

THE WOMEN OF ETRURIA

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OVER A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, J. J. Bachofen published his book on “Mother-right,” and *The Myth of Tanaquil*,¹ with which, like his friend Nietzsche, he revolutionized the world of classical scholarship. The case was overstated – the “tyranny of women” never happened. Bachofen’s “matriarchy” must be carefully distinguished from equality. Yet he understood and described a historical fact: that the status of Etruscan women, in the archaic period at least – seventh to fifth century B.C. – was surprisingly high in comparison to that of Greek and Roman women.

Since then archaeology, by studying direct material evidence, such as tomb paintings and inscriptions, has told us more of the Etruscans’ luxurious style of life, and the considerable role played by the women.² Accounts of Greek and Roman writers give further evidence for these facts – more importantly, they show how the Etruscan way of life differed from their own, and how this difference frightened them. They experienced it as a conflict in civilization, and expressed it in terms of relations between men and women, and different attitudes to sex.

Bachofen saw the great difference between the early Roman system of the *pater familias* with legal powers of life and death, and the type of society implied by tales of the Etruscan queens. I would like to suggest that Rome’s contact with the civilization which confronted her across the Tiber, from whom she took so much external culture – letters, the arts, symbols of royalty, so that eventually Rome looked like an Etruscan city too – represented Rome’s first “cultural shock.” Making her conscious of her own “moral” identity – Rome never gave up her language, religion or customs – it perhaps foreshadowed, on a vastly different scale, the later Hellenistic explosion, when two different cultures met, and long continued to live in an uneasy proximity. The Etruscans were for the Romans from the first, and always remained, “the others.” The foreignness of their language encouraged, true or not, the story of their Oriental origin.

What we know best about them is their art, and the importance of the women in society. The art puts us in direct contact with this rich and cultured people, who brought art and letters to Italy and to

Rome. Literary evidence, as we shall see, speaks of the freedom and power of Etruscan women. How much of this is true? And how are the wealth and women's freedom connected?

Roman sources, chief among them Livy, mostly belong to the Augustan period, which had its own concerns and ideals,³ and for whom Etruscan contacts with early Rome lay in a distant past, re-created rather than remembered. For the facts of the archaic period and contemporary reactions we must start with the Greeks.

Differences between Etruscan and Greek women were striking. Theopompus, the Greek historian of the fourth century B.C., was startled by them, and drew the worst possible conclusion from what he saw and heard about Etruscan women.⁴ According to his report, they took great care of their bodies, often exercising in the nude with men and with each other; it was not considered shameful for women to show themselves naked. They were very beautiful. At dinner, he tells us, they reclined publicly with men other than their husbands. They even took part in the toasting – traditionally reserved for men and regulated by strict formalities at Greek *symposia*. Etruscan women liked to drink (so, by the way, did Greek women, according to Aristophanes and others; this is the most familiar accusation of immorality). Most shocking of all, they raised all their children, according to Theopompus, whether or not they knew who the fathers were.

Theopompus' misunderstanding of the real situation is comparable to the misconceptions regarding Swedish girls current among men in Italy today. His account of Etruscan society, with what seems to us today to be sexual freedom for women – incomprehensible, according to Greek standards, as anything other than immorality – resembles Herodotus' description of the Lydians (I, 93-94), among whom, we are told, women give themselves up to prostitution before marriage. Even more striking is the resemblance to the account Herodotus gives of the Lycians, whose family structure was different from that of the Greeks. There, descent was reckoned through the female line, the matronymic took the place of the patronymic, and free women married to slaves could pass their status on to their children.⁵

Yet, although Theopompus' account distorts the truth, much of what he says is in fact confirmed by archaeological evidence. He is right in saying that women reclined at dinner together with men. We see them so on tomb paintings at Tarquinia.⁶ We are not sensitive, however, to the shock and distaste this information produced in a Greek of Theopompus' time. While it is normal in Etruscan art to see women reclining together with men on banquet couches, on the con-

temporary Greek vase paintings of *symposia* which served as models for pictures of Etruscan banquets, wives are conspicuous by their absence.⁷ Men recline with men, or with pretty flute girls whose nakedness shows them to be slave girls, not respectable women.

A sensational recent discovery, the painted tomb from Paestum with scenes from a *symposium*, imitating Etruscan tomb paintings in technique, but with Greek subject matter, points out this contrast. The South Italian scene shows men courting a handsome young boy with bright red lips and cheeks. No women appear, not even as dancers or attendants. In striking contrast, Etruscan art seems to show a world of married couples: see for example the justly famous and aptly named sarcophagus of the Bride and Groom – “Sposi” is a better word – in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome.⁸

To Theopompus, seeing husbands and wives so unexpectedly together must have seemed a serious breach of culture and good taste, leading him to draw further conclusions of lasciviousness. He imagines that women joined men in another traditionally male place, the gymnasium, where Greek men, by definition, exercised naked. That women exercised together with men in the nude, in either Athens or in any Etruscan city, is patently untrue. Etruscan women did join men publicly in watching sports, a custom most un-Greek⁹ – they are so represented on funerary paintings and reliefs.¹⁰ They apparently were not, however, particularly fond of such strenuous exercise as Spartan women practiced; nor do they ever appear naked. As for exercising in the nude, even Etruscan men normally wore shorts, heroic nudity being a peculiarly Greek invention in the ancient Mediterranean world. It was practiced by Greeks alone – and even then only after Homeric times – constituting, as much as language did, the chief distinction between Greeks and barbarians, including Etruscans.¹¹

Other observations of Theopompus, after due allowance has been made for his difficulty in understanding something foreign to him and threatening, are supported by evidence. Etruscan funerary inscriptions identifying the deceased by means of the matronymic as well as the patronymic show the greater legal and social importance of women, though they deny, at the same time, Bachofen’s theory of the survival of a real matriarchy in the sense of rule by women.¹² Then, too, if Etruscan women, unlike Greek women – but like Herodotus’ Lycian women – had the right to raise their children without their husbands’ formal recognition – this would probably be connected with their right to own property – Theopompus would translate this situation, in terms of Greek law, as ignorance of the father’s identity, or illegitimacy.

Furthermore, if Theopompus was correct in stating that Etruscans – men and women, one would suppose – raised *all* their children, this might mean that they did not need or depend on infanticide, child exposure, as a population control. Perhaps, then, their greater wealth allowed them more freedom in this respect, unlike the Greeks, who were faced with the constant threat of overpopulation and poverty.¹³

Proof of the high status of Etruscan women is also their literacy, implied by the many decorated bronze mirrors, regularly inscribed with names of divinities and mythological figures, buried with them in *cistae* or toilet boxes after death.¹⁴ Women's graves were marked, like those of men, with symbols of boxes or houses – instead of the phallos of the men – at Etruscan Cerveteri; and in the rock-cut tombs their death beds are more luxurious than the men's.¹⁵

In dress, too, there was less distinction between men and women. An outsider could easily think that Etruscan women dressed like men. In the late sixth century, for example, they wore mantles and high shoes elsewhere reserved for men and later used by Romans as special symbols of citizenship and rank.¹⁶ All these marks of equality shocked the Greeks, who took them as signs of immorality.

Roman sources of a much later period, Livy and other writers of the period of Augustus, show a similar picture of Etruscan women – and condemn it. In their characterization of Lucretia as the model Roman wife, they contrast her to the wives of the Etruscan Tarquins.¹⁷ But the Roman woman of the sixth century played a far more important part than her Greek contemporaries.¹⁸ A Greek wife of the classical period could never properly have been allowed to appear in such a story. According to Greek sources it was the tyrant's lust, not for a woman, but for a beautiful Athenian boy, Harmodius, that precipitated the Tyrannicides' action in the Athens of 514 B.C.¹⁹ It would be interesting to study further the contrasting treatment of this particular motif of Athenian and Roman history. What is the relation between sex and revolution, rape and violence and moral indignation? The victim's honor is attacked, Athenian lover, or Roman father and husband defend it, a private feud becomes public and political; and the city gains its freedom.

In the Roman story a moral contest takes place between Lucretia and the Etruscan princesses. It is pictured visually in Livy's vivid prose, as the writer contrasts two artistic motifs, one from Greek and Roman funerary stelai and the other known to us from paintings of Etruscan tombs. The first shows the classical matron seated on a chair, working at her wool;²⁰ the second, as we saw, the Etruscan

lady reclining on her banquet couch. The contest takes place when the young Etruscan princes, excited by wine during a pause between battles, in wartime leisure in their camp come to talk of women and boast about their wives. To prove their women's worth they ride into the night "to find Lucretia – quite unlike the king's daughters-in-law they had seen at a luxurious dinner party, passing the time with others of their set – seated hard at work at her spinning, though it was very late. She was surrounded by her servants, all of them working well into the night."²¹ It is a Roman contest, and Lucretia wins it. The contrast is obvious. Lucretia is the *mater familias* seated at her work, caring for home and household, surrounded by the Roman *familia*, her slaves. The Etruscan princesses recline, "passing the time away," in drinking and sophisticated frivolity in the company of other rich aristocrats, as young and charming as those eternalized in the tomb paintings of Tarquinia and slandered by Theopompus. A serious Roman matron, the moral superior of an Etruscan princess, precipitated the fall of the dynasty of the Tarquins.

The indulgence of Etruscan fathers towards their sons is similarly contrasted, in Livy's pages, with the strict, heroic rule of the Roman *pater familias*. The permissive Tarquins, for example, are thus felt to be diminished as men. There is a nice exchange in which Tarquin justifies his lateness with the excuse that he had been judging a case between father and son – evidently appealing to the Roman sentiment of *pietas*. The retort, prompt and contemptuous, is that there was nothing to judge – the son must obey the father, or pay for it.²²

According to Roman tradition, too, each of the last three (Etruscan) kings of Rome owed his throne to an Etruscan woman. Tanaquil and Tullia, the wives and daughters of Etruscan kings in the first book of Livy's history of Rome, rank among the great queens of antiquity; it is not the least part of their influence that they inspired Bachofen's work. Their characterization owes something to Cleopatra, the Oriental queen whom Livy in his own time had seen hated, feared and admired in Rome, and something also to Roman Republican desire to downgrade the kings by exalting their queens.²³ Even so, they are Etruscan, and many details fit into a tradition we can recognize.

The individual names of Etruscan women indicate also their different legal and social status. Etruscan inscriptions confirm Livy's simple use of the name Tanaquil without reference to father or husband. In contrast, a Roman woman bore no name of her own.²⁴ She was known first as her father's daughter and later as her husband's wife, when she came into his *manus*, or legal power; hence the legal formula of

marriage, *ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia*. Augustus, Julius Caesar by adoption, had a daughter named Julia, roughly “Julius’ daughter.” Lucretia meant the daughter of Lucretius. This system is not unlike the English and American custom of covering up a married woman’s maiden name with the full name of her husband in formal address, a custom originally designed to protect the privacy of the woman’s first name, a sign of intimacy to be kept from any but close friends and relations.²⁵ In the instance of Servius Tullius the Etruscan king, a naturalized Roman in the tradition, Livy calls his daughters in Roman fashion, Tullia (Maior and Minor).²⁶ In other ways quite Etruscan, actually each daughter would have borne her own name, unhappily unrecorded.

The story of all these Etruscan queens seems to preserve genuine Etruscan elements. Married to Lucumo Tarquinius, son of a Greek *émigré*, Tanaquil urged her husband to move from Tarquinia to Rome. An expanding city – as she saw – would afford his talents larger scope. At his side in the carriage approaching Rome, she foresees, in the tradition of the *Etrusca disciplina* of augury, his royal destiny. Together they work toward his election as king. In time she chooses the heir to the throne, Servius Tullius, her son-in-law.²⁷

The story of Tullia, the younger daughter of Servius Tullius, indicates the energetic Tanaquil was the rule rather than the exception. Married, and notoriously mismatched, to the less ambitious of two young Tarquins, Tullia arranges to marry instead Lucius Tarquinius, her brother-in-law. She characteristically despises her less forceful sister for her lack of *muliebris audacia* (a term so un-Roman it was rejected by several editors of Livy’s text!²⁸), finally realizes the wished-for union through the double murder of the weaker pair, and pushes Lucius Tarquin into taking over the throne. She is as anxious to have this testimonial of her power as Tarquin, later, is to have his name and reign remembered by the great temple of Jupiter Capitoline. But as it turns out, Tullia’s crime becomes her *monumentum*, memorialized by the *Sceleratus Vicus*, where she drove her chariot over her father’s body.²⁹ Freedom of action has turned to crime, justifying, perhaps, Roman order. Were the Roman historians saying that freedom had turned to license, which had to be suppressed?

Another question, previously implied but not yet asked directly, is whether we can connect the earlier freedom of action for women with the ease reflected in the art of the archaic period in Etruria, so full of movement for all its occasional awkwardness. At what point do literary tradition and art agree? Theopompus’ account of the daily life of the Etruscans includes tales of orgies and homosexual love.

But Etruscan art, with its few scenes of men making love together, or with prostitutes or naked women – there are the two strange little erotic scenes in the Tomba dei Tori, one homosexual, the other heterosexual – does not confirm Theopompus' emphasis on orgies or homosexuality, a frequent literary motif.³⁰ (Compare the prominent place Herodotus gives to prostitutes in his description of the Lydians.) Actually the Etruscan paintings, with their representation of wives, suggest nothing illicit, rather simple domestic scenes. After dinner, Theopompus says, prostitutes and young boys and “even wives” enter, and the lights are left on. Again his wonder points to different customs and a stricter moral code sharply distinguishing wives from prostitutes, as in Victorian days, when the lights were not left burning (Horace, *Odes*, 3, 6, 28). Another passage of Theopompus which has the ring of truth also seems to reflect this surprise – almost nostalgia – for a wonderful simplicity of manners. “And so far are they from regarding it as a disgrace that they actually say, when the master of the house is making love, and someone asks for him, that he is involved in such and such, shamelessly announcing what he is doing.”³¹

Etruscan luxury, proverbial in Greek and Roman eyes, accompanies all such scenes, in Theopompus, in Livy, and in art. Rich gold treasures from Cerveteri are proof of the actual wealth as well as the love of ostentation of the South Etruscan cities.³² Wealth was used for private luxury. Recent excavations show private houses of the archaic period as richly decorated as temples, a thing unheard of in Greece in the fifth century or in Rome in early times.³³ The Etruscans loved Greek luxury. There are more Greek vases from the sixth century in Etruria than in Greece. So, too, rich Americans bought up the art of Europe.

We already remarked, in connection with children, the relation between this wealth and the status of women. Wealth and luxury also apparently affected the place of slaves. Etruscans are so rich, says Posidonius, that in Etruria slaves dress more luxuriously than their status warrants.³⁴ Conspicuous consumption for private rather than religious use fits in with the love of pleasure we see in archaic Etruscan art and sense through Theopompus' anxious condemnation.

In the archaic period, then, the Etruscans' wealth and freedom brought home to the Romans their first experience of civilization and threatened their own vastly different culture, rigorous country life and Puritanical ideals. Rome herself looked like an Etruscan city. For centuries after the Etruscan monarchy, the art of Rome was still nearly all Etruscan. The great temple of Jupiter Capitoline and in-

numerable statues of the gods of terracotta and bronze, all in Etruscan style, served to remind the Romans of the artistic superiority of their rich neighbors. The Etruscans had represented the first challenge to the Romans, forcing them to assert themselves to defend their beliefs. In the confrontation between two such different societies, the poorer one, with its belief in its own moral superiority, won.

Etruscan art from the fourth century on perhaps reflects some of the psychological results of the Roman conquest of Etruria. At this point in their history, the cruelty so often popularly attributed to the Etruscans first appeared. At Tarquinia and Orvieto the world of the dead replaces the world of the living in the Tomba dell'Orco and the Tomba Golini, where the Etruscan Hades and Persephone reign. The style changes as well. A brooding quality and a melancholy never there before appear. Yet the customs of the living still continue beyond death: clothes, jewelry, household furniture, whole kitchen staffs. Here the woman's place has definitely changed. No longer does she lie next to her husband, but sits by him primly in Roman style as he reclines.³⁵ The moralists have won. Now Roman citizens, the Etruscans changed in more than name and title. The Tullias and Tanaquils had in fact become Lucretias, a father's daughter, a husband's wife. Rome's patriarchal society had won out, not over "matriarchy" as Bachofen saw it, but over what seems to have been a far different society, more open, more able to experience the luxury of life.

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NOTES

Abbreviations used are those of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

- ¹ J. J. Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right*, Bollingen Series 84 (Princeton 1967). *Das Mutterrecht* (Basel 1948, orig. publ. 1861); *Die Sage von Tanaquil* (Heidelberg 1870). E. S. McCartney, review in *CP* 45 (1950) 123-125. *Contra*: L. Euing, *Die Sage von Tanaquil*. *Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike* 2 (1933); cf. F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion* (revised ed., translated by H. Mattingly, London 1938) 50-51. A. Momigliano, "Tre figure mitiche, Tanaquilla, Gaia Cecilia, Acca Larenzia," *Misc. Fac. Lettere e Filosofia, Torino* (1938) 3-10.
- ² J. Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne chez les Étrusques* (Paris 1961; translated as *Daily Life of the Etruscans*, London 1964) 95-122; "Valeurs féminines

- et masculines dans la civilisation étrusque," *MEFR* 73 (1961) 138-160; "Tite-Live et les Tarquins," *L'Information Littéraire* 7 (1955) 56-64; and A. J. Pfiffig, "Zur Sittengeschichte der Etrusker," *Gymnasium* 71 (1964) 17-36, provide full references, as well as the most important discussion and interpretation of the material treated in the present essay. Pfiffig stresses the "foreignness" of the Etruscans, an island in the Indo-European world of the seventh century in the Mediterranean. Cf. Altheim, *op. cit.*, 50-64.
- ³ D. Musti, *Tendenze nella storiografia romana e greca su Roma arcaica. Studi su Livio e Dionigi d'Alicarnasso. Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 10 (1970), especially 30-37.
- ⁴ Theopompus, quoted in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 12, 517 D – 518 B. *Fr. Gr. Hist.* 2, fr. 204. W. R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth Century Athens* (Washington 1968).
- ⁵ Herodotus 1, 173. Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne* 107-108.
- ⁶ E.g. Tomb of Hunting of Fishing, Tomb of the Leopards, M. Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting* (Geneva 1951) pl. 67f., pls. on 67-71; and *passim*. S. de Martinis, *La tipologia del banchetto nell'arte etrusca arcaica* (Rome 1961).
- ⁷ O. Brendel, "The Scope and Temperament of Erotic Art in the Greco-Roman World," *Studies in Erotic Art* (New York-London 1970) 19-25; 29-30, on the "banquet type"; on the status of women in Greece, 32-33.
- ⁸ M. Napoli, *La Tomba del Tuffatore* (Bari 1970). Sarcophagus in Villa Giulia Museum, W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom III* (Tübingen⁴ 1969, ed. by H. Speier) No. 2582.
- ⁹ On the controversy concerning women's attendance at the theater in Athens, see K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (Berkeley and L. A. 1971) 17; Menander's *Samia*, *ad fin.*, refers only to men. On the Olympiads, Paus. 5.6.7; 6.20.9 (doubted).
- ¹⁰ Tomb of the Bigas, Tarquinia, L. Banti, *Il Mondo degli Etruschi* (Rome 1969²) 110. E. Richardson, *The Etruscans* (Chicago 1964) 228: "the Etruscans, like the Romans, preferred spectator sports."
- ¹¹ Thuc. 1. 6. 8; Paus. 1. 44. 1.
- ¹² Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*, 97, with refs. A. J. Pfiffig, *Die etruskische Sprache* (Graz 1969) 88-89, 119-120, 189. J. Heurgon, "L'État étrusque," *Historia* 6 (1957) 75, on the title *tamera*, which could be held also by a woman; cf. also A. Neppi Modona, in *Studi in onore di G. Grosso*, III (Turin 1969) 70.
- ¹³ W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London 1968) 164-167. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (Originally published 1927; revised ed. 1952, reprinted, Meridian Books, Cleveland-N.Y. 1967) 100-102. G. Glotz, *Dar.-Saglio, s.v. expositio, infanticidium*.
- ¹⁴ E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin 1840-1897). A corpus of these Praenestine mirrors and cistae is being prepared by Gabriella Bordenache and Maria Teresa Falconi Amorelli, under the direction of M. Pallottino and the Istituto di Etruscologia e Antichità Italiche of the University of Rome.
- ¹⁵ J. Heurgon, *MEFR* 73 (1961) 138-160, with refs.

- ¹⁶ L. Bonfante Warren, *AJA* 75 (1971) 281; and forthcoming book on Etruscan dress.
- ¹⁷ M. Durry, review of E. Burck, *Die Frau in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Munich 1967), in *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 303. Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*, 101-102.
- ¹⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus' interpretation, from a Greek point of view, of the reason for Horatius' initial anger against his sister is instructive (3, 21, 2): "he was distressed that a virgin ripe for marriage should have deserted her household tasks at her mother's side and joined a crowd of strangers." (Translation by E. Cary, E. Spelman, Loeb Classical Library, 1961).
- ¹⁹ The purpose of the "digression" on Harmodius and Aristogeiton in Thucydides is difficult to understand (6, 54-59; cf. 1, 20; Hdt. 5, 55; 6, 123; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 17f.) It is connected with Alcibiades, and with the idea of *eros*. A. Momigliano, "L'excursus di Tucidide in VI, 54-59," *Studi di storiografia antica in memoria di Leonardo Ferrero* (Turin 1971) 31-35.
- ²⁰ M. Durry, *Éloge funèbre d'une matrone romaine (Éloge dit de Turia)* (Paris 1950), which contains important observations on the status of Roman women. They received, but did not present, *laudationes*, for example (XXI). *Domum seruauit, lanam fecit* (XXVIII; Bücheler, *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 52, 8). Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*, 102. Cf. Tibullus, 1, 3, 83ff.
- ²¹ Livy 1, 57, 4-58. *Cum aequalibus* can mean both men and women their age (Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne* 102: their sex is not specified); or, as I have translated, other rich young people their own class, in contrast to Lucretia, who oversees the slaves at work.
- ²² Livy 1, 50, 9: *infortunium*, "punishment," or "there will be hell to pay," is a word used in comedy, J. Bayet, *Tite-Live, Histoires, I* (Paris 1963) *ad loc.* G. Dumézil, " 'Pères' et 'Fils' dans la légende de Tarquin le Superbe," *Hommages à F. Bidez et à F. Cumont* Collection Latomus II (Bruxelles 1949) 77-84.
- ²³ Livy uses the technical word *appello* only for the Etruscan kings, and puts it in the mouth of an Etruscan queen: 1, 48, 5, *regemque prima appellauit*. Cf. 1, 34; 1, 39; 1, 47, 3; 1, 47, 5; and 1, 47, 10, *muliebri dono regnum occupasse*. Earlier kings received only the *salutatio*: Numitor, 1, 6, 2; Romulus (and Remus) 1, 7, 1.
On Cleopatra in Horace's Ode 1, 37, M. Putnam, forthcoming article in *Ramus*.
- ²⁴ E. Peruzzi, *Origini di Roma I. La Famiglia* (Florence 1970) 49-66.
- ²⁵ Cf. Peruzzi, *op.cit.* 67: "conoscere il nome della donna sarebbe equiuale a *cognoscere mulierem*"; therefore only the *nomen* (patronymic) was used, not the *praenomen*.
- ²⁶ But see the tradition that Tarquin changed his *praenomen*, from *Lucumo* to *Lucius*, thus becoming "naturalized," with the normal Roman three names, L. Tarquinius Priscus (Livy 1, 34, 10: *domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinium, Priscum edidere nomen*).
- ²⁷ Livy 1, 34; 1, 39.
- ²⁸ Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne*, 110-111.
- ²⁹ Livy 1, 46-48. The whole passage is carefully worked out as a Greek

tragedy (*tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum*), with the strong figure of the queen, leading finally to the Republic and to *libertas* (*...ut taedio regum maturior ueniret libertas ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret*); cf. above, Lucretia and Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The *monumentum* set up to this crime by Tullia is the Vicus Sceleratus, made impure by the blood of her father scattered on the chariot wheels. The reading *monumentum* in 1,47,6, where Tullia complains that she, unlike Tanaquil, *nullum monumentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret*, makes more sense within this whole context than the reading, *momentum*, adopted by most modern editors; though the majority of the mss. and the best ones, have *monumentum*. The edition of W. Weissenborn and H. J. Müller (Berlin 1885) has *monumentum* in the text, but refers to 4.12.9, *nullum momentum*, in the notes. Cf. *ut louis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret*, of Tarquinius Superbus (1,55,1; cf. 1.36.3, where Tarquinius Priscus eventually leaves a *monumentum* to his defeat by Attus Navius).

- ³⁰ Athenaeus, 517F. Homosexual love seems to be a standard literary rather than an artistic (realistic?) motif, even in Greece, Brendel, *op.cit.* 25. Perhaps what seemed most shocking to a Greek was the unseemly presence of the wives.
- ³¹ Athenaeus 517E-F: ζητῆ δέ τις αὐτόν, ὅτι πάσχει τὸ καὶ τό, προσαγορεύοντες αἰσχρῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα. Cf. Tacitus' account of Nero's outrageous conduct: what really horrifies the aristocratic Roman historian, even more than incest and murders, are the unsuitable artistic, Greek – therefore foreign – ideals of the emperor. G. Charles-Picard, *Augustus and Nero* (New York 1965; translated from the French, originally published in Paris, 1962) 86 ff.
- ³² Banti, *op.cit.* 65, on Caere's great wealth and foreign contacts, and the baroque, exaggerated taste of her gold jewelry (74-75). It was Rome's fate to be next door to the most cosmopolitan city of the richest people in the Mediterranean, when she herself was still only a village. It has been supposed that pieces of silver plate in the Regolini-Galassi and Bernardini tombs were inscribed with the names of their owners, who were women: *Vetusia*, and *Larthia* (or *Larhi*) – Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne* 112f.; *MEFR* 73 (1961) 142-145; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1965) 192 – but the ending may be the masculine genitive, the names then being masculine, *Vetus*, *Larth*: M. Pallottino, *StEtr* 34 (1966) 427. See H. Jucker, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 298, for discussion and bibliography.
- ³³ K. Oestenberg, "Excavations of the Swedish School at Acqua Rossa," paper presented at the V Congresso Naz. di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Orvieto, June 28-30, 1972.
- ³⁴ Posidonius, in Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.*, 5-40. L. Bonfante Warren, *JRS* 60 (1970) 60, on Livy 2, 12. Slaves and freedmen in Etruria: W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford 1971) 121-129, with previous bibliography, and Pfiffig, *Gymnasium* 75 (1968) 111.
- ³⁵ Banti, *op.cit.* 112-114, pl. 38.