



The Dissemination of Etruscan Discoveries in Early 19th-century British Press

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Abstract

The press had a crucial role in the dissemination of news and accounts on archaeological discoveries related to Antiquity. The first Etruscan vases were bought by the British Museum in the mid-18th century and the first exhibition of Etruscan artefacts in London (1837) generated widespread interest in Etruscan antiquity and history. A specialised corpus composed of articles published in the early 19th-century British press is examined so as to understand the linguistic strategies through which Etruscan antiquities were disseminated in the news discourse of the time, combining quantitative and qualitative linguistic analysis and following a corpus-assisted discourse approach. The results of the study will show recurrent linguistic patterns used to refer to the Etruscan antiquities.

Keywords: CADS, Corpus Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, Etruscan Antiquity, Historical News Discourse

Introduction

Over the last few centuries, the archaeological discoveries of Italian antiquities have stimulated debate among scholars, enthusiasts, and travellers across Europe and beyond. The casual unearthing of statues and decorative marbles progressively turned into systematic excavations of Roman archaeological sites, fostered by the aristocratic fashion to decorate and embellish mansions and properties with antique marble statuary and accessories (Bowersock 1978; Parslow 1995; Özgenel 2008), particularly around the mid-eighteenth century excavations of the long-lost cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum in southern Italy. The excavations of Roman ruins were also the culmination of the Grand Tour artistic pilgrimage, and rite of passage, for European aristocrats, affluent travellers and writers (Reinhold 1985; Buzard 2002). Some of them, however, moved from the traditional route and aimed at lesser-known areas where other antiquities had been unearthed dating back to pre-Roman times and populations, such as Etruscan antiquities.

Predecessors of the Roman domination over the Italian peninsula, the Etruscans awaited, and still await, some major discovery which can answer several interrogatives regarding their origins and their culture (Pellecchia *et al.* 2007; Posth *et al.* 2021). This despite the significant progress having been made since the seminal work on Etruscan studies by Pallottino (1998) and the reportages of expeditions to Etruscan archaeological sites published in the nineteenth century, such as the 1,085-page *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* by Dennis (1848). Etruscan antiquities became fashionable items to collect after the late-15th-century excavations conducted by Giorgio Vasari nearby the Tuscan city of Arezzo. Together with the leading families of the surrounding areas, the

Medici, in fact, were among the first promoters of this fashion, which was later to be called *vasimania*. To exploit the momentum gained by the Etruscans, Cosimo II de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, commissioned to the Scottish scholar and historian Thomas Dempster to provide a work that would trace back their family line to the Etruscans, the ancient civilisation that once ruled over Tuscany, so as to reinforce the Medici's right to rule as Grand Dukes centuries later (Ciampoltrini 2018).

Since the unearthing of the lost cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the excavation of antiquities in Italy has received constant international press coverage (Keeble 2019), particularly in British newspapers. This coverage has not, to my knowledge, been analysed from a linguistic perspective yet. This study is concerned with historical news discourse in English from a historical pragmatics perspective. More specifically, the investigation analyses a specially compiled corpus of early-19th-century British newspaper articles dealing with Etruscan antiquities and taken from the *The Times* and *The Sunday Times Archive*, and from the *British Newspaper Archive*.

The study aims to answer three research questions:

- Which linguistic strategies were used to disseminate the Etruscan discoveries in the news discourse of the time?
- Which recurrent linguistic patterns were used to refer to the Etruscan heritage?
- Which features of the language of evaluation were used to promote the Etruscan antiquities among the news readers of the time?

The analysis of recurrent words and phraseology related to collocational patterns, concordances, and clusters (Hunston 2002) of the key word *Etruscan* in the articles making up the corpus is part of a more extensive work in progress, of which only the preliminary findings are presented here.

1. Etruria and Britain

The civilisation of the Etruscans, or Rasenna as they named themselves, existed between the 9th century BC and the 1st century CE (Naso 2017). Of debated origins, either local or having arrived from today's Lebanon and Turkey (Posth *et al.* 2021), they were mostly known for establishing the League of the Twelve cities (Arretium, Castra, Cleusin, Curtun, Perusna, Pupluna, Veii, Tarchna, Vetluna, Velathri, Velch and Velzna), today's Arezzo, Cerveteri, Chiusi, Perugia, Populonia, Veio, Tarquinia, Vetulonia, Volterra, Vulci and either Bolsena or Orvieto (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002). Of Etruscan origins were also some of the Kings of Rome (Lucius Tarquinius Priscus c. 616-578 BC, Servius Tullius c. 578-534 BC, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus c. 534-509 BC), before the Etruscans were culturally and politically assimilated to the Roman civilisation in the 1st century CE (Pallottino 1998; Haynes 2000). Traces of the Etruscan civilisation survived the assimilation, but their rediscovery would take centuries, with Britain offering a significant contribution.

The turning point of the relation between Britain and the Etruscan civilisation was indeed the exhibition organized in 1837 by the Campanari family in London. Before that event, however, Britain had already established a crucial connection with the Etruscan legacy thanks to Thomas Dempster (1579-1625) and his *De Etruria Regali* (1723). Written in Pisa between 1616 and 1619, it was published in Florence in 1723, thanks to Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, and to the Florentine antiquarian Filippo Buonarroti. Commissioned by Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, it was intended as a celebration of the Medici lineage and direct link with ancient monarchic Etruria (Leighton and Castelino 1990). Dempster followed the hypothesis elaborated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of an indigenous origin of the Etruscans. The publication sparked the interest for Etruscan archaeology in Italy and abroad, also thanks to the many illustrations of excavated Etruscan artefacts that enriched the book.

The *Etruscan Tombs* exhibition organised by the Campanari family in January 1837 at 121, Pall Mall, London was the first exhibition of its kind (Colonna 1979; Haack 2013; Bassanelli 2021). Instead of displaying individual items out of their original context, the tombs had been fully reconstructed on the exhibition site to allow visitors to experience their discovery, complete with painted walls, sarcophagi (mummy-cases), and objects hanging on the walls. Thus, the actual context of the excavated artefacts was shown. The Campanari family had indeed reconstructed an Etruscan necropolis in their garden in Tuscania (VT) with all the artefacts unearthed in their properties; those on exhibition entered the market of antiquities with greater economic value.

After the Campanari's exhibition, three publications marked the dissemination of the discovery of Etruscan antiquities in Britain, keeping alive the interest of the British public on the Etruscans: *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839* (1843) by Elizabeth Hamilton Gray (1801-87); *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1848) by George Dennis (1814-98); *Etruscan Places and other Italian Essays* (1932) by D.H. Lawrence (1885-1930).

Elizabeth Hamilton Gray (1801-87) was a British traveller and the first woman to explore Etruria and, most importantly, to write about her archaeological discoveries. The 1837 Campanari exhibition excited her interest

in the places where the Etruscan antiquities had been excavated and, together with her husband, she embarked on a journey through Etruria. She visited southern Etruria in 1839 and her explorations of the area resulted in the comprehensive publication *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839*, published in 1840. Attacked for being a woman conducting archaeological studies, she had to publicly excuse her “female mind” in the introduction to her work to try to prevent criticism and positioning her publication for those minds “going through a museum or visiting a ruin, wholly ignorant of its objects and history” (Gray 1843, 1).

Gray provided detailed descriptions of findings and explorations, harshly criticised by Dennis for being “far from satisfactory” in the introduction to his *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1848, v) that he was prompted to write following the success of Gray’s work (Pallottino 1998). George Dennis (1814-98) was a British antiquarian and the first (after Gray) modern investigator of ancient Etruria and Etruscan archaeological remains. He visited Etruria between 1842 and 1847, and his *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* was published in 1848, with illustrations of antiquities, architectural remains and plans of the larger excavation sites.

D.H. Lawrence (1885-1930), the English writer, novelist, short story writer, poet, and essayist, visited the Tuscan countryside in the spring of 1927; *Sketches of Etruscan Places and other Italian Essays*, also known as *Etruscan Places*, was published posthumously in 1932. The book is a collection of travelogue-essays describing the places formerly inhabited by the Etruscan civilisation, in which Lawrence often compares a more vivid Etruscan past with the shabbiness of the present Fascist rule (e.g., see the chapter on Volterra).

2. Historical News Discourse

Historical news discourse refers to the way news events and information are communicated, discussed, and analysed within a historical context. It pertains to the analysis of how events were reported at the time they occurred and how they were subsequently interpreted and discussed over time. Historical news discourse has been extensively studied over the last decades in linguistics, and it is impossible to mention all the contributions without leaving out prominent ones. A definition might be cited to clarify the domain of analysis: “the evolving news discourse constitutes a domain of language characterised by distinctive communicative functions, typical linguistic practices and features, conventionalised forms and text types, and produced increasingly by a specific (social, professional) group” (Claridge 2010, 588). Historical news discourse is analysed in terms of discourse forms, functions, and structures isolated at a specific moment in time, while also operating diachronically when studying language variation and discursive change.

Facchinetti, Brownlees, Bös, Fries (2015); Brownlees (2021 and 2023); Palander-Collin, Taavitsainen, Ratia (2017) are only a few most relevant studies on historical news discourse that were useful for this research. In particular, Facchinetti, Brownlees, Bös, Fries (2015) contributed to designing the methodological framework of this study, addressing the issues presented by the need to design a specialised corpus, as explained in the next section, and by the analysis of corpus data, that follows corpus-assisted discourse analysis in combining quantitative and qualitative analyses. While Brownlees (2021) has provided insightful reference to understand how the historical context affects language in use and its forms and functions and to attempt at a contextualization of the findings of the research, Brownlees (2023) offered a most comprehensive reference to understand the historical context and features, a significant amount of which “resonates with the present” (1). Similarly, the study by Palander-Collin, Taavitsainen, Ratia (2017) offered a variety of contributions to better contextualise the features of the language in use in historical news discourse in a variety of text types, including letters to the editor and advertisements.

In the same way historical discourse analysis can comprise an analysis of the language of evaluation (Hunston and Thompson 2000; Bednarek 2006), so too can historical news discourse analysis. Likewise relevant to historical news discourse analysis are concepts already associated with historical discourse analysis generally. These include an examination of how language is employed to construct meaning, express power relations, negotiate social identities, and shape ideologies in a particular historical context (Brinton 2015), as well as the focus on textual outputs rather than on interactions among speakers, even if it is understood that historical discourse analysis implies a pragmatic approach when investigating the interactions between historical texts and their recipients (Jucker 2017).

3. Corpus Construction and Data Analysis

The corpus constructed to conduct the research discussed in this study is referred to as News on Etruria (NOE). It is a finite, i.e. limited (McEnery and Hardie, 2012) and specialised corpus comprising ca. 400,000 tokens in around 260 articles and auction sale notices taken from *The Times* and *The Sunday Times Online Archive*,

and from *The British Newspaper Archive*. Both archives are complete and public, although a small fee is needed to access them both. The corpus includes broadsheet newspaper articles with both national and international coverage as well as articles taken from local newspapers, all selected with the search word *Etruscan*.

The NOE corpus is limited in time, ranging between 1800 and 1840, with a specific focus on the beginning of the 19th century, and the years immediately preceding and following the Campanari's exhibition of Etruscan artefacts in London (January 1837). Data were extracted from the corpus using WordSmith Tools 8.0 (Scott 2020); they were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively combining a Corpus-driven approach (Tognini-Bonelli 2001) and Corpus-assisted discourse analysis of language in context – KWIC, concordances, collocations, clusters, patterns (Partington 2004, 2015).

Key words, i.e., those words whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm (reference corpus), were identified using as reference corpus the written part of the BNC XML Edition corpus (2007). The Corpus of Nineteenth-century Newspaper English (CNNE) was not available for consultation, while CLMET and ARCHER corpora did not include a significant number of news articles, if any, to be of use for the comparison. Here is the list of the key words extracted from NOE:

	Key word	Freq.	%		Key word	Freq.	%
1	etruscan	278	0,04	7	mahogany	230	0,02
2	premises	583	0,07	8	velvet	238	0,04
3	silver	597	0,09	9	ornamented	149	0,02
4	petticoat	261	0,05	10	drapery	140	0,03
5	embroidered	255	0,04	11	richly	188	0,03
6	furniture	413	0,07	12	trimmed	185	0,04

Tab. 1 – Key words of the NOE corpus. Created with WordSmith Tools 8.0 Key words

As it is evident in Table 1, the most frequent key words are the adjectives related to the Etruscan civilisation (*Etruscan*) and to fashionable embellishments (*embroidered*, *ornamented*, *trimmed*); lexical items related to pieces of furniture and their features (*furniture*, *mahogany*); words related to fashion or precious items (*petticoat*, *velvet*, *drapery*, *silver*); words related to auctions (*premises*); and the evaluative adverb (*richly*).

The objective extraction of lexis allowed to isolate statistically significant co-occurrence patterns in text through the results displayed in concordance lines. These were searched for non-obvious meanings through the analysis of extended portions of co-textual evidence (Partington 2004, 2015), analysing grammar words and phraseology and their related meaning in their extended co-text. According to Hunston (2011, 5), phraseology “describes the general tendency of words, and group of words, to occur more frequently in some environments than in others”.

The qualitative interpretation of the results was also based on the analysis of frequently occurring language of evaluation. Evaluation refers to “[...] the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions [statements] that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values” (Hunston and Thompson 2000, 5).

Evaluation expresses the speaker/writer's opinions, thus reflecting their value systems and those of their community; it serves to construct relationships between speakers and readers; and it helps to organise texts (Hunston and Thompson 2000). Relevant to the study were the existing lines of research on news discourse that examine the construction of newsworthiness through the use of evaluative language (Bednarek 2006; Bednarek and Caple 2019) in the media discourse.

The qualitative analysis of the corpus allowed also to retrieve the features of the commentator voice (judgement, affect, appreciation) used to either condemn or praise (appraisal system elaborated by Martin and White in 2005) and their associated values of positivity/negativity that were also particularly useful to understand the evaluative stance of the newspapers on the reception of the Etruscan discoveries in early 19th-century Britain.

4. Findings

Out of the key word list extracted through the comparison of the NOE corpus with the BNC reference corpus, the key word *Etruscan* was selected for the first analysis to be discussed in this study of the representation of the Etruscan heritage in historical news. The organisational criterion of file names adopted while building the NOE corpus allowed the possibility to organise concordance lines also according to a chronological order of the occurrences. This criterion was adopted to allow further research studies to be conducted on the corpus to see whether the representation of the Etruscan heritage changed over time within the NOE corpus. Concordance lines were computed, and collocational patterns appeared that will be discussed further in this section, with a specific focus on grammatical and lexical co-textual occurrences following the principles of Corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Partington 2004, 2015).

Frequent R1 collocates of *Etruscan* are lexical words pertaining to antique artefacts and design (*vases* x79, *vase* 23x, *Etruscan-shaped* 22x, *border* 15x, *antiquities* 12x, *urns* 9x, *pattern* 9x). Frequent R2 collocates are instead the coordinator *and* (29x), the past participle *taken* (10x), and the prepositions *of* (24x) and *from* (10x). Examining left-collocates of *Etruscan*, L1 are mostly grammar words (*and* 46x, *the* 41x, *an* 33x), while most frequent L2 collocates are words pertaining to antiquity (*Grecian* 23x, *collection* 9x).

4.1 *Etruscan* + *vases*

Table 2 below shows concordance lines related to the NP *Etruscan* + *vases*:

These antiquities will make the Prince's museum Etruscan vases, found in the subterranean vaults
Successful imitations of antique Etruscan vases may be made by procuring the aforesaid jars of coarse biscuit please double check
An estimate of the sum required to be voted to enable the trustees the British Museum purchase certain Etruscan vases, part of the collection of the Prince of Canino
Madame Bonaparte Wyse, arrived yesterday from the Continent, bringing with her large portion of the celebrated Etruscan vases
CONSIGNMENT of Porcelain, comprehending rich Etruscan vases, finely painted, numerous other vases, with bushes of flowers and glass shades

Tab. 2 – Concordance lines of *Etruscan* + *vases*. Created with WordSmith Tools 8.0 Concordancer.

A closer examination of the extended co-text of NP *Etruscan* + *vases* reveals that recurrent pre-modifying and post-modifying collocates relate to archaeological findings at the beginning of the 19th century. They are mostly lists of items connected through coordination by punctuation or by coordinate conjunction (*and*), with few to no examples of evaluative language, as shown by example (1):

(1) In addition to these principal objects, there have been found within the Temple [of Phegalia] and about it, several points of lances of iron, some ornaments of bronze and of silver, a little vase of bronze, a small statue of Apollo, but clumsily executed in Egyptian style, and in addition to these, a small armour for the leg, of copper, exactly of the form which we see represented on the *Etruscan vases*. [The_Times_1815-12-26]

Example (1) seems to refer to a specific event, i.e., the excavation of the “Temple of Phegalia, dedicated to Apollo, on Mount Cotylus, in Arcadia” (Valpy and Barker 1816, 213), known today as the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, in the Peloponnesos. Indeed, example (1) still uses classical references to sites which changed over the centuries. Phegalia, or Phigalia, is today's village of Figaleia, while Arcadia is now known as one region of central Peloponnesos. In the example, *Etruscan vases* are mentioned to help the readers to visualise one specific item out of the list of findings. It seems interesting to notice that Etruscan antiquities, and Etruscan vases in particular, were at that time already so well known to serve as shared visual reference for the reading public of *The Times*. The only negatively evaluative lexical item (the AdvP *clumsily*) is not related to the Etruscan antiquities, rather to refer to a poorly imitated Greek sculpture of Apollo.

Another use of the NP *Etruscan* + *vases* is visible in examples (2) and (3) taken from *The Morning Advertiser*, where its pre-modifying and post-modifying collocates refer mostly to artefacts on auction or on sale. In particular,

example (2) shows how *Etruscan + vases* appears inside a list of items, connected through coordination by punctuation or coordinate conjunction (*and*):

(2) [...] library, and coffee-tables, chandelier, garderobe, wardrobes, chest of mahogany drawers, *Etruscan vases*, pistols, percussion-gun, chamber-organ, linen, china dinner-service, and other valuable effects [...] [Morning_Advertiser_1935-11-26]

The list exemplified in (2) is connoted in end-position by the positively evaluative adjective *valuable*, thus implying that all the objects previously mentioned are also intended as of intrinsic commercial and artistic value. This positive connotation is more evident in example (3), where another list of artefacts shows extremely positively connoted language directly co-occurring with *Etruscan + vases*:

(3) CONSIGNMENT of Porcelain, comprehending rich *Etruscan vases*, finely painted, numerous other vases, with bushes of flowers and glass shades, [...] [Morning_Advertiser_1933-05-25]

Example (3) shows two lexical occurrences of positive evaluative language (*rich* and *finely painted*) that express the intrinsic uniqueness and artistic refinement of the vases, thus positioning them as items of commercial value as well. Therefore, examples (2) and (3), selected among many similar concordance lines, seem to suggest that, in the first half of the 1830s *Morning Advertiser* at least, the collocation *Etruscan + vases* was mostly used to refer to valuable items in antique dealing, highlighting the value of the items on sale.

4.2 *Etruscan + vase*

Another frequent R1 collocate of *Etruscan* is *vase*. Table 3 below shows concordance lines related to the NP *Etruscan + vase*:

On opening recently an Etruscan vase, taken from the ruins of Herculaneum, the learned Abbe Facciolati
It is an Etruscan vase, surmounted with a horse, and on the neck of it are groups of dogs and fox and cubs
splendid piece of workmanship. The shape is of an Etruscan vase with suitable emblematic cover,
Antiquarians are solicited to inspect a noble Etruscan Vase, the largest hitherto known;
learned antiquary, the Abbé Facciolati on opening an Etruscan vase, recently excavated from the

Tab. 3 – Concordance lines of *Etruscan + vase*. Created with WordSmith Tools 8.0 Concordancer

Pre-modifying and post-modifying collocates are lexical words referring to either archaeological excavations or antiquities, as seen in example (4):

(4) [...] of a very handsome shape, somewhat resembling an *Etruscan vase*, with three feet. It is supposed to be of considerable antiquity. [The_Times_1816-08-09]

Similar to the use of the NP *Etruscan + vases* in (1), example (4) shows how *Etruscan + vase* is used as a shared visual referent for the readers to understand the features of the artefact being discussed. The positively connoted evaluative AdjP *handsome* and the PP *of considerable antiquity* imply that the same connotation applied to Etruscan antiquities as well.

Example (5) shows a different occurrence of the NP *Etruscan + vase*:

(5) The learned antiquary, the Abbe Facciolati on opening an *Etruscan vase*, recently excavated from the ruins of Pompeii, found an orange immersed in vinegar. It appears that the ancient Romans pickled their oranges, as we do cucumbers or onions. The orange above mentioned was in a state of perfect preservation. [Reading_Mercury_1834_09_22]

In its extended co-text, the NP collocates with positively connoted language referring to the person who opened the vase (*the learned antiquary*) and of the state of the item found inside the vase (*of perfect preservation*). The occurrence of the NP is followed by words descriptive of a historical/archaeological context to reinforce the connection with antiquity, and thus the perceived value of the item.

4.3 *Etruscan* + *-shaped*

A third most recurring R1 collocate of the key word *Etruscan* is the AdjP *-shaped*. Concordance lines are shown in Table 4 below:

with an endless variety of larger urns. Grecian and Etruscan shaped vases and ornaments for the
arabesque ornament; an immense variety of Grecian and Etruscan shaped vases, lavender bottles,
presenting to the Princess Victoria. The vase is Etruscan shaped, ornamented with raised flowers
presenting many rare, chaste, and antique stems in Etruscan shaped tureens, and sauceboats to

Tab. 4 – Concordance lines of *Etruscan* + *-shaped*. Created with WordSmith Tools 8.0 Concordancer

Its pre-modifying and post-modifying collocates are mostly items or artefacts on auction or on sale, as shown in example (6):

(6) [...] breakfast and coffee-services to correspond, together with an endless variety of large urns, Grecian and *Etruscan-shaped* vases, and ornaments for the cabinet and mantelpiece, rivalling the finest productions from the Continent. [Morning_Advertiser_1834-12-02]

Etruscan-shaped usually collocates with the AdjP *Grecian*, referring to imitation of originally antique vases (*-shaped*), and with positive evaluative language pertaining to the superlative parameter (*the finest production*). This occurrence also suggests that a trade of imitations of real antique items was in place. Concordance lines show that the identical (or mostly identical) auction sale notice in (6) is repeated over more days in the same newspaper, the *Morning Advertiser*, and similar ones are also published in other newspapers building the NOE corpus. In some articles, however, *Etruscan-shaped* right-collocates with *urns* and is followed by positive evaluative language, as shown in example (7):

(7) [...] two superb vases, similar to a pair made for the King, and valued at one hundred guineas, Canton jars, Grecian and *Etruscan-shaped urns*, of inimitable beauty, incense burners, and chimney and cabinet ornaments, quite equal to Oriental porcelain. [Morning_Advertiser_1833-12-14]

Here, *Etruscan-shaped* collocates with the PP *of inimitable beauty* in the extended co-text of the occurrence isolated for this example. The positively evaluative adjective *inimitable* reinforces the artistic value and significance of the items for sale (the *urns*), ostensibly making reference to Etruscan antiquities as a model to which artists conformed to create the finest artefacts, of which it is not said whether they were original antiques.

4.4 *Etruscan* + *antiquities*

A further recurrent R1 collocate of the key word *Etruscan* is the NP *antiquities*. Table 5 below shows concordance lines of the NP:

Government intends to purchase the collection of Etruscan antiquities, t2,000 in number
them nearly ready for the press. The new room for Etruscan antiquities has also been opened to
and very doubtful originality. An exhibition of Etruscan antiquities, part of which was before
at the extremity of the latter. One of these is devoted to Etruscan antiquities, several of which have
devoted principally to Sir William Hamilton's collection of Etruscan antiquities. With these the visitors of

Tab. 5 – Concordance lines of *Etruscan* + *antiquities*. Created with WordSmith Tools 8.0 Concordancer

Pre-modifying and post-modifying collocates in extended co-textual references are mostly other antiquity items, as illustrated in examples (8) and (9):

(8) British Museum—Within the last week two new rooms have been opened to the public, in the gallery on the west side of the building, and over the gallery of antiquities, the approach to which is from spacious stone staircase at the extremity of the latter. One of these is devoted to *Etruscan antiquities*, several of which have been removed from the room known as Sir W. Hamilton's collection and the other expressly to the monuments and records of ancient Egypt. [Bedfordshire_Mercury_1837-12-09; Hertford_Mercury_and_Reformer_1837-12-09]

(9) On Saturday there was a private view at the Western Exchange, Bond-street, of *Etruscan antiquities*, said to have been lately excavated from vaults discovered on the estate of an Italian gentleman in the ancient city of Volterra. The objects are, generally speaking, in a tolerably good state of preservation, when we consider the ancient date that, judging from their structure and style of ornament, must necessarily be assigned to many of them. [The_Times_1830_04_12]

In both examples (8) and (9), *Etruscan + antiquities* co-occurs with words descriptive of a historical / archaeological context to reinforce the connection with antiquity (*lately excavated*, *ancient city*, *ancient date*) and with the value of the Etruscan discoveries and display. In particular, example (8) mentions the opening to the public of a new room of the British Museum, entirely dedicated to *Etruscan antiquities*. Reporting news of the opening acts as further consolidation of the value assigned to Etruscan artefacts and excavations; being assigned a new room within the Museum institutionalises Etruscan antiquities as established antiquities, together with Greek and Roman ones. Significantly, this recognition of cultural value is attributed within the same year (1837) of the sensation caused by the Campanari exhibition in Pall Mall.

4.5 *Etruscan + R1 fashion-related collocates*

Other frequently occurring R1 collocates are two NP (*Etruscan + border*; *Etruscan + pattern*). Table 6 and 7 show concordance lines for *Etruscan + border* and *Etruscan + pattern* respectively:

Princess Bariatinski.—Petticoat, white crape, with deep silver Etruscan border; draperies, richly worked in real silver Oriental lame
Lady Charlotte Grenville—A petticoat rich white satin (sic.), with an Etruscan border of gold embroidery on black velvet, drapery, real gold tissue
It is composed of large Gossamer veil, with a rich Etruscan border, and is, according to fashionable report
DUCHESS OF YORK. A white crape petticoat richly embroidered silver waves, with an Etruscan border of real silver oriental lama
Lady Huntingfield —A petticoat white crape, embroidered in stripes of silver, draperies purple velvet, wreaths of silver flowers, with an Etruscan border

Tab. 6 – Concordance lines of *Etruscan + border*. Created with WordSmith Tools 8.0 Concordancer

They are of various shades of brown. The latter are bordered with an Etruscan pattern in coloured silks. Those
various shades of brown. The latter are bordered with Etruscan pattern in coloured silks. Those of cachemere (sic)
and round the collar deep border of palms, or Etruscan pattern. Witchouras begin to be laid aside, but muffs and tippets
but the most novel are the Etruscan patterns, those flowered in the large bouquets, called gardeners' nosegays.

Tab. 7 – Concordance lines of *Etruscan + pattern*. Created with WordSmith Tools 8.0 Concordancer. Repeated results were omitted

When investigating their extended co-textual reference, their pre-modifying and post-modifying collocates refer – quite unexpectedly – mostly to women fashion items or fashionable features for women dresses, as shown in examples (10), (11) and (12) below:

(10) DUCHESS OF YORK. Her Grace was dressed in a white crape petticoat, richly spangled in silver draperies of white crape, with painted velvet geraniums, *Etruscan border* colour geranium, and silver lamé, richly ornamented with silver tassels and Vandyke fringe; train of velvet geranium, silver lamé sleeves; head-dress, tiara of diamonds, with white ostrich feathers. [Chester_Courant_1805_01_29]

(11) Some new carriage Mantles have appeared, both of Cachemire (sic) and watered *Gros de Naples*. They are of various shades of brown. The latter are bordered with an *Etruscan pattern* in coloured silks. [Sussex_Advertiser_1833-03-03]

(12) We see also a great many brown or maroon cashmere, embroidered in coloured silks. Some are thickly strewed with single flowers or bouquets; others are worked at the bottom and round the collar in a deep border of palms, or in an *Etruscan pattern*. [Leamington_Spa_Courier_1833_03_09]

All the examples are taken from local newspapers, reporting on events when members of either the royal family or the aristocracy appeared in public, and providing a description as accurate as possible of their attire. The occurrence of the collocations *Etruscan + border* and *Etruscan + pattern* in news articles reporting on female fashion indicates how the fascination for the Etruscan civilisation had entered other industries, not immediately related to the historical and/or archaeological context, such as aristocratic fashion, and had become a trend to be followed when ordering new garments.

Concluding Remarks

The interest in rediscovering the Etruscan civilisation in Britain was sparked by the publication of Thomas Dempster's work in 1723 and by the exhibition curated by the Campanari family in 1837. The archaeological excavations, however, were directly related to sales of Etruscan artefacts to private buyers of antiquities, rather than contributing to the rediscovery of a pre-Roma lost heritage. This fostered the market of antiquities, which flourished over the years covered by this study.

This contribution reports preliminary findings of a more extensive research project; due to its limited scope, only the most frequent R1 lexical collocates of the key word *Etruscan* were examined. Their extended co-text was analysed applying the Corpus-assisted discourse analysis methodological framework proposed by Partington (2004, 2015), which contributed to analyse their evaluative connotation. Following Martin and White (2005), it is possible to claim that the overall commentator voice emerging from the evaluative connotation of the most frequent R1 co-occurrences is extremely positive, foregrounded through instances of appreciation. This can be affirmed because most occurrences of the key word *Etruscan* in the NOE corpus relate to sale notices that praise the beauty and the refinement of the articles on sale (*Etruscan + vases*) and to fashionable embellishments of refined women dresses (*Etruscan + border* / *Etruscan + pattern*).

Therefore, the interest in the Etruscan civilisation was not limited to academic publications and archaeological studies. Etruscan discoveries had an influence over other more "worldly" areas of society (i.e., fashion), thus becoming a sort of social statement for the aristocracy. While representing a canon of beauty for antique collectibles, Etruscan antiquities inspired luxury fashion items and designs that were the expression of a well-defined social context to be disseminated through the news of the time.

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