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Sabellic Textile Terminology

Peder Flemestad and Birgit Anette Olsen

Despite numerous recent studies of Italic textiles and textile production etc., no systematic study has so far been attempted regarding the textile terminology of Italic languages besides Latin. The present study seeks to remedy this, making a first step into the textile terminology of Sabellic languages, predominantly Oscan and Umbrian.¹

There are two types of sources for Sabellic textile terminology: inscriptions and glosses in Greek and Latin literature. Both are, however, fraught with uncertainties. The glosses, as for example seen in the case of Etruscan, may have been misunderstood or misinterpreted and should be treated with due caution, and there is considerable debate on many of the epigraphically attested terms and significant doubt about their precise interpretation. Glosses are especially

problematic, since they have been transmitted to us through a succession of manuscripts. As noted by Clackson, it is only through epigraphy that we can access the texts, and therefore the terms themselves, directly.² Sometimes, however, the glosses are indeed correct, making their investigation important.

The extant Sabellic corpus, although minuscule compared to Latin, is nevertheless linguistically invaluable and offers complementary evidence of the Indo-European and Italic textile lexicon, although many aspects of the various Sabellic languages are notoriously difficult to interpret and remain a matter of debate. The present contribution does not claim to endorse the interpretation of the most doubtful cases, but includes them in order to provide an overview of Sabellic terms that have been suggested by scholars as belonging to the domain of textiles.³

1. References to Sabellic inscriptions follow Untermann 2000. In the case of Umbrian, references, e.g. “VIIa 24”, are to the Iguvine tables. Translations of the Iguvine Tables are, unless otherwise noted, adapted from Poultney 1959. Bold font, following scholarly convention, indicates terms attested in the “native” alphabets, while italics indicate those attested in the Latin alphabet. Translations of Greek and Latin texts are, unless otherwise noted, adapted from the Loeb editions when available. For the term Sabellic, cf. Rix 2002, 2: “Der Terminus entspricht den oben genannten Forderungen: er ist einfach und gut motiviert. *Sabelli* (**Saβello*-) ist der einheimische Name, mit dem die Römer die Samniten, manchmal auch undifferenziert alle zentralappenninischen Bergstämme genannt haben; er ist das Individuativum zu **Saβno*- (**Saβno-lo*- > **Saβnlo*- > **Saβenlo*- > **Saβello*-; Typ *Graeculus*, *Poenulus*), das vielleicht der ursprüngliche Name der ganzen Sprachgruppe war [...]. Von **Saβno*- ist der Name **Saβniom* abgeleitet, der für das Stammland der oskischen Gruppe bekannt ist (osk. *Safinim*, lat. *Samnium*, griech. Σαύνιον), und von diesem wiederum das Ethnikon *Saβīno*- (dissimiliert aus **Saβnīno*-), das als *Safinús* die Sprecher des Südpikenischen und als *Sabīnī* Roms nördliche Nachbarn bezeichnet (ein Teil der **Saβīnōs* wäre dann später *Umbri* genannt worden).”

2. Clackson 2014, 700.

3. Of Sabellic terms that are not “Sabine”, Oscan or Umbrian, the only item of interest is South-Picene **tokam**, which, while formally

The textile terms

Oscan:

There are exiguously few terms attested in the Oscan group of Italic dialects, but there are occasional references in Greek and Latin sources to Samnite dress,⁴ and there have been studies of the iconographical material.⁵ Presumably, only one epigraphically attested Oscan term belongs to the domain of costume:⁶

- O. **plavtad**:⁷ A feminine *-ā*-stem noun, designating the sole of a shoe or a foot, a substantivization of Proto-Italic **plauto-* ‘flattened, with flat feet’, apparently derived from the Italic root **plau-* (‘to hit/step with the palm of the hand or foot’) from **plh₂-u-* (‘palm of the hand, sole of the foot’), with the suffix *-to-/-tā-* (cf. Latin *plautus* ‘flat-footed’⁸ and *plaudere* ‘to clap, strike, beat (with the palm

of the hand)’; Umbrian *preplotatu, preplohottu* ‘must crush, stamp down’, *semiphotia* (Festus) ‘shoe-soles divided into halves’). According to Franchi de Bellis it is a cognate of Greek βλαῦτη and means ‘sandal’.⁹

hn. sattiéis. detfri
seganatted. plavtad¹⁰

“Detfri of Herens Sattiis left her mark
with her sole.”

The bilingual inscription is found on a large terracotta tile (94x66cm) and is dated to c. 100 BC. The verb states that it was marked/signed with the ‘sole’, and the imprints are also preserved. The interpretation of the term therefore depends on the imprints on the terracotta itself, and these clearly indicate footwear, not feet.¹¹ The imprints are moreover similar in shape and size to extant Etruscan wooden/bronze sandals.¹²

corresponding to Latin *toga*, means ‘grave’. As argued by Marinetti (1985, 144, n.93) and followed by Adiego (1995, 136), the grave is understood as that which covers, from the same root as Latin *toga*: **(s)teg-/(s)tog-* ‘to cover’. It is, however, interesting to note that according to Juvenal (3.172, cf. Watkins 1969: 238 and Olsen 2016, note 31), the use of a toga was closely linked to burials: *pars magna Italiae est ... in qua nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus* ‘there is a large part of Italy ... where nobody puts on a toga unless he is dead’; this provides a clear connection between toga and grave, and although speculative does not exclude the possibility of another type of semantic extension. Outside Sabellic (and Latin) the only attested Italic textile term is Tusculan *struppum* (corresponding to *stroppus*/στρόφος) and the Faliscan feast *Struppearia*, Festus 410, 6-7 (cf. Pliny *NH* 21,3), see Biville 1990, 176-178; Adams 2007, 177.

4. Strabo 6.1.2; Livy has two mentions of Samnite dress: 9.40, 10.39.11-12.

5. Weege 1909, especially 158-162; Schneider-Hermann 1996, especially 4-39, 95-106.

6. Cf. below under Umbrian fibre sources for Oscan *καποροιννα*[ι].

7. Abl.sg. (Pocc.21/ Sa 35, Pietrabbondante); Untermann 2000, 563.

8. Festus 274 (Lindsay): *<Plotos appellant> Umbri pedibus planis <natos. Hinc soleas dimidiatas, qui>bus utuntur in venando, <quo planius pedem ponant, vo>cant semiphotia et ... <Macci>us poeta, quia Umber Sarsinas erat, a pedum planitia initio Plotus, postea Plautus coeptus est dici* ‘The Umbrians called those born with flat feet *ploti*. Thence they term *semiphotia* the soles that are divided into halves which are used in hunting to put the foot more flatly ... The poet Maccius, who was an Umbrian from Sarsina, was initially called Plotus, later Plautus, from the flatness of his feet’; P. ex F. 275 (Lindsay): *Ploti appellantur, qui sunt planis pedibus. Unde et poeta Accius, quia Umber Sarsinas erat, a pedum planitie initio Plotus, postea Plautus est dictus. Soleas quoque dimidiatas, quibus utebantur in venando, quo planius pedem ponerent, semiphotia appellabant* ‘Those who have flat feet are called *ploti*. Wherefrom also the poet Accius, who was an Umbrian from Sarsina, was called initially Plotus, later Plautus, from the flatness of his feet. They also call the soles that are divided into halves, which are used in hunting because they set the foot more flatly, *semiphotia*’.

9. See Franchi de Bellis 1992, 14. There is no need to follow Schwyzler (1968, I. 61) who places it in the ‘ägäisches Substrat’, nor Beekes (2010, 219), who classifies it as ‘Pre-Greek’ on account of the variation τ ~ δ (i.e. in βλαῦδες, Hsch.); it is an Italic loanword, cf. below.

10. Tr. Clackson 2014, 715, modified. The Latin inscription reads *Herenneis Amica | signavit q(u)ando | ponebamus tegila* ‘Amica of Herens left her mark when we were making tiles’.

11. Cf. Franchi de Bellis 1992, 14: ‘indubbiamente il senso di ‘sandalo’/‘suola’/‘calzare’; Clackson 2014, 715: ‘two sets of prints made by women’s shoes’. There are also clearly visible imprints of the nails of the shoes.

12. See e.g. Bonfante (2003) 203, pl. 140; the sandals have a maximum length of c. 25cm, corresponding rather well to the approximately 21-22cm of the imprints in the inscription.

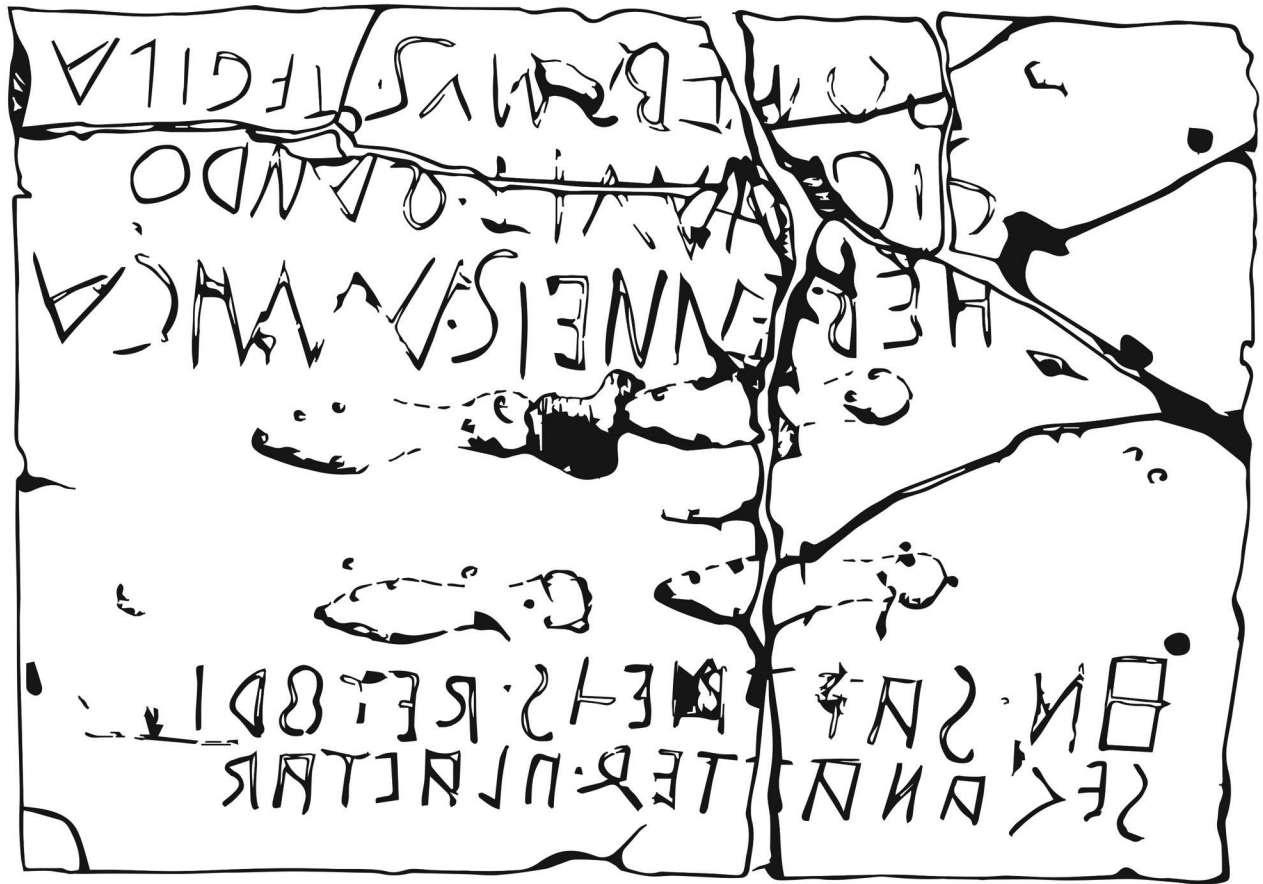


Fig. 1. Pocc.21/Sa 35, Pietrabbondante, adapted from La Regina, Lejeune & Prosdocimi 1976, 285.

Sandals were common footwear also in Greece, and Greek βλαύτη, while also denoting footwear of fine quality,¹³ specifically refers to a distinct type of sandal (σανδαλίον τι εἶδος).¹⁴ For phonological reasons βλαύτη cannot be an inherited word in Greek, and Italian *piota* ‘sole of the foot’ suggests that *plauta* meant ‘sole’ in Vulgar Latin dialects, with the further semantic development to ‘sole of a shoe or sandal’ in Oscan.¹⁵ It is interesting that in 5th century Athens the so-called Etruscan sandals were considered luxury

articles that were either imported from Etruria or imitated Etruscan models.¹⁶

While thick soles were “extremely common throughout the Greek world”,¹⁷ this was also a feature of the Etruscan sandal, characterised by Pollux as wooden, with gilded straps.¹⁸ In addition, Etruscan sandals were characterized by a hinged sole, consisting of two separate wooden pieces framed by a bronze or iron frame and these movable parts followed the movement of the foot, making it easier to

13. Attested from the fifth century onwards, e.g. Plato *Symp.* 174a. Cf. Athen. 12.548c.

14. Pollux 7.87.

15. Ernout (1909, 216) posits two forms: one dialectal (with monophthongization of the diphthong *au* to *ō*, regular in Umbrian), the second is the one preserved in the Romance languages (e.g. Italian *piota*).

16. Bonfante 2003, 59.

17. Bonfante 2003, 59.

18. Pollux 7.92-93.

walk on the thick wooden soles.¹⁹ These two halves conform to the *semplotia* (*soleas dimidiatas*) in the Festus passage quoted above. Greek βλαύτη is apparently a *Wanderwort*, either from Greece to Italy, or *vice versa*, but it cannot be an inherited word in Greek, since *b > p* is unattested in Greek loanwords, while *p > b* is well documented.²⁰ In particular, the use of β for π is attested in both the Greek of Magna Graecia²¹ (Taras, modern Taranto) and Sicily.²² For Taras this feature has been explained as due to the influence of Illyrian and Messapic languages spoken by people from the Balkans.²³ Greek βλαύτη is therefore presumably a loanword from Italic,²⁴ and Oscan **plauta-** is accordingly an indigenous Italic word, which in Southern Italy (possibly through the influence of Messapic/Illyrian) provided the Greek word.

There are also two Oscan glosses that concern textiles, both attested in Varro:²⁵

O. *asta*:

Varro *DLL* 7.54: in *Men<a>echmis*: “*inter ancillas sedere iubeas, lanam carere.*” *idem hoc est verbum in Cemetria N<a>evii. carere a carendo, quod eam tum purgant ac deducunt, ut careat spurcitia; ex quo carminari dicitur tum lana, cum ex ea carunt quod in ea h<a>eret neque*

est lana, quae in Romulo N<a>evius appellat asta ab Oscis.

“In *The Menaechmi* (*Men.* 797): “Why, you’d bid me sit among the maids at work and card the wool.” This same word *carere* ‘to comb/card’ is known from the *Cemetria* of Naevius: *Carere* is from *carere* ‘to lack’, because then they cleanse the wool and spin it into thread, that it may *carere* ‘be free’ from dirt: from which the wool is said *carminari* ‘to be combed/carded’; then when they *carunt* ‘comb/card’ out of it that which sticks in it and is not wool, those things which in the *Romulus* Naevius calls *asta*, from the Oscans.”

Unfortunately, the term *asta* is not treated by Untermann, since it is a gloss. Varro’s etymology is of course incorrect and *carere* is corrected by modern editors to *carrere* (from Proto-Italic **kars-e-* from the PIE root **(s)ker-s-*). The verb means ‘to card/comb (wool)’ and this poses problems in the interpretation of the Oscan gloss. It is translated by Conway as “wool-cardings, *sordes*” and is assigned by him to the glosses “whose form is less certain, and which, though assigned to Oscan, show no specifically Oscan characteristics”.²⁶ Fay suggested the following etymology: “Oscan *asta* (= ‘pile, nap’): With *asta* (n.

19. Bonfante 2003, 60.

20. E.g. πυρρός vs *burrus*; πύζος vs *buxus*.

21. Hsch. s.v.: “βυτίνη λάγυρος ἢ ἀμῖς, Ταραντῖνοι” (corresponding to Attic πυτίνη); according to Beekes, the interchange π/β proves Pre-Greek origin, the variation voiced/voiceless being extremely frequent in such words. Vulgar Latin *butina* is, according to Santoro (1975, 68-69), borrowed from the Tarentine dialect (according to Beekes, simply from “the Greek”).

22. Hsch. s.v.: “<βατάνια>· τὰ λοπάδια. ἢ δὲ λέξις Σικελική”; Hsch. s.v. “<πατάνια>· τὰ ἐκπέταλα λοπάδια, καὶ τὰ ἐκπέταλα καὶ φιαλοειδῆ ποτήρια, ἃ <πέδαχνα> καλοῦσι. τινὲς δὲ διὰ τοῦ <β> <βατάνια> λέγουσιν”. While we are told by Plutarch that the Delphians pronounced β for π, this is not attested in the epigraphical material other than vacillation in the name and *ethnikon* of the Boiotian *polis* Λεβάδεια and of Ἀμβράκεια in Epirus; see Rüsch 1914, 187-188. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 292E: ὁ δὲ ‘βύσιος’ μὴν, ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι, φύσιός ἐστιν· ἕαρος γὰρ ἄρχει καὶ τὰ πολλὰ φύεται τηνικαῦτα καὶ διαβλαστάνει. τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως· οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ φ τῷ β χρώνται Δελφοί, καθάπερ Μακεδόνες ‘Βίλιππον’ καὶ ‘βαλακρόν’ καὶ ‘Βερονίκη’ λέγοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ π· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πατεῖν ‘βατεῖν’ καὶ τὸ πικρόν ‘βικρόν’ ἐπεικῶς καλοῦσιν.

23. Cf. Santoro 1975, 68-70. This is also evident in the names of Metapontum (Μεταπόντιον) which was earlier Μέταβον, interpreted as Messapic by Kretschmer 1925, 92-93, and followed by Biville 1990, 239-240 (cf. Antiochos *apud* Strabo 6.1.15: τὴν πόλιν Μεταπόντιον εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον Μέταβον, παρωνομάσθαι δ’ ὕστερον; Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* s.v. Μεταπόντιον: τὸν γὰρ Μεταπόντιον οἱ βάρβαροι Μέταβον).

24. Cf. the discussion in Franchi de Bellis 1992, 12-14.

25. One could add one from the domain of jewelry: *ungulus* ‘ring’ in Festus 375 (Müller): *ungulus Oscorum lingua anulus*, and Plin. 33, 1.4, 10: (*anulum*) *apud nos prisci ungulum vocabant*; see Adams 2007, 180.

26. Conway 1897, 231.

plur.) cf. its Greek synonym ἔξαστις. The startform may have been adsthō-/adsthīs ‘adstans’ (cf. ad ‘up’ in ad-surgit?); or an(a)sthō- etc. cf. Osc. a(n)stintu.”²⁷

While *asta* in either interpretation is not a clear synonym of ἔξαστις, its potential connection with ἔξαστις is, however, interesting: Beekes (s.v.) suggests it may simply mean “what sticks out” and refers to a new etymology proposed by Van Beek,²⁸ who proposes a connection between ἄττομαι and Hittite *hatt-*^{a(rī)} ‘to pierce, prick’, reconstructing **h₂et-ie/o*.²⁹ A card or comb of course consists of piercing/pricking points, so Oscan *asta* would be a neuter plural perfect participle passive “that which has been carded, ‘pricked out’, *vel sim.*”, conforming to the statement of the gloss that the wool is carded to remove that which sticks in it and is not wool.

O. *supparus*:

Varro *DLL* 5.131: *Indutui alterum quod subtus, a quo subucula; alterum quod supra, a quo supparus, nisi id quod item dicunt Osce.*

“One kind of put-on goes *subtus* ‘below’, from which it is called *subucula* ‘under-skirt’; a second kind goes *supra* ‘above’, from which it is called *supparus*, unless this is so called because they say it in the same way in Oscan.”

Contrary to Varro’s definition, the *supparus* or *supparum* was not a garment worn “above”, but rather an undertunic that appears to have been worn by or associated with the costume of the young girl.³⁰ According to Conway, the doubling of *p* before *r* and the anaptyctic vowel both indicate a genuine Oscan word, but he adds that “the *-a-* is only intelligible if

the final syllable contained *-a-* i.e. if the word was an *-a-* stem”.³¹ The Oscan connection is further elaborated in Walde: “ist entweder osk. Vermittlung anzunehmen, oder Entlehnung des gr. Wortes in das Lat. und Osk”,³² and Ernout: “*Supparus* est emprunté du gr. σίπαρος, σίφαρος, comme l’a reconnu Varron, par un intermédiaire osque dans lequel le groupe *-ar-* en syllabe intérieure ne subissait pas l’apophonie. Si σίφαρος avait été emprunté directement par le latin, il aurait abouti à **supperus*, comme σίσαρον à *siser*; *u* de *supparus* est dû à un faux rapprochement avec *supra*. On trouve aussi dans les auteurs *siparum*, *sipharum*, *sipharus*, *siparium* qui sont de simples transcriptions littéraires du grec”.³³ However, as pointed out by Housmann, the treatment of *supparus*, *supparum* and *siparum* etc. as a single term is misleading, though the ultimate source must be the same: “Facts tell another tale. These are two words, distinct both in form and in significance and one of them makes its appearance more than two centuries earlier than the other.”³⁴

Supparum, *supparus*, attested since Plautus, is originally a garment, while *sip(h)arum* denotes a kind of sail, and it was only at a later stage that the distinction between the two was lost. Most likely, both terms have been borrowed from Greek, *siparum* as a late, transparent rendering of Gk. σίφαρος/σίπαρος ‘sail’, and *supparus*, *supparum* transmitted through Oscan as seen from the vocalism: *-a-* without the Latin weakening to *-e-* in unaccented syllables, and *-u-* probably triggered by the following labial as in other examples from Sabellic, e.g. Oscan *amprufid* ‘wrongfully’, *pertumum* ‘prevent’, Umbrian **prehubia** ‘provide’. The term *supparus* is therefore clear evidence of Oscan influence on Latin textile terminology, and it is itself a loanword from Greek, i.e. through the colonies in Magna Graecia.

27. Fay 1914, 256.

28. *Apud* Beekes (2010: 167) s.v. ἄττομαι.

29. Greek ἄσμα ‘warp’, moreover, apparently has an exact parallel in Armenian *azbn*, see Olsen, this volume, 193.

30. Olson 2003, 202–203; Olson 2008, 143.

31. Conway 1897, 220.

32. Walde-Hofmann II: 633.

33. Ernout 1909, 235.

34. Housmann 1919, 149. It should, however, also be noted that the connection between web and sail is readily apparent in Greek terminology; see Nosch 2015.

Hernican:

Hernican is part of the Oscan group.³⁵ Virgil briefly describes the military dress of the Hernici in the *Aeneid*,³⁶ but the only attested dress term is found in Fronto, *Ad M. Caesarem et Invicem* 4.4.1:

O. samentum:

Deinde id 'oppidum anticum' vidimus, minutulum quidem, sed multas res in se antiquas habet, aedes sanctasque caerimonia<s> supra modum. Nullus angulus fuit, ubi delubrum aut fanum aut templum non sit. Praeterea multi libri lintei, quod ad sacra adtinet. Deinde in porta, cum eximus, ibi scriptum erat bifariam sic: "Flamen sume samentum". Rogavi aliquem ex popularibus quid illud verbum esset. Ait lingua Hernica pelliculam de hostia, quam in apicem suum flamen cum in urbem introeat inponit.

"Then we inspected that ancient township, a tiny place, indeed, but containing many antiquities and buildings, and religious ceremonies beyond number. There was not a corner without its chapel or shrine or temple. Many books too, written on linen, and this has religious significance. Then on the gate, as we came out, we found an inscription twice over to this effect: "Priest,

don the fell". I asked one of the townsmen what the last word meant. He said it was Hernican for the pelt of the victim, which the priest draws over his peaked cap on entering the city."

The term *samentum* 'fell' is occasionally mentioned in recent literature; given that the rest of the inscription is in Latin, it is presumably a technical term, preserved due to conservatism in religious language.³⁷ Apart from a slight modification of the protoform to "*sacsmentum*" (cf. *lūmen* 'light' < **le/ouksm̥*), the explanation of Bücheler³⁸ has been accepted by Walde-Hofmann and, with hesitation, also by Ernout & Meillet.³⁹ The underlying root is probably that of Latin *sacer*, Umbrian *sacru* etc. 'holy', with extra-Italic cognates in Germanic, cf. Old Norse *sátt* 'treaty', and Hittite *šāklāi-/šākli-* 'custom, rule, law; rite, ceremony'.⁴⁰

*Umbrian:**Umbrian clothing terms:*

There are a number of passages including more or less secure textile and clothing terms in the Iguvine Tables:⁴¹

VIb 49-51: *ape angla combifianśiust perca arsmatiam anouihimu. Cringatro hatu destrame scapla anouihimu. Pir endendu. Pone | esonome ferar [aes esonomf ffar],*

35. Cf. Rix 2002, 6.

36. Verg. *Aen.* 7.681-690 also describes the hernican military dress as being made of skin.

37. Adams 2007: 178-79. See also van den Hout 1999: 164-65.

38. Bücheler 1882, 516-17: "Für die Erklärung des Wortes verweisen unsere Lexikographen und jüngst Weise 'die griech. Wörter im Lat.' S. 510 (wo die Bedeutung falsch angegeben ist) auf griech. σῆμα σῆμα: eine ganz äusserliche, dem Namen- und Begriffssystem italischer Religion nicht angemessene Herleitung. Ich denke es leuchtet allen ein, dass *samentum* nur andere, ächt lateinische Form für *sagmen* ist, wie *segmen segmentum, fragmen fragmentum* u.s.w.; der Guttural, ursprünglich *c*, in *sagmen* zu *g* erweicht, konnte schwinden wie in *lama (lacus) lumen, examen (agmen) flemina* (φλεγμονή) u.s.w., der *a*-Vocal wird mit Recht als lang angesetzt. Das Wort gehört zu der in meinen lexicon Italicum p. XXIV unter sak- κρῶσαι aufgeführten Sippe, die sehr specificirte Bedeutung des Wortes zu Anagnia erklärt sich aus dem generellen Sinn: Mittel göttlicher Bestätigung, Zeichen der Weihe. Freilich lehrte man uns unlängst, *sagmen* sei desselben Stammes wie *sagina*, sei das Stopfende, Nährende, darum Gras oder Kraut: dagegen der alte dichter bei Festus (trag. inc. 219 R.) *Iovis sacratum ius iurandum sagmine*. Gleichsam legitimirt zum heiligen Dienst wurden in Rom die Fetialen durch Kräuter der Burg, in Anagnia der Opferer durch ein Stück Opferhaut: solche Legitimation hiess *sagmen, samentum*".

39. Walde-Hofmann II: 474; Ernout-Meillet 592.

40. Kloekhorst 2008: 700f.

41. For Umbrian *semplotia*, see above under Oscan *plautad*.

PRE VERIRTESENOCIRBVEIRIFFETVMAITECRAO VEIOCRIFERFISIVTOTATIER IOVINAA RVIOFETV VAVVO FERINEFEINSONI
 FETVASESPERSNIMVPROSESETERFARSIOFICLAARSVEITVSVVRNARATVTVSEVERIRREVERIRREBLANIR
 POSTVERIRTESENOCIRSIEFI LIVTRIFETVFSO SANSIOCRIFERFISIVTOTAPERIOVINAPONIFFETVSAEFETVARVIOFETV
 5 SVVRNARATVPVSHRE VERIRREBLANIR TASESPERSNIMVMANDRACLODIFVEDESTR EHABITVPROSESETERFICLA
 STRNLAARSVEITVAFESOFOTOSTROFEPERSCVST VESTISIAEFMEFASTEFASCALSIECONFOSSEFVFSIOVI SANSI
 OCRIFERFISIVTOTAPERIOVINAESOTERSNIMVVESTISIA VESTISTIOSVBOCAVSVBOCOFISOVISANSIOCKIDERFISIV
 TOTAPERIOVINAEERER NOMNEPERERAR NOMNEPERFONSIR PACER SIROCREMISITOTE IOVINEERER NOMNE
 ERAR NOMNEARSJETIOMSVBOCAVSVBOCOFISOVISANSIASIERFRITETIOMSVBOCAVSVBOCOFISOVISANSISVRONT
 10 PONIPESNIMVMEFASPEFAESO PERSNIMVFSIOVIESANSJETIOMESAMEFASPEFAESOVINAOCRIPEFISIVTOTAPERIOVINA
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 PETVRPVR SVSFATOFITO PERNETOSTNESEPSAS SITEVOHSEAVIE ESONEFVTVFONS PACER PASETVACREFISITOTE IOVINE
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 50 PONEPOLLOAFEROHERIESAVIFASERITVVEROFETREPLA NOKOVIK VRETEESONOFETV
 SERITVAFEANGLABIFIANISVSTERCAAR SMATIAMANOVHIMVCRINGATROHATVSTTRAME SCAPLAANO VHH AVPIRENDENDVIONE
 ESONOMFERARVFEPIRENTELVSEFEFEFTVPOETERCAAR SMATIAMHABESTERIHONTASODI STREDN SEFERTVVERCOMPRINATVTRVVR
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 55 HERBETA FEENSTENOMTERMANCO TAHTVTOPOHPCANAR SMATIAHABESTETVRSTA
 ESOTVRSTAHAVPISESTOTAR
 F SMEPOLPEPORTATVMOIVEMERSESTETV SVSPFIRSEMERSESTTRIOT ERHEHETVR STAHAMVONT TERMVNO COMPRINATV
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 COVORTVSO SVVRONT PERSNIMVMOS SVVRONT DEITVETAIANSDEITVENOMTERTINAMBREITVTOAPEATERM NOME BENVS
 SVVRONT PERSNIMVMOS SVVRONT DEITVETAIANSDEITVENOMTERTINAMBREITVTOAPEATERM NOME BENVS

VI b

Fig. 2. Tab. Ig. VIb, which contains many of the textile terms, from Devoto 1937, plate following p. 44.

pufe pir entelust, ere fertu poe perca arsmatiam habiest. Erihont aso destre onse fertu. Erucom prinuatur dur | etuto, perca ponisiater habituto.

“When he has announced the auspices he shall put on a (‘striped’) ritual garment, take a band, and place it over his right shoulder. He shall place fire (in the fire-carrier). When that in which he has placed the fire is brought to the sacrifice, he who has the (‘striped’) ritual [?] garment shall carry it; the same shall carry the *aso*⁴² on his right shoulder. With him shall go two officials (*prinuati*), they shall have the (‘striped’) garments of the purple-dressed (official).”

U. *anouihimu*⁴³ ‘to put on (clothing)’, from **owē-* with the preverb *an-*, derives from Proto-Italic **ow-e/o-*. The verb is cognate with Latin *-uō* (as in *induere*), and may be denominative to a verbal noun whose formation corresponds to Latin *induviae*, *exuviae*, etc. The PIE root is probably **h₂euH-* ‘to put on (especially footwear)’, with cognates in Armenian *aganim* ‘to put on’, Lithuanian *aūti*, Old Church Slavonic *obuti* ‘to put on shoes’ (< **(-)outei*), Avestan *aōθra-* ‘shoes’.⁴⁴

U. *cringatro*:⁴⁵ The meaning of this word has not been conclusively determined. It is, however, an object worn by sacrificial priest over the shoulder; plausibly interpreted by Buck as a “sort of band worn about the shoulder as a token of office”.⁴⁶ Etymologically it derives from **kring/k-ā-* with the instrument noun suffix *-tro-*, based on a denominative verbal stem and presumably cognate with Old English and Old High German *hring* ‘ring’, as well as Old Church Slavonic *krogъ* ‘circle’.

U. *percam*:⁴⁷ in general, this term is interpreted either as a ceremonial staff or a garment. It has possible cognates in Oscan **perēk** (and its abbreviated form **per**), a unit of length, and Latin *pertica* ‘a rod, wand’, from **pertkā-* < **pertikā-*.

The term *percam* is the object of the verb *anouihimu* ‘to put on (a garment)’ (cf. above). The semantic extension needed for the “staff” interpretation (“to take up, equip oneself with”) is in itself unproblematic, but Jones argues convincingly based on contextual analysis, especially of VIb 49, where the sequence of actions becomes impractical for the priest if it were a staff, but natural in the case of a garment.⁴⁸ Importantly, the interpretations as “staff” or “garment” are not mutually exclusive, since the semantic extension from rod > stripe > stripe on a garment > garment is equally unproblematic and has numerous parallels in ancient languages, e.g. the Sabine *trabea* (cf. below).⁴⁹ On this background, we must

42. The term *aso* is so far unexplained, but cf. Untermann 2000, 130: “Auch die Bez. eines Kleidungsstückes oder einer Insignie ist nicht auszuschliessen”, with reference to Meiser 1986, 249: “aso könnte einen sonst nie erwähnten Teil der priesterlichen Tracht bezeichnen”.

43. 3.sg.Imp.II.Passive (VIb 49, twice). Untermann 2000, 112-13.

44. Cf. LIV 275. Hittite *unu-zi* ‘to adorn, decorate, lay (the table)’ is possibly better kept apart. Cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 918-20 on the alternative reconstruction of a root **h₂eu-*.

45. Acc.sg. **krenkatrum** (Ib 11), **krikatru** (IIb 27, 29), *cringatro* (VIb 49). Untermann 2000, 404.

46. Buck 1928, 331. Poultney (1959, 271) notes that editors are almost unanimous in translating it “*cinctum*” or “*cingulum*” but that an appropriate English translation for a liturgical garment worn over the shoulder is “stole”. Sabine warriors are said to have worn a golden band around their left arm: Dion. Hal. AR 2.40.

47. Acc.sing. *percam* (VIb 53), *perca* (VIa 19, VIb 49, 50, 63); acc.pl **perkaf** (Ib 15) and *perca* (VIb 51). Untermann 2000, 536.

48. Jones 1964, 271.

49. Cf. Jones 1964, 269, who mentions Virgil *Aen.* 8. 660: *virgatis ... sagulis* “striped ... cloaks”. One may add Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 4.155: *virgatae vestes*; Ovid *Ars Am.*, 3.269: *purpureis ... virgis*. Similarly, Greek *ράβδος* ‘rod’ is used of stripes/borders in clothing, cf. Pollux 7.53: αἱ μέντοι ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσι πορφυραὶ *ράβδοι* παρυφαὶ καλοῦνται. Also of interest is Servius’ commentary to Virgil’s *Aeneid* 8.660, which points to a similar kind of term also in Gaulish. There is of course also the case of *clāvis* ‘nail, peg’ (cf. also *clāva* ‘staff’) > ‘stripe on the tunic’ > ‘tunic’. See Bender Jørgensen 2011 for an attempt to define the *clavi* on Roman textiles.

conclude that the most likely meaning of *perca* ... *anouhimu* must be “he shall put on a (striped) toga/ritual garment”.

- U. *ponisiater*:⁵⁰ the term is presumably a substantivized adjective denoting a priestly individual: “the one dressed in the purple striped dress”. It is an attribute of the *perca*, perhaps in the same way as Latin *praetextātus*, “dressed in a purple garment” (cf. also *tunicātus*, *togātus*, *trabeātus*⁵¹). The morphological analysis thus suggests an adjective in *-āto-* from **poinik-jo-* ‘purple’, itself an adjective in *-jo-* derived from *poinik-* ‘Phoenician’. Formations in *-āto-* derived from colour terms are well attested in Latin, e.g. *purpurātus*, *albātus*, *candidātus*, *atrātus*. The *perca ponisiater* should therefore be understood as ‘the (striped) garment of the purple-clad (official)’.⁵²

VIb 3-5: *Poni feitu, persae fetu, aruio fetu.*
| *Surur naratu pusi pre uerir Treblanir.*
Tases persnimu. Mandraclo difue destre
habitu. Prosesetir ficla, | strušla arsueitu.

“He shall sacrifice with mead, perform (the sacrifice) upon the ground, offer grain, recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate, pray silently, have a hand-towel folded double upon his right hand, and add to the parts cut off a *ficla* cake and a *strušla* cake”.

- U. **mantrahklu**:⁵³ A neuter *-o-*stem denoting an object held by the priest, mostly interpreted like

Latin *mantēlum* ‘hand-towel, napkin’, presumably from **man- tr_h tlo-* > **man-trā-tlo-*, composed of **man-* ‘hand’ and an instrument noun based on the zero grade of the root **terh₁-* ‘to rub’.⁵⁴

VIb 61-63: *“fututo foner pacrer pase ves-tra pople totar Iiouinar, | tote Iiouine, ero nerus sihitir anšihitir, iouies hostatir anostatir, ero nomne, erar nomne”. Ape este dersicurent, eno | deitu “etato Iiouinur”, porse perca arsmatia habiest.*

““Be favourable and propitious with your peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to their chief citizens in office and not in office (i.e. girded and ungirded), to their young men under arms and not under arms, to their name, to the name of the state”. When they have said this, then he that has the (‘striped’) ritual garment shall say: “Go, men of Iguvium!””.

- U. *šihitu anšihitu*:⁵⁵ An *-o-/-ā-*stem adjective whose precise meaning and etymology are uncertain, but is generally presumed to be cognate with Latin *cingere* ‘to surround, gird’, i.e. from **kīnk-to-* from a possible Proto-Italic root **keng-*, thus referring to girded and ungirded officials. ‘Girded’ presumably refers to the belt or girdle as an emblem of office, symbolically representing the class or status of the official. The following *hostatir anostatir* suggests that these are not soldiers or part of the army.⁵⁶ They were presumably

50. Gen.sg.m. *ponisiater* (VIb 51) and **puniçate** (Ib 15). Untermann 2000, 607-608.

51. The *trabea* was also Sabellian, cf. below.

52. Cf. Ancilotti & Cerri 1996, 398.

53. Acc.sing. **mantrahklu** (IIa 19), **mantraklu** (IIb 16) and *mandraclo* (VIb 4). Untermann 2000, 451.

54. LIV 632 and Meiser 1986, 141. Expected full grade neuter **ter_h tlo-* > **teraklo-* beside zero grade feminine/collective **tr_h tlo-* > **trāklo-*. De Vaan’s hesitant derivation (2008, 614) from the same root as Latin *tergere* ‘to rub clean, polish’ by means of a composite verb in *-ā-*, otherwise only known in connection with preverbs, is formally problematic.

55. Acc.pl masc. *šihitu anšihitu* (VIb 59) and *šihitu anšihitu* (VIIa 48); D.pl masc. *šihitir anšihitir* (VIIa 14, 28, 50), *šihitir anšihitir* (VIb 62) and *šitir anšihitir* (VIIa 13). Untermann 2000, 396-97. Cf. also Meiser 1986, 55.

56. Roman parallels include Festus 251, 19-21 (Lindsay). Cf. Hoss 2011, 29: “Legally, the wearing of arms – especially a sword – at all times in public defined the soldier as such. By extension, the belt to which the sword was fastened became a distinguishing feature of soldierly dress”; Hoss 2011, 30: “The military belt of the Roman soldier can therefore be defined as a symbolic object, both an article of clothing and a piece of military equipment, setting the soldier apart from civilian men and making him a *miles*”. In Late Latin the *cingulum militare* denotes the sword belt or *balteus*, cf. Isid. 19.33.2. There were, however, other types of cincture in Rome, for example the Roman bride was also characterized by a special type of *cingulum*, cf. Festus 55 (Lindsay); public slaves were also defined by a special kind of *cinctus*, cf. Isid. 19.33.4.

rather some kind of religious or political individuals,⁵⁷ and there may be a parallel to the *cinctus Gabinus*.⁵⁸

III 14: **kletre tuplak prumum antentu**

“On the *kletra*⁵⁹ first put on the two-fold (cloth)” [Tr. Weiss]

U. **tuplak**:⁶⁰ composed of a form of the word for two and a zero-grade derivative of the root **pel-* “fold”, interpreted either as a neuter *-ak*-stem from Umbrian *duplo-*, or the accusative singular feminine of the adjective *duplo-* with the clitic particle *-k*.⁶¹ Several interpretations have been suggested of this term, but Weiss argues cogently for the interpretation of Peruzzi, who suggested that the **tuplak-** is a “two-fold cloth”.⁶² As stated by Weiss, Greek δῖπλαξ (‘mantle’) almost always has this meaning when substantivized and many *duplex* garments are attested in Latin, notably the *laena*, which is explained by Suetonius as a *toga duplex qua infibulati flamines sacrificiant* “two-fold toga in which adorned with a pin the priests sacrifice”.⁶³ It should be noted that a protoform **d̥ui-plak-* and, with analogical **du-* for **d̥ui-* in Italic **du-plak-*, would regularly yield Greek δῖπλαξ, Latin *duplex*

and Umbrian **tuplak** alike. Thus the Latin form is most likely derived from **pel-* rather than the synonymous root **plek-*.⁶⁴ The use of the term thereby attests to a common ritual use of textiles in Latin, Sabellian, and Greek cult.

Umbrian textile production:

For the aspect of textile production, we also find a few relevant terms in the Umbrian corpus:

VIb 43: *Uocucom Iouio, ponne oui furfant, uitlu toru trif fetu*

“At the Grove of Jupiter, while they are shearing(?) (= at the time of the shearing?) the sheep, he shall sacrifice three bull-calves.”

U. *furfant*:⁶⁵ De Vaan assigns Umbrian **furfaθ**, *furfant*, and *efurfatu* as cognates of Latin *forfex* ‘tongs, pincers; shears, scissors’, from Proto-Italic **forpo-* “shearing” and **forpāje/o-* ‘to shear’, the verb denoting a “certain action with ‘sheep’ as direct object, ‘to shear’?”. Following Janda,⁶⁶ he suggests that the verb is denominative to a PIE adjectival **bʰrdʰ-o-* “capturing, harvesting, shearing”, originally **bʰer-dʰh₁o-* ‘making booty’, cognate with Greek πέρω ‘to capture, take in, sack, loot’

57. Religious cincture is also highly important in Indo-Iranian: in Zoroastrianism, the wearing of the so-called sacred girdle is obligatory for the faithful (along with the sacred shirt) and highly symbolic; failure to do so made one an unbeliever and a non-Iranian. Cf. Andrés Toledo 2013, 26: “The initiation of the sacred girdle has an Indian parallel and possibly stems from Indo-Iranian times [...]. Among many other parallels between the Zoroastrian and the Hindu sacred girdle, the terminology related to it is noteworthy [...]. Not only the same concept, but also the same Indo-Iranian root (*-ja-* in Sanskrit *dvi-já-* ‘twice-born’, *-zad* in Persian *nōg-zad* ‘newly born’) in the same context is shared by both.” Cf. also Mallory & Adams (1997: 223-224) on the symbolic significance of the girdle in Indo-European culture.

58. Blumenthal 1931, 66. According to Cleland et al. 2007, 35, the *cinctus Gabinus* consisted in throwing an end of the toga over the shoulder or head and the excess knotted around the waist by forming part of the toga itself into a girdle (Isid. 19,24,7). It was originally used in battle, giving rise to its later use during sacrifices (Livy, 5.46.2; 10.7; Lucan 1.596) and religious rituals associated with war (Virgil. *Aen.* 611-15). Cf. also Servius *ad A.* 7.612. See Dubourdieu 1986 for a study.

59. A transportable chair for sacred emblems.

60. Neuter cons. stem noun in the acc.sg. (III 14). Untermann 2000, 775.

61. Weiss 2010, 115.

62. Weiss 2010, 118 (cf. also the discussion pp. 115-118).

63. Suet. fr. 167, translation Weiss. It should be kept in mind that the Iguvine Tables themselves describe priestly rituals.

64. De Vaan (2008, 473), presumably in an attempt to avoid the suffix **-ak-*, reconstructs **-plk-* for the Greek form and Italic **-plek-* for the Latin, stating that the “appurtenance of the U. form *-plak*, the meaning of which is unknown, is difficult from a root **plk-*”.

65. 3.plur.present **furfaθ** (Ib 1) and *furfant* (VIb 43), 3.sg.imp.II *efurfatu* (with the preverb *e-*, VIb 17 and VIIa 38. Untermann 2000, 302-303).

66. Janda 2000, 230-240.

and *πολίπορθος* ‘capturing cities’ (and *πορθέω* ‘to pillage’). Umbrian *furfa-* is indeed often translated as “to shear”.⁶⁷

One could, however, argue that shears are an Iron Age invention linked to the metal,⁶⁸ and, although an argument *e silentio*, that shears are so far unattested archaeologically in earlier times,⁶⁹ which speaks against an interpretation of a Proto-Italic or PIE sense as “shearing”; the sense is rather one of “capturing, harvesting”. We are dealing with the plucking of wool, the original way of obtaining it.⁷⁰ The Armenian term *burd* ‘wool’ with the denominative *brdem* ‘cut wool’ may reflect the same root, whether regularly from **b^hōrd^ho-* or, considering the somewhat surprising root vocalism, perhaps **b^hrd^ho-* or **b^hord^ho-* borrowed from a slightly different dialect.⁷¹ With the Italic evidence, this suggests a PIE origin and a meaning as “harvesting wool”. As for Latin *forfex* ‘shears’, the immediate protoform cannot be

**b^hVrd^h-*, which would have given **forbex*, suggesting a dialectal borrowing from Sabellic.⁷² For the semantic connection between ‘plunder, rob’ as in the Greek derivatives and ‘pluck (wool)’ as in Italic and Armenian, one may also compare the English verb *fleece* in the meaning ‘rob of money’.

IV 4: *struḡla petenata isek aṛveitu*

“Likewise offer “combed” *struḡla* cakes”
(Tr. Weiss)

U. *petenata*:⁷³ presumably an *-o-/-ā-*stem adjective derived from Proto-Italic **petke/o-* ‘to comb’ (**petken-* ‘comb’) from PIE **p(e)tk-* < **pe-pk-* [v.], **p(e)tken-* [m.] (cf. Greek *πέκω* ‘to comb, shear’, Lithuanian *pėšti* ‘to pluck’, Greek *πέκτω* ‘to comb, shear’, Old High German *fehthan* ‘to fight’; Greek *κτεῖς* ‘comb’ < **κτεν-*⁷⁴); interpreted

67. As by Meiser 1986: 101. In a recent article dedicated to this particular stem, Meiser (2013) proposes an alternative theory, deriving the basic root **b^herd^h-* from **b^herH-d^hh₁-* ‘make cutting’. We consider this interpretation less likely as it would isolate the joint Italic evidence from the otherwise semantically striking Greek and Armenian cognates.

68. Forbes 1964, 7: “Plucking was the typical Bronze Age operation for the production of wool, shears appeared only in the Iron Age about 1000 BC when the suitable metal tool consisting of two knives joined by a spring could be manufactured from Iron, a metal more elastic than bronze.” One can of, course, also ‘shear’ with a knife, and, although bronze would be more impractical, this does not exclude the possibility of its use. Cf. also the, admittedly late, statement of Joannes Laurentius Lydus *De mensibus* 1.35. Ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Νουμᾶ καὶ πρὸ τούτου οἱ πάλοι ἱερεῖς χαλκαῖς ψαλίσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀπεκείροντο “at the time of Numa, even before him, the priests of old used to have their hair cut with bronze but not iron scissors” (tr. Bandy 2013).

69. For shearing in ancient Italy, cf. Gleba 2012, 234-5: “More developed sheep breeds present at the time did not moult and their fleece had to be cut off, a process accomplished with the help of shears or a knife. Shears appeared during the Iron Age and all of the known examples are iron. In fact, their invention is tied to the use of iron, which is more springy than bronze [...]. All ancient shears found in Italy are of the same design [...]. The vast majority of the archaeological examples derive from the burial contexts in north Italy. It has been suggested that the practice of the deposition of shears in male burials in north Italy, populated at the time by Celtic tribes, may express the wool-based wealth of the Celts, who appeared there by the 4th century BC [...].” Cf. Varro *R.R.* 2.11.9: *quam demptam ac conglobatam alii vellera, alii vellimna appellant: ex quo[rum] vocabulo animadverti licet prius <in> lana vulsuram quam tonsuram inventam*; Pliny *NH* 8.191: *oves non ubique tondentur; durat quibusdam in locis vellendi mos*.

70. Cf. Wild (2012, 453) for the difference between shearing and plucking: “The apparently primitive practice of plucking sheep probably continued in Roman Britain alongside shearing with sprung iron shears. Plucking has the advantage of harvesting the finer short-stapled underwool in the fleece rather than the coarser longer outer hair: the result tends to be a generalised medium wool yarn rather than a hairy medium yarn, both typical of Roman Britain. Shearing, however, recovers the whole fleece, and the appearance of flat iron wool combs in the province by the 3rd century AD indicates the need to separate long from short fibres for the spinning of different types of yarn”. The Lithuanian cognate *pėšti* ‘pluck’ (see below) presumably reflects the original meaning of the process.

71. Cf. Olsen this volume 190.

72. Cf. Ernout 1909, 171: “*Forfex* est apparenté, comme on l’a déjà vu depuis longtemps, à skr. *bardhakah* “coupant, taillant; charpentier”, gr. *πέρθω* de **φέρθω* “détruire”, et dérivé d’une racine i.e. **bherdh-*, dont le représentant latin devrait être **forbex* puis **borbex* (comme *barba* représentant un ancien **bhardha-*, devenu **farfa* puis **farba* [...]); *forfex* est dialectal par le maintien du second *f* après *r* (le traitement latin est *b* cf. *uerbum*, got. *ward* “mot” de **werdh-*).”

73. Acc. sing. feminine (IV 4). Untermann 2000, 549.

74. de Vaan 2008, 453.

by Buck as *pectinatam* ‘comb-shaped’.⁷⁵ While the comb-shaped objects in question are sacrificial cakes, the term does, nevertheless, thus reflect the concept of a comb, cf. also Latin *pectunculus* ‘small scallop’.

Umbrian fibre sources:

A number of terms for ovicaprids are attested in the Umbrian language:⁷⁶

Ovids:

U. **erietu**:⁷⁷ A sacrificial animal, presumably ‘ram’, cognate with Latin *aries* (*-etis*) from Proto-Italic **a/eriet-s* (nom., **a/eriet-* obl.) from PIE **h₂r̥-i-(e)t-* ‘certain domestic animal’ (cf. Old Irish *heirp*, *erb* (f.) ‘she-goat, doe, roe’ (< Proto-Celtic **erbā-*), Greek *ἐρίφος* ‘kid’, perhaps Armenian *oroj* ‘lamb’ (< **er-oj*) and *erinj* ‘young cow’⁷⁸).

U. **unu**:⁷⁹ The meaning and etymology of the word are uncertain, but it is generally interpreted as belonging to the domain of sheep.⁸⁰ It occurs once with **erietu** (IIa 6) and once alone (IIa 8). It has been interpreted as “young sheep”, and if so it may derive from Italic **ouno-* < **ouñ-no-* < **ouñ-* (cf. below).

U. **habina**:⁸¹ A sacrificial animal, believed to be of the *genus ovinum*, perhaps “lamb”; if so it may be derived from **ag^uīnā*, a substantivization of an adjective **ag^uīno/-ā* from Italic **ag^unīno/-ā* with dissimilatory loss of the first *n* after the addition of the suffix *-īno-* (cf. Latin *agnus*, Greek *ἀμνός*, both meaning ‘lamb’⁸²). The *h-* must then be due to the influence of another word, e.g. equivalent to Latin *haedus* ‘kid’ (< **g^haido*).⁸³

U. **uvem**:⁸⁴ The term for ‘sheep’, like Latin *ovis*. Etymologically from Proto-Italic **owi-* < PIE **h₂ou-i-* or **h₃ou-i-* (cf. Old Irish *óí*, Cuneiform Luwian *hā₃ui-*, Lycian *χawa-* ‘sheep’; Sanskrit *ávi-* [m./f.] ‘sheep, ram’; Greek *ὄις*, *ὄρις* ‘sheep’; Armenian *hoviw* ‘shepherd’; Lithuanian *avis*, Latvian *avs* ‘sheep’; Tocharian B *awi* [nom.pl.f.] ‘ewe’⁸⁵).

Caprids:

U. **cabriner**:⁸⁶ An *-o/-ā-*stem adjective ‘of the goat’ (with *pelmner* ‘meat’) from Proto-Italic **kaprīno-* (cf. Latin *caprīnus* and below).

U. **kaprum**:⁸⁷ The term for ‘he-goat, buck’ from Proto-Italic **kapro-* with IE cognates in Welsh *caer-iwrch* ‘roebuck’, Irish *cáera* ‘sheep’ < **ka-pero-*; Greek *κάπρος* ‘(wild) boar’, Old Icelandic

75. Buck 1928, 189.

76. Cf. also the general Umbrian *pequo* (acc.pl.) ‘livestock’, corresponding to Latin *pecua* (VIa 30- VIIb 30, 11 times). Etymologically from **pekuā*, a collective plural to PIE **peku-* ‘cattle’, perhaps originally ‘small cattle, especially sheep’. Moreover, Umbrian *staflarem* and *staffi* may attest to animal husbandry of sheep, cf. Buck 1928, 305: “*staflare* (VIb 37) refers to some animal kept in a stall, probably a sheep”; but both sense and etymology are disputed, see Untermann 2000, 693-95.

77. Acc.sg. (IIa 6). Untermann 2000, 229.

78. de Vaan 2008: 54.

79. IIa 6 and 8. Untermann 2000, 799. Cf. the example above under **erietu**.

80. E.g. Borgeaud 1982, 151: “agneau bélier” (**unu erietu**).

81. Feminine *-ā-*stem noun; acc.pl. **habina** (Ia 27), **hapinaf** (Ia 24), *habina* (VIb 22-24) and gen.pl. **hapinaru** (Ia 33). Untermann 2000, 314.

82. de Vaan 2008, 30.

83. Cf. Untermann 2000, 314; Varro states that the “Sabines” termed the kid *fedus*, see the section on Sabine terms.

84. Masculine *-i-*stem noun: acc.sg. **uvem** (III 8, 10, 12, 26, 31) and **uve** (IIa 10); abl.sg. **uvikum** (with postp. *-com*, III 28); acc.pl. **uvef** (Ib 1) and *oui* (VIb 43). Untermann 2000, 818.

85. de Vaan 2008, 437f; Wodtko, Irslinger & Schneider 2008: 335-339.

86. Gen.sg. masc. or neutr. (Vb 12, 17). Untermann 2000, 359.

87. Masculine *-o-*stem noun; acc.sg. **kaprum** (IIb 1), **kapru** (IIb 10), **kabru** (IIb 17) and gen.sg. **kapres** (IIb 12). Untermann 2000, 368-69.

hafr ‘he-goat’; cf. also Oscan *καποριννα*[ι].⁸⁸ According to de Vaan,⁸⁹ the *a*-vocalism makes it a likely candidate for a loanword, but at least the word is common to Italic and Germanic, and Celtic has a synonym in Old Irish *gabor*, Welsh *gafr* with an aberrant initial *g*- which may, however, have been influenced by the semantically related **g^haidos* ‘goat’ (Latin *haedus*, Old Norse *geitr*).

Umbrian colour terminology:

Colour terms are an important part of textile terminology and the following Umbrian terms (all *-o/-ā*-stem adjectives) are attested:

U. *adro*:⁹⁰ ‘black’ from **ādro-*, like Latin *āter*. Interpreted by Cerri⁹¹ as opaque black, vs **peiu** bright black (cf. below).

U. **alfu**:⁹² ‘white’ from Proto-Italic **alfo-* from **h₂alb^h-o-*, like Latin *albus* (cf. Greek (Hes.) ἀλφούς (acc.pl.)). See also Sabine *alpus*.

U. **kaleřuf**:⁹³ of uncertain meaning, but perhaps white, cf. Latin *cal(l)idus* ‘with a white star’ (of

horses).⁹⁴ Interpreted by Cerri⁹⁵ as bright white, vs **alfu** opaque white (cf. above).⁹⁶

U. **peiu**:⁹⁷ the adjective denotes the colour of sacrificial animals,⁹⁸ probably a dark colour, maybe black (cf. above). No precise etymology or meaning has yet been established, but the term is generally interpreted as **pik-jo-* corresponding to Latin *piceus* ‘pitch-black’, cf. Latin *pix* ‘pitch’.⁹⁹

U. *ponisiater*:¹⁰⁰ The term *ponisiater*, presumably from **poīnikīāto-*, attests to the term for the colour purple **poīnikejo-*, like Latin *pūniceus* a loan from Greek φοινίκεος ‘red, purple’ (“Phoenician”).

U. **rufru**:¹⁰¹ and *rofu*:¹⁰² two related adjectives for red, like in Latin, both from the root **h₁reud^h-*; **rufru** from Italic **rudh-ro-* (like Latin *ruber*, cf. Greek ἐρυθρός and Old Indian *rudhirá-*), *rofu* from **roudh-o-* (like Latin *rūfus*, cf. Gothic *raups*, Old Irish *riúad*, Lithuanian *raūdas*, Old Church Slavonic *rudъ*). Ancilloti & Cerri suggest that **rufru** may be opaque red, while *rofu* is bright red.¹⁰³

88. O. *καποριννα*[ι] (Dat.sg.f., a *-jo/-iā*-stem adjective (Pocc.129/Lu 32, Rossano). Untermann 2000, 369), an epithet of the goddess Mefitis, presumably from **kaprōnīā* and derived from **kapro-* ‘buck’ (with anaptyxis and *-oinna* from *-ōnīā*). The precise meaning of the epithet is unclear, maybe the ‘buck goddess’ with the suffix of domination *-ōn-* and the feminine marker *-iā*. As a textile term it should mean something along the lines of ‘goatskin’, but one would then expect the suffix *-īnV-* instead. Poccetti states that the reading *καποριννα*[ι] is also possible, providing a link to Juno Caprotina (cf. Poccetti 1979, 121: “L’evidenza grafica, tuttavia, non lascia escludere del tutto la precedente lettura [...]*καποριννα*[ι], anche per un possibile rapporto con il lat. *Caprotina*, noto come attributo di *Iuno*”). Either way the epithet attests to the Oscan term for goat.

89. de Vaan 2008, 89.

90. Acc.pl.n. **atru** (Ib 29), *adro* (VIIa 25) and abl.pl.n. *adrir* (VIIa 9, 10, 21), *adrer* (VIIa 18). Untermann 2000, 54-55.

91. Ancilloti & Cerri 1996, 94.

92. Acc.pl.n. **alfu** (Ib 29) and abl.pl.n. *alfir* (VIIa 25, 26) and *alfer* (VIIa 32, 34). Untermann 2000, 79-80.

93. Acc.pl.m. attested as **kaleřuf** (Ia 20) and *calersu* (VIb 19). Untermann 2000, 365.

94. Cf. Untermann 2000, 80.

95. Ancilloti & Cerri 1996, 94.

96. Cf. Isidorus 12,52: (*equi*) *qui frontem albam (habent) calidi (appellantur)*.

97. Acc.pl.f. **peiu** (Ib 24), *peiu* (VIIa 3) and acc.pl.f. **peia** (Ib 27), *peia* (VIIa 6). Untermann 2000, 526-27.

98. Cf. the *piceae oves* in Val. Flaccus 3,439.

99. See Untermann 2000, 527, for references.

100. Gen.sg.m. *ponisiater* (VIb 51) and **puniçate** (Ib 15). Untermann 2000, 607-608.

101. Acc.pl.m. **rufru** (Ib 24), Acc.pl.f. **rufra** (Ib 27) and gen.sg.m. *rufrer* (VIa 14). Untermann 2000, 637-38. South-Picene **rufrasim** (CH 1, Crecchio) is a possible parallel, but its meaning and etymology are unknown, cf. Untermann 2000, 636.

102. Acc.pl.m. *rofu* (VIIa 3) and acc.pl.f. *rofa* (VIIa 6). Untermann 2000, 638.

103. Ancilloti & Cerri 1996, 94.

Sabine:

As mentioned above, glosses must be treated with the utmost caution, as they are not only often mistaken, but are also second hand evidence and may be marred by textual tradition. Sabine was one of the Sabellic languages spoken in central Italy in the hill districts lying east and southeast of Rome.¹⁰⁴ The Sabine language is attested in the form of glosses, although some early inscriptions from Sabine or nearby territory use an alphabet “that may for convenience be called Sabine”.¹⁰⁵

- Sabine *alpus* ‘white’:

P. ex. F. 4 Lindsay: *Album, quod nos dicimus, a Graeco, quod est ἄλφόν, est appellatum. Sabini tamen alpum dixerunt. Unde credi potest, nomen Alpium a candore nivium vocitatum.*

“What we name *albus* is thus termed from the Greek ἄλφόν, which the Sabines called *alpus*. Thence it may be surmised that the name of the Alps stems from the lustre of its snowy peaks”.

Conway states that the word is clearly borrowed from Greek or Celtic, because the genuine Italic reflex would be **alfo-*, cf. on U. **alfu**.¹⁰⁶

- Sabine *hircus* and *fedus*:

Varr. *L.L.* 5, § 97 <h>*ircus, quod Sabini fircus; quod illic f[a]edus, in Latio rure hedus: qui in urbe ut in multis A addito <h>aedus.*

“*Hircus* ‘buck’, which the Sabines call *fircus*; and what there is *fedus*, in Latium is *hedus* ‘kid’ in the country, and in the city

it is *haedus*, with an added *A*, as is the case with many words.”

Conway conjectures that the true Sabine form was **felo-* and that either Varro’s text or more probably his knowledge is at fault.¹⁰⁷

- Another term which is only defined as “Sabine” was discussed by Favorinus:

*Nux terentina dicitur quae ita mollis est ut vix attractata frangatur. De qua in libro Favorini sic reperitur: “item quod quidam Tarentinas oves vel nuces dicunt, quae sunt terentinae a ‘tereno’, quod est Sabinorum lingua molle, unde Terentios quoque dictos putat Varro ad Libonem primo.” Quam in culpam etiam Horatius potest videri incidere, qui ait et ‘molle Tarentum’.*¹⁰⁸

“The nut that’s so soft it breaks when you’ve scarcely touched it is called ‘terentine’. About this nut one finds the following in a book by Favorinus: “Similarly, there’s the fact that some people call sheep and nuts ‘Tarentine’ when they are properly ‘terentine’, from *terenus*, the Sabine term for ‘soft’; Varro, in his first book *To Libo*, expresses the view that the Terentii are so called from the same term.” Horace could seem to fall into the mistake noted by Favorinus when he speaks of “soft Tarentum”, too.”

It is the term “tarantine”, which is usually deemed to be a toponymical reference to the city of Taras (modern Taranto) in Magna Graecia which was famed for its wool in antiquity.¹⁰⁹ The link with the toponym of Taras is highly dubious and clearly a conflation, but the Sabine term for soft *terenus* conforms to the

104. Wallace 2008, 96. Varro states that Sabine derives from Oscan: *L.L.* 7.28: *secundo eius origo [i.e. the word cascus] Sabina, quae usque radices in Oscam linguam egit*, “secondly, it has its origin from the Sabine language, which ran its roots back into Oscan”.

105. Crawford *et al.* 2011, I, 2.

106. Conway 1897, 352 (referring to Gallic ἄλπεις). Untermann 2000, 80.

107. Conway 1897, 354.

108. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.18.13.

109. Columella 7.2.3; Pliny *NH* 8.189-190.

reconstruction of Latin *tener* ‘soft, delicate’, which presumably derives from **tenVro-* < **terVno-* by consonant metathesis. Both Indo-Iranian and Greek have adjectives in **teru-*, **ter-n-* and **teru-n-* (cf. Sanskrit *táruṇa-* ‘young, tender, fresh’, Avestan *tauruna-* ‘young’, Ossetic *tæryn*, *tyryn/tærna* ‘boy’, Greek τέρυ ‘soft, weak’ and τέρην ‘soft, delicate’).¹¹⁰

- *trabea*:

“Ὅτι ὁ Νουμᾶς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα εἰς τιμὴν Ἡλίου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐκ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου κατασκευάζεσθαι διετύπωσεν (...) καλέσας αὐτὴν τὴν στολὴν πατρίως τραβαίαν, ἣν λέγεται πρῶτος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Σικελιώτης εὐρεῖν. τραβαία δὲ εἴρηται ὡσανεὶ τρίβαφος· ἐκ τριῶν γὰρ ἀποτελεῖται χρωμάτων, πορφύρας, κόκκου καὶ ἰσατίδος βοτάνης.”¹¹¹

“Numa prescribed that the royal dress be made of purple and scarlet in honour of Helios and Aphrodite (...) and named the garment itself *trabea* in his native language. Agathokles the Sicilian is said to have been the first to make it. It has been termed *trabaia*, “dyed three times”, for it is made of three colours: purple, scarlet, and woad”.

The *trābēa*, presumably the only certain textile related Sabine term, was a ceremonial garment of priests, kings,¹¹² consuls,¹¹³ and knights,¹¹⁴ in Rome from the beginnings to late Antiquity.¹¹⁵ According to Suetonius, there were three kinds of *trabea*: one

sacred to the gods (entirely of purple), the second was royal (made of purple and some white), the third was a dress of augurs (of purple and scarlet).¹¹⁶ Isidorus follows Joannes Laur. Lydus and states that the one of purple and scarlet was regal.¹¹⁷ The fanciful etymologies of Joannes L. Lydus (“τρίβαφος”) and Isidorus (“*quod ... transbearet*”) are nothing more than that. The term *trabea* was assigned to the Sabine language by Mommsen and Vetter.¹¹⁸ Interpreted by Ernout & Meillet as a form of toga of Sabine origin, they suggest a link with *trabs* ‘beam’, presumably because the *trabea* was “faite toute entière d’étoffe de pourpre, ou ornée de bandes horizontales de cette couleur”.¹¹⁹ According to Ernout it is confirmed by Virgil *Aen.* 7,612:¹²⁰ *ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino*, “arrayed in Quirinal robe and Gabine cincture”, where “l’alliance de *Quirinalis* avec *trabea* indique que Virgile considérait le mot comme sabin”.¹²¹

Concluding remarks

Although the attested Sabellic terminology of textiles is, as is to be expected from the sources at our disposal, rather meager, the preceding contribution has nevertheless confirmed numerous Sabellic terms in the domain of dress and textiles.

Several of the Sabellic textile terms contribute to the loanwords connected to textiles. Oscan **plauta-** was transmitted to Italic from Greek (through Magna Graecia); the *supparus* made its way from Greek to Oscan and thence to Latin; the Umbrian word *ponisater* was, like the Latin *pūniceus*, a loan from Greek φοινίκεος; the Sabine term *trabea* was adopted in

110. de Vaan 2008, 613, s.v. *tener*. Also accepted as Sabine by Beekes 2010, 1468, s.v. τέρην.

111. Joannes Laurentius Lydus Hist., *De mensibus* 1.21 (tr. adapted from Bandy 2013).

112. Plin. *NH* 8. 195, 9.136; Virg. *Aen.* 7.188, 9.334, 11, 334; Ovid. *Fast.* 2.503.

113. Virg. *Aen.* 7.612.

114. Tac. *Ann.* 3, 2; Suet. *Dom.* 14; Val. Max. 2, 2, 9; Martial, 5.41.5.

115. See Dewar 2008.

116. *Apud* Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* 7.612. Cf. Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* 7.188.

117. Isid. 19.24.8.

118. Vetter 1953, 377: “Dies bezieht Mommsen [...] mit Recht auf die sabinische Sprache”. Cf. Mommsen 1850, 355.

119. Ernout-Meillet 698.

120. Cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 7. 187-188.

121. Ernout 1909, 238; Ovid *Fasti* 1,37; 6, 375 and 796; *Metamorph.* 14, 828.

Latin. For phonological reasons, the Latin term *forfex* ‘shears’ moreover suggests a dialectal borrowing from Sabellic to Latin tool terminology. The use of the term **tuplak** attests to a common ritual use of textiles in Latin, Sabellic, and Greek cult.

The terminological characteristic which is most striking is that also Sabellic terminology conforms to other ancient languages in characterizing clothing by designation of the garment by reference to borders, stripes or bands: Umbrian *perca* and Sabine *trabea* conform to e.g. the Latin *claves*, *virgatae vestes* and the Greek *ῥαβδοί*.

There are also aspects worth noting regarding costume vs status and function. Bonfante argues that decoration on Etruscan and Greek clothing was purely ornamental, but that it was symbolic in Roman clothing.¹²² The formalization of dress details found among the Romans as symbols of rank (e.g. the *clavi*), seems to have a parallel in the Sabellic *perca* and *trabea*, the latter adopted as such by the Romans.

Moreover, dress marked the social class of its wearer in both Etruria and Rome. Etruscan priest(esse)s and divinities were donned in specific clothing, like the *perca arsmatiam/ponisiater* in Umbrian ritual (and priestly attire at Rome). The custom at Rome of distinguishing senators, consuls, and knights by their clothing appears to have a parallel in Umbrian *šihitir/anšihitir*, but of course also in the Sabine *trabea*, which had precisely this function at Rome.

The Sabellic terminology thus not only provides valuable comparanda for the archaeological study of Italic textiles and the ritual use of textiles in ancient Italy, but also complements our knowledge of this crucial and important domain of Indo-European culture and life.¹²³

Abbreviations

<i>Ernout-Meillet</i>	Ernout, A. & Meillet, A. (2001) <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots</i> . Paris.
<i>LIV</i>	<i>Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre</i>

Primärstambbildungen. Unter Leitung von Helmut Rix und der Mitarbeit vieler anderer bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp, Brigitte Schirmer. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden, 2001.

Walde-Hofmann = A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3., neubearbeitete Auflage von J.B. Hofmann, I-II. Heidelberg, 1938-54.

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122. Bonfante 2003, 92.

123. See Olsen forthcoming.

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