. 6) reads it “Pupli Tarchntias,” or Publius Tarchuntias. He may be right, for the addition of a small stroke would convert the L into CH. Yet the

name of “Tarlnia” occurs on an Etruscan urn in one of the tombs of Perugia.

⁷ Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 74.

⁸ This was found at Lucignano, 18 miles distant, in the Val di Chiana. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 38.

inscription.⁹ Here are heads and other articles in *terra cotta*; and also a few bronzes—idols, mirrors, and strigils.¹



ETRUSCAN STRIGIL.

Bronzes seem to have been particularly abundant in the Etruscan tombs of Arretium, Cortona, and Perugia, and bear a much larger proportion to the pottery, than in the cemeteries near the coast.

The celebrated bronze Chimæra of the Florence Gallery was found at Arezzo in 1534, but no record exists of the precise site.² And the Minerva in the same Gallery, which is generally thought to be a work of early Greek art, but may well be Etruscan, was also discovered on this site.

⁹ This is the urn which was found with the red vases, as mentioned above. The Etruscan inscription is very imperfect, but it seems to run thus in Roman letters—V . CASZI . C . CLANS . The Latin inscription is—

C . CASSIVS . C . F .

SATVRNINVS .

Saturninus, being the Latin *cognomen*, finds no equivalent in the Etruscan. It is singular that the Velus of the Etruscan should be translated by Caius in Latin, but the same occurs in other bilingual inscriptions. *Ut supra*, pp. 354, 371. See also Lanzi, II. p. 342; Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 51; 1834, p. 149. Caius is sometimes used as an equivalent to Larth.

¹ The *strigil* was a scraper used after bathing to remove the perspiration from the skin; as an ostler would remove the foam from a horse's coat. The curved part of the instrument is

hollow like a boat; either to hold oil to soften the effect on the skin, which was far from pleasant if the instrument was too often or violently used, as Augustus experienced (Sueton. Aug. 80); or to allow the grease scraped from the body to run off as by a gutter. See the Scholiast on Juvenal, III. 262—*Strigla, unde oleum deteritur*. It was generally of bronze, sometimes of iron (Mart. XIV. 51.—*curvo destringere ferro*), and I have seen one of silver. The metal is always very thin; and it is rare to find strigils in a perfect state. I have occasionally seen them with Etruscan inscriptions. Roman strigils were of different forms, but the Etruscan were invariably like that in the above wood-cut.

² *Ut supra*, p. 103. The Etruscan inscription on the fore-leg "Tinscvil," is almost identical with the "Tinscil" on the shoulder of a griffon in the

It has been stated that there were three Roman colonies of the name of Arretium, distinguished by the epithets of Vetus, Fidens, and Julium. The first was evidently the Etruscan city, and has always been identified with Arezzo; the other two are supposed to be in the neighbourhood, but their sites are not satisfactorily determined.³ I am persuaded, however, that Arezzo does not occupy the original site, but merely that of one of the colonies. Its position, for the greater part on the very level of the plain, only rising a little at the northern end,⁴ is so unlike that of Etruscan cities in general, as to raise, at the first glance, strong doubts of its antiquity in my mind. Every other Etruscan town in this district is on a lofty height—Fiesole, Volterra, Cortona, Perugia, Chiusi—why should Arretium alone be in the plain? Necessity did not here, as at Pisa, dictate such a site, for there are high grounds suitable for a city in the immediate vicinity.

This view is confirmed by the discovery, within a few years, of the walls of an ancient city in the neighbourhood of Arezzo,—discovery, I say, because though within sight of the town, and familiar, perhaps, for ages to the inhabitants, they were unheeded, and no one had made them known to the world.⁵ They lie two or three miles

Museum of Leyden. See Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. XLII. Inghir. *Mon. Etrus.* III. tav. XX.; Gori, *Mus. Etrus.* I. tab. CLV.

³ Cluver (*II.* p. 571) did not attempt to assign a site to either. Holstenius (*Annot. ad Cluver.* p. 72), however, placed the Julian colony at Subbiano on the Arno, some ten miles north of Arezzo, and the Fidens at Castiglion Fiorentino, on the road to Cortona. He is followed in this by Cramer, *I.* p. 213. Dempster (*II.* p. 423) placed the Fidens at Montepulciano.

⁴ The height of the upper part of the city above the lower is said to be 74 *braccia*, or 142 feet (Repetti, *I.* p. 112); but it does not appear nearly so much.

⁵ Repetti appears to have been the first to make them known; and that was in 1833 (*I.* p. 585). Even Alessi, who in the fifteenth century made diligent search for local antiquities, makes no mention of them in his *Cronaca d' Arezzo*, a MS. in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, at Florence. Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 410.

only to the south-east, on a height called Poggio di San Cornelio, or Castel Secco, a barren eminence of no great elevation, yet much higher than Arezzo, whose level summit is so strewn with fragments of rock and pottery, as scarcely to nourish a weed. On the brow of the hill, to the north-west, is a fragment of ancient walling of regular masonry.⁶ More to the west are traces of a gate. Then is another portion of the walls, with narrow buttresses, thirteen feet apart. But on the southern side of the hill the wall rises nearly thirty feet, and extends for two hundred, having eight massive buttresses at short intervals.⁷ The masonry is horizontal; and though perhaps originally neatly cut and fitted, it has suffered so much from the weather, and the rock is naturally so brittle, that it presents as rude an appearance as the towers in the Cucumella at Vulci, which were not intended to see the light of day.⁸

I regret that the circumstances under which I visited it, did not permit me to make a plan of this ancient town, or to determine its precise dimensions.⁹

These walls are very peculiar; as regards the buttresses, unique in Etruria. They have the appearance of great

⁶ In one part this fragment is as high as 12 feet, but in general it scarcely rises above the ground. The blocks are 2 or 3 feet long, by 18 inches high.

⁷ These buttresses are 7 or 8 feet wide, and project about 3 feet. They might be taken for towers, were it not for the small distance between them—15 feet. Both walls and buttresses fall back slightly from the perpendicular.

⁸ The size of the blocks is not extraordinary. One which was 8 ft. 2 in. long, by 1 ft. 8 in. high, was unusually large. But the tendency of the stone to split at right angles, makes it sometimes difficult to determine the size.

⁹ Repetti (I. p. 585) says it is only 1240 *braccia* in circuit; Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 410) calls it 1300 *braccia*, or less than half a mile, round; and says it has the form of an irregular ellipse. To me it appeared of much larger size. Indeed this hill may be but a portion of the ancient site, for it is connected with high grounds of considerable extent, apparently capable of holding a city of first-rate importance. But having had no opportunity of examining these heights, I cannot say if they retain vestiges of ancient habitation. For further notices of this site see Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 96.

antiquity. Inghirami took them to be Roman, and to belong to one of the two colonies of Arretium, and thought the rudeness of the masonry might be the result of hasty construction. But he did not form his opinion from ocular inspection. To me this seems an Etruscan town.¹ It were contrary to all analogy to suppose that Arezzo was the original site, and that this, so much stronger by nature, was a Roman colony. *This* was just the position that would have been chosen by the Etruscans; *that*, by the Romans. The cities of the former were founded at a time when the inhabitants had to struggle for existence with neighbouring tribes, warlike, restless, ever encroaching—semibarbarians who knew no law but that of sword and lance. It was necessary for them to select sites where nature would add to the strength of their fortifications. But with the Romans, the case was very different. At the time the latter, at least, of the two colonies of Arretium was founded, they were masters not only of all Italy, but of the greater part of the known world. They had nothing to fear from foreign invasion, and it was enough for them to surround their cities with fortifications, without selecting sites which, though adding to their strength, would involve a great sacrifice of convenience. This was their practice much earlier than the establishment of these Arretine colonies, as is shown by the instances of Volsinii and Falerii, whose population, about the time of the First Punic War, was removed from the original city on the

¹ Müller, who visited these ruins in 1839 at Micali's suggestion, regarded them as Etruscan and the remains of the original city. Micali, however, sets no value on his opinion in the latter particular, and considers them to belong to an advanced or look-out post of Arretium, which he identifies with Arezzo, or to an outwork detached from

the city. Yet he admits them to be of Etruscan construction. *Mon. Ined.* pp. 411—413. He gives a plan of the bastions and a view of the masonry (tav. LX.). Repetti (*I.* p. 585) also hints that this may be the Acropolis of Arretium, but says no excavations have ever been made to determine the fact.

heights to a new one in the plain. This may have been the case also with Arretium.² Or at least if the original town were not deserted, there is every ground for concluding that the fresh colony was established on a no less convenient site. However this be, there can be little doubt that the Etruscan city, like all its fellows, stood on an eminence, and was fortified by nature as well as by art.³ Whether it occupied this Poggio di San Cornelio, or some of the neighbouring heights, I do not determine; but hesitate not to assert that it cannot have stood on the site of modern Arezzo. In fact not only is all evidence of identity wanting, but history is opposed to the current opinion, for it is known that at least on three several occasions have the walls of this city been enlarged;⁴ and it is quite impossible that the original site, which must have been the circumscribed height on which the Duomo stands, could have held a first-rate city, like the Arretium of the Etruscans.

In a word, there is every reason to believe that the illustrious city of Arezzo does not occupy the site of the

² In the case of Falerii and Volsinii, the fact is not mentioned by one of the earlier historians of Rome, only by Zonaras, a Byzantine writer of late date. The original town of Arretium, however, was still extant in Pliny's day; but it may have been inhabited, like Falerii and Veii, by a fresh colony.

³ Silius Italicus, a writer of more accuracy than imagination (Plin. epist. III. 7—*scribebat carmina majore curâ quam ingenio*), in speaking of the Second Punic War, notices "the lofty walls of Arretium" (V. 122) — a description which, by *hypallage*, must refer rather to the site of the city than to the character of the fortifications.

⁴ Totila, the Vandal, is said to have

completely destroyed the ancient walls, but as this rests on tradition, rather than on history, it is subject to doubt. Yet it is certain that the walls of the city were destroyed in the year 1111 by the Emperor, Henry V., and were not restored for more than a century, being in 1226 rebuilt with a more ample circuit. These were replaced by a fresh and still more extended line, commenced in 1276, and completed in 1322 by Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Pietramala. And lastly the walls were rebuilt and altered, from 1549 to 1568, by Cosimo I. who erected the bastions and curtains which meet the eye at the present day. Repetti, I. p. 114.

Etruscan Arretium, but of one of the Roman colonies of the same name ;⁵ and as all analogy marks the town on the Poggio di San Cornelio to be of earlier date than this in the plain, the question turns upon that town. If it be proved an Etruscan site,⁶ Arezzo may be the Arretium Fidens ; but if the town on the heights cannot be identified with the original city, it must be the Fidens, and Arezzo the later colony of Arretium Julium ; and the site of the Etruscan city has yet to be discovered.

⁵ That Arezzo occupies a site that was once Roman is abundantly proved by its extant remains. The fragments of brickwork around the higher part of the city, may belong to the Roman walls, which, if this be the site of the Julian colony, are those mentioned by Frontinus, — “ Arretium, muro ducta colonia lege Triumvirali.”

⁶ It may be urged as an objection to this being the Etruscan site, that the masonry is of stone, whereas the ancient walls were of brick. But we have no positive assurance that these brick walls were of Etruscan construction. If on the capture of the city, a fresh town

were built, as was the case with Falerii and Volsinii, it may have been that which had the walls of brick ; for as nearly three centuries intervened to the time of Vitruvius, they would have been entitled to his designation of “ ancient.” Were it even certain that Vitruvius and Pliny refer to the Etruscan walls, it may be that in these ruins we see but a small portion of the ancient fortifications, and just that portion which from the massiveness of the masonry has escaped destruction. If the brickwork were not strongly cemented it would soon be pulled to pieces by the peasantry, for the sake of the materials.



ANCIENT WALLS OF CORTONA.

CHAPTER LVI.

CORTONA.—*CORTONA*.

Corythum, terrasque requirat
Ausonias !

VIRGIL. *Æneid* ii. 700.

Clara fuit Sparte ; magnæ viguère Mycense ;
Vile solum Sparte est ; altæ cecidère Mycense.

OVID. *Fasti* i. 191.

TRAVELLER, thou art approaching Cortona ! Dost thou reverence age—that fulness of years which, as Pliny says, “in man is venerable, in cities sacred ?” Here is that which demands thy reverence. Here is that, which when the Druidical marvels of thine own land were newly raised, was of hoary antiquity—that, compared to which Rome is but of yesterday—to which most other cities of ancient

renown are fresh and green. Thou mayst have wandered far and wide through Italy—nothing hast thou seen more venerable than Cortona. Ere the days of Hector and Achilles, ere Troy itself arose—Cortona was. On that bare and lofty height, whose towered crest holds communion with the cloud, dwelt the heaven-born Dardanus, ere he left Italy to found the Trojan race; and on that mount reigned his father Corythus, and there he was laid in the tomb.¹ Such is the ancient legend, and

¹ This is the Italian tradition. It is because Dardanus the founder of Troy was believed to have come from Cortona that Virgil (*Æn.* I. 380) makes *Æneas* say—

*Italiam quæro patriam, et genus ab
Jove summo.*

Servius (in loc.) thus explains it, and shows that elsewhere (*Æn.* VII. 122) *Æneas* is made to say of Italy—

Hic domus, hæc patria est.

cf. *Æn.* III. 167; VII. 206, *et seq.* The original name of Cortona was Corythus, or Corithus, so called from its *heros eponymos*, Corythus, the reputed father of Dardanus. The legend states that Corythus, who ruled also over other cities of Italy, was buried on this mount. His wife Electra bore a son to Jupiter, called Dardanus, who, being driven out of Italy went to Phrygia and founded Troy. Another tradition records that Dardanus, repulsed in an equestrian combat with the Aborigines, lost his helmet, and rallying his men to recover it, gained the victory; to celebrate which he built a city on the spot, and named it from his helmet—*κόρυς*. A third legend refers the origin of the city to Corythus, son of Paris and Cœnone. Virg. *Æn.* III. 167; VII. 206—211; IX. 10; X. 719; Serv. in

loc. and ad *Æn.* I. 380; III. 15, 104, 170. All this belongs to the purely mythical period, and cannot be regarded as historical, yet may be received as evidence of the very remote antiquity of this city.

It is generally believed that Corythus was really the ancient name of Cortona, but Müller (*Etrusk.* IV. 4, 5) questions this, and thinks that it is a mere Greek tradition, arbitrarily referred to that city. Yet there can be no doubt that it was so regarded by the Romans. Besides the evidence of Virgil and his commentator, the identity is made perfectly clear in a passage of Silius Italicus (V. 122) which Niebuhr (*I.* p. 33) pronounced decisive—

*Pœnus nunc occupet altos
Arreti muros, Corythi nunc diruat
arcem!*

*Hinc Clusina petat! postremo ad
mœnia Romæ, &c.*

The poet uses the ancient name for the sake of the verse, as elsewhere (IV. 721)—

*sedemque ab origine priaci
Sacratam Corythi.*

There is no reason to believe that it was retained to Annibal's time, to which the poem refers, much less to his own.

PLAN

OF

CORTONA,

ADAPTED FROM MICALL.

- 1 Porta S. Agostino.
- 2 Porta Sta. Maria.
- 3 Porta Colonia.
- 4 Porta Montanina.
- 5 Porta S. Domenico.
- 6 Ancient Gate, now blocked up.
- 7 Casa Cecchetti.
- 8 Ancient Walling under the Palazzo Fecchini.
- 9 Do. do. within the modern walls.
- 10 Do. do. at the Terra Mosse.
- 11 The Fortress.
- 12 Church of Sta. Margherita.
- 13 Church of S. Francesco.
- 14 Spedale, or Hospital.
- 15 Piazza.
- 16 Palazzo del Governo.
- 17 Church of S. Filippo.
- 18 " S. Agostino.
- 19 Duomo.
- 20 Seminario.
- 21 Roman Bath.
- 22 Tanella di Pitegora.
- 23 Line of the ancient walls, where they do not correspond with the modern.

— Ancient walls, beneath the modern.
 == Modern walls.



wherefore gainsay it? Away with doubts!—pay thy full tribute of homage—*acceptam parce movere fidem!* Hast thou respect to fallen greatness?—Yon solemn city was once the proudest and mightiest in the land, the metropolis of Etruria, and now—but enter its gates and look around.

Let not the traveller mount with baggage, and such *impedimenta*, directly to Cortona, thinking, in the innocence of his heart, that in a city of five thousand inhabitants, boasting of a cathedral and seven or eight churches, he will be sure of accommodation. There is but one inn within the walls, marked by the sign of Il Dragone—which monster guards no Hesperidan fruit, but serves to scare the traveller from a wretched *osteria*, full of all uncleanness. Let him take up his quarters in the snug hotel of Camuscía, on the high-road at the foot of the mountain.

Hence it is half an hour's walk to the town, and the ascent is steep and toilsome, scarcely to be conquered in a vehicle. Nor when the gates are reached is the labour over. There is still a long climb to the upper end of the town; for Cortona is not, like Fiesole and Volterra, spread over the summit of the mountain, but hangs suspended from its peak, down one of the slopes. Steep, winding, foot-torturing streets, rich in filth, buildings mean and squalid, with hardly a shadow of past magnificence, houses in crumbling ruin, heaps of *débris*, and tracts of naked rock—such is modern Cortona. Cheerless and melancholy, she seems mourning over the glories of the past.

Modern Cortona retains the site of the ancient city, which was of oblong form, and about two miles in circumference. The modern walls are in most parts based on the ancient, though at the higher end of the city the

latter made a considerably wider circuit.² They may be traced in fragments more or less preserved almost entirely round the city ; and are composed of rectangular blocks of great size, arranged without much regularity, though with more regard to horizontality and distinct courses than is observable in the walls of Volterra or Populonia, and often joined with great nicety, like the masonry of Fiesole. At the lower part of the city, they stretch for a long distance in an unbroken line beneath the modern fortifications.³ But the finest relic of this regular masonry at Cortona, and perhaps in all Italy, is at a spot called Terra Mozza, outside the Fortress, at the highest part of the city, where is a fragment, one hundred and twenty feet in length, composed of blocks of enormous magnitude. A portion of it is shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter.⁴

The masonry is of a grey sandstone, very like that of Fiesole, in parts flaky and brittle, but generally very hard and compact ; it is sometimes hewn to a smooth surface,

² Micali's Plan (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. VI.) makes Cortona about 10,000 feet in circumference, but taking into account the wider circuit of the ancient walls round the Fortress, which he has not indicated, the city cannot have been less than two miles round. Thus it would be scarcely larger than Rusellæ, and among the smallest of the cities of the Confederation.

³ The finest portions at this end are about Porta Colonia on the north of the city, where the blocks are from 9 to 13 feet in length by more than 3 feet in height, hewn to a smooth surface and very neatly joined ; and about Porta S. Domenico on the south, where they measure 12 or 14 feet by 2. One, at the height of ten or twelve feet from

the ground, is 10 feet by 5. Just within the Porta Montanina are several, 10 or 12 feet in length, but more shallow than usual.

⁴ In one part it rises to the height of seven courses, or about 25 feet high, but the general height is about 15 or 16 feet, which is that of the fragment delineated. The blocks vary from 2 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. in height, and from 6 or 7 feet to 11 or 12 in length ; and sometimes are as much or more in depth, as the smallest end is seen in the face of the wall. Here as at Volterra and Rusellæ, the smallest blocks are often below, as if to fill up the inequalities of the ground, and make a basement for the larger.

at others left with a natural face ; in no part is it cemented, though the blocks are often so closely fitted together as to appear so, not admitting even a penknife to be thrust between them. The joints are often diagonal, and small pieces are inserted to fill up deficiencies, as in the walls of Fiesole, to which in every respect this masonry bears a close resemblance, though more massive, and on the whole more regular.⁵

These walls bear evidence of very high antiquity, certainly not inferior to those of Volterra and Fiesole. That they are as early as the Etruscan domination cannot be doubted ; nay, it is probable they are of prior date, either raised by the Pelasgi and Aborigines, or by the yet earlier possessors of the land.⁶

But this leads us to consider the history of Cortona. First, however, let us mount to the summit of the hill, and take a seat on the cypress-shaded terrace in front of the Church of Sta Margherita. Should it be the hour of sunrise, the scene will not lose interest or beauty. A warm rosy tint ruddying the eastern sky, and extending round half the horizon, proclaims the coming day. The landscape is in deep gloom—dark mountain-tops alone are seen around. Even after the sun is up, and the rosy red has brightened into gold, the scene is purpled and obscured by the shadow of the mountains to the east. But presently a ray wakens the distant snow of Monte Cetona, and sparkles on the yet loftier peak of Amiata behind it.

⁵ The principal variety observable is within the Porta Montanina, where the blocks are very long and shallow, with smaller pieces in the interstices. Here the line of the ancient wall was rather within that of the modern, as shown in the Plan.

⁶ According to Dionysius (I. p. 16),

the city was well fortified in the time of the Umbri, and the Pelasgi only took it from them by a sudden assault. Lepsius regards the existing walls as the work of the Pelasgi (Tyrrhen. Pelas. p. 10); and there can be little doubt that they have that antiquity. Cf. Müller, Etrusk. I. 3, 1.

Then the dark mass of Montepulciano, rising on the further side of the wide plain, like a second Cortona, is brightened into life. Anon the towers, battlements and roofs of the town at our feet are touched with gold—and ere long the fair face of the Thrasymene in the south bursts into smiles—and the beams roll over the mountain-tops in a torrent, and flood the vast plain beneath, disclosing regions of corn and wood, of vines and olives, with many a glittering farm and village and town—a map of fertility and luxuriance, in which the eye recognizes Chiusi, La Pieve, and other familiar spots in the far southern horizon.

The origin of Cortona, it has been said, is very ancient—so remote indeed that it is necessarily involved in obscurity.⁷ The legend that makes it the city of Dardanus and elder sister of Troy has already been mentioned. Tradition asserts that long ere the establishment of the Etruscan State, Cortona was “great and flourishing⁸”—“a memorable city of the Umbrians,⁹”—and that it was taken from them by the Pelasgi and Aborigines, who used it as a bulwark against them, seeing it was well fortified, and surrounded by good pastures.¹ Subsequently, with

⁷ This obscurity is increased by the different names by which the city was known — Corythus, Croton, Crotona, Cyrtonion, Creston, Gortynæa, Cothornia, or Cortona. The latter name, if we may believe Dionysius (I. p. 21) was only given when the city was made a Roman colony, not long before his day, taking the place of the old appellation, Croton. Of Corythus, we have already spoken. Cyrtonios or Cyrtonion is the name used by Polybius (III. 82) and Stephanus of Byzantium. Creston is found only in Herodotus, and will be further mentioned presently. Gortynæa is used by Lycophron (Cass. 806),

and by Theopompus (ap. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. loc. cit.), who records a tradition that Ulysses, called by the Etruscans, Nanos (cf. Lycoph. 1244 ; Tzetzes in loc.), sailed to Etruria, took up his abode at Gortynæa, and there died. This says Müller is the Hellenised form of Cortona, for no other Etruscan city can be here intended. Etrusk. IV. 4, 1.

⁸ Dion. Hal. I. p. 16.

⁹ Dion. Hal. I. p. 20.

¹ Dion. Hal. I. p. 16. cf. Hellenicus of Lesbos ap. eund. I. p. 22. The Pelasgic character of Cortona is also intimated by the legend, which represents Jasius son of Corythus, king

the rest of the land, it fell to the Etruscans,² and under them it appears to have been a second metropolis—to have been to the interior and mountainous part of the land what Tarquinii was to the coast.³ Even under the Etruscan domination it seems like Falerii to have retained much of its Pelasgic character, for Herodotus says that in his day it was still inhabited by a Pelasgic population, speaking their peculiar language, unintelligible to the people around them, though identical with that of Placia on the Hellespont, another colony of the Pelasgi.⁴ Niebuhr

of this city, settling in Samothrace, when his brother Dardanus founded Troy. Serv. ad *Æn.* III. 15, 167; VII. 207.

² Dion. Hal. I. p. 16.

³ This would seem to be implied by the designation of it by Silius Italicus (VIII. 474) "*superbi Tarchontis domus*." Stephanus of Byzantium (*v. Κόρθρον*) calls it "the metropolis of Etruria, and the third city of Italy." Lepsius is of opinion that this is also proved by its coins, for that the entire system of Etruscan, indeed of ancient Italian coinage, proceeds from Cortona. Tyrrhen. Pelasg. p. 10.

The coins attributed to Cortona are the most simple of all ancient Italian money. All twelve sides of the series, from the *as* to the *uncia*, bear one uniform type—a wheel. There is no legend to mark these coins as belonging to any particular city, but Marchi and Tessieri see in the wheel the symbol of Cortona, whose original name they take to have been "*Rutun*" (instead of *K-rutun*)—a *rotd*—and setting all history aside, they regard it as a colony of the Rutuli, who had a similar device on their coins. *Æs* Grave del Museo Kircheriano, cl. III. tav. III. Professor Lepsius, though condemning this explanation as erroneous, assents to the attri-

bution of these coins to Cortona, and agrees with the worthy Jesuits in regarding Cortona as a most ancient mint, and as the metropolis of five other coining cities, which have a wheel on one side only. Ann. Inst. 1841, pp. 103, 109; Verbreit. d. Ital. Münzsyst. pp. 58, 69. See also Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 123.—Melchiorri; 1842, p. 126.—Gennarelli. Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 286) does not consider the wheel, or the other devices on Etruscan coins, to mark any particular sites, and he regards the distribution of these coins to a metropolis and its dependencies to be quite arbitrary.

⁴ Herod. I. 57. Herodotus' statement is repeated by Dionysius (I. p. 23), but with this difference that in the text of Herodotus the city is called Creston, in that of Dionysius, Croton. That they were identical is maintained by Niebuhr (I. p. 34, n. 89), by Cluver (II. p. 574), and Mannert (Geog. p. 418); but opposed by Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 10), by Lepsius (Ueber die Tyrrhenischen Pelasger in Etrurien, pp. 18 *et seq.*), and by Mr Grote (History of Greece, II. p. 348). Müller and Lepsius consider Herodotus to refer to a Creston in Thrace, beyond Mount Athos. It is not possible here to state the arguments on both sides. They will

suggests that Cortona may have continued distinct from the Etruscans, as he thinks Falerii was.⁵ But that she was included in the great Etruscan Confederation, and one of the Twelve chief cities, is unquestionable. Livy describes her as one of the "heads of Etruria," in the year of Rome 444, when with Perugia and Arretium she was forced to sue for peace.⁶ It is singular that this is the only record we find of Cortona during the days of Etruscan independence. She is referred to again incidentally in the Second Punic War when Hannibal marched beneath her walls and laid waste the land between the city and the Thrasymene.⁷ Yet when a few years later all the principal cities of Etruria sent supplies for Scipio's fleet, Cortona is not mentioned among them;⁸ which is not a little strange, as but a century before she had been one of the chief in the land. Yet she did not cease to exist, for we find her mentioned as a Roman colony under the Empire.⁹ What was her fate in the subsequent convulsions of Italy we know not, for there is a gap of a thousand years in her annals, and the history of modern Cortona commences only with the thirteenth century of our era.¹

Within the walls of Cortona are but few local remains of high antiquity.² There is a fragment of walling under the Palazzo Facchini, composed of a few large blocks,

be found in the above named works, especially in that of Lepsius.

⁵ Niebuhr, I. p. 119.

⁶ Liv. IX. 37. Cluver (II. p. 575) takes Cortona to have been the site of the great rout of the Gauls in the year 529, instead of Colonia, as Frontinus (Strat. I. 2, 7) has it. But Polybius (II. 27) states that that battle was fought near Telamon. *Ut supra*, pp. 246, 259.

⁷ Polyb. III. 82; Liv. XXII. 4.

⁸ Liv. XXVIII. 45.

⁹ Dion. Hal. I. p. 21; Plin. III. 8. She is mentioned also by Ptolemy, Geog. p. 72.

¹ Repetti, I. p. 812.

² There is said to have been a large piece of Etruscan walling under the Spedale Maggiore, forming the base of a vault; another fragment behind the Palazzo Passerini; and a third outside the gate of the Borgo S. Vincenzo. These were all destroyed however at the end of the seventeenth century. Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 71.

apparently of the same date as the city-walls.³ Another relic of Etruscan times within the walls is well worthy of the traveller's attention. It is a vault beneath the Palazzo Cecchetti, just within the gate of S. Agostino. On my begging permission to see the monument, the owner courteously proposed to show it in person. He led me into his coach-house, raised a trap-door, and descended into a wine-cellar; where I thought he was about to offer me some of the juice of his vineyards, but on looking around I perceived that I was in the very vault I was seeking.

It is of no great size, about thirteen feet in span, rather less in length, and nine in height, lined with regular masonry, uncemented, neatly cut and arranged, and in excellent preservation.⁴ It is so like the Deposito del Gran Duca, at Chiusi, and the Grotta di San Manno, near Perugia, that it is difficult to deny it an Etruscan origin. Analogy thus seems to mark it as a tomb, yet its position within the ancient walls is opposed to this view, and there is nothing to determine its original purpose.⁵

The only other local antiquity in Cortona is a fragment of Roman *opus incertum*, commonly called the Baths of Bacchus, in the higher part of the town.

Cortona, for more than a century past, has been the seat of an antiquarian society, the Accademia Etrusca, which has published many volumes of archæological treatises. It has formed also a Museum of Etruscan relics, found in the neighbourhood. There is little pottery here—no painted

³ Inghirami speaks of a fragment, 21 feet long, and 32 feet high, in the foundations of the Palazzo Laparelli, in the Piazza S. Andrea. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 77. I sought it in vain.

⁴ The blocks are of the local sandstone, or *macigno*, as it is called. They vary from 3 to nearly 7 feet in length, and are 15 inches in height.

⁵ It may have an affinity to the subterranean, tomb-like chamber within the walls of Tarquinii. Vol. I. p. 385. The floor is the bare rock; the back wall of the vault has been pulled down to enlarge its dimensions. Abeken regards it as undoubtedly a sepulchre. Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 39; Mittelitalien, p. 250.

vases of great beauty or interest; merely black or red ware, often with bands of small archaic figures in relief. Many little idols, or *figurine*, as the Italians call them, of earthenware, from four to ten inches in height, votive offerings, or more probably the *Lares* of the lower orders, who could not afford deities of bronze. Heads of the same material, the size of life and evidently portraits, containing the ashes of the person whose features they represent. Sundry small lamps, some of them grotesque.⁶

There are several small cinerary urns of *terra-cotta*, with toga-wrapt figures on the lids, and the usual subjects in relief.

The Museum is more rich in bronzes than in pottery. The most remarkable are—a naked figure of Jupiter Tonans, about seven or eight inches high, with an inscription on the stand in Greek letters, but unintelligible,—a female divinity with a cock on her head, and the wings of a sphinx,—many purely Egyptian idols, found in the tombs around Cortona,—the head of a negro.

There is also a considerable collection of Etruscan coins.

But the wonder of ancient wonders in the Museum of Cortona, is a bronze lamp of such surpassing beauty and elaboration of workmanship as to throw into the shade every toreutic work yet discovered in the soil of Etruria. Were there nothing else to be seen at Cortona, this alone would demand a visit. It merits therefore a more detailed description than I have generally given to individual articles. It is circular, about twenty-three inches in diameter, hollow like a bowl, but from the centre rises a sort of conical chimney or tube, to which must have been attached a chain for its suspension. Round the rim are sixteen lamps, of classic form, fed by oil from the great

⁶ One is formed like a face, with a hole in the nose, by which to suspend it, and other holes in the forehead and chin, for the wicks.

bowl, and adorned with elegant foliage in relief. Alternating with them are heads of the horned and bearded Bacchus. At the bottom of each lamp is a figure in relief—alternately a draped Siren with wings outspread, and a naked Satyr playing the double-pipes, or the *syrinx*. The bottom is hollowed in the centre, and contains a huge Gorgon's face; not such as Da Vinci painted it, with

“The melodious hue of beauty thrown
Athwart the darkness and the glare of pain,
Which humanise and harmonise the strain.”

Shelley On the Medusa of Cleopatra da Vinci:

Here is no loveliness—all horror. The visage of a fiend, with savage frown—eyes starting from their sockets in the fury of rage—a mouth stretched to its utmost, with gnashing tusks and lolling tongue—and the whole rendered yet more terrible by a wreath of serpents bristling around it. It is a libel on the fair face of Dian, to say that this hideous visage symbolises the moon.⁷ In a band encircling it, are lions, leopards, wolves, and griffons, in pairs, devouring a bull, a horse, a boar, and a stag; and in an outer band is the favourite wave-ornament, with dolphins sporting above it. Between two of the lamps was a small tablet with an Etruscan inscription, marking this as a dedicatory offering.⁸ The weight of the whole is said to be one hundred and seventy Tuscan pounds.⁹

⁷ This is a well-known Orphic doctrine. Epigenes, ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 676, ed. Potter. The serpents also are supposed to be emblems of the lunar changes. Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 57.

⁸ The inscription is not very legible. Some of the letters are peculiar; but one word, “insevil,” marks it as a dedicatory gift. It is in all probability intended for “Tinsvil,” the word which is inscribed on the Chimæra in the Florence Gallery, on the Griffon at Leyden,

on a bronze dog in the possession of Sr. Coltellini of Cortona, and also on a small pedestal in this same museum. Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 62. Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 80. Inscriptions like this, attached to monuments, are not of unfrequent occurrence. It was the custom to attach them to gifts, as now-a-days it is with us to write the name of the giver and gifted, in a presented book.

⁹ Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 165. Cf. Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 78.

From the high decoration of the bottom of the lamp, and the comparative plainness of the upper part, as well as from the analogy of similar monuments, there is every reason to believe that it was suspended, perhaps in a tomb, perhaps in a temple, as a sacrificial lamp; which in truth its remarkable size and beauty seem to indicate.¹

The style of art proves this monument to be of no very early date, yet there is a certain archaicism about it which marks it as of ante-Roman times.²

From this monument, so beautiful in art and elaborate in decoration, we can well understand how it was that the Etruscan *candelabra* and other works of toreutic art were so admired and prized by the Athenians, even in the days of Pericles.³ In truth, as Micali observes, in mastery of art no other Etruscan work in bronze, except the larger statues, can rival this gem.⁴

¹ It is a *lychnus*, such as were hung from the ceilings of palaces or temples (Virg. *Æn.* I. 726; Plin. XXXIV. 8), and as have been found also suspended in sepulchres—even in Etruscan ones, as in the Tomb of the Volumnii, at Perugia. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 78) thinks it a sepulchral monument—a funeral offering to the great god of the infernal regions, consecrated by some lady of illustrious race, as the inscription seems to show. He suggests that it may have hung in the chamber, where the funeral feast was wont to be celebrated, as well as the annual *inferiæ* or *parentalia*. The use of sepulchral lamps by the ancients is well known, and gave rise, in the middle ages, to strange notions of perpetual fire; for it was asserted that some were found still burning in the tombs, though fifteen or twenty centuries had elapsed since they were lighted. It seems, however, that lamps were sometimes kept burning in sepulchres long after the interment. Micali

cites an extract from Modestinus (leg. 44, *Mævia D. de Manumiss. testam.*), which shows that a certain Roman gave freedom to his slaves at his death, on condition of their keeping a light burning in his sepulchre: "*Saccus servus meus et Eutychia et Hiene ancillæ mee omnes sub hac conditione liberi sunt, ut monumento meo alternis mensibus lucernam accendant, et solemnia mortis peragant.*"

² Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 75) says truly that it is of a style between the celebrated Wolf of the Capitol, and the Chimæra and Orator of the Florence Gallery; but he would refer it to the sixth or seventh century of Rome, which, according to the standard of the painted pottery, would be too late a date. I should rather say the fifth century, or the close of Etruscan independence.

³ Pherecrates, ap. Athen. XV. c. 18, p. 700; Critias, ap. cund. I. c. 22, p. 28.

⁴ Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 75.

This singular relic of Etruscan antiquity was discovered in 1840, at a spot called La Fratta, at the foot of the Mount of Cortona, on the road to Montepulciano ; not in a tomb, but in a ditch, at a slight depth below the surface. The fortunate possessor is the Signora Tommasi, of Cortona, whose husband is said to have given 700 dollars to the peasants who found it.⁵

There are two other collections of antiquities at Cortona ; one in the possession of the Venuti family, the other in the Palazzo Corazzi, though the greater part of the latter has been purchased by Holland, and is now to be seen in the Museum of Leyden.⁶

There is nothing more, as far as I am aware, of Etruscan interest within the walls of Cortona. I leave the traveller to his tutelar deities the Guide-books to steer him safely among the churches, the paintings, and such rocks as the sarcophagus in the Cathedral—said to be that of the Consul Flaminius, who lost his life by “the reedy Thrasymene”—on which inexperience and credulity have so often run aground ; but I will resume the helm when we quit the Gate of S. Agostino, for the tombs of Cortona.

The height on which the city stands is of stratified sandstone, the same as composes the ancient walls—too hard to be easily excavated into sepulchral chambers, at least by the Etruscans, who had not the aqua-fortis tooth of the Egyptians, and rarely attempted to eat a way into anything harder than tufo or light arenaceous rocks. Here then, as at Rusellæ, Cosa, and Saturnia, tombs must be looked for on the lower slopes or in the plain beneath, rather than immediately around the city-walls. Yet on

⁵ For illustrations and notices of this lamp see Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, pp. 72, *et seq.* tav. IX. X. ; Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 164 (Fabroni) ; Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 53, *et seq.* (Abeken) ; 1843, p.

354 (Braun) ; Mon. Ined. Instit. III. tav. XLI. XLII.

⁶ For a description of the Etruscan monuments in that Museum see Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 97—104 (Janssen).

ledges in the slopes, where accumulations of soil from the high ground made it practicable, tombs were constructed. As the soil, however, was too soft to preserve the form of a sepulchre, it was necessary to construct it of masonry, and that it might be subterranean, according to the usual practice, it was heaped over with earth. Of this description is the celebrated

TANELLA DI PITAGORA,

or the "Cave of Pythagoras," so called from the vulgar belief that that philosopher dwelt and taught in this city, though it was at Croton in Magna Græcia, not the Croton of Etruria.

This most remarkable sepulchre stands on the slope two or three furlongs below the city. It has been known for ages to the world, but had been neglected and half buried beneath the earth, till, in the year 1834, it was re-excavated; and it now stands in all its majesty revealed to the sun, like a temple of the Druids, amid a grove of cypresses.

The monument is now in such a state of ruin as at first sight to be hardly intelligible. The entrance is by a square-headed doorway, leading into a small chamber, surrounded by walls of massive rectangular masonry, in which sundry gaps are left for niches.⁷ One side of this chamber is in utter ruin. It was roofed in by five immense, long blocks,⁸ resting on two semicircular masses which crowned the masonry at the opposite ends of the

⁷ The doorway is 5 ft. 8 in. high, by 3 ft. 6 in. wide. The chamber is only 8 ft. 6 in. by 6 ft. 6 in. Gori (*Mus. Etrus.* III. p. 75, cl. II. tav. 2) describes this tomb as if it had another entrance by a subterranean passage. What he mistook for such has been proved to be

the entrance to another tomb. Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 197.—Castellani.

⁸ These cover-stones are about 10 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 22 in. thick. The weight of one of them has been estimated at 10,000 lbs. Bull. Inst. loc. cit.

chamber ; forming thus a vault, which differs from ordinary ones in this, that each course of voussoirs is composed of a single block. It is not easy to say if the architect understood the principle of the arch. The blocks are of course cuneiform, or they would not fit closely, and be in harmony with the rest of the masonry. But their needless massiveness and length, and the mode in which they are supported, seem to indicate that they were not raised with a knowledge of the arch-principle. On the other hand, the semicircular blocks, on which they rest, could not have been dispensed with, without destroying the symmetry of the tomb. Of these five cover-stones, one only retains its position, and serves as the key to the whole ; a second has one end still resting on the lintel of the door, the other on the ground ; and the remaining three have been broken to pieces. The walls of the chamber are of immense thickness, and the whole is surrounded by a circle of masonry of the same massive description, four or five feet high, resting on a still larger basement, seventy-six feet in circumference, and now almost level with the ground.⁹

The chamber has been closed in the same way as the Grotta Casuccini, at Chiusi ; sockets for the stone flaps of the door being visible in the lintel and threshold. The sepulchral character of the structure is manifest from the niches, of which there are eight, evidently for cinerary urns or vases. No vestige now remains of such furniture, nor is there any record of what the tomb contained when first brought to light ; but in the recent excavations a great quantity of rude pottery was found around the monument. The most surprising feature is the freshness and exquisite finish of the masonry, especially of the

⁹ The circling wall terminates above in a plain fascia—only a small portion of it is standing—the space between it and the walls of the chamber is filled with

earth. For illustrations of this monument see Gori, *Mus. Etrus.* III. cl. II. tab. II. ; Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* IV. tav. XI ; Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, taf. V. 3.

interior. The slabs and blocks of sandstone seem newly brought from the quarry, and are put together, though without cement, with a neatness which might shame a modern mason. It is difficult to believe they have stood thus between two and three thousand years. The external circling wall shows the same sharpness and neatness. From the analogy of other monuments, there is no doubt that this wall was the basement to a mound of earth, forming a tumulus over the sepulchre.¹

The perfection of the masonry seems to imply no high antiquity, yet the Cyclopean massiveness of the blocks, akin to those in the city walls, and above all, the simplicity of its vaulted roof, apparently prior to the invention of the arch, throw it back to a very remote period, earlier than the construction of the Cloaca Maxima, and perhaps coeval with the foundation of Rome. Nor do the sharpness and neatness of its masonry belie such an antiquity, seeing that other works of the earliest ages, as the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ, and the walls of Cortona and Fiesole display no inferior skill and execution; though in this case much of the freshness is undoubtedly owing to the protection of the superincumbent earth.

I should be inclined to regard this monument as almost coeval with the walls of Cortona, and of Pelasgic origin. A slab, however, which was found near it in the late excavations, and from its precise correspondence in size, must have served to close one of the niches in the chamber, bears an inscription in Etruscan characters.²

¹ Abeken (Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 37) thinks this tumulus was a cone like those of Tarquinii, but truncated; and states that a square *abacus*, topped by a ball of stone, similar to what may be seen in the Museo Casuccini at Chiusi, had been found near the monument, as if it

had originally surmounted it.

² For this inscription see Ann. Instit. 1841, p. 37. In Latin letters it would run thus,—

V . CUSU . CR . L . APA

PETRUAL . CLAN.

It is now in the Museum of the Academy.

It is singular that the dimensions of this Grotta di Pitagora agree almost precisely with the multiples and divisions of the modern Tuscan *braccio*, which there is good reason to believe is just double the ancient Roman foot. This confirms the opinion already mentioned, that the Romans took that measure from the Etruscans, and that the modern Tuscans use the very same measures as their celebrated forefathers.³

Near this, traces of other tumuli have been discovered, in rounded basements of rock. Baldelli, who wrote in 1570, states that in his time there existed three other sepulchres, one precisely similar to this, and close to the road leading to Camuscía ; a second beneath the church of S. Vincenzo ; but both had been almost destroyed by a certain man who dreamed that treasure lay concealed within them ; and a third on the site of the church of Sta. Maria Nova, removed to make room for that edifice.⁴

The said Baldelli states in his MS., which though frequently copied has never been printed, that the two last-named tombs were composed of five enormous stones, one forming each side of the quadrangle and the fifth covering it⁵—precisely such as are still extant at Saturnia, and resembling the cromlechs of our own country.

GROTTA SERGARDI.

At the foot of the hill of Cortona, close to Camuscía, and on the road to Montepulciano, stands a large mound

³ Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 198. *Ut supra*, p. 376, n. 8.

⁴ In this last tomb was found a large earthenware pot, containing a bronze vase, beautifully chiselled, with a smaller vase of the same metal within it, holding the ashes of the deceased ; besides sundry

weapons, much pottery, and many sepulchral lamps. This record is valuable, as throwing light on the character of the analogous tombs of Saturnia.

⁵ Baldelli, ap. Gori, III. pp. 75, 76 ; ap. Inghirami, Mon. Etr. IV. p. 72.

or barrow, vulgarly called *Il Melone*.⁶ This "Melon" had long been suspected of being sepulchral; and at length the proprietor, Signor Sergardi of Siena, determined to have it opened, and secured the services of Signor Alessandro François, the most experienced excavator in Tuscany. He commenced operations in the autumn of 1842, and the result was the discovery of a sepulchre of most singular character, bearing some analogy indeed to the Regulini tomb at Cære, but a strict resemblance to no other yet disclosed in the soil of Etruria. Unfortunately it had been rifled in previous ages, so that little of value was found within it; and its interest lies chiefly in its plan and construction, in which respects it remains uninjured.

A long passage lined with masonry leads into the heart of the tumulus. For the last seven yards it widens, and is divided by a low thick wall into two parallel passages which lead to two entrances, now closed with wooden doors. The partition wall is terminated in front by a square mass of masonry, which probably served as a pedestal for a lion or sphinx; and the passage opens, on either hand at its further end, into a small square chamber. Enter one of the wooden doors, and you are in a long passage-like tomb, communicating by a doorway with an inner chamber. The other wooden door opens into a parallel tomb precisely similar in every respect.⁷

The resemblance of this tomb to the Regulini at Cære will strike you immediately—not only in its passage form, but also in construction, for it is roofed over on the same

⁶ This mound is about 640 ft. in circumference, and 46 feet high.

⁷ The outer chambers are 14 ft. long, by 8 ft. wide; the inner, only 11 ft. in

length. In the inner wall of one of these tombs is a hole, through which you can look into another chamber not yet opened.

primitive principle of the convergence of the blocks to a centre, which, before they meet, are covered by large flat slabs. The difference consists in the double passage and in the size of the masonry, which, instead of being composed of regular, massive blocks, as in the tomb of Cervetri, is here of small pieces of schistose rock, not hewn, but rudely hammer-dressed into the shape of long shallow bricks ; it is equally without cement, but the clayey soil here exuding through the interstices appears like a plaster of mud. Masonry of this description is not found elsewhere in Etruscan edifices. It seems an imitation of brickwork, and belies the assertion of a celebrated architect, that this sort of roof could not be formed of that material.⁸ Nothing can be more unlike than this masonry and that of the Tanella di Pitagora, and at first sight you are ready to pronounce it impossible that both, little more than a mile apart, could have been raised by the same hands. Yet that this was Etruscan there can be no doubt, from the nature of its contents ; and its construction proves it to be of at least equal antiquity. The character of the masonry seems here determined by local circumstances. On the hill of Cortona the rock admits of being hewn into square masses ; here at its foot, it is of that hard, brittle, flaky character, which renders vain the labour of the chisel, and prompted the adoption of a species of masonry but little consistent with Etruscan habits of neatness.

These parallel tombs are paved with large flagstones, and underneath them, in the rock on which they are laid, are channels to carry off the water that might percolate the roof. The outer passages, which are now open to the

⁸ Canina, *Cere Antica*, p. 67. The bricks, or rather stones, in this case, are

kept in their places by the weight of the superincumbent earth.

sky, seem to have been covered in the same manner as the parallel tombs.

Though this "Melon" had been previously opened, perhaps more than once, it still contained a few pips; such as broken black pottery, a few remains in bronze and bone, and very small fragments of gold and silver. These, with everything else that has been discovered in the mound, are now to be seen at the Villa Sergardi hard by; and it is well for the traveller that he can examine them at leisure, for he is soon driven out of the tomb by the intolerable damp.

Above this tomb, in the higher part of the mound, were discovered three very small chambers, one of which was unrifled, and contained a large covered pot of bronze, embossed, and a vase of black clay like the most ancient of Cære and Veii, with a procession of archaic figures in relief. Both contained human ashes. Besides these, there were—an elegant *tazza* with similar reliefs—a quantity of small black ware—*unguentaria* of ordinary clay—and a long slab of stone, apparently part of a sarcophagus, with reliefs of very archaic style, representing a number of figures kneeling. Here also were found sundry spear-heads of iron, in one of which is a portion of the wooden shaft almost petrified; together with a hoe, a key, and part of a lock of the same metal, all much oxydised, a small sphinx of bone, and remains of heads in terracotta.⁹

This tumulus has not been half excavated, and it is believed with good reason that many more chambers lie within it. Yet, as the researches have proved so little profitable, owing to former riflings, it seems doubtful

⁹ A detailed description of this tomb and its contents, together with illustrations, has been published by Sr. Mel-

chiore Missirini, Siena, 1843. For an account of the excavations see also Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 33, 49.

whether they will be continued. The "Melon" appears wholly artificial—not like the Poggio Gajella, or the Monteroni near Palo, natural heights honeycombed with sepulchral cells—and seems to have been raised over the masonry-built tombs, which stand on the very level of the plain. Another mound not far off offers a further field for excavating enterprise.

Cortona is a city of great interest. Its very high antiquity—the mystery hanging over its origin, lost in the dim perspective of remote ages—the fables connected with its early history—the problem of its mighty walls—the paucity of tombs discovered around them, and the singular character of those that stand open,—all combine to cast a charm over Cortona, a charm of mystery, which can only be fully appreciated by those who have visited the site.

CHAPTER LVII.

PERUGIA.—*PERUSIA*.

THE CITY.

Sint tibi Flaminius, Thrasyменаque litora testes.

OVID.

Vix crediderim tam mature tantam urbem crevisse, floruisse, concidisse,
resurrexisse. VELL. PATERCULUS.

HAPPY the man who with mind open to the influences of Nature, journeys on a bright day from Cortona to Perugia! He passes through some of the most beautiful scenery in all-beautiful Italy, by the most lovely of lakes, and over ground hallowed by events among the most memorable in the history of the ancient world. For on the shores of "the reedy Thrasymene," the fierce Carthaginian set his foot on the proud neck of Rome.

The day on which I retraced my steps over this well-beaten road, is marked in my memory with a white stone. Before leaving the Tuscan State, I halted at the hamlet of Riccio to dine, for the worthy merchant, my chance-companion, was wont to make this his house of call. The *padrona* was not long in answering our demands, for we had not arrived at sunset, expecting all manner of impossibilities and unheard-of dainties, but had drawn on her larder at the reasonable hour of noon, and had left our

appetites to her discretion. The sun shone warmly into the room—the hostess smiled cheerily—a glorious landscape lay beneath our window—and what mattered it that the dishes stood on the bare board ; that the spoons and forks were of tin, and that the merchant's servant, and a bearded pilgrim in sackcloth, Rome-bound for the Holy Week, whom, in his pious generosity, my companion had invited to partake, sat down to table with us? Travelling in Italy, for him who would mix with the natives, and can forget home-bred pride, prejudices, and exigencies, levels all distinctions.

At Monte Gualandro, we entered the Papal State. Here at our feet lay the Thrasymene,¹ a broad expanse of blue, mirroring in intenser hues the complexion of the heavens. Three wooded islets lay, floating it seemed, on its unruffled surface. Towns and villages glittered on the verdant shore. Dark heights of purple waved around ; but loftier far, and far more distant, the Apennines reared their crests of snow—Nature's nobles, proud, distant, and cold, holding no communion with the herd of lowlier mountains around them.

Such was the scene on which the sun shone on that eventful day, when Rome lay humbled at the feet of Carthage, when fifteen thousand of her sons dyed yon plain and lake with their blood. From the height of Monte Gualandro the whole battle-field is within view. At the foot of the hill, or a little further to the right, on the shores of the lake, Flaminius, on his way from Arretium, halted on the eve of the battle. Ere the sun had risen on the morrow he entered the pass between this hill and the

¹ The *Lacus Thrasymenus*, *Thrasymenus*, *Trasymenus*, or *Trasumenus* of antiquity. Polybius (III. 82) calls it *Τρασύμηνη λίμνη*, which Mannert (*Geog.* p. 416) takes to be correct, as probably

taken from the oldest native dialect. Many of the ancients also called it *Tharsomenus*, instead of *Thrasumenus*. Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* I. 5.

water, and marched on into yon crescent-shaped plain, formed by the receding of the mountains from the lake, unconscious that he was watched from these very heights on which we stand, by Hannibal's Balearic slingers and light-armed troops, and that the undulating ground at our feet concealed the enemy's horse. Seeing the foe in front, he marched on through the pass, till it widens into the plain, and there, enveloped by a dense mist which arose from the lake, he was suddenly attacked on every side by Hannibal's main force in front, and by the cavalry and other ambushers in the rear. Flaminius then saw he was entrapped, but, nothing daunted, he made a more desperate struggle for victory; and so furious the contest that ensued, so intent were all on the work of destruction, that an earthquake which overthrew many cities in Italy, turned aside the course of rapid rivers, carried the sea up between their banks, and cast down even mountains in mighty ruin, was unknown, unfelt, by any of the combatants,—

“ An earthquake reel'd unheededly away !
None felt stern Nature rocking at his feet.”

Shiloh, Hannibal, C. IV. SE 68.

For three hours did the Romans maintain the unequal contest, till at length, when their leader Flaminius fell, they broke and fled, rushing, some to the mountain-steeps, which they were not suffered to climb, others to the lake, in whose waters they vainly sought safety. Six thousand, who had broken through the foe at the first attack, and had retired to a height to await the issue of the fight, effected their escape, only to be captured on the morrow. Ten thousand scattered fugitives carried the news to Rome.²

² For this battle see Liv. XXII. 4—7; Polyb. III. 82—84; Sil. Ital. V.; Appian. Reb. Hann. p. 319, ed. Steph. Oros. IV.

15. Pliny (II. 86) states that in the same year the news of no less than fifty-seven earthquakes was brought to Rome.

The road crosses the battle-plain—now overflowing with oil and wine, then steeped in a deeper flood, whose hue is traditionally preserved in the name of a brook, Sanguinetto—to the village of Passignano, where the mountains again meet the shore. Here the traveller may halt to taste the fish, for which the lake retains its ancient reputation ;³ but as he values skin and comfort, let him not tarry here the night, for legions of light-armed foes lie thirsting for his blood, and the powers also of air and water—“*mali culices, ranæque palustres*”—are in league to rob him of repose.

To set the Thames on fire is an achievement beyond our degenerate days, but the Thrasymene, if we may believe tradition, was of more inflammable stuff, and was once utterly burnt up by fire from heaven.⁴

On the summit of the hill beyond the lake, are fresh objects of admiration, in a vale of Italian richness below, and ruined towers of feudal grandeur above ; but ere I had half studied the scene, I found myself in the little town of Magione. Here my companion drew bit ; and I could not blame him, for he was welcomed heartily by the two sister landladies, and a welcome from the younger, one of the finest specimens of the sex I have seen in this land of Junos, were enough to stay the steps of any man. The fair Clotilda has already been made a public character by

³ Sil. Ital. V. 581.

⁴ Plin. II. 111.—Trasymenum lacum arsisse totum. . . . Valerius Antias narrat. It is a pity to spoil a pretty tale ; but in justice to the pure waters of the lake it must be said, that before Pliny's time, Valerius Maximus (III. 7, 6,) had recounted it among Hannibal's great deeds—Trasimenum lacum dirâ inustum memoriâ. Silius Italicus (V. 70—74) also made Jupiter cast his bolts

into its waters—

Fulmina Tyrrhenas Trasymeni torsit
in undas :

Ictusque æthereâ per stagna patentia
flammâ,

Fumavit lacus, atque arserunt fluctibus
ignes—

both making a mere metaphor of what Antias recorded as a fact. Strange that he should have found a Pliny to repeat his folly.

Miss Sedgwick ; she is no longer the unripe maiden, but in the full fructification of beauty, and it may be, with less

“Of Cornelia’s mien
Than the light air of Egypt’s graceful queen.”

Childs Harold, c. iv. st. 101.

But these are not matters for the antiquary—“Aroint thee ! witch !”

The road from Magione to Perugia traverses the rich vale of the Caina, a stream which seems to have retained its Etruscan name.⁵ Perugia is seen at some miles’ distance, crowning its lofty olive-girt height with a long level line of domes and towers. About two miles before reaching it, a tower with a few houses about it, by the road-side, marks the site of one of the most interesting tombs around Perugia ; it will be described in the following chapter. The site is called La Commenda, or is better known as the Torre di San Manno.

Perugia is one of the very few Etruscan cities that retains anything like its ancient importance. One of the “heads of Etruria” of old, it is still among the first cities of Central Italy. Its glory has not utterly departed, nor has it even greatly waned, for it is yet a large and wealthy city, with fifteen thousand inhabitants.

It is not for me to describe or even enumerate the manifold objects of interest in Perugia, either in its picturesque streets, its cathedral and five-score churches, or in its treasures of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Those of the latter art alone, the works of Perugino and the Umbrian school, are so abundant as generally to absorb what little time and attention the traveller passing between Florence and Rome has to spare for a provincial city ; so that few give a thought or an hour to the antiquities in

⁵ Caina is an Etruscan family name, frequently met with at Perugia, and at

Chiusi and its neighbourhood. It is the augmentative of Caie, or *Caia* (*Caius*).

which Perugia is equally wealthy, except, it may be, a five minutes' call, on their road to Rome, at the Grotta de' Volunni, which has become a somewhat fashionable lion.

The walls of Perugia are in many parts ancient, agreeing in character with those of Chiusi and Todi, and composed, like them, of travertine—a material which preserves the sharpness of its edges in a remarkable degree, so as to give to a structure composed of it an appearance of much less antiquity than it possesses. Some portions of these walls are fine specimens of ancient regular masonry. On the west of the city they may be traced for a long distance, rising to the height of twenty or thirty feet, falling back from the perpendicular, and banded near the top with a projecting *fascia*. Behind the cathedral are also some fine fragments of rusticated masonry. At the Porta S. Ercolano is a portion, forty feet high, in courses of eighteen inches, very neatly joined. This gateway is of ancient construction as high as the imposts, which now support a Gothic arch. The same may be said of the Arco di Bornia and the Porta Colonia. The former was originally spanned by a flat lintel of cuneiform blocks, like the gates of the Theatre of Férento; and has a fine fragment of ancient walling on either hand.⁶ The Porta Colonia is skew or oblique, and has some ancient masonry in front. The Arco di San Luca has also a Gothic arch on much earlier foundations, which the cement, unless subsequently applied, marks as Roman.⁷

⁶ On one side it flanks the approach to the gate, and is in receding courses; on the other, it rises to the height of 20 feet beneath the modern buildings. The largest block I observed was 5 feet by 2—very small in comparison with the colossal masonry of Cortona.

⁷ The Porta di San Pietro is evidently Roman, modernised, as set forth in the inscription attached to it. The Arco di Maestà, or de' Buoni Tempi is Roman below, Gothic above. The Arco della Conca seems wholly medieval.

The best preserved and the grandest of all the ancient gates of Perugia is the .

ARCO D' AUGUSTO,

so called from the inscription, AVGVSTA PERVSIA, over the arch. It is formed of regular masonry of travertine, uncemented, in courses eighteen inches high ; some of the blocks being three or four feet in length. The masonry of the arch hardly corresponds with that below it, and is probably of subsequent date and Roman, as the inscription seems to testify, though the letters are not necessarily coeval with the structure. The arch is skew, or oblique ; and the gate is double, like those of Volterra and Cosa.⁸ Above the arch is a frieze of six Ionic colonnettes, fluted, alternating with shields ; and from this springs another arch, now blocked up, surmounted by a second frieze of Ionic pilasters, not fluted. All the work above the lower arch is evidently of later date than the original construction of the gateway.⁹ The entire height of the structure, as it now stands, cannot be less than sixty or seventy feet.

This gate stands recessed from the line of the city-wall, and is flanked on either hand by a tower, projecting about twenty feet, and rising, narrowing upwards, to a level with the top of the wall above the gate. The masonry of these

⁸ The gate is 14 feet 6 inches wide, 20 feet 4 inches deep, and about 22 feet from the ground to the spring of the arch, the keystone of which will consequently be nearly 30 feet from the ground. There are 17 voussoirs. The moulding round it is very simple, not unlike that of the Porta di Giove at Falleri. In the spandrels there seems to have been on one side a massive head, now quite disfigured ; on the other a projecting stone, though not in a corresponding position. This head may have

been the keystone of the original arch, which the architects of the existing structure did not choose to replace. This gate is sometimes called Arco della Via Vecchia.

⁹ Canina, Arch. Ant. VI. p. 55. He says that though there are no valid documents to prove this gate older than the time of Augustus, to which the inscription would refer it, it is at least constructed in a manner similar to works of the most ancient times.

towers, to the height of the imposts of the arch, corresponds with that of the gate itself, and seems to be the original structure ; all above that height is of a later period. Within the city a noble wall of rusticated masonry rises to the height of fifty or sixty feet, now unconnected with the gate, whatever it may have been of old.¹

This gate still forms one of the entrances to the city, though there is a populous suburb without the walls. Its appearance is most imposing. The lofty towers, like ponderous obelisks, truncated—the tall archway recessed between them—the frieze of shields and colonnettes above it—the second arch soaring over all, a gallery, it may be, whence to annoy the foe—the venerable masonry overgrown with moss, or dark with the breath of ages—form a whole which carries the mind most forcibly into the past.

Another ancient gate very like that of Augustus,² is, or rather was, the Arco Marziale or Porta Marzia ; for what is now to be seen is the mere skeleton of the gate, which was taken down to make room for the modern citadel. But to preserve so curious a relic of the olden time from utter destruction, Sangallo the architect built the blocks composing the façade into a bastion of the fortress, where, imprisoned in the brick-work, they remain to be liberated by the shot of the next besiegers of Perugia, and seem as much out of place as an ancient Etruscan would be in the streets of the modern city.

¹ Canina, (*Archit. Ant.* V. p. 96) points out the similarity of this gate to an ancient one at Antioch, called the Gate of Medina.

² Like that it has a projecting head in one spandril, and something like one in the other to correspond, besides a third on the top of the arch, which gives the whole a resemblance to the

celebrated Gate of Volterra. Above this is a frieze of six pilasters alternating with figures, instead of shields, three of men, and two of horses' heads. Over this is the inscription—

COLONIA VIBIA ;

and below the frieze is also the same inscription as on the other gate :—

AVGVSTA PERVSIÆ.

THE MUSEUM

is in the University of Perugia, and is rich in Etruscan antiquities, especially urns, inscriptions and bronzes—the produce of the tombs in the neighbourhood.

Among the most ancient relics are some small square *cippi* of fetid limestone, like those of Chiusi, with archaic figures in low relief. In one of these a number of females are dancing to the music of a *subulo*; a lion is reclining on each side above.³

One of these *cippi* is circular and displays a death-bed scene. A child is stretched embracing the corpse of its parent—*præfica* are beating their breasts and wailing the dead—many other figures stand with their hands to their heads in the usual attitude of grief—priests and augurs with chaplets and *litui*, are gathering round an altar. On this monument rests a tall fluted column, terminating in a pine-cone, and bearing a funeral inscription in Etruscan characters.⁴ There are other singular pillars—*columella*—of travertine, two or three feet high, all bearing sepulchral inscriptions.⁵

The Etruscans of Perugia generally burned their dead, for very few sarcophagi are discovered on this site. The cinerary urns are similar to those of Chiusi, but mostly of travertine, though sometimes of *nenfro*, or a similar dark grey stone; and the urns, it may be, are of the latter,

³ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. LVIII. 2.

⁴ Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* VI. tav. Z 2.

⁵ These are all phallic. Such monuments abound in this district, especially at Chiusi. That they were sepulchral there is no doubt; it is proved both by the inscriptions on them, and by their discovery in tombs. In Lydia, the traditional mother-country of Etruria,

they had a similar application; for one of colossal size has been discovered on the tumulus of Alyattes, at Sardis (*Bull. Inst.* 1843, p. 58), though this may be the same thing that was taken by Mr. Steuart (Lydia and Phrygia, p. 4) for one of the *termini*—*ὄπποι*—which Herodotus (I. 93) tells us surmounted that monument. Dr. Braun regards them as Mithraic symbols. *Bull. Inst.* loc. cit.

while the figures on the lids are of the former. He who has seen the ash-chests of Volterra and Chiusi, will not find much of novelty here ; indeed these urns are interesting rather for their inscriptions, than for their intrinsic beauty or singularity. The subjects are not very varied. Among them are, combats of the Centaurs and Lapithæ,—the sacrifice of Iphigenia, more common at Perugia than on any other Etruscan site,⁶—the hunt of the Calydonian boar,—Medusa's head between flowers,—Scylla contending with two warriors—Glaucus, or the male deity of the same class, coiling his fishes' tails round the legs of a man armed with a club,—a winged female seated on a *hippocampus*,—two men riding on a sea-horse, one playing the Pandean pipes, the other the lyre.

This Museum affords proof that the Etruscan modes of burial were adhered to, after the city had become a dependency of Rome ; for several urns, truly Etruscan in every other respect, bear inscriptions in Latin letters ; though a native character is still conspicuous even in some of these.⁷

In this Museum is an inscription, celebrated as the longest yet known in the Etruscan character, having no less than forty-five lines. It is on a shaft of travertine three feet and a half high and nine inches square ; the inscription is on two of its sides, and the letters, which are coloured red, do credit to Etruscan carving.⁸ It was discovered near Perugia in 1822. The subject it is in vain to guess at. Sundry attempts have been made at interpretation, among which is one which pronounces it

⁶ Vermiglioli, Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 10 ; Gori, Mus. Etrus. I. tav. 172 ; Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. L.

⁷ Such as "Thania. Caesinia. Volumni." —"L. Pomponius Efarsinise Cna ius (Gnatust) Pis"—"L. Volumni. Lal. Theonius."

⁸ Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. tav. CXX.) gives this inscription, but his "*facsimile*" by no means does it justice. It is also given with various readings by Vermiglioli, Iscriz. Perug. I. p. 85.

to be written in choice Irish, and to be a notice to mariners about the voyage across the Bay of Biscay to Carne in Ireland!⁹ A notice attached to it hints more modestly that it may possibly refer to agrarian matters.

In vases the Museum of Perugia is not rich, yet it possesses a few worthy of notice. Such is an *amphora* of large size, five feet high, in the later style, though without varnish. The subject is Penelope and her son Telemachus; the design betrays great beauty and freedom, particularly in the figure of a female behind the chaste queen. Another vase in the same style represents a bridal-scene—a subject often found on vases, but never on urns or sarcophagi. There are also some vases in the earliest style, with bands of animals, black and purple, on a pale yellow ground.

As beautiful painted pottery, like that of Vulci and Tarquinii, is very rarely found at Perugia, it seems probable that it was not manufactured on the spot. The ware which is most abundant, is unpainted, of black or red clay, sometimes with archaic figures in relief, though not in the style peculiar to Chiusi and its neighbourhood.¹

There are a few small urns, and several heads, portraits of the deceased, in *terra cotta*. One of the latter has a physiognomy thoroughly Egyptian.

In bronzes this Museum is much richer than in pottery. Here are many *laminæ* of this metal, with reliefs of men, animals, and chimæras, mostly in a very rigid style of art. A minotaur, or human figure with a bull's head.—A draped female, with a bough on her shoulder and an *unquentarium* in her hand.—A fragment representing a *biga*—the horses

⁹ *Etruria Celtica*, I. pp. 377—387.

¹ Micali says the pottery of Perugia is so inferior, especially in the design of

the figures, that it is not worthy of notice. *Mon. Ined.* p. 217.

and charioteer being broken away.—Two small fragments ; one with Hercules shaking hands with some divinity who bears a four-pronged sceptre—the other a god, one of the nine great Etruscan deities who wielded the thunder, grasping a man by the hair, who cries for mercy and tries to stay the impending vengeance.—A fragment, beautifully chiselled, representing the beardless Hercules drawing his bow on two armed warriors.—A winged sphinx, with a *tutulus*, like a foolscap.

There are also many little deities and other figures in bronze ; some of very archaic, even oriental character. Such is the goddess shown in the annexed woodcut, with two pair of wings, a *tutulus* on her head, and a dove on her hand. Another has a single pair of wings springing from her bosom. A third is a mermaid, with but one fish-tail, instead of two as usual.



ETRUSCAN FOUR-WINGED
GODDESS.

All these relics of Etruscan toreutic art, besides others now at Munich, and some reliefs in silver in the British Museum, were found in 1812, on a spot called Castello di S. Mariano, four miles from Perugia, but not in a tomb ; which makes it probable that they were buried for concealment in ancient times.² They are supposed to be the decorations of sacred or funeral furniture.³

² For descriptions and illustrations of these bronzes, see Vermiglioli's work thereon, *Saggio di Bronzi Etruschi*, Perugia, 1813 ; Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 32—41. tav. XXVIII. 6 ; XXIX. 1—5, 9 ; XXX. 1—3, 5 ; XXXI. The spot where they were found is celebrated in Perugian annals for a victory obtained, in the fifteenth century, over a

band of British *condottieri*.

³ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 40. tav. XLV. They have often been supposed to have formed the adornments of a votive car, but Micali maintains that there is nothing in the form, size, or subjects of these articles to favour that view. Duplicates of many of them, and other works in bronze and silver, equally

There are also in this Museum, some fragments of a curule chair, turned in an elegant Greek style, resembling the representations of furniture painted or carved in Etruscan tombs.

Of other articles in bronze there are very massive handles, probably of censers or braziers—ponderous hinges—helmets, some with cheek-pieces, as represented on the native monuments—spears—a pair of greaves, with the inscription “TUTAS,” in Etruscan letters, on each⁴—*paterae*, pots and vases of various forms—strigils—ladles—strainers—armlets—*fibulae*—and some very beautiful *specula* or mirrors.⁵

There is also a collection of coins.⁶

A very singular monument was discovered in a tomb near Perugia, in 1844. It is a sarcophagus of *nenfro*, with reliefs on three of its sides ; those at the ends representing figures reclining at the banquet, one with a lyre

remarkable, discovered on the same spot, are preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich.

⁴ Vermiglioli (Giorn. Scient. e Letter. di Perugia, 1840) interprets this “defend me,” deriving it from the old Latin verb *tuto* used by Plautus. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 338) agrees with him.

⁵ Among these is a singular one representing “Mean,” or the Goddess of Fate, attended by another goddess, called “Leinth,” crowning “Hercle,” or Hercules, with Cerberus at his feet. Gerhard, Etrusk. Spiegel, II. taf. CXLI ; Gottheiten der Etrusker, taf. V. 4.

⁶ Some coins, with a wheel on one side, and a *bipennis* on the reverse, with an Etruscan V, are attributed to Perugia by the worthy Jesuits, Marchi and Tessieri. *Æs Grave*, class III. tav. IV. ; cf. Melchiorri, Bull. Inst. 1839. p. 123. They think that the wheel shows

the dependence of this city on Cortona, of which this is the sole type ; and that the battle-axe is expressive of the ancient name, whose initial is also marked—“Verusia,” or, as they write it, “Ferusia”—which they derive from the Latin *ferio* ; just as they derive “Tutere,” the inscription on the coins of Tuder, now Todi, from *tudes*, a *tundendo*—implied by the club, a constant device on those coins. But this system of referring the names of Etruscan cities to a Latin origin is more ingenious than well-founded. “Peruse,” which occurs in an Etruscan inscription in the Museum Oddi, of Perugia, seems to be the original form of the word. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 140. That the coins with the legend “Peithesa,” have been erroneously attributed to Perugia, has been already stated. *Ut supra*, p. 89.

and *plectrum*, attended by slaves ; that in the front of the monument displaying a remarkable procession, which demands a detailed description. It is headed by a man with a wand, apparently a herald, preceding three captives or victims chained together by the neck, whose shaggy hair and beards distinguish them as a separate race from the rest—apparently ruder and more barbarous. Two of them carry a small *situla* or pail in one hand, and a burden on their shoulders, which looks like a wine-skin ; the third has his hand fastened by the same rope which encircles his neck. They are followed by two veiled women, engaged in conversation with the man who heads the next group. This is composed of two horses or mules neatly laden, attended by three men, the first with a spear, the next with a hoe and a sword, and the third without weapons, but in an attitude of exultation. A large dog, with a collar round his neck, accompanies these figures. Then march three men with lances, one with a burden on his shoulder, followed by two others similarly armed, driving a pair of oxen and of goats. The subject, from its position on a sarcophagus, has been supposed to be funereal, and to represent a procession of victims to be sacrificed at the tomb. But other than funereal scenes are often found on such monuments ; and there are great difficulties attending such an interpretation. It seems to me much more satisfactory to suppose that it is a return from a successful foray. There are the captives bound, and made to carry their own property for the benefit of their victors ; their females behind, not bound, but accompanying their lords ; their faithful dog following them into captivity ; their beasts of burden laden with their goods ; their weapons and agricultural implements carried by one of their guards ; and their cattle driven on by the rest. That the conquerors have no armour may be explained by

supposing them not regular military, but the inhabitants of some border town.⁷

The style of art is very rigid, yet not deficient in expression ; and the monument is evidently of early date, undoubtedly prior to the Roman conquest.⁸

Perusia, like Cortona, is of high antiquity. Justin calls it of Achæan origin ;⁹ while Servius makes it appear that it was an Umbrian settlement.¹ Its antiquity is as undoubted as its former splendour and importance.² That it was one of the Twelve cities of the Etruscan Confederation is established by abundant testimony.³

We have no record of its early history. The first mention made of Perugia is of the time of Fabius, who, after having crossed the dread Ciminian forest, is said by

⁷ It was supposed by Signor Melchiorri, that this relief represented a colony going forth to fulfil the vow of a "sacred spring," according to the ancient Italian rite. Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 42. Vermiglioli agrees with this opinion. Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 143. But this view has been ably shown by Dr. H. Brunn, to be untenable ; yet his opinion that it represents a funeral procession, with human and other victims to be sacrificed at the tomb to the *manes* of the deceased, though ingeniously supported (Ann. Inst. 1846, pp. 188—202), does not solve every difficulty, and I therefore offer in the text what seems to me a more plausible interpretation.

⁸ Dr. Brunn considers it to be contemporary with the earliest paintings in the tombs of Tarquinii.

An illustration of this singular monument is published in the Mon. Ined. Inst. IV. tav. XXXII.

⁹ Justin. XX. 1.—Perusini quoque originem ab Achæis ducunt.

¹ Serv. ad Æn. X. 201.—Sarsinates

qui Perusiæ consederant. The Sarsinates were an ancient Umbrian tribe, who inhabited the Apennines. Polyb. II. 24, 7 ; Strabo, V. p. 227 ; Plin. III. 19 ; Festus, v. Ploti. Cluver (II. p. 577) hence concludes that Perugia was built long prior to the Trojan war, because the Umbrians, when driven out of Etruria by the Pelasgi, built Sarsina beyond the Apennines. Servius seems to hint that Perugia was founded before the latter city. Servius (ad Æn. X. 198) records another tradition, that it was built by Aules, father or brother of Ocnus, who founded Mantua, as Virgil tells us. Æn. X. 200.

² Appian. Bell. Civ. V. 49—*ἡ πόλις ἀρχαῖοτης ἐχούσα καὶ ἀξιώσεως*.

³ Appian (loc. cit.) expressly asserts it. And Stephanus also (v. *Πεπυλαίων*). Livy twice cites it among the chief cities of Etruria—*capita Etruriæ*—once (IX. 37) classing it with Cortona and Arretium, and again (X. 37) with Volsinii and Arretium ; here calling the trio—*urbes validissimæ*.

some traditions to have won a victory over the Etruscans, under the walls of this city—a battle which is more generally believed to have been fought at Sutrium. However that may be, as Livy remarks, the Romans won the day, and compelled Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium to sue for a truce, which was granted for thirty years.⁴ This was in 444 (B.C. 310). In the following year, however, Perugia joined the rest of the Etruscans in opposing the power of Rome; and after the fatal rout at the Lake of Vadimon, it still held out till Fabius marched against it, defeated the Etruscan army under its walls, and would have taken the city by storm, had it not surrendered into his hands.⁵

We next find Perugia in conjunction with Clusium, in the year 459, opposing the proprætor Fulvius; but the confederates were routed by him with great slaughter. Yet this defeat did not break the spirit of the Perusians; for no sooner had the consul Fabius withdrawn his army, than they excited the rest of the Etruscans to revolt; but Fabius, quickly re-entering Etruria, overcame them anew, slew 4500 of the citizens, and captured 1740, who were ransomed at 310 pieces of brass each man.⁶ Not yet even did they relinquish their struggle for independence, but in the following year, after sustaining two other defeats, one near Volsinii, the other near Rusellæ, they were compelled, in conjunction with Volsinii and Arretium, to sue for peace; when a truce for forty years was granted them, on the payment of a heavy fine.⁷

At what precise period Perugia fell under the Roman yoke does not appear, but it must have been soon after the events last recorded, as ere the close of the fifth century of Rome, the whole of Etruria had lost its independence. Perugia joined the other cities of Etruria in furnishing

⁴ Liv. IX. 37. Diodorus (XX. p. 773) also places this victory at Perugia.

⁵ Liv. IX. 40.

⁶ Liv. X. 30, 31.

⁷ Liv. X. 37.

supplies for Scipio's fleet at the close of the Second Punic War ; its quota, like that of Clusium and Rusellæ, consisting of corn, and fir for ship-building.⁸ It is supposed to have been colonised about the year 711,⁹ and a few years after, it played a conspicuous part in the civil wars of Rome ; for Lucius Antonius, being hard pressed by Augustus, then Octavius Cæsar, shut himself up in this city, which the latter besieged, and starved into surrender. He gained little, however, by the capture ; for one of the citizens, in despair, set fire to his house, and slew himself on the ruins ; and the flames spreading, reduced the whole city to ashes.¹ It was afterwards rebuilt, and colonised afresh by Augustus,² as the inscriptions over its gateways testify, and it still maintained its rank among the chief cities of Etruria, even in the latter days of the Roman Empire, when it sustained a siege by the Goths, and was ultimately taken by Narses.³

⁸ Liv. XXVIII. 45.

⁹ This inference is drawn from the inscription "Colonia Vibia" on the ancient gate called *Porta Marzia* ; because C. Vibius Pansa was consul in that year. Cluver. II. p. 578 ; Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, I. p. 219.

¹ Except a temple of Vulcan. The citizens had previously been accustomed to worship Juno, according to the rites of the Etruscans, but after this catastrophe they set up Vulcan in her place,

as patron deity of Perugia. Appian. *Bell. Civ.* V. 49 ; Dio Cass. XLVIII. 14 ; Florus, IV. 5 ; Vell. Patere. II. 74 ; Sueton. Aug. 9, 96 ; Lucan. I. 41 ; Serv. ad *Æn.* VI. 833.

² Dion Cass. loc. cit. It is subsequently mentioned as a colony by Strabo (V. p. 226), Pliny (III. 8), Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.), and is placed by the *Peutingerian Table* on the *Via Amerina*. See Vol. I. p. 146.

³ Procop. *Bell. Goth.* I. 16 ; IV. 33.

CHAPTER LVIII.

PERUGIA.—*PERUSIA*.

THE CEMETERY.

Hic maxima cura sepulcris
Impenditur.

PRUDENTIUS.

Più che non credi son le tombe carche.

DANTE *Inf. ix. 129.*

THE necropolis of Perugia offers a rich field for research ; and of late years, since attention has been directed to excavations in Etruria, numerous tombs have been brought to light. This is principally owing to the archæological zeal of the Cavaliere Vermiglioli, to whom it is also due that many of these sepulchres, fortunately for the student of antiquity, remain *in statu quo*, with all their urns, just as they were discovered.

GROTTA DE' VOLUNNI.

First and foremost in magnitude and beauty, and rivaling in interest the most celebrated sepulchres of the land, is the "Tomb of the Volumnii," which no one who visits, or even passes through Perugia, should omit to see. It is easy of accomplishment, for the high-road to Rome passes the very door. It lies about two miles from Perugia, in the slope of a low eminence, which rises at the base of the

lofty height on which the city stands. The keys are kept at a house hard by the tomb.

You descend a long flight of steps to the entrance, now closed by a door of wood : the ancient one, a huge slab of travertine, which was placed against it—a mere “stone on the mouth of the sepulchre,”—now rests against the rock outside. You enter,—here is none of the chill of the grave, but the breath of the scirocco,—you are in a warm, damp atmosphere ; that is, in winter, when it is most visited ; in summer it is of course cooler than the external air. On one of the door-posts, which are slabs of travertine, an inscription in Etruscan characters catches your eye ; and so sharply are the letters cut, and so bright is the red paint within them, that you can scarcely credit this epitaph to have an antiquity of anything like two thousand years.¹

Daylight cannot penetrate to the further end of the tomb ; but when a torch is lighted you perceive yourself to be in a spacious chamber with a very lofty roof, carved into the form of beam and rafters, but with an extraordinarily high pitch ; the slopes forming an angle of 45° with the horizon, instead of 20° or 25°, as usual.² On this chamber open nine others, of much smaller size, and all empty, save one at the further end, opposite the entrance, where a party of revellers, each on a snow-white couch, with chapleted brow, torque-decorated neck, and goblet

¹ The inscription on the doorpost seems to be a general epitaph to the tomb. It would be thus written in Latin letters—“Arnth Larth Velimnas Aruneal Phusiur Suthi Acil Phece.” It seems to imply that the sepulchre was made by the two brothers Arnth and Larth Velimnas. Of the rest of the inscription it were vain, in our present

ignorance of the language, to give an interpretation ; though analogies readily suggest themselves. The initial of the fifth and last words may possibly be a “Th.”

² The dimensions of this central chamber are 24 feet long, 12 wide, and about 16 high—i. e., 10 feet to the top of the cornice, and 6 in the pediment.

in hand, lie—a petrification of conviviality—in solemn mockery of the pleasures to which for ages on ages they have bidden adieu.

There are seven urns in this chamber, five with recumbent figures of men, one with a female in a sitting posture, and one of a peculiar character. All, except the last, are of travertine, coated over with a fine stucco; they are wrought, indeed, with a skill, a finish, and a truth to nature by no means common in Etruscan urns. The inscriptions show them all to belong to one family, that of “Velimnas,” or Volumnius, as it was corrupted by the Romans.³ Four of the urns are very similar, seeming to differ in little beyond the ages of the men, each of whom is reclining, in half-draped luxury, on his banqueting-couch; but here it is not the sarcophagus or urn itself which represents the couch, as is generally the case; but the lid alone, which is raised into that form, hung with drapery, and supported by elegantly-carved legs, while the receptacle for the ashes forms a high pedestal to the couch. On the front of each of these ash-chests are four *pateræ*, one at each angle, with a Gorgon’s head in the centre—no longer the hideous mask of the original idea, but the beautiful Medusa of later art—with a pair of serpents knotted on her head, and wings also springing from her brows.⁴

³ Müller (Etrusk. II. p. 62) thinks the Volumna mentioned by Augustin (de Civit. Dei, IV. 21) is identical with Voltumna, the celebrated goddess of Etruria; so also Gerhard, Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 35. It is certain that this is a very ancient Italian name, and probably Etruscan. Varro (Ling. Lat. V. 55) speaks of a “Volumnius” who wrote Etruscan tragedies, though Niebuhr (I. p. 135, Eng. trans.) says that the reading of the Florentine MS.

—“Volnius”—is the correct one; and this is followed by Müller in his edition of Varro. A Lucia Volumnia is mentioned in the songs of the Salii (Varro, op. cit. IX. 61.). The wife of Coriolanus is well remembered. Liv. II. 40. The goddess Velinia, who is said by Varro (V. 71.) to have derived her name from the lake Velinus, may have taken it from the same source.

⁴ The character of these heads is sufficient to prove the late date of the

The fifth male, who occupies the post of honour at the upper end of the feast, lies on a couch more richly decorated than those of his kinsmen, and on a much loftier pedestal. His urn is the grand monument of the sepulchre. In the centre is represented an arched doorway, and on either hand sits, at the angle of the urn, the statue of a winged Fury, half draped, with bare bosom and a pair of snakes knotted over her brows. One bears a flaming torch on her shoulder ; and the other probably bore a similar emblem, but one hand, with whatever it contained, has been broken off. They sit crosslegged, with calm but stern expression, and eyes turned upwards, as if looking for orders from on high, respecting the sepulchre they are guarding. The archway is merely marked with colour on the face of the monument, and within it are painted four females—one with her hand on the doorpost, and eyes anxiously turned towards the Furies outside—wishing, it would seem, to issue forth, but not daring to pass the threshold through dread of their stern gaolers. The whole scene has a mysterious, Dantesque character, eminently calculated to stir the imagination.

The sixth urn belongs to a female, who is distinguished from the lords of her family by her position ; for she sits aloft on her pedestal like a goddess or queen on her throne ; indeed, she has been supposed to represent either Nemesis, or Proserpine,⁵ an opinion which the frontlet on her brow, and the owl-legs to the stool beneath her feet

urns, for in the earlier works of art, whether Greek or Etruscan, the Gorgon was represented as fearfully hideous as the imagination of the artist could conceive her. See the wood-cuts at pages 244, 352. But in after times it became customary to represent her as a "fair-cheeked lass ;" indeed, as extremes

meet, it was believed that it was her marvellous beauty, not her hideousness, that turned beholders into stone. *Serv. ad Æn. II. 616.*

⁵ Vermiglioli, *Sepolcro de' Volunni*, p. 42. Feuerbach, *Bull. Inst.* 1840, p. 120.

are thought to favour. This is more probably, however, an effigy of the lady whose dust is contained in the urn, and whose name is inscribed on the lid. Why she is represented in this position, when it was customary for the Etruscan women to recline at banquets with the other sex, I do not presume to determine.⁶

The last urn is of a totally different character from the rest, yet not less interesting. You are startled on beholding, among these genuine Etruscan monuments, an urn of marble, in the form of a Roman temple, with a Latin inscription on the frieze ; more especially when from the character of its adornments you perceive it to be of no early date—apparently of Imperial times, or at least as late as the close of the Republic.⁷ But while you are wondering at this, your eye falls on the roof of the urn, and beholds, scratched in minute letters on the tiles, an Etruscan inscription, which you perceive at once to correspond with the Latin—

P. VOLVMNIVS . A . F. VIOLENS
CAFATIA . NATVS .

JAITAABAD:VA:ANMIJ31:TV1

The Etruscan, in Latin letters, would be “Pup. Velimna Au. Caphatial.”⁸ That is, Publius Volumnius, son of Aulus,

⁶ There is doubtless an analogy to the sitting female statue in the Museo Casuccini at Chiusi, and to the few others of similar character, mentioned above. See pp. 336, 337. She is robed in a long Ionic *chiton* reaching to her ankles. Her urn is precisely similar to that of her kinsmen.

⁷ This little temple-urn has regular *isodomon* masonry marked in the front, with a panelled door in the centre, and

fluted pilasters somewhat of the Corinthian order at the angles. On the sides and back are Roman emblems, such as *boucrania* or bulls' skulls, *sacrificial vitta*, *patera*, *prefericula* ; but the winged Medusa's heads in the pediments, and the sphinxes on the roof, as *acroteria*, mark rather an Etruscan character.

⁸ Vermiglioli (*Sepolcro de' Volunni*, p. 28) is in error in making this “Pui,”

by a mother named Cafatia. So that here is a precise correspondence between the inscriptions, save the omission of "Violens," the Etruscans not having *cognomina*, or at least never using them in their epitaphs.⁹

for *Puia* — daughter. It is clearly "Pup," for "Pupli," or Publius. Cafatia, written "Caphate," or "Caphates" in Etruscan, is of frequent occurrence at Perugia. Lanzi thinks it bears an analogy to Capua. Sagg. II. p. 358; cf. Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 16.

⁹ The Latin inscription on this urn has been pronounced a forgery by the author of "*Etruria-Celtica*," on no other ground than that it contradicts his fanciful theories of the identity of the Etruscan and Irish languages. "*Velimnas*," according to his interpretation, would mean "lamentations of women;" and when he finds a bilingual monument which shows it to be merely the Etruscan form of *Volumnius*, rather than renounce his theory, he attempts, in the most unwarranted manner, to overcome the obstacle by declaring the Latin inscription to be a fraud, and expresses his surprise that so intelligent a scholar, and able an antiquary as Vermiglioli, could be deceived by so clumsy and palpable a forgery, the form of the letters being quite sufficient to declare its modern origin. *Etruria-Celtica*, II. p. 239. An assertion so groundless, made too without a personal acquaintance with the monument, naturally excited the indignation of those whose honour was thus gratuitously impugned, and called forth from Cavaliere Vermiglioli the following well-merited rebuke, which I give in his own words:—

"Non ometteremo allora un qualche esame sulle troppo vaghe, arbitrarie, e nuove interpretazioni date alle epigrafi de' Volunni da Sir W. Betham, nella sua *Etruria-Celtica*, pubblicata in Dub-

lino, 1842, e libro a noi cortesemente dall' Autore donato; e che potrebbe segnare anche un' epoca assai rimarcabile ne' fasti delle letterarie stranezze. Noi stessi dovemmo fare delle grandi meraviglie, nel vedere come l' Autore di questa non nuova, ma speciosissima *Etruria-Celtica*, non avendo altro scampo da sostenersi ne' suoi paradossi, ed in tanti assurdi, si decise a proclamare falsa, e modernamente inventata l' epigrafe latina della urnetta marmorea bilingue, ed aggiugnendo gentilezze a gentilezze, nutre facilmente qualche compassione per noi, che ci siamo così lasciati ingannare. Questo guidizio azzardato unicamente come a sostegno di assurdi chiarissimi, oltre esser falso, come mostreremo in altri tempi, offende gli scuopritori, ed i possessori eziandio di quell' insigne monumento, quelli che incopiarono l' epigrafe latina unitamente a tutte le epigrafi etrusche nello stesso istante del loro scuoprimento.—Guidizio, che non si legge in niun libro, in niuno scritto periodico che parlarono di quella tomba, e delle nostre esposizioni —guidizj inutili, per non dire mendicati sospetti, che niun ebbe mai fra tanti dotti, intelligenti, ed amatori italiani e stranieri, che visitarono e visitano frequentemente quel singolare oggetto e prezioso della veneranda antichità, che non mai vide il Sig. Betham; ma nel libro di Sir W. Betham, fra tante bizzarrie, potea esser anche questa. Gli studj archeologici per meritarsi il nome di scienza devono diffidare di tutto ciò che non vien loro dimostrato; ma la Tomba de' Volunni, i monumenti ivi collocati, rimasti sempre nella prima lor collocazione, e la piena lor integrità,

But look at the ceiling of this chamber. It is coffered in concentric, recessed squares, as in the tombs of Chiusi, and in the centre is an enormous Gorgon's head, hewn from the dark rock, with eyes upturned in horror, gleaming from the gloom, teeth bristling whitely in the open mouth,¹⁰ wings on the temples, and snakes knotted over the brow. You confess the terror of the image, and almost expect to hear

"Some whisper from that horrid mouth
Of strange unearthly tone ;
A wild infernal laugh to thrill
One's marrow to the bone.
But, no—it grins like rigid Death,
And silent as a stone."

Horrid. "The Ellen Tree", p. i.

Depending by a metal rod from the lintel of the doorway, hangs a small winged genius of earthenware, and to its feet was originally attached a lamp of the same material, with a Medusa's head on the bottom. A similar lamp was suspended from the ceiling of the central chamber.

Step again into this chamber, and observe the pediment over the doorway you have just past. Here is a large disk or circular shield, with a head in relief in the centre, set round with scales—a head which some take to be that of Apollo, surrounded with laurel leaves, though the scales are as likely to represent solar rays ;¹ others, that of Medusa, on the scaly shield of Minerva.²

ed il lor discuoprimento, di quali dimostrazioni andavano privi ? Testimoni oculari in grandissimo numero che vi si affollarono intorno penetrando impazienti, anche a fronte d' ogni tentata resistenza nell' ampio sotterraneo, e nello stesso giorno della sua apertura, quasi negli stessi istanti di essa, e tosto che se ne divulgò la voce nella città e nei luoghi vicini ; onde alla nuova e classica scoperta fu data subito, ed all' istante una immediata, debita, e non mai

sospetta pubblicità" — Scavi Perugini, 1843—1844 ; cf. Bull. Inst. 1844. p. 144.

¹⁰ The eyes and teeth are either painted white, or are of white stone inlaid.

¹ Vermiglioli, Sepolcri de' Volunni, p. 22. The sun is sometimes represented as a head in a disk set round with rays ; as on a vase described in Ann. Inst. 1838, p. 270 ; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. LV.

² Feuerbach, Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 119. This writer considers it to be rather

On each side of the shield, and forming with it a sort of trophy, is a curved sword, like a cimetar, with a bird perched on the hilt²—a figure doubtless of symbolical import, but not of easy explanation. Below, in the angles of the pediments, are two busts ; one of a peasant bearing on his shoulder a *pedum*, or crooked staff, on which is suspended a basket ; the stick terminating in a serpent's head. The face in the opposite angle is broken away, but the long flowing hair is still visible ; and behind it is a lyre of elegant form, surmounted by a griffon's head. If the face on the shield be that of Apollo, these two busts may represent the same deity in his pastoral character, and as the god of music and poetry.³

In the pediment at the opposite end of this chamber, is a corresponding disk, or shield, but with solar rays, instead of scales. It is too much broken to enable you to perceive if there has been a head in the centre. As in each angle of the pediment is a large dolphin, in relief, it seems to represent the sun rising from the waves—an apt emblem of resurrection. On the wall below, on one side of the entrance to the sepulchre, was carved a demon of gigantic size ; but its sex, attributes, and attitude are matters of mere speculation, for nothing of it is left beyond a vast open wing—but, *ex pede Herculem*. There was probably

the Moon, the symbol of night, in contradistinction to the solar rays, decidedly marked in the opposite pediment. So thinks Abeken, *Ann. Inst.* 1842, p. 57. There is no other instance in Etruria of a shield or disk in the pediment of a tomb ; but such are found sculptured in this position on the façades of the temple-tombs of Phrygia. See Steuart's *Lydia and Phrygia*.

² Swords of this form are rare in ancient monuments. Such a one, how-

ever, is represented in the hand of a figure on a vase from Chiusi. *Mus. Chius.* tav. CLXX. See also Vol. I. p. 253 of this work.

³ Abeken (*Ann. Inst.* 1842, p. 59), who takes the Medusa's head here as a symbol of the Moon, sees in these figures, two Tritons, which correspond to the dolphins in the opposite pediment,—by no means a satisfactory explanation.

such a figure on each side of the doorway, placed there to guard the sepulchre.⁴

On each side of the entrance to the inner chamber, a crested snake or dragon projects from the rocky wall, darting forth its tongue, as if to threaten the intruder into this sanctuary—

Ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni
Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.

Ing. Ren. II. 210.

These reptiles are of earthenware, but their tongues are of metal; and it has been thought that on these tongues lamps were suspended⁵—an unnecessary supposition. The place serpents hold in the mythology of the Etruscans, as emblems of the Furies and infernal demons, explains their presence here. Below one of these snakes, just above the level of the pavement, is an Etruscan inscription, which, being on a stratum of sand-stone, is unfortunately almost obliterated.

It remains to notice the side-chambers, of which there are eight, four on each side. They seem never to have been occupied, as no urns were found within them. Some of them are still unfinished. They were intended, it would seem, for a long race of posterity, but the family may have become extinct, or they may have been merely for pomp, just as a palace contains many superfluous chambers.⁶ The four inner rooms have, each a bench of rock,

⁴ Like the two Charuns at the entrance of a tomb at Chiusi. *Ut supra*, page 375.

⁵ Vermiglioli, p. 16. Feuerbach, Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 119. In the Sepolcro de' Nasoni on the Flaminian Way, which, though of Roman times, has much of the Etruscan character, a serpent was painted on the wall almost in the same position as in this tomb of Perugia.

For the meaning of serpents in tombs, see Vol. I. p. 221.

⁶ This is not the only sepulchre of this family discovered at Perugia, for another was opened in the last century, near the church of S. Costanzo, outside the walls, and not very far from this tomb. Vermiglioli, Sepolcro de' Volunni, p. 5; Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 21—23.

and two have Medusa's heads in shields on the ceiling, and a crested snake projecting from the wall above the sepulchral couch. In one of these tombs is an owl in relief in each corner, and a snake's head below it.

Besides the monuments now remaining in this tomb, certain articles in bronze have been found, such as ewers—a helmet—a fragment of a shield embossed with figures of lions and bulls—a pair of greaves beautifully moulded—a singular spear or rod with a number of moveable disks, which seem to have been rattled together.⁷ They are all to be seen in the Palazzone Baglioni hard by.

Before leaving this tomb we must say a word on the inscriptions. Those of the four gentlemen on similar urns are, taking them in the order of their arrangement,

1—"Thephri Velimnas Tarchis Clan."

2—"Aule Velimnas Thephrisa Nuphrunal Clan."

3—"Larth Velimnas Aules."

4—"Vel. Velimnas Aules."

The grand urn in the centre has,

5—"Arnth Velimnas Aules."

And the lady is called,

6—"Veilia Velimnei Arnthial."

It scarcely needs the analogy of the names to prove these of one family, the likeness in their effigies is obvious; yet the precise relation in which they stood to each other could only be set forth by the inscriptions. No. 1 seems the most venerable, the progenitor of the rest, and in his name "Thephri," in other inscriptions

⁷ It has been supposed to be a musical instrument (Vermiglioli, *Sep. Volunni*, p. 21), but its being found in connection with armour and weapons, seems to mark it as of military use, and it was probably held upright, and shaken so as to rattle the plates together; and thus

may have been an accompaniment to a band. A similar instrument, found in the neighbourhood of this tomb, and also in company with armour and weapons, had a small figure of a naked man dancing on the top of the rod.

written "Thepri," an analogy may be traced to the Tiber, which flows beneath the walls of Perugia, and whose name is said to be Etruscan;⁸ just as the celebrated family of Volterra bore the name of the river Cæcina. Thephri then will be equivalent to Tiberius. No. 2 appears to be his son,⁹ and the son of a lady of the Nuphruna family, and is certainly the father of the three other males—Larth, Velus, and Arnth Velimnas. No. 6 appears to be the daughter of No. 5, the gentleman who occupies the post of honour in this tomb, and she seems from her portrait to have reached "a certain age," and in spite of her nobility and wealth, never to have been married, for no matrimonial name is mentioned in her epitaph.

As for the gentleman in the temple, who could not be content with the fashions of his ancestors, he may be another son of No. 2; as his father's name was Aule; though the more modern style of his urn makes it probable that he was later by a generation or two than his kinsmen.

From the style of the sculpture, so superior to that generally found on Etruscan urns, from the painting also

⁸ Varro (Ling. Lat. V. 29, 30) states that the name of the river was claimed both by the Etruscans and Latins,—by the former as being called after Thebris (the old editions have Dehebris) prince of the Veientes; by the latter as being named after Tiberinus, king of the Latins. Varro seems to incline to the Etruscan origin. See also Festus, s. v. Tiberis; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. III. 500; VIII. 72, 330.

Another Etruscan family of Perugia—Tins, Tina—bears the same relation to the Tina, a streamlet, the "Tinæ inglorius humor" of Silius Italicus (VIII. 454), which falls into the Tiber, some miles below this city. It is now called

the Topino. Cluver. II. p. 700. Its ancient name is doubtless derived from the Etruscan Jove who was called Tina, or Tina. See Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 420.

⁹ Thephrisa has not the usual form indicative of the patronymic; the termination "sa" or "isa," being usually applied to females to mark the names of their husbands. Yet as it is also found attached to names, which, as in this case, are undoubtedly males, it can here hardly be other than the patronymic. See Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 444. "Thephrisa" may be put for "Thephrisal," i. e. the son of Thephris, the filial relation being further expressed by the word "Clan." See Vol. I. p. 313.

on the principal monument, which has all the freedom of those in the Pumpus tomb at Corneto, as well as from the style of the reliefs on the ceilings and walls of this sepulchre, there is no doubt that it is of late date, subsequent to the Roman conquest of Etruria, though before the native language and customs had been utterly absorbed in those of world-wide Rome.¹

This interesting sepulchre was discovered in February, 1840. Fortunately for the traveller it is the property of the Conte Baglioni, a relative of the venerable Vermiglioli, and a gentleman whose love of antiquity, and zealous research, are equalled by his good taste.

Let the traveller on no account fail to see the Grotta de' Volunni. If my description has failed to interest him, it is not the fault of the sepulchre, which, though of late date, is one of the most remarkable in Etruria. To me it has a more than common charm. I shall always remember it as the first Etruscan tomb I entered. It was soon after its discovery that I found myself at the mouth of this sepulchre. Never shall I forget the anticipation of delight with which I leapt from the *vettura* into the fierce canicular sun, with what impatience I awaited the arrival of the keys, with what strange awe I entered the dark cavern—gazed on the inexplicable characters in the doorway—descried the urns dimly through the gloom—beheld the family-party at their sepulchral revels—the solemn dreariness of the surrounding cells. The figures on the walls and ceilings strangely stirred my fancy. The Furies, with their glaring eyes, gnashing teeth, and ghastly grins

¹ Vermiglioli (p. 43) considers this tomb to be of the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century of Rome, "or even as late as the days of the Empire." Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 154) judges from the style of art that the

urns must be of the time of the Antonines. But Micali, as Dr. Braun has observed, generally puts his foot on a wrong date. Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 361.

—the snakes, with which the walls seemed alive, hissing and darting their tongues at me—and above all the solitary wing, chilled me with an undefinable awe, with a sense of something mysterious and terrible. The sepulchre itself, so neatly hewn and decorated, yet so gloomy ; fashioned like a house, yet with no mortal habitant,²—all was so strange, so novel. It was like enchantment, not reality, or rather it was the realisation of the pictures of subterranean palaces and spell-bound men, which youthful fancy had drawn from the Arabian Nights, but which had long been cast aside into the lumber-room of the memory, now to be suddenly restored. The impressions received in this tomb first directed my attention to the antiquities of Etruria.³

The Grotta de' Volunni was the first sepulchre discovered in the hill ; but many others have been subsequently opened around it ; in fact, the entire hill-slope is burrowed with them. Though none can compete in size or beauty with the Grotta de' Volunni, all are sufficiently interesting, not only because they still retain their urns, but because they prove many well-known Roman families to have been of Etruscan origin. A few have been placed under lock and key, and many others, which yet stand open, so many dark treasure-caverns of antiquity, merit a more careful preservation. The greater part are quadrangular chambers rudely hewn in the rock ; of others it must be said, they "shape have none," for they are mere caves hollowed in

² This tomb is thought by Feuerbach to bear a resemblance to a temple ; to me it has more analogy to a Roman house. The very arrangement of the chambers is the same. The doorway answers to the *ostium* ; the central chamber to the *carædium* ; the recesses on either hand to the *alæ* ; the inner chamber with the urns, to the *tablinum* ;

the other apartments around, to the *triclinia*, or *cubicula*.

³ For further notices of this tomb, see Vermiglioli's pamphlet—*Sepolcro de' Volunni*, with the book of plates ; Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 17—19, Braun ; pp. 116—123, Feuerbach ; 1841, pp. 12—14 ; Ann. Inst. 1842, pp. 55, 59.

the hill ; one is in the form of a rude dome with beams slightly relieved. None show any of the internal decoration, so lavishly bestowed on the Grotta de' Volunni.

The monuments in them are all urns, or ash-chests, of travertine—no sarcophagi ; for it does not appear to have been the custom at Perugia to bury the corpse entire. None of these urns equal those in the Grotta de' Volunni for beauty of execution, but many are of more varied character, though to him who has seen the Museums of Volterra and Chiusi, few will appear of extraordinary interest. In one point, however, they are peculiar. Almost all are painted,—reliefs as well as the figures on the lids,—and the colours often retain their original brilliancy. The hues are black, red, blue, and purple. The reliefs are sometimes left white, or only just touched with colour, while the ground is painted a deep blue or black ; and the ornaments, frontlet, necklace, torque, and bracelets, as well as the armour and weapons, are often gilt. Gay contrasts of colour were aimed at, rather than harmony or richness. In the Grotta de' Volunni, on the other hand, which is of a better period, or at least in a better taste, there are no traces of colour on the sculpture, except where the lips and eyes of one of the recumbent males are painted.⁴

I will notice the principal of these tombs, and touch on their contents.

IPOGEO DE' CESI.—The tomb of the “Ceisi” family—in Latin, Cæsius—is very small, and has a low, domed ceiling. It contains seven urns. One bears the winged Scylla, with double fishes' tail, brandishing an oar over the heads of two warriors, whom she has entangled in her coils. In another is a battle between Greeks and Amazons. And there are several with a griffon as a device ; one

⁴ The painted scene of the souls in the doorway, described above, at page 474, is on the flat surface of the monument.

remarkable for having an eye in its wing. The griffon, be it observed, is still the crest on the arms of Perugia.⁵

IPOGEO DE' VEZI.—This name is written “Veti” in Etruscan characters, and answers to the Vettius of the Romans. The tomb is very rudely hewn, and contains thirteen urns. In one of them was found, mingled with the ashes, a pair of gold earrings, in another, a mirror. The most remarkable is one which represents Thetis, with a spear, seated on a *hippocampus*, or sea-horse. The goddess is robed in purple, with a veil of the same hue; the beast is left white, but his feet and fins are gilt. The colouring is thrown out by a blue ground.⁶

IPOGEO DE' PETRONI.—“Petruni” or “Patruni” in Etruscan. This was a virgin tomb, with a dozen urns; several curious, and highly decorated with colour and gilding. Two bear a pair of figures, a married couple, reclining lovingly on the lid; in one case she has a *patera*, he a gilt vase in one hand, and a naked sword in the other—the only instance I remember of a weapon at these sepulchral banquets. On another is the oft-repeated subject of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, here represented in a double row of figures; in the upper, the maiden is being dragged to the altar to the music of the double-pipes and lyre; in the lower, a priest is pouring a libation on her head, and other figures are bringing fruit and various offerings to the shrine. Whether there were any resemblance between the fate of the deceased, and that of the daughter of Agamemnon, I know not, but I have observed that in almost every case, both in this necropolis and elsewhere, where this subject is represented, the figure on the

⁵ For notices of this tomb see Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 18, 22. There is another tomb in this hill which seems to belong to the same family.

⁶ See Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 19, 23; 1844. p. 136. Two other sepulchres of this family have been discovered here.

lid is a female. Probably the Etruscan young ladies were as fond of old tales of woe, as those of modern days, and "The sorrows of Iphigenia" may have been as popular a lay with them, as those of Werter and Charlotte were with our grandmothers. Here is an urn with warriors marching to the assault of a tower—a round tower too!—men of Ulster, look to this!—behold a new bond of affinity between Etruria and the Emerald Isle—a fresh proof that the ancient people of Italy were worshippers of Baal or of Buddh; and pardon my common-place opinion that the scene may represent the "Seven before Thebes." One of the urns has a Latin inscription.⁷

IPOGEO DEGLI ACSI.—In the name so spelt in Etruscan letters it is not difficult to recognise the Accius, or Axius, of the Romans.⁸ This is a large square tomb, whose roof has fallen in; it contains many urns. One has the sacrifice of Iphigenia, finely executed in high relief. Another bears the favourite scene of the death of Polites.⁹ The most singular urn in this tomb is one of cylindrical form, with a conical lid; it is said to have been coated with lead.

IPOGEO DE' FARI.—Spelt "Pharu" or Pharus in Etruscan, and answering to the Barrus or possibly to the

⁷ This inscription is L. PETRONIVS . L. F. NOFORSINIA . Most of the other inscriptions are singular in this respect, that the name Tite, or Titus, precedes that of Petrui, not as the *prænomen*, but as the *nomen*; e.g.—"Aule Tite Petrui," in which case it seems to answer to the *gens* in Latin names, though such a distinction has been supposed not to have existed among the Etruscans. In the same way, in others of these epitaphs of Perugia, we find a recurrence of an union between two names—such as "Vibi Alpha," "Acuni Casni," "Cestna Sminthi." Bull. Inst.

1841, pp. 15, 67. For notices of this tomb see Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 18, 23; 1844, p. 136; 1845, pp. 106—8.

⁸ This name is sometimes spelt "Achsi" in Etruscan.

⁹ Here there is a little variety. The young man kneeling on the altar, grasps the wheel also held by the woman, and the warrior rushes on to slay him, as usual; but behind the woman is a snake or dragon; and in a doorway at each end of the scene stands a Fury with a torch. A notice of this tomb is given in Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 140.

Varius of the Romans.¹ It has eight urns, and six cinerary pots.

So many tombs are now open in this hill that it is not easy to know when you have seen all, as the entire slope is burrowed with them. In fact these sepulchral treasures accumulate almost too fast for the local antiquaries.² Most of these tombs are without the protection of a door, and have no notice announcing the family to which they belong, which must be learned by an inspection of the urns within them.³

In the Palazzone Baglioni, which stands at the foot of this hill, is a small museum of antiquities, the fruit of the excavations made on the site. Many cinerary urns with inscriptions and painted reliefs—vessels of terra cotta, in great variety and abundance—one large vase of Greek form, with figures and flowers in high relief, painted, but not varnished—one vase only in the best Greek style—part of a curule chair of bronze—mirrors—coins—gold ornaments—a pair of curling-irons!—a case of bone, containing articles for the toilet—and the lamps, helmet, greaves, and fragment of the embossed shield, found in the Grotta de' Volunni.⁴

The hill which contains these sepulchres lies to the

¹ Vermiglioli thinks this name equivalent to the Farrus or Farianus of the Romans (Muratori, p. 1462, 9; p. 422, 12). Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 19; cf. 24; 1844. p. 137.

² In 1843, Vermiglioli says that though he had already published more than 500 Etruscan monuments with inscriptions, he had still above 140 waiting for publication. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 21. Since that time their number has greatly increased.

³ Among these are the tombs of the following families — Petri — Casni or

Cesina — Surni — Anani (Annianus) — Luceti or Liceti — Upelsi — Suzi — Pimpuni (Pomponius) — Vusi — Larcani — Apruti — Caphate (Cafatius) — Acune (Aconius) — Varna (Varus) — Vipi (Vibius). Bull. Inst. 1844. pp. 137, *et seq.* A tomb of the Pumpuni family was also discovered here at the close of the last century, the urns from which are now in the Museum. A sepulchre of the family Velthurna, or Velthurnas (Volumnus) was opened near this city in 1822. Vermigl. Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 262—3.

⁴ Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 14.

south of Perugia. Other tombs have been found elsewhere, near the new Campo Santo, and also close to the city-walls, where the Benedictine monks have made excavations. The necropolis of Perugia, however, may be said to be only just disclosed, and we may entertain the hope that further researches will prove it to be of an extent and interest commensurate with the ancient importance of the city.

TEMPIO DI SAN MANNO.

This tomb, or "temple," as it is called, lies at the hamlet of La Commenda, two miles from Perugia, on the road to Florence. You enter a mean building, and descend a flight of steps into a cellar, as you expect, but find yourself in a vault, lined with travertine masonry, very neat and regular, but uncemented.⁵ The vault is very similar to that in the Casa Cecchetti, at Cortona, and to the Deposito del Gran Duca, at Chiusi, but is much more spacious than either, being twenty-seven feet long, by half that in width, and about fifteen feet in height.⁶ About half way down the chamber, on either hand, is a recess, also vaulted, in one of which stand, in the inner corners, two blocks of travertine, resembling altars, each having a groove or channel at the upper edge, as if to carry off the blood.⁷ It is this which has caused the vault to be regarded as a temple, though I think it more probably was a sepulchre, both from analogy⁸ and on account of its

⁵ The courses are from 12 to 18 inches in height, and the blocks vary in length, some being more than 6 feet, and one even 7 feet 9 inches. There are twenty-nine voussoirs in the vault.

⁶ The further end is open, or rather the original wall at this end, if there were one, has been destroyed and the vault lengthened out with brickwork of a much subsequent age. At the nearer

end, the ancient masonry is preserved, but has been broken through to make the doorway by which you enter.

⁷ These recesses are 6 ft. 6 in. high ; about 6 ft. deep, and rather less in width.

⁸ Similar altar-like masses exist in a sepulchre at Sovana, and also in the Grotta Cardinale and other tombs at Corneto.

subterranean character.⁹ Moreover, the existence of an altar is in no way inconsistent with the supposition of a tomb, for the relation between tombs and temples is well known; and a shrine, where offerings might be made to the Manes, was not unfrequent in ancient sepulchres.¹

The beauty, the perfection of the masonry in this vault, not to be excelled in modern times, might have given rise to doubts of its Etruscan construction, had not this been put beyond all question by an inscription in that language in large letters, graven deep in the masonry, and extending, within the arch, from one end of the vault to the other. There are three lines, and the inscription, for length, may rival that in the Museum of Perugia.² With such a proof as this, who can doubt that the Etruscans knew and practised the arch,—and who shall throw suspicion on the Etruscan construction of certain vaults and arches in sepulchres and gates in this land, merely on account of the perfection of the workmanship and excellent preservation of the monuments? This vault proves that such things may have been, and heightens the probability that certain of them were, of Etruscan origin.

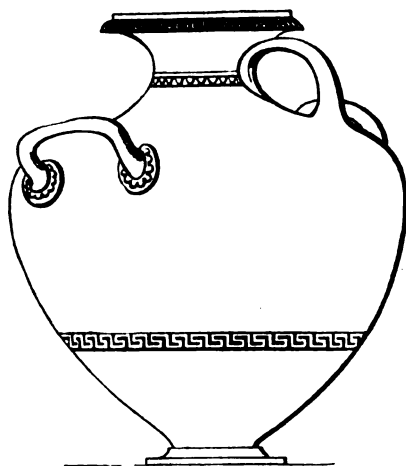
This vault has been open for ages; indeed, it is among the best known of Etruscan sepulchres. Yet though applied to base purposes, it has received little injury; probably owing to the hardness of the travertine.

⁹ Gori (*Mus. Etrus.* III. p. 81) and Passeri (*ap. eund.* III. p. 100) took it for a sepulchre. So also Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 250. Ciatti, a native historian of Perugia, thought it was a prison for slaves.

¹ The analogy and connection between temples and tombs is well established. The sepulchre was in fact the shrine of the Manes, who were regarded as gods.

Virg. *Æn.* III. 63, 305; IV. 457; V. 48, 86. Arnobius (*adv. Nat.* VI. 6, 7) gives numerous proofs of the relation between temples and sepulchres, among the Greeks and Romans.

² This inscription has been published by Buonarroti, p. 98, *ap. Dempster*, II.; by Gori, *Mus. Etrus.* III. class. II. *tav.* V.; Passeri, *ap. eund.* III. p. 107; and Lanzi, *Saggio*, II. p. 514.



CALPIS, OR WATER-JAR.

CHAPTER LIX.

ROME.

Tokens of the dead :—the wondrous fame
Of the past world
Traditions dark and old, whence evil creeds
Start forth.

SHELLEY. *Revolt of Islam* c.

These are sad and sepulchral pitchers, silently expressing old mortality, the ruins of forgotten times.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

I HAD intended treating of Rome as an Etruscan city, pointing out facts both in her early history and in her local remains, which authorise us so to regard her. But this would lead me into too discursive a field for the limits of this work, and I am compelled to confine myself to notice the Etruscan relics stored in her museums. These

are two—the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican, and the collection of Cavalier Campana; each in its way unrivalled.

MUSEO GREGORIANO.

This magnificent collection is principally the fruit of the excavating partnership established, some twelve or fifteen years since, between the Papal Government and the Campanari of Toscanella; and will render the memory of Gregory XVI., who forwarded its formation with more zeal than he ordinarily displayed, ever honoured by all interested in antiquarian science. As the excavations were made in the neighbourhood of Vulci, most of the articles are from that necropolis; yet the collection has been considerably enlarged by the addition of others previously in the possession of the Government, and still more by recent acquisitions from the Etruscan cemeteries of Cervetri, Corneto, Bomarzo, Orte, Toscanella, and other sites within the Papal dominions.

As no catalogue of this Museum is published, the visitor is thrown on his own personal stock of knowledge or ignorance, as the case may be, or on the dim and dubious enlightenment of the *custode*. I have therefore considered that something like a guide to this collection would be acceptable; and I propose to lead my readers through the eleven rooms *seriatim*, and to point out the most remarkable objects in each. If errors should be found in my statements, they must be received with indulgence, and laid not so much to my charge as to that of the Government, whose jealousy forbids a visitor to make a single note within the walls.¹

¹ The appointed guardians of these treasures enter fully into the narrow spirit of their employers, and do not distinguish between a clodhopper and

a scientific investigator of antiquities. Matters have somewhat improved, however, since the accession of Pius IX.

VESTIBULE.

Three recumbent figures in terra cotta, a male and two females, the size of life, forming the lids to sarcophagi. They are all highly decorated; he with a chaplet of laurel, a torque, and rings; the women with chaplets, necklaces, earrings, rings, and bracelets.²—From Toscanella, the site most abounding in terra-cotta articles. Two horses' heads of *nenfro*, found at the entrance of a tomb at Vulci. The horse among the Etruscans was a symbol of the passage of the soul to another world. A large pine-cone—another funereal emblem. A square cinerary urn of terra-cotta, with a rounded, overhanging lid, from which rises, like a handle, a small head, the portrait of the individual whose ashes lie within.—From Veii.³ Many heads in the same material, portraits of the deceased, which were placed in tombs, are now embedded in the walls of this chamber.

CHAMBER OF THE CINERARY URNS.

This room contains thirteen urns of alabaster or travertine, principally from Volterra, which were in the Vatican before the formation of this Museum. They bear the usual recumbent effigies on the lids, ludicrously stunted; most are females, and hold fruit, a scroll, tablets, a fan, or a *patera*, in their hands. The principal urn is at the end of the room, and has a pair of figures on its lid—the wife reclining fondly in her husband's bosom. The relief below shows the myth of *Œnomaus* overthrown

² The position of two of these figures, stretched on their backs, with one hand behind their heads, and one leg bent beneath the other, is peculiar; it is not the attitude of the banquet, but that of slumber, or, it may be, of the satisfied

repose after the feast. For illustrations see the work entitled *Museo Gregoriano*, I. tav. XCII.

³ See Vol. I. p. 57. For an illustration see *Micali*, *Mon. Ined.* tav. XLVIII. 5.

in his chariot. On one side stands Hippodamia, his daughter, on the other, Pelops, who had brought about the catastrophe. Two winged Junones mark this as a scene of death. In style of art this urn is much superior to those around it.⁴

These bear, as usual, Greek myths with a mixture of Etruscan demonology—the Calydonian boar—Dirce about to be slain by Amphion and Zethus—the rape of Helen, with slaves carrying her goods on board the ships of Paris—combats of Centaurs and Lapithæ—Actæon, torn to pieces by his dogs—Paris taking refuge at the altar from his wrathful brothers; the palm-branch in his hand indicating the prize he had just won in the public games—Cadmus or Jason, armed with a plough, contending with the teeth-sprung warriors—Iphigenia on the altar, the priest pouring a libation on her head, musicians around to drown the cries of the victim, a slave bringing in the hind which Diana had sent as a substitute. On the lid of this urn is no recumbent figure, but a banquet in relief. Besides these, there are several scenes emblematical of the last journey of the soul, represented as a figure wrapt in a toga, seated on horseback; a demon is leading the animal, and a slave follows with a burden.⁵

On the shelves above the urns are more heads in terracotta, interesting as specimens of Etruscan portraiture and fashions. One has the lower part of the face full of minute holes, as if for the insertion of a beard.

CHAMBER OF THE SARCOPHAGUS.

In the middle of this room is a large sarcophagus of *nenfro*, found at Tarquinii in 1834. The effigy of the

⁴ Museo Gregoriano, I. tav. XCV. I.

⁵ For these urns see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XCIII.—XCV.

Lucumo on the lid, reclining on his back, with a scroll in his hand, recalls the monuments of the middle ages.

This sarcophagus has reliefs on all four sides. One shows an altar in the midst, with the body of a female lying on it, which must be Clytemnestra ; for the corpse of Ægisthus lies on the ground hard by, with the avenging pair standing over it ; and a female sits mourning below, who may be Electra ; while in another part of the scene Orestes is persecuted by Furies, brandishing serpents. On the other side of the monument is the story of the Theban Brothers ; here engaged in altercation ; there driven by a Fury to their destiny, which is set forth in the centre of the relief where they are dying by each other's hands. Their father Œdipus is here also ; led away from the sad scene, he encounters a Fury with a torch. A female seated on a rock is probably Jocasta. At one of the ends of the monument is another representation of a human sacrifice—a female being thrust on an altar, and stabbed by two men—probably Clytemnestra immolated to the *manes* of Agamemnon.⁶ At the opposite end Pyrrhus is slaying the infant Astyanax, in the arms of his tutor, who has vainly borne him to an altar for protection.⁷

A semicolossal head of Medusa, with snakes tied under the chin. A slab with a bilingual inscription—Latin and Umbrian—on both sides.—From Todi. Two choice busts ; one of a youth with a garland of flowers ; the other of a maiden.

In the corners of this room are some small cinerary urns of pottery, in the form of rude huts of skins, stretched on cross-poles. They still contain burnt ashes ; and were

⁶ It can hardly represent the sacrifice of Iphigenia ; or that of Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles, as has been imagined.

⁷ For an illustration see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XCVI.

found, together with a number of small pots, lamps, rude attempts at the human figure, *fibulæ*, knives, and lance-heads, in a large jar of coarse brown earthenware, such as stands in this chamber, and is represented in the annexed woodcut.⁸ These were found thirty years ago on the Alban



HUT-URN AND OTHER ARTICLES OF POTTERY, FROM THE ALBAN MOUNT.

Mount ; and analogy marks them as of very high antiquity—the sepulchral furniture of the earliest races of Italy, prior, it is probable, to the foundation of Rome.⁹

⁸ The above wood-cut shows a section of one of the large jars, containing one of the hut-urns, and a variety of vessels of the same material around it. The urns, however, are not always so found, but separate, with fragments of pipe around them. Some are marked with curious figures in relief, which used to be supposed Oscan characters, but it is evident that they are merely rude decorations.

⁹ These remarkable urns were found in 1817, first by Signor Carlo Tomas-

setti, at Montecucco, near Marino, close to the road to Castel Gandolfo ; then more were found in the immediate neighbourhood by Signor Giuseppe Carnevali ; and again, a party of literati discovered some lying beneath a stratum of *peperino*, about 18 inches thick. If their conclusion be correct that this *peperino* was ejected by the volcano, whose extinct crater is now occupied by the Alban Lake, after the monuments were deposited in the places where they were found, these must indeed be of

CHAMBER OF TERRA-COTTAS.

In the centre of this room stands a beautiful terra-cotta statue of Mercury, with *caduceus* and *petasus*, found at Tivoli, and of Roman art.¹ There are also three fragments of female statues in marble, from Vulci, and much admired. Genuinely Etruscan is the small terra-cotta figure of a youth lying on a couch. From the gash in his thigh, and the hound at his bed-side, he is usually called Adonis ; but it may be merely the effigy of some young Etruscan, who met his death in the wild-boar chase. This is a sepulchral urn, found at Toscanella, in 1834.²

untold antiquity. As far back as history extends, the crater has been extinct and filled with the waters of the lake. During the siege of Veii, about four hundred years before Christ, the lake overflowed, and gave occasion for the cutting of the Emissary. See Vol. I. p. 31. Many centuries previous, if we may believe tradition, Alba Longa was built on the ridge surrounding the lake (Dion. Hal. I. p. 53), so that the volcano must have been extinct at least twelve hundred years before the Christian era, possibly even many ages earlier. It must be admitted, however, that it is more probable that these sepulchral relics were placed beneath the volcanic stratum for greater security, especially seeing that they were found near the edge. Yet though not antediluvian, as was at first conjectured, there can be no doubt of their very remote antiquity. All analogy proves this. As the Etruscan and Roman sepulchral monuments were often imitations of temples or houses, these, which have a much ruder structure as their type, the shepherd's hut of skins, show a far more primitive origin ; and the style of art and the workmanship confirm this view and

mark them as among the most ancient relics in Europe, yielding to nothing from the tombs of Etruria. The ashes they contain are probably those of the inhabitants of Alba Longa. The learned, however, are not yet agreed as to their antiquity ; for while one party maintains them to be antediluvian, another thinks, from their resemblance to Alpine huts, that they must have been formed by some of the Swiss soldiers in the Pope's service ! Such an opinion I once heard broached at a meeting of *savans*. Bull. Inst. 1846, p. 95.

A detailed account of these discoveries has been published by Dr. Alessandro Visconti, in his "Lettera al Signor Giuseppe Carnevali d' Albano sopra alcuni vasi sepolcrali rinvenuti nella vicinanza dell' antica Alba Longa, Roma, 1817," — a strange farrago of facts, quotations, fancies, fallacies, and leaps at conclusions. For illustrations, see Visconti's work, and Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. C 4, D 4.

¹ There is a similar figure in marble, in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican.

² Museo Gregoriano, I. tav. XCIII. 1. Abeken takes it to represent Meleager. Mittelitalien, p. 367.

There are several small urns of the same material, similar to those often described in Etruscan museums, and with the usual subjects. The mutual slaughter of the Theban Brothers. Cadmus or Jason slaying the teeth-sprung warriors with the plough. Scylla, represented according to the Greek, rather than Etruscan, idea—having a double-tail terminating in dogs' heads. Trunks and limbs of the human frame; some for containing the ashes of the dead, others votive offerings,—*antefixæ* and tiles—and heads, portraits of the deceased, showing abundant variety of feature, expression, and fashion of head-dress. Some have quite a modern air.

There are also certain reliefs in terra-cotta, which are not Etruscan, but of much later times—representing the deeds of Hercules, Mithras slaying the bull, Amazons feeding or combating griffons.

FIRST VASE-ROOM.

This room contains twenty-eight painted vases—mostly small *amphoræ*, in the Second or Archaic style, with black figures on the ground of the clay.³

In the centre of the room, on a pedestal, stands a *crater*, or mixing-vase, with particoloured figures on a very pale ground, and in the most beautiful style of Greek art; indeed it is one of the finest vases ever rescued from the

³ It may be well here to repeat the names of the principal sorts of ancient vases, classifying them according to the purposes they served :—

Vases for holding wine or oil—*amphora*, *pelice*, *stamnos*.

Vases for water, always with three handles—*hydria*, *calpis*.

Vases for mixing wine at the banquet—*crater*, *celebe*, *oxybaphon*.

Vases for pouring—*enochoë*, *olpe*,

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lecythus, *prochus*.

Vases for drinking—*cantharus*, *cyathus*, *cylix*, *phiale*, *scyphos*, *horkion*, *ceras*, *rhyton*.

There are many more varieties, which need not be stated here. And the *alabastra*, or unguent-vases, I have not thought it necessary to specify. The forms of all have been shown in the Introduction, to which I must also refer the reader for the difference of styles.

tombs of Etruria. It displays Mercury presenting the infant Bacchus to Silenus, whose half-brutal character is marked by hairy tufts on his body. Two nymphs, the nurses of the lively little god, complete the group. On the reverse of the vase, is a Muse, sitting between two of her sisters, and striking a lyre.⁴—From Vulci.

On a second pedestal is a beautiful *celebe*, with yellow figures, in the Third or Perfect style, representing a combat of Greeks and Amazons.

The vases on the shelves around have mostly Bacchic subjects—the deeds of Hercules—the Dioscuri on horseback.

One small vase in the corner by the window is remarkable for a humorous scene, where Jupiter is paying court to Alcmena, who regards him tenderly from a window. The god, disguised, it would seem, in a double sense, bears a brotherly resemblance to “honest Jack Falstaff,” or might pass for an antique version of Punch ; he brings a ladder to ascend to his fair one ; and Mercury, the patron of amorous, as of other thefts, is present to assist his father.—From Magna Græcia.

In the case by the window are sundry articles in coloured and variegated glass, showing to what perfection the ancients brought their works in this material.

SECOND VASE-ROOM.

This room contains thirty-nine vases. In the centre are five on pedestals. The most singular is one of the rare form called *holmos*—a large globe-shaped bowl on a tall stand, like an enormous cup and ball. Its paintings are most archaic in subject and design—chimæras and wild beasts, principally lions and boars,

⁴ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XXVI.

as they are commonly represented on the earliest Greek vases; and as Hesiod describes them on the shield of Hercules⁵—

Ἐν δὲ συνῶν ἀγέλαι χλοῦνων ἔσαν, ἡδὲ λεόντων,
Ἐς σφείας δερκομένων, κοτεόντων Σίμινον τε.

The bowl of the vase has four bands of figures, but the upper one represents a boar-hunt, and the combat of Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroclus. Earliest style.—From Cervetri.⁶

Another vase in the centre is a *calpis*, with Apollo, or, it may be, a poet of less celestial origin, seated in the midst of six Muses. Third or Perfect style.—Vulci.⁷

The third is a very remarkable vase—a large *amphora*, one of the most beautiful specimens of the Second, or Archaic style, in which hardness and severity of design are combined with a most careful and conscientious execution of details. It represents, on one side, the curious subject of Achilles (“ACHILEOS”) and Ajax (“AIANTOS”)⁸ playing at dice, or *astragali*. Achilles cries “Four!” and Ajax, “Three!”—the said words in choice Attic issuing from their mouths, as would be represented in a caricature by H B. From the dice not being shown, and from the hands being held out with the fingers extended, they might be supposed to be playing at the old game of *imicatio digitorum*, known to both Greeks and Romans, and handed down to modern times, as every one who has been in Italy knows to the cost of his peace—the eternal shouting of *la morra* assailing him in every street. In the richness of the heroes’ attire and armour, and the exquisite neatness of the execution, this vase has not its rival in the collection.⁹ The maker’s

⁵ Scut. Herc. 168.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XC.

⁷ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XV. 2.

⁸ Where the names are given in

capital letters, it is to be understood that so they are written in Greek characters on the monument.

⁹ This subject is not uncommon.

name, "ECHSEKIAS," is recorded, as well as that of the ? * person to whom it was presented—"the brave ONETORIDES." On the other side of the vase is a family scene of "the great Twin-brethren"—"KASTOR" with his horse, *Kylos*, "POLUDEUKES" playing with his dog, "TYNDAREOS" and "LEDA" standing by. This beautiful relic of antiquity was found at Vulci, in 1834.¹⁰

The fourth vase on a pedestal is an *amphora*, representing the body of Achilles borne to Peleus and Thetis, followed by his companions in arms, one of whom bears the Trinacrian device on his shield. On the reverse is Bacchus driving a *quadriga*, attended by Fauns and Mænades. Second style.—Cervetri.¹

The fifth vase is a *calpis*, and has for its subject the Death of Hector. The hero "of the quick-glancing helmet" is sinking in death, and relaxing his hold on his arms. His beardless victor stands over him with drawn sword. Minerva supports her favourite hero; and Apollo—or, as some think, Venus—stands, bow in hand, behind the fallen Trojan, and points an arrow at the Greek, as if to predict the fate in store for him. A beautiful vase in the Third style.—From Vulci.²

The vases on the shelves around the room are mostly *amphoræ* in the Second style; some of them Panathenaic. These may be distinguished by a figure of Minerva on one side, with an inscription stating that they are prizes from the Athenian games.

Among the varieties are the following:—

A *hydria* of extreme beauty, representing Apollo seated

Specimens of it, but of very inferior design and execution, are to be seen in the Museo Borbonico at Naples, in the British Museum, and in other large collections of Etruscan vases.

¹⁰ Illustrated in the Mon. Ined. Inst.

II. tav. XXII. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LIII. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 228.—Panofka.

¹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. L. 2.

² Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XII. 2.

and another "KASTOR" repeated on both sides of the vase

on the Delphic tripod, which is speeding its winged course over the waves. Dolphins and other fish are gambolling in the water, attracted to the surface by the music of the god's lyre. It is one of the most beautiful, and best preserved vases yet discovered at Vulci. Third style.³

A *calpis*. Theseus, having pierced the wild sow of Crommyon with his spear, and wounded her with a stone, has brought her to bay, and awaits her attack, sword in hand, with his *chlamys* wrapt round his left arm ; nearly as the Spanish *matador* encounters the bull in the arena. Third style.—Vulci.⁴

Stamnos. On the body of the vase is a band of figures representing the palæstic games—wrestling, boxing, and chariot-racing. In an upper band is a banquet of four couples of both sexes, very like the feasting-scenes in the tombs of Tarquinii, but in a more archaic style. Second style.—Vulci.

A *hydria*. Nymphs at a Doric fountain ; some going, others returning. Their pots, true *hydriæ* in form, just like the vase itself, are laid on their heads in different positions, according as they are full or empty ; as may be observed among the peasant-girls of Italy at the present day. In an upper band is a spirited combat, thought to represent Æneas assisting Hector against Ajax. In a lower band, boys on horseback are hunting stags. Second style.—Vulci.⁵

Hydria, with a race of women, a very curious scene. Second style.

On the shelf near the window is a remarkable vase. It is that sort of *amphora*, contracting towards the neck, commonly called a *pelice*. Two men are sitting under an

³ Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 147, tav. XCIV. Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. XLVI. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XV. 1.

⁴ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XII. 1.

⁵ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. IX. 2.

olive-tree, each with an *amphora* at his feet, and one who is measuring the oil exclaims, "O father Jupiter! would
 * | that I were rich!" On the reverse of the vase is the
 same pair, but at a subsequent period, for the prayer has
 been heard, and the oil-dealer cries—"Verily, yea, verily,
 † it hath been filled to overflowing." Second style.—Cære.⁶

By the window is also a *calpis*, in the Third style. A boy has his hoop in one hand, and a cock in the other, which he seems to have stolen from a hen-roost. An old man, supposed to be his tutor, or *pædotribe*, is calling him to account for his misdeeds. It is not known where this beautiful vase was found, as it had been in the Vatican Library, long prior to the formation of this Museum.⁷

By the window are two most archaic vases. One is a *hydria* of singular form. The subject is the Boar of Calydon at bay, attacked by dogs, and by hunters armed with spears, all of whom have their names attached. The other is an *olpe*, and represents Ajax fighting with Hector, who is assisted by Æneas. The very peculiar design, and the palæography, mark these vases to be of that rare Doric class, like those of Corinth, which are seldom found on any other Etruscan site than Cervetri.⁸

In the cases by the window are sundry articles in glass and pottery; among the latter notice a small canoe, and a *rhyton* in the form of a man's leg.

QUADRANT, OR THIRD VASE-ROOM.

This is a long hall or gallery, with the vases arranged on shelves along the inner wall. I shall specify the most

⁶ Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XLIV.; Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXI. 1.

⁷ Some see in this scene Jupiter and Ganymede, and certainly the old man's wand is more like a sceptre than a

schoolmaster's rod. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XIV. 2.

⁸ Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XXXVIII.; Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XVII. 2.; Ann. Inst. 1836, pp. 306—310, Abeken.

ΑΙΣΕ ΤΙΔΟΥΣ/ΟΣ ΑΕ "

ΕΛΕΓΕ ΝΕΑ ΤΙΔΟΣ ΤΑΡΡΕΒΑΚΕΝ."

remarkable, as near as I can recollect in the order in which they stand.

A *hydria*, representing the combat of Hercules with Cycnus; Minerva assists her hero, and Mars his son. Below is a band of lions and boars. Second style.—Vulci.

Hydria. Combat of the gods with the giants, who are represented as warriors in armour, not of larger size than their opponents. Jove and Hercules are in a *quadriga*. Second style.—Vulci.

Hydria. Two men on horseback, who might represent the Dioscuri were it not for the inscriptions above them. On the shoulder of the vase are contests of racers and pugilists. Second style.—Cervetri.

Stamnos. Combat of Greeks and Amazons. Third style, from Vulci.

Amphora. Aurora mourning over her son Memnon, who lies dead in a myrtle-grove. His armour is lying on the ground, or is suspended from the trees. A dove in the branches above is supposed to represent his soul, or it may be one of the hero's companions, changed, as the legend states, into birds. Observe the expression of the weeping mother. On the reverse of this scene is Briseis led away from Achilles. Second style.—Vulci.⁹

Hydria. Theseus slaying the Minotaur; youths and maidens, with branches in their hands, stand by. In an upper band is Bacchus holding an overflowing *keras* or wine-horn, in the midst of Fauns and Mænades dancing to the music of the double-pipes and castanets. Second style.—Vulci.

Amphora. Achilles and Memnon, contending over the body of Antilochus. On the reverse, Hercules and Minerva in a *quadriga* accompanied by other divinities. Second style.—Vulci.

⁹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XLIX. 2.

Calpis. "THAMYRAS" with his lyre, contending with the Muses. A very beautiful vase in the late style.—Vulci.¹⁰

Calpis. "POSEIDON" seizing "ÆTHRA," as she is plucking flowers. Third style.—Vulci.¹

Hydria. On the shoulder of the vase, Theseus is slaying the Minotaur, with youths and maidens around; on the body, Minerva is mounting her *quadriga*, attended by Hercules and Mercury. Second style.—Vulci.

Hydria. A fountain with a Doric portico, having snakes and birds painted on the architrave. The water gushes from the mouths of lions and asses, and flows in waving curves into the pitchers! On the shoulder of the vase, Hercules is overcoming the Nemean lion; Minerva and Iolaus stand by with a chariot. Second style.—Vulci.²

Hydria. A man is painting a *stèle* or funeral monument; another passes him in a chariot. Third style.—Vatican Library.³

Amphora. Hercules shaking hands with Minerva, salutes her with XAIPE. Iolaus stands by. On the reverse a *citharista* is playing between two athletes, very like the figures in the painted tombs of Corneto. Third style.—Vulci.⁴

Two Panathenaic *amphoræ*, with the figure of Minerva armed, poising her lance between two Doric columns surmounted by cocks; and with the usual legend, TONAΘENEΘENAΘOLON, "of the prizes from Athens." On the reverse are the public games—races, leaping, or hurling the quoit. Second style, very archaic.—Vulci.⁵

Amphora. A youth with the *discus*. On the reverse is a *pædotribe*. A very beautiful vase in the Third style.—Vulci.⁶

¹⁰ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XIII. 2.

¹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XIV. 1.

² Mus. Gregor. II. tav. X. 2.

³ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XVI. 1.

⁴ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LIV. 2.

⁵ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XLII. XLIII.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LVIII. 1.

Amphora. Apollo with the lyre, crowned with laurel, and rapt in song. A beautiful vase, in the Third style, from Vulci.⁷

Amphora. Hercules and Apollo contending for the tripod. Minerva endeavours to part them. On the reverse are dances to the music of the lyre and double-pipes. Third style.—Cervetri.⁸

Amphora. "EKABE" (Hecuba) presents a goblet to her son, "the brave Hector"—ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ—and regards him with such intense interest, that she spills the wine as she pours it out to him. The hoary-headed "PRIAMOS" also stands by, leaning on his staff, looking mournfully at his son, as if presaging his fate. The reverse is very inferior to this beautiful scene. Third style.—Vulci.⁹

Amphora. Apollo, with his lyre in hand, endeavouring to avoid the blow which Cassandra aims at him with an axe. A beautiful vase in the Third style.—Vulci.¹

Amphora. A warrior departing to battle; and receiving a *patera* from a female. Third style.—Vulci.

Amphora. Neptune, with his trident, and bearing a rock on which are painted sundry reptiles and fishes, is overthrowing a warrior, supposed to be Polybotes. Third style.—Vulci.²

Amphora. On one side Achilles, with cuirass, but no helmet, stands, spear in hand; on the other, a maiden is filling a *patera* with wine, either to make a libation, or to offer it to the hero. A very beautiful vase in the best style, from Vulci.³

The large *amphora* in the recess is from Magna Græcia, and both in form and style of art is very different from those of Etruria.

⁷ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LIX. 2.

⁸ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LIV. 1.

⁹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LX. 2.

¹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LX. 1. Some

interpret this scene as Orpheus and a Bacchante.

² Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LVI. 1.

³ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LVIII. 3.

Stamnos. The gods in council. Jupiter and Juno seated on thrones, sceptres in hand ; Minerva, Mercury, and Neptune, with their respective attributes ; and another pair, either Vulcan and Venus, or Pluto and Proserpine. Third style.—Vulci.⁴

Stamnos. "ZEUS" seizing "ÆGINA," in the midst of her sisters ; who, on the other side of the vase, are seen informing their father "ASOPUS," of his daughter's abduction. Third style.—Vulci.⁵

Stamnos. Hippolyta on horseback and in close mail, contending with Theseus, aided by Pirithous. Third style.—Vulci.⁶

Amphora. Hercules, bearing the boar of Erymanthus on his shoulder, is bringing him to Eurystheus, who, terrified at the huge monster, tries to hide himself in a well. Second style.—Vulci.⁷ Humour seems hardly consistent with so much severity of style.

At the end of this gallery is a *pelice*, with a warrior receiving a goblet from a winged Victory. But the most remarkable thing about the vase is that it was broken of old, and riveted together with brass wire, just as it is now seen, before it was placed in the tomb. Third style. Vulci.⁸

On the side of the gallery towards the windows are several vases.

Stamnos. A Trojan youth on horseback, probably Troilus, has been surprised at a fountain by Achilles, and gallops off, followed by his swift-footed foe. A maiden alarmed is dropping her pitcher. Third style.—Vulci.⁹

Stamnos. The winged "HEOS" driving her four-horse chariot. Third style.—Vulci.¹

⁴ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XXI. 1.

⁵ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XX. 1.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XX. 2.

⁷ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LI. 2.

⁸ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXIII. 2.

⁹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XXII. 1.

¹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XVIII. 2.

Celebe. Combat of Greeks and Amazons. Third style.
—Vatican Library.

Celebe. A Faun treading grapes in a wine-press. Bacchus with a *thyrsus*, another Faun, and two Mænades are looking on. Third style.—Vulci. This vase was broken in the foot, and restored by the ancients.²

Stamnos. Hercules pursuing a woman. Third style. This vase has also been restored, and in a singular manner; for a piece of the female figure having been broken away has been supplied with a fragment of a banqueting-scene, in a totally different style; showing that the restoration was made for the sake of utility rather than beauty.

Besides the vases already described there are many others in these three rooms, whose position I cannot remember, seeing that no note is allowed to be taken by visitors. Among them are many bearing Bacchic subjects. The bearded god, standing with wine-horn, *cyathus*, or *cantharus*, and a vine-branch in his hand, is surrounded by Fauns and Mænades. These are generally *amphoræ*, with black figures, in the Second style, and from Vulci.



ETRUSCAN CYATHUS.

The labours and deeds of Hercules are often represented, particularly his struggle with the Nemean lion. He is also seen bearing the Erymanthian boar—

² Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XXIV. 1.

overcoming the Centaurs—slaying Cacus—vanquishing the Amazons—wrestling with Nereus—striking down the triple-bodied Geryon—fetching Cerberus from hell—contending with Apollo for the tripod—in company with the great gods of Olympus combating the giants—driving his chariot with his patron, the grey-eyed goddess—playing the lyre, between Bacchus and Minerva—rescuing Dejanira from the centaur Nessus.

The deeds of Theseus are also favourite subjects on these vases—he is contending with the Amazons, the Minotaur, the Centaurs—slaying the wild sow of Crommyon, or securing the bull of Marathon.

Palæstric exercises and games are also often represented—wrestling—boxing—racing. Hunting the hare on horseback, and in armour, is very peculiar. Youths with strigils at the bath. Warriors arming, or engaged in combat. Scenes from the Trojan War, especially the deeds of Achilles and Hector.

Among those which demand particular notice is an *amphora*, in the Second style, representing Jupiter about to give birth to Minerva; Neptune, Mercury, Mars, and Juno standing around him; Cervetri. A *celebe*, in very archaic style, representing a nuptial procession; the wedded pair drawn in a *quadriga*; also from Cervetri. An *amphora*, in the Second style, from the same site, with the combat of Hector, assisted by Æneas, against Ajax; on the neck is a goddess between two lions. A *pelice*, with Diana offering a *phiale* or goblet to Apollo, is remarkable as having been found near Norcia in Sabina, on one of the loftiest peaks of the Apennines. And an *amphora*, with Hercules and Minerva at the gate of Hades, offers in its inscription a specimen of the unknown tongue, occasionally found on these vases.³

³ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LII. 2.

FOURTH VASE-ROOM.

This chamber contains *cylices*, or *pateræ*, which are more rare than the upright vases, and not inferior in beauty ; indeed, some of the most exquisite specimens of Etruscan ceramographic art are on vessels of this form. I shall only notice those with the most striking subjects, some of which are painted within, others outside the bowl. Most of them are from Vulci.

Œdipus solving the riddles of the Sphinx. The same in caricature—the Theban prince having a monstrous head, and a little crutch, like a hammer, in his hand ; the “man-devouring monster” being reduced to the figure of a dog, monkey, or fox,—for it is hard to determine which.⁴ Jason vomited by the dragon ; Minerva catching him as he falls.⁵ The Rape of Proserpine ; the King of Shades bearing her to his realms below : her ornaments are in relief—a rare feature in these vases.⁶ Pelias being led to the cauldron, where the treacherous Medea stands ready to sacrifice him.⁷ Theseus binding the bull of Marathon.⁸ A sick warrior on a couch, his head supported by his wife : the contrasted pain and sympathy are admirably expressed.⁹ A banquet of bearded men, one playing the lyre ; and another of men and youths.¹⁰ Groups of *athletæ* preparing for the arena,—one of the most beautiful vases in this room, rivalled, however, by the next, which shows naked youths at the bath, with strigils in their hands.¹ Several specimens of the curious goblets, painted with large eyes. Between each pair are generally some small

⁴ These two vases are illustrated in Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXX.

⁵ Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XXXV. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXXVI. 1.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXXIII. 2. But more common on those of Magna Græcia.

⁷ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXXII. 1.

⁸ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXXII. 2.

⁹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXXI. 1.

¹⁰ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXIX. 1 ; LXXXI. 1.

¹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXXVII.

figures, such as Hercules slaying Cynus,—a mounted warrior galloping,—Mercury and Bacchus,—warriors,—trumpeters,—heads of Minerva, Mercury, and Hercules, three together in profile ; but the most common subjects are Bacchic.

On the shelves towards the windows are more of these *cylices* :—Ajax bearing the dead body of Achilles.² Prometheus bound to a Doric column, with the vulture at his liver, talking to Atlas with the world on his shoulders.³ Warriors shaking hands. Trumpeters with long straight horns. Combats of Greeks and Trojans. The exploit of the infant Mercury as cattle-lifter.

“ The babe was born at the first peep of day ;
He began playing on the lyre at noon,
And the same evening did he steal away
Apollo's herds.”

The god of light is seeking for his cattle in the cave of Cyllene ; Maia stands by her new-born son, who, in his cradle, lies hid in a corner among the herd.⁴ Hercules, seated in the bowl he had received from Apollo, is crossing the waves ; outside the vase is the Death of Hector.⁵ Midas, with ass's ears, seated on his throne, and his servant standing before him with one of the tell-tale reeds which whispered the secret to the world.⁶ Triptolemus on his winged car, drawn by serpents.⁷

Some of the smaller goblets are not painted externally, but have the maker's name inscribed ; and on not a few is the salutation ΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΝΕΙ—“Hail, and drink !” Another inscription, often seen on these goblets, ΗΘ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ,

² Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXVII. 2.

³ This is a burlesque. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXVII. 3.

⁴ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXXIII. 1.

⁵ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXIV. 1.

⁶ It is so called in the exposition to

Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXII ; and so Dr. Braun interprets it (Ann. Inst. 1844. p. 211. tav. d' Agg. D.) ; but it is more like one of the crooks, represented in the hands of peasants. See Vol. I. p. 333.

⁷ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. LXXVI.

shows that the vase was a present of affection to some "beautiful youth." A few, however, bear inscriptions in a language utterly unintelligible, or rather in no language at all; for the epigraphs are composed either of letters put together at random, or of mere shapeless dots, grouped in imitation of words.

The glass cabinet in this room contains a number of curious articles in pottery—*rhyta*, and other fantastic vases, in the forms of human beings or heads, and of various beasts and birds; as well as some black ware of high antiquity.⁸ Two beautiful *phiale*, or drinking-bowls, of black ware, with figures in relief, not painted, are rather Roman than Etruscan.

Here are also a few painted vases of ordinary forms. One, an *olpe*, bears a scene from the Etruscan cockpit—the literal, not the naval site so designated.⁹ Another beautiful *olpe* shows a Persian monarch receiving an *amphora* from his queen.¹ A third vase of the same form displays "MENELEOS" rushing, sword in hand, to take vengeance on his faithless spouse. "ELENE," with dishevelled hair, flies for refuge to the Palladium; but little would Minerva avail her; and her own peculiar patroness, the laughter-loving "APHRODITE," interposes, stepping between the son of Atreus and his vengeance. He, evidently startled at the apparition, lets his sword drop, and confesses the power of Love, who hovers over him with a chaplet, while soft Persuasion ("PEITHO") stands behind him. The moral may be bad, but the design is excellent; in truth, this is one of the most beautiful and best preserved vases in the Museum. Third style.—Vulci.² On a *calpis*, in the same style, Hercules is seen reclining

⁸ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XCIII. XCVI
—XCVIII.

¹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. IV. 2.

² Mus. Gregor. II. tav. V. 2.

⁹ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. V. 1.

on a couch of masonry, and wakes to find the fauns have stolen his weapons.—Vatican Library.³

ROOM OF THE BRONZES AND JEWELLERY.

This is a most interesting chamber, containing a great variety of articles in metal from the tombs of Etruria.

One of the first objects that strikes you on entering is a couch of bronze, with a raised place for the head, and the bottom formed of a lattice-work of thin bars. Though probably just such a couch as the early inhabitants of Italy were wont to use, it served as a bier, for it was found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri, and doubtless once bore a corpse.⁴

Around it stand four or five tripods, each supporting a huge cauldron of bronze, with reliefs, and several handles in the shape of dragons' heads, turned inwards to the bowl. These were all found in the same tomb⁵—indeed, the most interesting articles in this chamber come from that celebrated sepulchre.

Six large circular shields, three feet in diameter, embossed with reliefs—like the round bucklers of the heroic age, the *ἀσπίδες εὐκύκλοι* of Homer; four smaller ones, about half the size, decorated with a sort of shell in the midst of three panthers; and twelve disks, too small to have served any purpose but ornament—now hang round the walls of this chamber, and were found in the same tomb, where the smaller ones were suspended from the walls and ceiling.⁶

Observe on one of the shelves beneath the shields, a

³ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XIII. 1.

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 48. It is about 6 feet long, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and about 1 foot high, standing on six legs. It was ornamented with embossed reliefs of men, lions, sphinxes, dogs, and

flowers. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XVI. 8, 9; XVII.

⁵ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XV. 1, XVI. 1—3.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XVIII—XX.

singular instrument on wheels, having a deep bowl in the centre, just like a modern dripping-pan, but decorated with reliefs of rampant lions. It was an incense-burner, and stood by the side of the bier in the Regulini sepulchre.⁷ All these articles, be it remembered, are to be regarded rather as Pelasgic than Etruscan.

On the walls hang a number of small disks, some with the head of the horned Bacchus, others with that of a lion, in the centre. They were found in a tomb at Tarquinii, and are supposed to have adorned the coffers of the ceiling.⁸

Among the shields is one found at Bomarzo, still retaining, it is said, its lining of wood, and braces of leather ; but you are not able to inspect it closely.⁹

On the walls also hang many other articles of armour, defensive and offensive—helmets, cuirasses, greaves, shield-braces, spears, javelins, arrow-heads, battle-axes. Among them may be observed a singular visor or face-bit, shown in the annexed wood-cut ; and a long curved trumpet, or *lituus*, the only specimen of that instrument I remember to have seen ; though it was peculiarly Etruscan.¹ Most of this armour is from Vulci.



BRONZE VISOR.

Among these weapons are half a dozen more peaceful instruments—fans, or the handles of fans, with holes for threads or wire to tie in feathers, or leaves. Here, too, is a hand of bronze, studded with gold nails—either a gauntlet, or a mere votive offering, almost too attenuated for the former ; the palm seems to have been of leather.

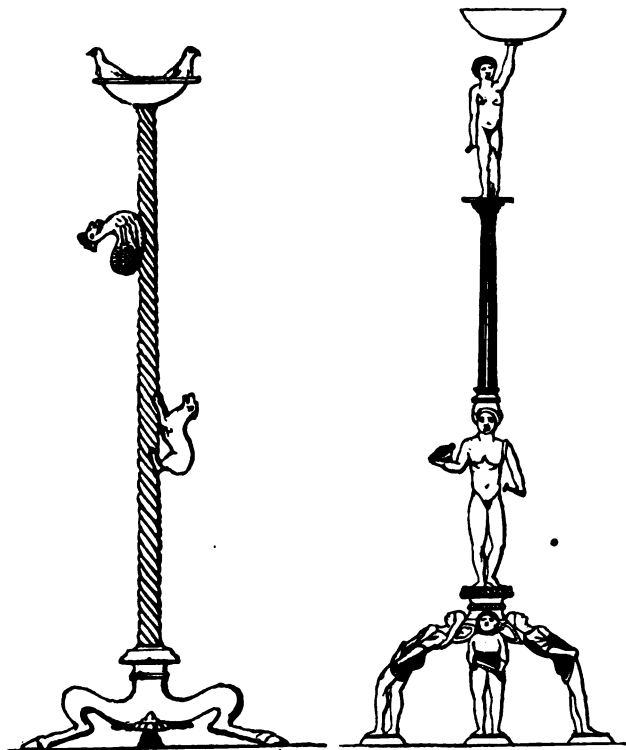
⁷ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XV. 5, 6.

⁸ See Vol. I. p. 357 ; and the wood-cut at p. 358.

⁹ See Vol. I. p. 224.

¹ A plate of this trumpet is given above, at page 380. For the armour see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXI.

On the shelf beneath the armoury are numerous *candelabra*, of elegant form and fanciful conception, where all kinds of animal life are pressed into the service of the toreutic artists. Two specimens of this beautiful sepulchral furniture are given in the annexed cuts.²



ETRUSCAN CANDELABRA.

² See also the woodcut at page 204. These *candelabra* vary from 10 inches to 5 feet in height, but the average is between 3 and 4 feet. They invariably stand on three legs, either of men, lions, horses, stags, dogs, or birds. In one case, as shown in the cut, the tripod is formed by the bodies of three human

figures. The shafts generally rise directly from the base, and are often fluted, or twisted, or knotted, like the stem of a tree, but a figure sometimes intervenes as in the above cut. It was a favourite conceit to introduce a cat or squirrel chasing a bird up the shaft, and the bowl above has often little birds

Near the bier is a votive statue of a boy, with a *bullæ* round his neck. He has lost the left arm, but on the shoulder are the remains of an Etruscan inscription in four lines. This statue was found at Tarquinii, and is supposed to represent Tages, the mysterious boy-god, who sprung from the furrows of that site.³ A similar boy, with a *bullæ* about his neck, a bird in his hand, and an inscription on his right leg, has been recently brought from Perugia.⁴

At this end of the room stands a bronze statue of a warrior, commonly called Mars, rather less than life, found at Todi in 1835. On the fringe of his cuirass is an inscription in Etruscan characters, but perhaps in the Umbrian language.⁵

Near this stand two tripods; one very striking, terminating below in lions' paws, resting on frogs, and decorated above with groups of fauns, and panthers devouring stags, alternating with human figures, in one case Hercules and Iolaus.⁶

At this end of the room is a beautiful *cista*, or casket, of oval form, about eighteen inches long. The handle is composed of two swans, bearing a boy and girl respectively, who clasp the bird's neck. The casket is decorated with reliefs

around it, as though it were a nest, so that the whole is then intended to represent a tree. Sometimes a boy or monkey is climbing the shaft, or a snake is coiling round it. It often terminates above, not in a bowl but in a number of branches from which lamps were suspended, and in the midst of them is a figure of a deity or winged genius, of a faun, a *subulo* playing his double-pipes, a dancer with castanets (see the cut at page 204), or, it may be, of a warrior on foot or horseback. One of these *condelabris* bears an Etruscan inscription. Most of them are from Vulci, but they

are found also on every other Etruscan site. Mus. Greg. I. tav. XLVIII.—LV.

³ Lanzi, Sagg. II. tav. XI. 5; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 64, tav. XLIV; Mus. Greg. I. tav. XLIII. 4.

⁴ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XLIII. 5.

⁵ This statue was found among the ruins of a temple at Todi, the ancient Tudur. The helmet is a restoration. The eyes were supplied with stones, as their sockets are hollow. Bull. Inst. 1835, p. 130; 1838, p. 113. Mus. Greg. I. tav. XLIV. XLV.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LVI.

—borders of flowers, and elegant Greek patterns, and the combat of Achilles and his followers with Penthesilea and her Amazons. The beauty and spirit of these figures recall the Phigaleian marbles. The scene is repeated three times round the body of the casket. On the lid are four heads amid flowers. Within it were found a mirror, two broken combs of bone, two hair-pins, an ear-pick, and two small glass vessels containing rouge. These caskets are very rare, not more than two or three dozen having been discovered in Italy. They are found principally in stone sarcophagi at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, in Latium; but this one from a tomb at Vulci does not yield in beauty to any yet known, and is only rivalled by that in the Jesuits' Museum at Rome.⁷

There are a few other *ciste*, but of inferior beauty. One, also from Vulci, has a handle formed of two sea-horses; and winged Scyllas or mermaids at the setting on of the feet.⁸ Another has its handle formed of two youths wrestling, and its reliefs are of a palæstric character—men boxing with the *cestus*, or being anointed for the contest. On the lid are marine monsters. In this were found three unguent-pots, two of alabaster, one of wood, together with a broken strigil.⁹

On stands about the room are several braziers or censers, about two feet in diameter, resting on lions' legs. On them still lie the curious tongs, shovel, and poker,

⁷ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XL—XLII. Illustrations of this and all the most beautiful of such caskets are given by Professor Gerhard in his *Etruskische Spiegel*. Whether from the doubt attaching to their purpose, or owing to the idea that they contained the paraphernalia of sacrifices, they have received from the Italians the name of

"*ciste mistiche*." It is, however, clear from the character of their contents, that the only mysteries attending them were those of the female bath and toilet. There is ~~one~~ ^{are several} of these caskets in the British Museum, bearing the subject of the sacrifice of Polyxena.

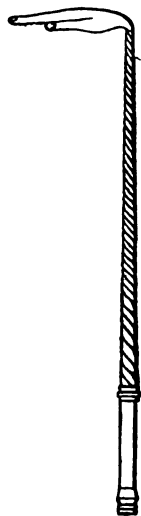
⁸ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXVII. 4.

⁹ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXVII. 1.

or rather rake, found with them. The tongs are on wheels, and terminate in serpents' heads; the shovel's handle ends in a swan's neck; and the rake in a human hand, as shown in the annexed wood-cut. These are from Vulci, but such are found also on many Etruscan sites.¹

At one end of the room is a war-chariot—a *biga*—not of Etruscan antiquity, but Roman, found many years since at Roma Vecchia, in the Campagna, six miles on the Appian Way. The body alone is ancient—the pole and wheels are restored, with the exception of the bronze ornaments.² By its side is a colossal arm of bronze, also Roman, of the time of Trajan, and of great beauty; and the tail of a huge dolphin—both found in the sea at Civita Vecchia.

On the shelves, and in the glass-cases in the corners of the room are numerous articles in great variety. *Creagræ*, or grappling-irons, with six or eight prongs, of formidable appearance, and mysterious meaning, but probably culinary or sacrificial instruments, for taking up and turning over flesh. One with no prongs, but similar branches of metal terminating in serpents' heads, shows that they may sometimes have served other purposes.³ Handles of cauldrons, or, it may be, of wooden furniture, of elegant and fanciful forms and rich decorations, often with figures in relief.⁴ Strigils—hair-pins, ending in the heads of rams or dogs, a



FIRE RAKE.

¹ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XIV.

² Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. U 5.

³ See the illustrations at page 435 of Vol. I., and Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XLVII.

⁴ The illustrations given in the Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LVIII—LX., show the great taste and elegant fancy of the Etruscans in this branch of art.

human hand, a lotus-flower, an acorn—*styli*, or writing implements—ladles of various forms—culenders or strainers—cups—cauldrons—pails—vases in great variety, some of uncouth, clumsy forms, composed of plates hammered into shape, and nailed together, the earliest mode of Etruscan toreutics ; others more elegant, yet still fantastic—human, and other animal forms, being tortured to the service of the artist.⁵ A specimen of this is shown in the annexed wood-cut of a jug, in the form of a female head, with an acanthus-leaf at the back ; and others are in the form of bulls, and pigs, which do duty as hand-irons.

Among the bronze figures, two are particularly worthy of notice. One is a small statue of Minerva, with an owl on the back of her hand, and with vestiges of wings on her shoulders, from Orte.⁶ The other is an Etruscan *arusper*, in a woollen *tutulus*, or high peaked cap, close tunic without sleeves, and a loose *pallium* with broad border, fastened on the breast with a *fibula*. His feet and arms are bare. On his left thigh is an Etruscan inscription.



BRONZE EWER.

⁵ Mus. Greg. I. tav. I—IX.

⁶ This is a representation, said to be unique in metal. Gerhard takes it to represent Minerva in her character of

Fortuna, or the Etruscan Nortia. Gottheit. d. Etrusk. p. 61. taf. IV. 1 ; cf. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XLIII. 1.

This is very curious, as exhibiting the peculiar costume of the Etruscan *arusper*. It was found in a tomb by the banks of the Tiber.⁷

Certain articles on the walls still remain to be described. Plates of bronze with reliefs, the decorations, probably, of long perished furniture. A vase, like a powder-flask embossed, with moveable handle, is remarkable for the site of its discovery—Cosa.⁸ *Patera* with handles, sometimes of human forms, as where a female holds a mirror in one hand, while combing her hair with the other; or where a Juno, half-draped, supports the bowl with her upraised wings.⁹

Those whose patience is equal to their curiosity, will find abundant interest in the *specula*, or mirrors, which hang on the walls; but as the figures were at first only lightly graven on them, and as the bronze is often much corroded, it is not always easy to distinguish the subject, or even the outlines, of the decorations. Some, it will be observed, retain traces of gilding. It must be remembered that it was not the concave side, on which the figures are drawn, but the convex that was used as a mirror. Among the most remarkable are:—

One with figures in relief—Aurora winged, carrying the body of her son Memnon. She might well be taken for the Virgin bearing the dead Saviour; she has even a

⁷ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XLIII. 2. This figure is illustrated by some of the ancient coins of Etruria, which bear on the obverse the head of an *arusper*, in a precisely similar cap; and on the reverse an axe, a sacrificial knife, and two crescents, said to mark its value as a *semis*. Marchi and Tessieri, *Æs Grave*, cl. III. tav. 2. These coins have been referred to Fæsulæ, the city where there was a college of Etruscan

augurs, but Melchiorri (Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 122) would rather attribute them to Luna, on account of the crescent stamp.

⁸ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. X.

⁹ The female combing her hair is copied on the cover of this work; the *patera* she supports has been exchanged for a *speculum*, or mirror. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XII. XIII.

halo round her head to increase the resemblance.—From Vulci.¹ These relieved mirrors are of great rarity.

“CHALCHAS,” so called in Etruscan characters, is standing at an altar, inspecting the entrails of the victim.—Vulci.²

“TINIA,” the Etruscan Jove, grasping two sorts of thunderbolts, is embraced by “THETHIS” (Thetis), and “THESAN” (Aurora), both winged, as usual with Etruscan divinities, each beseeching him in favour of her son in the coming combat. “MENRVA” (Minerva) stands by, and appears to remind him that Memnon is doomed by fate. In a bad and careless style of art.³

“PELE” (Peleus) and “ATLNTA” (Atalanta), in the wrestling-match. He is naked, but she has a cloth round her loins ; in better style than the last.—Vulci.⁴

Hercules, here called “CALANICE,” from his “glorious victory,” holds the apples he has just taken from “ARIL” (Atlas), who bears the celestial globe on his shoulders. In still better style.—Vulci.⁵

“NETHUNS” (Neptune), “USIL” (Phœbus), and “THESAN” (Aurora). In a good style of art. This mirror is very bright, and might still almost serve its original purpose.—Vulci or Toscanella.⁶

“TURMS AITAS,” or the infernal Mercury, supporting a

¹ This is usually styled Aurora and Cephalus, but Dr. Braun with more probability takes the corpee for that of Memnon. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. XXIII; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXVI. 1; Abeken, Mittelitalien, taf. VII.

² Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. CCXXXIII; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXIX. 1.

³ The scene is curious, but the art, as in many of these mirrors, is bad. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXI. 1.

⁴ Her cloth is marked with a wheel, supposed to be the sign of victory in

the chariot-race. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXV. 1; Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. CCXXXIV.

⁵ Etrusk. Spieg. taf. CXXXVII; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXVI. 2.

⁶ It has been doubted if the name of Neptune be “Nethuns” or “Sethlna.” Sethlans is the Etruscan name of Vulcan; but the figure on this mirror with a trident must be the god of the sea. Etrusk. Spieg. taf. LXXXVI; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. LX; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXIV.

soul, called "HINTHIAL (or Phinthial) TERASIAS," or Tiresias. A figure sitting by with drawn sword is called "UTHUIE."—Vulci.⁷

"APUL" (Apollo), "MENRVA" (Minerva), "TURAN" (Venus) and "LARAN" in conversation before an Ionic temple. Very bad style.—Orte.⁸

"TINIA," "THURMS," and "THALNA," or Jupiter, Mercury, and Juno.—Vulci.⁹

"HERCLE" crowned by a winged fate-goddess, called "MEAN." "VILAE" (Iolaus) sits by. In better style than some of the foregoing.—Vulci.¹

The head of a girl on one of these mirrors is a very unusual subject.—Vulci.²

Jove on his throne, with his sceptre in his hand. Mercury, with the infant Bacchus, is dancing before him.—Orte.³

Aurora in her *quadriga* drawn by winged horses. The grace in the female is contrasted with the spirit of the steeds.—Vulci.⁴

Apollo in the midst of three Muses, one of whom is "EUTURPA," and a faun called "ERIS." In the careless Etruscan style.—Bomarzo.⁵

The meeting of Peleus and Thetis. Phœbus behind, rising from the sea. A male genius and some female figures looking on. In a good style of art, and in excellent preservation. This mirror is gilt.—Vulci.⁶

⁷ Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spieg.* taf. CCXL; Gottheit. d. *Etrusk.* taf. VI. 1. pp. 35, 36. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXIII. 1; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XXIX. The name of the sitting figure is by some read "Uthuse" (Odysseus).

⁸ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXVIII. 1.

⁹ *Etrusk. Spieg.* taf. LXXV; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXIX. 2.

¹ *Etrusk. Spieg.* taf. CXLII; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXII. 2.

² Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXVI. 1.

³ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXIV. 2.

⁴ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXV. 2.

⁵ Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XXVIII.; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXV.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXIII.

The cases by the windows contain some curious relics. Coins—weights—small bulls and other figures in bronze, probably votive offerings—locks—handles to furniture—belt-clasps—iron daggers—chain-bits, jointed—articles in bone carved with reliefs. Here are numerous small rude idols or *lares* of black earthenware, found around the bier in the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri. Their exceeding rudeness and shapelessness proclaim their high antiquity. In truth they must be considered Pelasgic rather than Etruscan.⁷ Here is also the curious bottle, with a Pelasgic alphabet and spelling-lesson scratched on it, described in a previous chapter ;⁸ and another conical pot with a hexameter couplet painted on it, in the same mysterious language.⁹ Both are from the tombs of Cervetri.

But the articles which perhaps will excite most general interest are a pair of clogs—yes, a pair of Etruscan clogs, jointed, which, though not of the form most approved in our days, doubtless stood some Etruscan fair in good stead. They are formed of cases of bronze, filled with wood, which, in spite of its great antiquity, is still preserved within them. Thus they must have combined strength with lightness ; and if clogs be a test of civilisation, the Italians of two thousand years since were considerably in advance of “the leading nation of Europe” in the

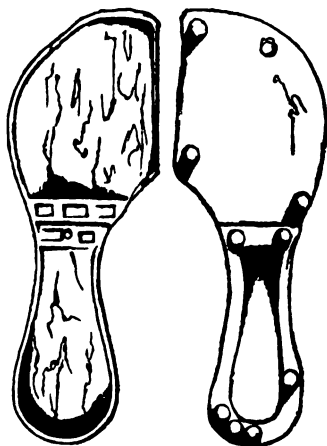


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

ETRUSCAN JOINTED CLOGS. }

⁷ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. CIII.

see Mus. Gregor. II. tav. CIII. 2.

⁸ A facsimile of the inscription is given at p. 54. For the form of the pot

⁹ *Ut supra*, p. 55. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. XCIX. 7.

nineteenth century, whose peasantry clatters along in wooden *sabots*. These clogs were found in a tomb at Vulci; and they are not the sole specimens of such articles from Etruscan sepulchres.¹

After all, the chief glory of this room, if not of the Museum, is the revolving cabinet in the centre. What food for astonishment and admiration! Here is a jeweller's shop—all glittering with precious metals and stones, with articles in great variety—

“Infinite riches in a little room!”
Hamilton's Jewels, Hamilton, p. 1.

and, save that the silver is dimmed and tarnished, it is just such a stock in trade as an Etruscan Rundell might have displayed three thousand years since! Here the youth, the fop, the warrior, the senator, the priest, the belle, might all suit their taste for decoration,—in truth, a modern fair one need not disdain to heighten her charms with these relics of a long past world.² Can Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, produce jewellery of such exquisite taste and workmanship, or even in so great abundance as Etruria?

Your astonishment is increased when you hear that the greater part of these articles were the produce of a single tomb—that celebrated by the name of Regulini-Galassi, at Cervetri; and should you have visited that gloomy old sepulchre, now containing nothing but slime and serpents, you find still more cause for wonderment at this cabinet.

¹ In *fig. 1* is shown the upper part of the clog, with the wood in the two cases, and the hinge uniting them. *Fig. 2* shows the metal bottom of the same clog, studded with nails. Micali gives illustrations of another pair of such clogs, found at Vulci. *Mon. Ined. tav. XVII. 9.* They are now in the possession of Dr. Braun of Rome.

² Mrs. Hamilton Gray states that “a few winters ago, the Princess of Canino appeared at some of the ambassador's fêtes in Rome, with a *parure* of Etruscan jewellery, which was the envy of the society, and excelled the *chefs-d'œuvres* of Paris or Vienna,” *Sepulchres of Etruria*, p. 272.

The most striking object is a large breastplate, embossed with twelve bands of figures—sphinxes, goats, *pegasi*, panthers, deer, and winged demons. From the very archaic character of the adornments it might have hung on the breast of Aaron himself.³ Next is a remarkable article, composed of two oval plates, united by two broad bands, all richly embossed, and stuck over with minute figures of ducks, and lions. It was for decorating the head; the larger plate was laid on the crown, and the rest hung down behind.⁴ Then there are very massive gold chains and necklaces,—bracelets of broad gold plates, embossed to correspond with the head-dress and breastplate,—earrings of great length and singular forms,—numerous *fibulæ* or brooches, in filagree work of extraordinary delicacy. All these things, together with many of the rings, and fragments of a gold garment, were found in a chamber of the remarkable Pelasgic tomb at Cervetri,—most of them arranged so as to prove that when there deposited, they decorated a human body.⁵

The great variety of necklaces, brooches, rings for the ears and fingers, *bullæ*, buttons, *scarabæi* in cornelian, and such-like “bravery,” from Vulci and other sites in Etruria,⁶ would require an abler pen than mine, and more knowledge of such matters, to do it justice. The fair visitor will soon discover more excellencies than I can point out. But I must say a word on the remarkable collection of crowns or chaplets, which will excite universal admiration. They

³ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LXXXII. LXXXIII.

⁴ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LXXXIV. LXXXV.

⁵ *Ut supra*, p. 50. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LXVII. LXXV—LXXVII.

⁶ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LXVIII—LXXXIV. LXXVIII—LXXXI. One of these *fibulæ* has an Etruscan inscription.

None of them in this Museum, though of admirable beauty, rival that inimitable one in the possession of Thomas Blayds, Esq., of Englefield Green, which was found at Vulci, and has been illustrated by Micali, *Mon. Ined.* tav. XXI.; or that, with an inscription, in the possession of Cavalier Campana of Rome.

are all in imitation of garlands of leaves—oak, laurel, myrtle, or ivy ; and so truthfully and delicately are they wrought, that in any other place you might take them for specimens of electrotype gilding on the natural articles. No ornament can have been more becoming than such chaplets as these ; though, to tell the truth, it was not so often the brow of beauty as the battered helm of the triumphant warrior that they were made to encircle. Most of them were found in the tombs of Vulci, but one comes from Ancona.⁷

In the same case are a number of silver cups, bowls and vases, nearly all from the wonderful tomb of Cervetri. Some are quite plain ; others highly decorated with reliefs, in severely archaic style, of military processions on foot and in chariots ; wild animals contending, or devouring their prey ; a cow and calf in a lotus-thicket ; and a lion-hunt, where the beast standing on the body of one of his foes, is attacked by others on foot and horseback, while a vulture hovers over him in expectation of her prey. All these decorations are so purely Egyptian that they might be supposed importations from the banks of the Nile. Several of the plain cups have the inscription “ Larthia,” or “ Mi Larthia ” engraved on them in Etruscan letters.⁸

CHAMBER OF PAINTINGS.

In the passage leading to this room are several

⁷ For illustrations of these beautiful wreaths see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LXXXVI—XCI. These are the “ *Coronæ Etruscæ* ” which the Romans borrowed from their neighbours, to decorate heroes in their triumphs. Plin. XXI. 4 ; XXXIII. 4 ; Appian. Reb. Punic. LXVI. ; Tertul. de Cor. Mil. XIII. Pliny says that Crassus was the

first who imitated leaves in gold and silver, and bestowed such crowns on the victors in his games. But this must mean that Crassus was the first of the Romans, who was guilty of such extravagance ; for Pliny speaks of these Etruscan chaplets of gold having been used in triumphs at an earlier period.

⁸ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. LXII—LXVI.

sepulchral monuments in stone, bearing Etruscan inscriptions. One is in the shape of a house or temple, with a moulded door, as on the tombs of Castel d' Asso. Another, a *cippus*, bears the name of "SPURINA" in the native character ; the name of the haruspex, be it remembered, who warned Cæsar of the ides of March. On the wall hang some remarkable reliefs in bronze, found at Bomarzo, representing sacrifices, and the combat of the gods with the giants, in a very rude and primitive style of art.⁹

The large chamber beyond is hung with paintings, copies on canvass of those on the walls of the tombs of Tarquinii and Vulci, and duplicates of those in the British Museum. For descriptions I must refer the reader to previous chapters ; I can only here point out, for his guidance, the order in which the paintings are arranged. Beginning from his right hand, on entering, they take the following order.

Camera del Morto, Tarquinii.¹

Grotta delle Bighe, or Grotta Stackelberg, Tarquinii.²

Grotta Querciola, Tarquinii.³

Grotta delle Iscrizioni, Tarquinii.⁴

Grotta del Triclinio, or Grotta Marzi, Tarquinii.⁵

Grotta del Barone, or Grotta del Ministro, Tarquinii.⁶

The painted tomb at Vulci.⁷

All the paintings from Tarquinii are still to be seen on that site, though not in so perfect a state as they are here represented. But the tomb of Vulci is utterly destroyed.⁸

⁹ Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XXXIX. 4—6.

¹ Vol. I. pp. 298—302.

² Vol. I. pp. 324—328.

³ Vol. I. pp. 281—288. Only a part of the scenes in this tomb is shown.

⁴ Vol. I. pp. 338—343.

⁵ Vol. I. pp. 288—298.

⁶ Vol. I. pp. 329—332.

⁷ Vol. I. pp. 409, 428—9.

⁸ These paintings are of the size of the original frescoes, and not incorrect in outline ; but much too hard in the

Ranged round the room are sundry relics in stone or pottery—weightier matters of Etruscan art. A flat circular *cippus*, like a millstone, with a sepulchral inscription round its edge.⁹ An upright sarcophagus, like a round Ionic temple, and with an inscription on the architrave, which recalls the fair Tanaquil—“Eca Suthi Thanchvilus Masnial.”¹ The base to a statue, bearing a Latin inscription, of the date of 305 or 306 after Christ, found at Vulci, and interesting as determining the name of the city, whose cemetery has yielded such marvellous treasures.² Two *stelæ* of basalt, with Etruscan inscriptions. Many large tall jars, of red or brown ware, fluted, with reliefs in a very archaic style; from the tombs of Cære and Veii.³ Braziers of the same character, with rows of figures round the rim. The well-known vase of Triptolemus, presented to the Pope by Prince Poniatowski. A cinerary pot whose lid has the figure of a horse for a handle.

CHAMBER OF THE TOMB.

On the way out from the Bronze Room, you pass through a small chamber, where stands a tall and very singular vase of bronze, composed of two bell-shaped pots,

colouring. The inscriptions are often inaccurate, and sometimes omitted; and, on the other hand, certain parts which are now deficient in the originals, are here supplied, either from drawings made when the paintings were less decayed, or from the imagination of the copier. It must be remembered that each sheet of canvass represents a separate wall of a tomb.

⁹ It is like that in Campanari's garden at Toscanella, shown in the woodcut at page 451 of Vol. I. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. CV. 2.

¹ The inscription here, however, seems from the termination to refer to a male; for the first part of it see Vol. I. p. 242. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. CV. 3.

² Mus. Gregor. I. tav. CVI. 2.

D. N. FLAVIO . VALE
RIO . SEVERO . NO
BILISSIMO .
CAESARI ORD
ET POPVLVS
VVLCENTIVS
D. N. M. Q. EI . . .

³ Mus. Gregor. II. tav. C.

united by two spheres, and covered with reliefs, in no less than eleven bands, of animals—lions, sphinxes, griffons, bulls, and horses—chiefly winged, in a very early and severe style of art. It was found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, at Cervetri; and probably served as a fumigator.⁴

Here are also two lions in *nenfro* from Vulci, one on each side of a doorway. Enter, and you find yourself in a small dark chamber fitted up in imitation of an Etruscan tomb. It represents one of the most ordinary class of sepulchres, having three couches of rock standing out from the wall, on which the bodies of the deceased are supposed to have lain, surrounded by articles of pottery and bronze, which are also suspended from the walls of the chamber. This meagre copy of an Etruscan sepulchre may serve to excite, but ought not to satisfy the traveller's curiosity.

MUSEO CAMPANA.

Little inferior to the Gregorian Museum in interest is the collection of Etruscan antiquities in the possession of the Cavaliere Campana, at the Monte di Pietà of Rome. In truth in some points the public collection cannot rival the private. To gain admission an introduction to the Cavaliere is requisite, and he will appoint a convenient day to display his treasures.

The first room you enter is a small cabinet, containing a great number and variety of terra-cotta figures—*statuette*, to borrow a word from the Italian—some of divinities, from the nine great gods of thunder down to the common herd of *lares* and *manes*; others, votive offerings, so

⁴ See page 49. In form it is very like the pot represented at page 58, though without the props. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XI.

common in Etruscan sepulchres. These, however, like everything in the Cavaliere's collection, are picked—*Dii selecti*, so to speak, though not all are the great rulers of the Etruscan Olympus. To dwell on them in detail would swell my page. Two are especially pointed out to the English visitor, as suggestive of his own adored Penates—The Duke, and his facetious rival, Punch.

Thence you pass into a double chamber, whose walls are lined with the exquisite reliefs in terra-cotta, which are now known to the world through the publications of the Cavaliere.⁵ As they are of Roman, or rather of Greek art, the fruit of excavations on the Appian Way, at Tusculum and other Cistiberine localities, "*non ragioniam di loro*." Do not, however, fail to notice the sly satire on the sex conveyed in certain scenes often repeated—Helen in a chariot borne off by Paris ; and again brought back by Menelaus. In the former case "the faire Tyndarid lasse" acts a passive part, and leaves the reins to her lover ; but in the latter she invariably takes them into her own hands, and suffers her liege lord to stand a cipher behind her.

Nè berza riscaldata,
Nè moglie ritornata,—

neither are worth having, says the proverb. The son of Atreus, however, thought otherwise, or Troy would not have fallen.

In these rooms are some of the best specimens of Etruscan sepulchral statuary I have seen. Ladies, as large as life, reclining on their coffins, decked with a brave array of jewels, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and massive torques about their necks. One holds a wreath ; another a bird, in her hand. There are coffins

⁵ Antiche Opere in Plastica, Roma, 1842.

for the entire body, but there are also smaller urns for the ashes, with toga-wrapped figures on the lids, and the oft-told tales of the Theban Brothers, and Cadmus combating the teeth-sprung warriors, in the reliefs below.

The most beautiful specimens of Etruscan plastics in these rooms are the terra-cotta statues of women; one, whose dress is pronounced among the most faithful representations of Etruscan female costume extant;⁶ two others, of priestesses, with hands raised in the attitude of prayer; a female bust; a boy with an apple in his hand; and an infant swaddled, just in the modern Italian fashion, save that its feet are bare.⁷

In the middle of this room is a most singular fumigator of plain ware, about eighteen inches high, with four spouts or chimneys, set round with two heads of horses and four of Gorgons, which mark its sepulchral character. It has no bottom, and must have been placed over the burning incense, on the censer, or on the ground.⁸

In the same chamber are several *focolari*, or braziers, with reliefs of archaic figures; one still containing the charcoal found within it. Sundry large jars, with similar reliefs—the usual ware of Veii and Cære. And a number of earthenware heads from the same sites, painted in the Egyptian style, which formed *antefixæ* to the ridges of tiles, or to the water-spouts on the eaves of houses. One of them shows the head of a negro.

The next room is that of the Vases, which are ranged around it on shelves, while one, a choice Vulcian *crater*,

⁶ Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 154, tav. XXVI. 3.

⁷ There is a similar figure in the Gregorian Museum. The bodies of infants were not burnt by the ancients, before they had cut their teeth.—*Hominem priusquam genito dente cremari*

mos gentium non est. Plin. VII. 15; cf. Juven. Sat. XV. 139.

⁸ A head of terra-cotta with four or five similar chimneys has been found at Ruvo, and probably served the same purpose as this. *Ann. Inst.* 1839, p. 223; *Mon. Ined. Inst.* III. tav. VIII.

representing Triptolemus on his winged car, and Ceres by his side, stands on a pedestal in the centre. The collection is not large, but choice, as regards style, subject, and state of preservation. Most are of the third or Perfect Style, with red figures on a black ground ; but there are a few in the very rare and early Doric style, like those from Corinth, and with inscriptions ; from the tombs of Cervetri. One of the most beautiful in this collection represents the seduction of Danæe, and her committal to the waves with her infant Perseus, by order of her father Acrisius.⁹ One of the most singular is a *crater* which bears three figures “of infinite humour”—caricatures of Jupiter and Juno scolding Paris.

But the king of storied vases in this collection occupies the centre of a small ante-chamber. It is a large *amphora*, nearly four feet high, recording the myth of the Golden Fleece on one side, and the Death of Hector on the other. It comes from Ruvo in Apulia, and serves to show how the pottery of Magna Græcia differs in size, shape, and design, from that of Etruria. In the same chamber are *rhÿta*, or drinking-horns of rare forms, with other curiosities in pottery ; among which notice small *amphoræ* with inscriptions in Greek characters, but in an unknown tongue ; and a pair of jugs, one with the head of a man, the other with that of a female garlanded with flowers, just beneath the spout. They are supposed to have been nuptial presents.

An inner room contains an excellent assortment of Etruscan glass ware of variegated hues ; besides sundry large cinerary pots covered with that prismatic coating which glass will acquire from long ages of interment.¹

⁹ Bull. Inst. 1845. pp. 214—8.

¹ Passeri thought this colouring was derived from the milk left in the vessels at the annual *inferiæ*, and that those

with a golden hue inside had been filled with balsam, and those still quite pellucid had held nothing but water. Acheront. p. 38, ap. Gori, Mus. Etrus. But

The latter are mostly Roman. In the same room are heads in terra-cotta ; some, portraits of Etruscan females, show their characteristic features, and various fashions of head-dress ; and there are two of Greek art, from Syracuse—one, crowned with a frontlet, an ideal beauty ; the other, a Bacchante, breathing the very soul of voluptuousness.

The next two rooms contain the choicest treasures of the collection. In the glass cases are displayed “gems rich and rare,” evidences at once of Etruscan skill and luxury—necklaces, chains, bracelets, rings for the fingers and ears, and such “bravery” as most delights the fair, in quantity enough to stock a jeweller’s shop, and in workmanship far transcending the produce of British fingers ; rivalling, say those knowing in such matters, the flagree-work of Venice or Genoa, or even that of China and Trichinopoly. And in truth it is difficult to conceive of anything more delicate or elegant than many of these ornaments. Perhaps the most remarkable are the chaplets of pure gold in the form of leaves—oak, ivy, myrtle, or laurel—of which the Cavaliere possesses a choice assortment, chiefly from Vulci. There are three torques of gold, like those of the ancient Celts—of very rare occurrence. One chain with a number of pendent *scarabæi*, also from Vulci, transcends in richness everything of this sort I have seen.² There are many other *scarabæi*, mostly set in rings, too numerous to specify. *Laminæ* of gold, with reliefs in a good style of art,—elegant frontlets, like semi-diadems of the same metal, also embossed with reliefs,—and not a few circlets, which served as stands to delicate little vases of

many of these vessels are cinerary urns and probably contained nothing but the ashes of the dead.

² A portion of this wonderful chain was purloined by one of the labourers

employed in the excavations, and the Cavaliere purchased the article in a mutilated state ; but the missing fragment also found its way into his hands, and the chain is now complete.

blue and variegated glass.³ But the most marvellous specimens of Etruscan skill in metallurgy, are perhaps shown in two circular brooches, a little head of the horned Bacchus, and an exquisite *fibula*, with an Etruscan inscription,—all of wrought gold; ⁴ the latter rivalled only by that imperial one in the possession of Thomas Blayds, Esq., of Englefield Green.

Here are some small vases, and other articles in silver; among them a strigil, unique in this metal.

In articles of gold and jewellery the Etruscan Museum of the Pontiff is even surpassed by this of his spirited subject.

Here are a few of the tall jars with reliefs, and several *focolari*, or braziers, in the black ware of Chiusi and its neighbourhood—the most ancient and genuine pottery of Etruria; together with specimens of the black jars of Veii, with figures scratched, instead of in relief.

The inner room contains the bronzes. In the centre stands an “ash-chest” of that metal, similar to those of stone, but not decorated with reliefs. The recumbent figure on the lid wears a loose torque of bronze. It is the only cinerary urn of metal yet brought to light. Within it was found, among the ashes of the deceased, one of the broad chaplets of gold which is displayed in the adjoining cabinet. This rare monument was recently discovered at Perugia.⁵

Here is a bier of bronze, composed of lattice-work—

³ These glass vases are not peculiar to Etruria. They are found also in ancient tombs in the East, in Egypt, in Greece, and her colonies in Sicily and Italy. The estimation in which they were held is shown by these stands of gold; and it is probable they were of foreign manufacture, it may be Phœ-

nician or Egyptian. See Strabo, XVI. p. 758. In Etruria they are found principally at Vulci and Toscanella.

⁴ For an account of this *fibula*, and other jewellery of this collection, see Bull. Inst. 1846, pp. 3, *et seq.*

⁵ Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. XXI. 1. p. 126.

almost the counterpart of that from the great tomb of Cære, now in the Gregorian Museum. On it recline the helmet, cuirass, greaves, and sword of its quondam occupier. Hard by is a helmet with deep cheek-pieces, adorned with reliefs of wild-boars, once inlaid with silver; and the casque is encircled by three beautiful chaplets of pure gold, two of laurel leaves and one of ivy, fixed on with golden studs. You fancy this to be some elegant caprice of the Cavaliere, and are astonished to learn that the helmet was discovered in this state in a tomb at Vulci.⁶ Above it hangs one of the largest shields ever found, four feet in diameter, and richly embossed.⁷ It is one of a number of trophies—breastplates (one with a sword-thrust), helmets, greaves, spears, and battle-axes, “all of the olden time,” which adorn the room.

There are two beautiful tripods, one with the Labours of Hercules; and several elegant *candelabra*—one surmounted by an Etruscan warrior, brandishing his spear. The *specula* are not numerous, but there is one of extraordinary size, lustrous as if of polished steel, and having some figures in relief on the back. A winged Juno forms the handle. There are some bronze *figurine*, among which a little Typhon of approved ugliness, bearded, horned, and winged, with legs of “snaky twine,” ending in serpents’ heads; and a pair of demons on human legs, all from Orte—are the most remarkable.

Not the least charm of this collection is the exquisite taste displayed in its arrangement, and the rare courtesy with which the gallant owner does the honours.

⁶ One of the golden chaplets of myrtle-leaves, in the Gregorian Museum, was also found encircling a helmet in a tomb at Vulci. Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 169.

⁷ In the centre is a goddess holding two *pegasi*, each mounted by a naked boy.

Besides these two Museums, there are also in Rome other smaller collections of Etruscan antiquities. The Kircherian Museum is rich in coins, together with bronzes and jewellery, and can boast a superlative *cista* of bronze, though this was not found in Etruria. Chevalier Kestner, the Hanoverian Minister, possesses many Etruscan treasures. The Signori Feoli have a fine collection of painted vases from their excavations at Vulci. Dr. Emil Braun, of the Archæological Institute, has also some vases of extraordinary beauty and remarkable character; and besides many choice relics of Etruscan art, boasts of the cabinet of Egyptian articles found in the Isis-tomb at Vulci, and formerly in the possession of the Prince of Canino.



BRONZE BUST, FROM THE 1818-TOMB, VULCI.

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THE END.

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ERRATA IN VOL. II.

- Page 27, note 6, line 5, for "Canina claims," read "Yet Canina claims."
 52, line 15, for "depository," read "depository."
 83, note 1, omit this note.
 90, note, line 4, for "was less extravagant," read "was hardly less extravagant."
 103, note 4, line 3, for "Inghir. III. tav. XXI." read "Inghir. III. tav. XX."
 117, line 15, for "*cantharus*" read "*cylix*."
 125, note 6, line 3, omit "See the Chapter on Rome."
 156, line 8 from the bottom, for "*damnificar*," read "*dannificar*."
 158, line 13, for "Cecina," read "Cœcina."
 165, line 12 from the bottom, for "puo," read "può."
 178, line 2 from the bottom, for "Syrens," read "Sirens."
 179, line 15, for "matricide," read "mariticide."
 182, note 6, line 2 from the bottom, for "cerations," read "creations."
 209, line 12, for "Dr. Emil. Braun," read "Dr. Emil Braun."
 218, note 3, line 5, for "Poggio de Vetreta," read "Poggio di Vetreta."
 225, note 1, transfer this note to page 224.
 246, line 2, for "Giuncario," read "Giuncarico."
 253, note 5, line 13 in 2nd column, for "Umbrone," read "Ombrone."
 288, note 2, last line, for "1831. p. 404," read "1831. p. 104."
 345, line 3 from the bottom, for "Gorgon's," read "Gorgons'."
 382, line 7, for "Syrens," read "Sirens."
 391, note 2, line 4, read "It is compact."
 413, note 7, for the sentence, "If this be the case," &c., read "But the distance from Clusium is much more than nine miles."
 427, note 3, line 3, for "ad Cluver," read "ad Cluver."
 516, note 7, line 3 from the end, for "There is one of these caskets in the British Museum, bearing," &c., read "There are several of these caskets in the British Museum, one bearing," &c.

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