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The discovery of material remains from the recent or the ancient past has always been a source of fascination, but the development of archaeology as an academic discipline which interpreted such finds is relatively recent. It was the work of Winckelmann at Pompeii in the 1760s which first revealed the potential of systematic excavation to scholars and the wider public. Pioneering figures of the nineteenth century such as Schliemann, Layard and Petrie transformed archaeology from a search for ancient artifacts, by means as crude as using gunpowder to break into a tomb, to a science which drew from a wide range of disciplines - ancient languages and literature, geology, chemistry, social history - to increase our understanding of human life and society in the remote past.

The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

George Dennis (1814–98) was a British antiquarian who was the first modern investigator of ancient Etruria and Etruscan archaeological remains. After visiting Etruria several times between 1842 and 1847, Dennis entered the diplomatic service, becoming pro–consul to Sicily in 1863. These volumes, first published in 1848, are the result of his travels in Etruria and contain the first scholarly account of Etruscan archaeological sites. Originally written as a guide for tourists who wished to see ancient sites beyond the familiar Roman remains, the book describes the antiquities in each Etruscan city in great detail, with major centres such as Veii having a section each for the city and cemetery remains. Illustrated with images of antiquities, architectural remains and plans of the larger sites, this volume provides valuable information on sites which have since been lost, destroyed or damaged. Volume 1 includes the sites of Veii and Tarquinia.

The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

VOLUME 1

GEORGE DENNIS

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THE

CITIES AND CEMETERIES OF ETRURIA.

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ETRUSCAN MIRROR,

REPRESENTING "PHUPHLUNS," "SEMLA," AND "APULA,"

OR

BACCHUS, SEMELE, AND APOLLO.

THE CITIES AND CEMETERIES

OF

ETRURIA.

BY GEORGE DENNIS.

Parva Tyrrhenum per æquor
Vela darem. HORAT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1848.

Reverere gloriam veterem, et hanc ipsam senectutem, quæ in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque.

PLIN. Epist. VIII. 24.

Quis est autem, quem non moveat clarissimis monimentis testata consignataque Antiquitas?

CICERO, de Div. I. 40.

PREFACE.

THIS work is the fruit of several tours made in Etruria between the years 1842 and 1847. It has been written under the impression that the Antiquities of that land, which have excited intense interest in Italy and Germany during the last twenty or thirty years, deserve more attention than they have hitherto received from the British public; especially from those swarms of our countrymen who annually traverse that classic region in their migrations between Florence and Rome. A few Englishmen, eminent for rank or acquirements, have long been practically acquainted with the subject—but till the appearance of Mrs. Hamilton Gray's work on "The Sepulchres of Etruria" the public at large was in a state of profound ignorance or indifference. That lady is deserving of all praise for having first introduced Etruria to the notice of her countrymen, and for having, by the

graces of her style and power of her imagination, rendered a subject so proverbially dry and uninviting as Antiquity, not only palatable but highly attractive. Her work, however, is far from satisfactory, as all who have used it as a Guide will confess; for there are many sites of high interest which she has not described, and on some of those of which she has treated many remarkable monuments have been subsequently discovered. It is to supply such deficiencies that I offer these volumes to the public. The interest and curiosity that lady has aroused in the mysterious race to which Italy is indebted for her early civilization, I hope to extend and further to gratify.

The primary object of this work is to serve as a Guide to those who would become personally acquainted with the extant remains of Etruscan civilization. The matter therefore is so arranged that the traveller may readily ascertain what monuments he will find on any particular site. I have deemed it advisable to add succinct notices of the history of each city, so far as it may be learnt from ancient writers, with a view to impart interest to the traveller's visit, as well as to give the book some value to those who would use it, not as a Hand-book, but as a work of classical and antiquarian reference. Yet as the former is its primary character, the traveller's wants and con-

venience have been particularly consulted—by statements of distances, by hints as to means of conveyance, as to the accommodation to be found on the road, and sundry such-like fragments of information, which, it is hoped, may prove the more acceptable to him, as they are intended for his exclusive use and benefit.

Some apology may be thought necessary for the copious annotations which give the work pretensions to something more than a mere Hand-book. As in the course of writing it I have had occasion to make frequent references to the classics and to modern works on archæology, it seemed to me, that by the insertion of my authorities I should avoid the charge of loose and unfounded statements; while at the same time, by collecting and arranging these authorities according to the several subjects on which they bore, and by pointing out the sources whence further information might be derived, I should be rendering service to the scholar and antiquary. Yet to avoid swelling the work to an undue extent, I have contented myself, for the most part, with simply indicating, instead of quoting. Though the exhibition of the process by which the work was constructed may be useless or even unpleasing to the general reader, to the student of these matters it will not prove unwelcome.

The obligations I have been under to Cluver, Müller, and other writers, living as well as dead, I must here acknowledge in general terms, as it would be impossible to state the source whence every reference or suggestion has been derived. Yet wherever I have availed myself of the labours of others, I have carefully verified their authorities, or, very rarely, have transferred the responsibility to the proper quarter.

I must also take this opportunity of paying my personal tribute of thanks to certain living antiquaries, whose names stand high in European estimation; particularly to Doctors Braun and Henzen, the secretaries of the Archæological Institute of Rome, for their kindness in affording me facilities for the prosecution of my studies, especially by placing the copious library of the Institute at my command. To these I must add the names of Professor Migliarini of Florence, whose obliging courtesy has stood me in good stead when in that city; and of Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, who has favoured me with his notes of two sarcophagi at Musignano, described at page 439 of this volume. Nor must I forget to mention my friend and fellow-traveller Mr. Ainsley, to whom I am indebted for the free use of the notes of his Etruscan tours, as well as for several sketches used in illustrating this work.

The drawings of masonry, tombs, and other local remains have been mostly made by myself with the camera lucida. Those of portable monuments are generally copied from various works little known in England. Most of the plans of ancient sites are also borrowed, but two have been made by myself, and though laying no claim to scientific precision, will be found sufficiently accurate for the purposes of the tourist. The general Map of Etruria has been formed principally from Segato's Map of Tuscany, aided by Gell's and Westphal's Campagna di Roma, and by the official maps of the Pontifical State.

My chief aim throughout this work has been truth and accuracy. At least half of the manuscript has been written in Italy, and the greater part of it has been verified by subsequent visits to the scenes described. Notwithstanding, the book has, doubtless, its share of errors and imperfections. Those who take it up for mere amusement will think I have said too much, the scholar and antiquary that I have said too little, on the subjects treated,—on the one hand I may be accused of superficiality, on the other of prolixity and dulness. To all I make my apology in the words of Pliny—*Res ardua, vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris lucem, fastiditis*

gratiam, dubiis fidem, omnibus vero naturam, et naturæ suæ omnia—"It is no easy matter to give novelty to old subjects, authority to new, to impart lustre to rusty things, light to the obscure and mysterious, to throw a charm over what is distasteful, to command credence for doubtful matters, to give nature to everything, and to arrange everything according to its nature."

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

VEII.—THE CITY.

CHAPTER II.

VEII.—THE CEMETERY.

CHAPTER III.

CASTEL GIUBILEO.—*FIDENÆ.*

CHAPTER IV.

SUTRI.—*SUTRIUM.*

CHAPTER IX.

ORTE—*HORTA*.

CHAPTER X.

FERONIA AND *CAPENA*.

CHAPTER XI.

MONTE CIMINO—*MONS CIMINUS*.

CHAPTER XII.

VITERBO.—*SURRINA*.

CHAPTER XIII.

FERENTO.—*FERENTINUM*.

CHAPTER XIV.

BOMARZO.

CHAPTER XV.

CASTEL D' ASSO.—*CASTELLUM AXIA.*

CHAPTER XVI.

NORCHIA.—*ORCLE?*

CHAPTER XVII.

BIEDA—*BLERA.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

CORNETO.

TARQUINII—THE CEMETERY.

CHAPTER XIX.

TARQUINII—THE CITY.

CHAPTER XX.

GRAVISCÆ.

CHAPTER XXI.

VULCI.

CHAPTER XXII.

MUSIGNANO.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TOSCANELLA—*TUSCANIA.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

STATONIA.

CHAPTER XXV.

PITIGLIANO AND SORANO.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SOVANA—*SUANA.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

BOLSENA—*VOLSINII.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

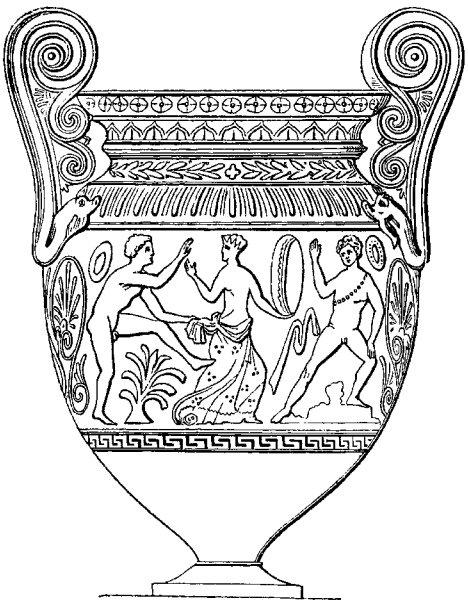
MONTE FIASCONE—*FANUM VOLTUMNÆ?*

CHAPTER XXIX.

ORVIETO.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME I.

LIST OF MAPS IN VOLUME I.



ETRUSCAN AMPHORA.

INTRODUCTION.

ANTIQUARIAN research, partaking of the quickened energy of the nineteenth century, has of late years thrown great light on the early history of Italy. It has demonstrated, in confirmation of extant records, that ages before the straw hut of Romulus arose on the Palatine, there existed in that land a nation far advanced in civilization and refinement—that Rome, before her intercourse with Greece, was indebted to ETRURIA for whatever tended to elevate and humanise her, for her chief lessons in art and science, for many of her political, and most of her religious and social institutions, for the conveniences and enjoyments of peace, and the tactics and appliances of war—for almost everything in short that tended to exalt her as a nation,

save her stern virtues, her thirst of conquest, and her indomitable courage, which were peculiarly her own; for verily her sons were mighty with little else but the sword—

Stolidum genus—
Bellipotentes sunt magi' quam sapientipotentes.[1]

The external history of the Etruscans, as there are no direct chronicles extant, is to be gathered only from scattered notices in Greek and Roman writers. Their internal history, till of late years, was almost a blank, but by the continual accumulation of fresh facts it is now daily acquiring form and substance, and promises, ere long, to be as distinct and palpable as that of Egypt, Greece, or Rome. For we already know the extent and peculiar nature of their civilization—their social condition and modes of life—their extended commerce and intercourse with far distant countries—their religious creed, with its ceremonial observances in this life, and the joys and torments it set forth in a future state—their popular traditions—and a variety of customs, of all which, History, commonly so called, is either utterly silent, or makes but incidental mention, or gives notices imperfect and obscure. We can now enter into the inner life of the Etruscans, almost as fully as if they were living and moving before us, instead of having been extinct as a nation for more than two thousand years. We can follow them from the cradle to the tomb,—we see them in their national costume, varied according to age, sex, rank, and office,—we learn their style of adorning their persons, their fashions, and all the eccentricities of their toilet,—we even become acquainted with their peculiar physiognomy, their individual names and family relationships,—we know what houses they inhabited, what furniture they used,—we behold them at their various avocations—the princes in the council-chamber—the augur, or priest, at the altar, or in solemn procession—the warrior in the battle-field, or returning home in triumph—the judge on the bench—the artisan at his handicraft—the husbandman at the plough—the slave at his daily toil,—we see them in the bosom of their families, and at the festive board,

[1] Old Ennius (Ann. VI. 10) said this of the Æacidæ, or race of Pyrrhus, not perceiving how applicable it was to the Romans.

reclining luxuriously amid the strains of music, and the time-beating feet of dancers—at their favourite games and sports, encountering the wild-boar, or looking on at the race, at the wrestling-match, or other palæstric exercises,—we behold them stretched on the death-bed—the last rites performed by mourning relatives—the funeral procession—their bodies laid in the tomb—and the solemn festivals held in their honour. Nor even here do we lose sight of them, but follow their souls to the unseen world—perceive them in the hands of good or evil spirits—conducted to the judgment-seat, and in the enjoyment of bliss, or suffering the punishment of the damned.

We are indebted for most of this knowledge, not to musty records drawn from the oblivion of centuries, but to monumental remains—purer founts of historical truth—landmarks which, even when few and far between, are the surest guides across the expanse of distant ages—to the monuments which are still extant on the sites of the ancient Cities of Etruria, or have been drawn from their Cemeteries, and are stored in the museums of Italy and of Europe.

The internal history of Etruria is written on the mighty walls of her cities, and on other architectural monuments, on her roads, her sewers, her tunnels, but above all in her sepulchres; it is to be read on graven rocks, and on the painted walls of tombs; but its chief chronicles are inscribed on sarcophagi and cinerary urns, on vases and goblets, on mirrors and other articles in bronze, and a thousand *et cetera* of personal adornment, and of domestic and warlike furniture—all found within the tombs of a people long passed away, and whose existence was till of late remembered by few but the traveller or the student of classical lore. It was the great reverence for the dead, which the Etruscans possessed in common with the other nations of antiquity, that prompted them—fortunately for us of the nineteenth century—to store their tombs with these rich and varied sepulchral treasures, which unveil to us the *arcana* of their inner life, almost as fully as though a second Pompeii had been disinterred in the heart of Etruria; going far to compensate us for the loss of the native annals of the country,[2] of the

[2] Varro, ap. Censorin. de Die Natali, XVII.

chronicles of Theophrastus,[3] and Verrius Flaccus,[4] and the twenty books of its history by the Emperor Claudius.[5]

"Parlan le tombe ove la Storia è muta."

Etruria truly illustrates the remark, that "the history of a people must be sought in its sepulchres."

The object of this work is not to collect the *disjecta membra* of Etruscan history, and form them into a whole, though it were possible to breathe into it fresh spirit and life from the eloquent monuments that recent researches have brought to light; it is not to build up from these monuments any theory on the origin of this singular people, on the character of their language, or on the peculiar nature of their civilization,—it is simply to set before the reader a mass of facts relative to Etruscan remains, and particularly to afford the traveller who would visit the Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria such information as may prove of service, by indicating precisely what is now to be found on each site, whether local monuments, or those portable relics which exist in public museums, or in the hands of private collectors.

Before entering, however, on the consideration of the particular antiquities of Etruria, it is advisable to take a general view of her geographical position and physical features, as well as to give a slight sketch of her civilization.

It is difficult to define with precision the limits of a state, which existed at so early a period as Etruria, ages before any extant chronicles were written—of which such scanty records have come down to us, and whose boundaries must have frequently varied during her continual struggles with her warlike neighbours.

We are told that in very early times the dominion of Etruria embraced the greater part of Italy,[6] extending over the plains of Lombardy to the Alps on the one hand,[7] and to Vesuvius and

[3] Schol. Pindar. Pyth. II. 3, cited by Müller, Etrusker, I. pp. 2, 197.

[4] Interp. Æn. X. 183, 198, ed. Mai.

[5] Sueton. Claud. 42. Aristotle also wrote on the laws of the Etruscans. Athen. Deipn. I. cap. 19, p. 23, ed. Cas.

[6] In Tuscorum jure pene omnis Italia fuerat.—Serv. ad Virg. Æn. XI. 567; cf. Liv. V. 33.

[7] Usque ad Alpes tenuêre.—Liv. loc. cit.; Polyb. II. 17; Justin. XX. 5; Diodor. Sic. XIV. p. 321, ed. Rhod.;

the Gulf of Salerno on the other;[8] stretching also across the peninsula from the Tyrrhene to the Adriatic Sea,[9] and comprising the large islands off her western shores.[1]

Scylax, Periplus, cited by Müller, Etrusk. einl. 3, 9. Catullus (XXXI. 13) calls the Benacus, now the Lago di Garda, a Lydian, *i. e.*, an Etruscan lake.

[8] The Etruscans at one time possessed the land of the Volsci, and all Campania, as far as the Silarus in the Gulf of Pæstum, or, as one account states, as far as the Sicilian sea. They took this land from the Greek colonists, who had driven out the Osci, the original inhabitants; and then founded Capua and Nola. If Velleius Paterculus may be credited, this was 47 years before the foundation of Rome. Liv. IV. 37; Vell. Paterc. I. 7; Cato, ap. eund.; Mela, II. 4; Polyb. II. 17; Strabo, V. pp. 242, 247; Plin. III. 9; Serv. ad Virg. Georg. II. 533; Cato, ap. eund. ad Æn. XI. 567.

[9] Liv. V. 33, 54; Strabo, V. p. 219; Plut. Camill. The Adriatic received its name from the Etruscan town of Atria. Plin. III. 20; Strabo, V. p. 214; cf. Justin. XX. 1. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 3, 5) interprets Pliny (III. 19) as saying that a large tract of the coast of Picenum was once in the possession of the Etruscans.

[1] Elba, called Ilva by the Romans, and Æthalia or Æthale by the Greeks, is well known to have belonged to Etruria. Virgil (Æn. X. 173) classes it with the Etruscan states which sent assistance to Æneas. Diodorus (XI. p. 67) also mentions it as Etruscan. So the Pseudo-Aristotle, de Mirab. Auscult. c. 95; and Stephanus, *sub voce*. There was a close connection between it and the neighbouring maritime city of Populonia (Strabo, V. p. 223; Varro, ap. Serv. ad Virg. loc. cit.); and it is very probable, as Müller maintains (Etrusk. I. 2, 3), that Ilva was a possession of that city, unless indeed both were under the sway of Volaterræ. See Vol. II. pp. 143, 236.

Corsica, the Cyrnus of the Greeks, was originally colonised by the Phocæans of Massilia, then by the Ligurians, and Iberians, and ultimately by the Etruscans; whose dominion in the island was on the increase, thinks Müller (Etrusk. einl. 4, 6), between the 55th and 61st Olympiads (560 — 536 B.C.). About 305 B.C. Corsica was still in their hands, and probably continued so to the last days of their independence. Seneca, Cons. ad Helv. cap. VIII; Pausan. X. 17; Diodor. Sic. V. p. 295, XI. p. 67; Herod. I. 165, 166; Isidor. Orig. XIV. 6. Müller takes the "Libyans," mentioned by Pausanias as inhabitants of the island, to be Ligurians. Callimachus (Delos. 19, cited by Müller) calls the island Phœnician at the time of the First Punic War. Herodotus (VII. 165) seems also to mark it as dependent on Carthage. It would seem that Corsica was never fully occupied by the Etruscans, for it was a wild, forest-grown, little populated, uncivilised land, and its inhabitants had the simple manners of a rude state of society (Strabo, V. p. 224; Diodor. V. p. 295; Theophrast. Hist. Plant. V. 8); and it is very likely, as Müller conjectures, that it was a mere nest of pirates. Niebuhr thinks this island, as well as Elba, was not under the dominion of the Etruscan nation, but merely of one of the adjacent maritime cities. I. p. 126.

That Sardinia was a possession of the Etruscans is not so clearly set forth. The earliest settlers were the Libyans, the Greeks, the Iberians, and the