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## Chapter 12

### The Early Faliscan inscriptions

#### 12.1. The Early Faliscan inscriptions as a group

The Early Faliscan inscriptions constitute a separate group with regard both to the contents of the texts and to their linguistic features. All are inscriptions on pottery, but several (EF 1-4) are longer than and different from the usual pottery-inscriptions (cf. §11.1.4.2e). The linguistic features of the Early Faliscan inscriptions are also different, notably the second-declension genitive singular in *-osio* (§4.4.2). For the alphabet of the Early Faliscan inscriptions, see §11.2.3.

The Early Faliscan inscriptions in this chapter, EF 1-4, 6-10, and EF/Etr 5 are all from Civita Castellana. Two other inscriptions that I regard as Early Faliscan are seventh-century (?) *tulate tulas urate* EF/Etr 385 from Fiano Romano (§17.6) and sixth-century *aḡmḡsio eḡo* 467\* (§18.2) of unknown provenance. Inscriptions that have at some time been regarded as Early Faliscan but that I regard rather as Latin are the Vendia-inscription *eco urna tita uendias mamar[cos 6-9 m]eḡ ḡhe[ked]* Lat 479† (§18.3.1) of unknown provenance, and *eḡo kanaios* Lat 482† from Ardea (§18.3.2). Sabellic rather than Faliscan are *setums : miom | face* Sab 480† (§18.3.1) and *paqwis blaisiis* Sab 468\* (§18.3.2), both of uncertain South Etrurian origin: see also §9.3.2. For the contemporary Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas (Etr I-XXVI, XXXII, XLII, XLIV, and XLVI-XLIX), most of which are from Narce, see Chapter 19.

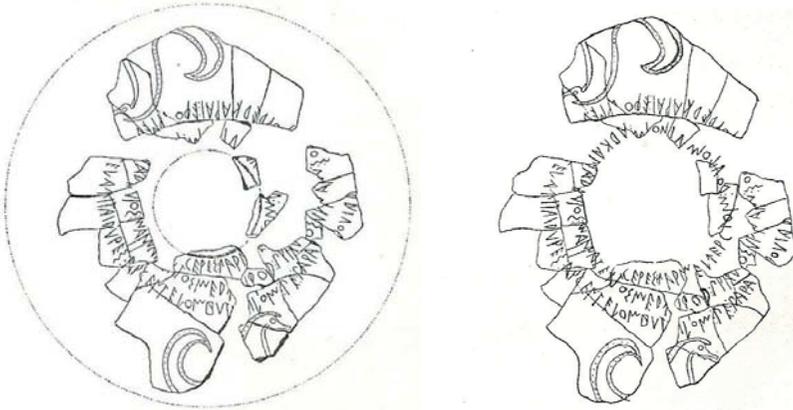
#### 12.2. The ‘Ceres-inscription’

1. Scratched *c.* 2¼ times around the shoulder of a reddish-black impasto urn (∅ shoulder 32 cm, lip base 7 cm) decorated with two winged horses, from tomb LXII/3 of the Le Colonnate necropolis (Mengarelli in Thulin 1908:255, *FI* II.2 p.208).<sup>187</sup> The shoulder fragments appear to be the only part of the vase that is preserved (or found?).

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<sup>187</sup> Gamurrini gave the provenance as “la necropoli di Civita Castellana”, Della Seta named the necropolis without specifying the tomb. Nogara (in a letter of 14.X.1927, quoted in Stolte 1929:111) stated that he had not found details of its discovery in the inventory of the Museo di Villa Giulia (presumably in 1903, when he did his autopsy). According to Morandi (1982:54), the Museo di Villa Giulia acquired the vase in 1891 from the Collezione Feroldi.

Gamurrini dated the vase and the inscription on technical and palaeographical grounds to the sixth century, and this date is accepted by most authors, although Giglioli not unconvincingly dated the vase on technical grounds to the seventh century; earlier datings had in fact already been considered by Thulin and Della Seta. Bruhl and Norden dated the vase rather later, without giving any arguments for this; Safarewicz (1953:245-6) regarded the text as later than *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.1, but this is based on the readings *farne[n]tom*, *l[o]uff[ir]*, and *ui[no]m* that are doubtful or impossible.



**Fig.12.1. Mengarelli's reconstruction of EF 1, and Herbig's adjustments.**

*left:* Mengarelli's drawing of his reconstruction. The shards with *Jiqod:prau[* and *Jilom:pe: para[* are drawn more to the left than they are placed in the actual reconstruction. The drawing probably gives their correct position: note that this affects the lacunas above and below it. (From Herbig *CIE* 8079)

*right:* Herbig's adjustments and restorations. In his drawing, the shards with *Jiqod:prau[* and *Jilom:pe: para[* are definitely placed too far to the left. The shards with *osurnam:soçf* and, underneath it, *Jdouiad [*, are rightly tilted upwards with regard to how they are placed in the reconstruction. Joining them to the shard with *Jtom:\*f* in the first line would seem to be impossible, however. (From Herbig *CIE* 8079)

The vase, found in shards, was reconstructed by Mengarelli and Malvolta in 1907. There is no need to question the overall correctness of this reconstruction: virtually identical reconstructions had in fact been made independently by Gamurrini in 1894, by Nogara in 1903, and by Thulin in 1906. However, there is an unfortunate tendency among editors of this text to overlook the fact that at several points the reconstruction was explicitly meant as provisory, as Mengarelli (1908:103) himself explained. Especially the first part of the text is therefore less certain than it may appear, as will be explained below.

However, I have three general remarks with regard to the reconstruction:

(1) The circumference of the vase may have been very slightly larger than it is in the reconstruction. Since it is hard to establish this without taking the reconstruction apart or making a virtual model of the shards, I have not pursued this here.

(2) The group of shards with the letters *Jiqod:prau[* and, underneath, *Jilom:pe:para[*, does not fit exactly onto the shard with *ceresfar\**, and is probably to be moved slightly to the left and down (cf. figs.12.1-2).

(3) The shards with the letters *Josurnam:soç[* and, underneath it, *Jdouiad [*, should be moved slightly upwards and tilted *c.*5-10° counter-clockwise (cf. Herbig's drawing in fig.12.1).

Also, several of the lacunas are interdependent, as the shards nowhere join up to form a complete circumference of the vase. This applies especially to the lacunas between *ceres:far\*[0-2]e[* and *Jtom:\*[*, between *Jtom:\*[* and *Juff[*, and between *Juff[* and *Jui[.]m:.* In each of these cases, every letter that is restored above the minimum amount possible is to be subtracted from the maximum amount possible for one of the others: in all, a total of 8-10 letters appears to be missing. Bearing this in mind, I read the text as:

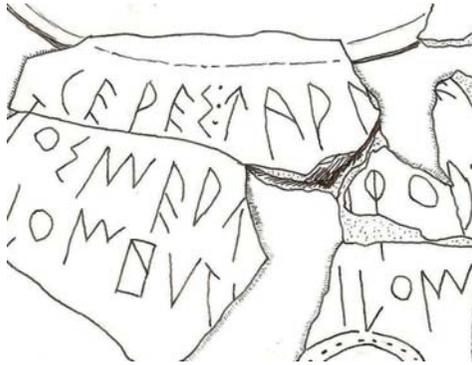
*ceres:far\*[0-2]e[1-3]tom:\*[3-5]uff[1-4]ui[.]m:\*[3-4]\*adeuios:mamaz[e]xtosmed  
ff.]jqod:prau[i]josurnam:soç[ia]ipordedkarai:equorne[ati?]telafitaidupes:arcen  
telomhutij[c?]ilom:pe:para[i?]douiad [*

Dextroverse, and spiralling downward: the text bends downwards after *z[e]xt* and after *arcente* to pass underneath the turns above it. *S* is  $\xi$ , but  $\xi$  in *prau[i]os*, *soç[ia]i*, and *fitaidupes*, a variation found also in the Etruscan inscriptions Etr IV from Narce and Etr XLVI of unknown provenance; *h* is  $\text{𐌆}$ , a variant of  $\text{𐌆}$ . The interpunct is triple: there appears to be no discernable consistency in its usage. G. Giacomelli (1963:41-2) would rather regard it as a punctuation of sorts, which seems attractive, but in that case its word-internal use in *pe:para[i]* is awkward. Radke (1994:106-7) implausibly suggests that they divide the text into Saturnian cola. Individual letters are discussed below: see also §11.2.3 for a general discussion of the Early Faliscan alphabet and other orthographical features.

***As the inscription is usually divided into five 'phrases' or 'lines', I have divided my discussion accordingly: it should be noted that I do this to facilitate the discussion, not because I necessarily agree with this division at every turn.***

(1) *ceres* — *\*ad*: The first letters, *ceres:far* are beyond doubt. This is followed by the upper left-hand corner of an *m*, or an *n*, or possibly a *d*, although I do not think this likely. The text then continues on another fragment with an *e* of which the bottom half is preserved: it cannot be read otherwise. Whether there is a lacuna between these last two letters depends both on how the letter after *far* is read and on the size of the lacuna in *ff[ Jiqod* directly underneath (see fig.12.2). If that lacuna is left as it is in Mengarelli's

reconstruction, possible readings here are *me[*, *n[.]e[*, or *d[.]e[*: if it is reduced, *me[*, *ne[* or *de[*, and if it is enlarged, *m[.]e[*, *n[.]e[*, or *d[.].e[*. (Pace Radke (1965:134), these three possibilities are impossible if the lacuna in *ff ]iqod* is left as it is.) Of these nine possibilities, *m[.]e[*, *n[.]e[* (suggested by Thulin) and *d[.].e[* do not look very promising (unless *d[.].e* is *d[u]e...* or *d[i]e...*): the only real choices are *d[.].e[* (Olzscha in Radke 1965:136-7, Radke 1965:134, 1994:105), *me[* (the usual reading since Herbig *CIE*), and *ne[* (Gamurrini). As in my view the lacuna in *ff ]iqod* should in fact be reduced rather than enlarged (see below), I would also dismiss *d[.].e*, leaving only *me[* or *ne[*.



**Fig.12.2. Detail of EF 1: the lacunas in *ff ]iqod* and *huti[ ]ilom*.**

The lacunas in *ff ]iqod*: and *huti[ ]ilom* both depend on the placing of the shard with *]iqod*: In my view, the group of shards to the right of the lacuna should be moved slightly to the left and down, although it is difficult to see how the shard with *]iqod*: fits unto the one with *ceresfar\*]* due to the filler material partly obscuring the join. Note how the decoration is interrupted for the *l* of *ilom*. (Tracing from author's slide.)

The *e[* is followed by a large lacuna to which belong two fragments that cannot be joined to the other shards, but clearly belong to the first line since they contain parts of a ridge that ran around the base of the lip.<sup>188</sup> The larger of these fragments contains the letters *]tom*: followed by the lower half of an *l* (the usual reading since Herbig *CIE*, but Radke (1994:105) expressly rejects this possibility) or a *u* (Thulin 1908:257, Olzscha in Radke 1965:137, Radke 1965:134-5, 1994:105). The *t* is T, not T as in the rest of the inscription: Vetter (1953:208) in fact considered reading *z*, but it is hard to see what word could possibly result from reading *]zom*. The smaller fragment reads

<sup>188</sup> Ribezzo joined both fragments, which is impossible. In Thulin's and Ribezzo's drawings, the larger fragment is joined to the shards of the second line, which is equally impossible.

*Juff*: the traces of an *o* read by Vetter (1939:156, 1953:280) before the *u* are non-existent, nor is it possible to read the second letter as *a* (*pace* Thulin 1908:257). The order in which these two fragments are to be placed is not known: the provisory arrangement in the reconstruction is *e[2-3]tom:\*[4]uff[1-2]*, but the shards could equally well be arranged as *e[2-5]uff[2-5]tom:\**. Editors have usually interpreted the word ending in *Jtom* as an attribute to *far*. Suggestions are e.g. *me[re]tom* (Vetter 1953:280), *me[lc]tom* or *me[lq]tom* (Vetter in Knobloch 1958:138),<sup>189</sup> *d[el]e[c]tom* (Olzscha in Radke 1965:136-7, Radke 1965:134 n.1) or *d[el]e[k]tom* (Radke 1994:105), and *me[le]tom* or *me[la]tom* ‘molitum’<sup>190</sup> (Joseph & Klein 1981:294). Pisani, however, restored *far~~me~~[n]tom* as a noun *\*farmentum* (1946:54, 1964:348), a reading adopted by G. Giacomelli (1963:41) and Morandi (1982:55), but a derivation with /-smentom/ from a *nominal* stem at this date unconvincing, however.<sup>191</sup>

Following the lacuna that contained these two fragments is *Jui[.]m*: (with only the two lower points of the interpunct preserved): the traces of an *r* seen by Vetter (1939:156, 1953:280) before *Jui* are non-existent.

This *Jui[.]m*: in turn is followed by a lacuna whose size may vary slightly, depending on the restorations in the second line, and contained three or four letters. On the left-hand edge of the lacuna the lower half of a shaft is preserved, which may be part of an *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *p*, or *r*, perhaps of an *f*, *q*, or *t*, but not of an *a* (*pace* Herbig *CIE* 8079, Jacobsohn 1910:3, Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:151-2, 1930:74, 1936:46), as it is too straight for this, nor of a *d*, (*pace* Herbig 1923:233, Vetter 1925:27, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347), as it shows no sign of a bar or branch at the bottom.

On the right-hand edge of the lacuna part of a stroke leaning to the right is visible, probably part of a *k* or a *u*, although a *d*, *p*, or *r* might also be possible. It might perhaps even be an *i*, although in the rest of the inscription the *i* is more vertical and less inclined than the trace; the *l* read by Ribezzo (1927:151-2, 1930:74), is impossible, as this letter is either straight or leans to the left in the rest of the inscription. This *\*[3-4]\*ad* has been taken as a third person singular present subjunctive since Herbig *CIE*.<sup>192</sup> In that case the only restoration that has been proposed and that fits both the

<sup>189</sup> Joseph & Klein (1981:294) rejected these restorations, stating that Vetter had proposed them as reconstructed forms of *multum* ‘much’, but Vetter’s discussion clearly shows that he had intended them as reconstructed forms of the perfect participle *multum=mulctum*.

<sup>190</sup> Watkins (1995a:128) points to the parallel between *far me[la]tom* and Avestan *yauua aša*, Hittite *ZÍD.DA ZÍZ mallan*: the same would be true for Vetter’s *me[lc]tom* or *me[lq]tom*.

<sup>191</sup> For the derivation, Pisani compared *frumentum*, which he derived from *frux*, presumably through *\*/frūgsmentom/*, as *\*/frūgmentom/* would have given *frugmentum* (cf. Bücheler 1905:318-9); it can equally well be derived from the root of *fruor*, /frū(ū)-/ ← *\*/frūg<sup>u</sup>-/* (cf. *DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *fruor*), either through *\*/frū(ū)(s)mentom/* or through *\*/frūg<sup>u</sup>(<sup>u</sup>)-smentom/*.

<sup>192</sup> Radke (1965:136) compared *J\*adeuios* to a South Picene genitive *akinevihi* read by him in AQ.2, but this is now read as a dative *rakinevii*. Herbig had at first read *leuios* (1910:184).

traces and the size of the lacuna is Peruzzi's *p[ore]kad* 'porrigat' (1964a:157), adopted by G. Giacomelli (1978: 525) and Morandi (1982:55); however, none of the meanings of *porrigo* listed in the *OLD* seem to fit the text.<sup>193</sup> In view of the uncertainty about what precedes, it is also possible, as Peruzzi (1964a:157) noted, to read *\*[3-4]\*ad* as a third person plural present subjunctive in *-a(n)d*, or even as an a-stem ablative singular in *-ad*. Radke (1994:106) is the first to interpret *\*[3-4]\*ad* in this way, reading "*a[dkap]iad* (= *accipiant*)" with Herbig (*CIE* 8079) and Jacobssohn (1910:3), but the syntax of the sentence as he reads it, *Ceres : far d[el]e[k]tom : u[el ro]uff[om] ui[nom] : a[dkap]iad Euios*, is strained.

Not surprisingly, this part of the text has been read in various ways. Herbig read *me[l ferc]tom : l[o]uff[om] Jui[no]m :*, interpreting this a prayer to Ceres to accept (*CIE*, with *a[dkap]iad*) or to provide (*[dou]iad* 1913, *ui[ctu]m : [dou]iad* 1923) various gifts, and these readings and interpretations were adopted by editors such as Buonamici and Stolte, and with variations, by Ribezzo. They were rejected by Vetter, who read *l[o]ufir* 'Liber' (1925:27-8: his later *louffir* (1939:156) and even *louff[i]r* (1953:280) were based on non-existent traces seen by him before *Juff* and *Jui*), taking the phrase as a prayer that Ceres should provide spelt and Liber wine. This interpretation was adopted by all later editors except Ribezzo<sup>194</sup> and Radke: for the latter's reading of this passage, see below.

The possibility of reading *l[o]uffir* was doubted by Peruzzi (1964a:156-7), however, and was rejected by Radke (1965:134-5) as being simply far too small to fit the lacuna. This I can confirm from autopsy: reading *l[o]uffir*, let alone *louffir*, is impossible, and consequently there is *no* direct mention of Liber in this text, which makes the interpretation of *euios* as *Eῦιος* difficult, as is discussed below. (Radke rightly added that it also reduces the likelihood of the restoration *ui[no]m* being correct.) It is necessary to stress this point, since even Watkins (1995a, 1995b) still uses Vetter's impossible *louff[i]r* and bases an important part of his discussion of the text on this reading. The contents of the first part *ceres* — *\*ad* therefore in my view remain unclear apart from the fact that *ceres* is mentioned in association with *far* that was possibly specified as *Jtom*, and that, if *\*[3-4]\*ad* is indeed a third singular present subjunctive, the phrase may well be an invocation.

<sup>193</sup> Other proposals have been *a[dkap]iad* (Herbig *CIE* 8079, Jacobssohn 1910:3, Ribezzo 1918:56), *a[dtul]ad* (Ribezzo 1927:151-2, 1930:74), *a[ddou]iad* (Ribezzo 1936:46), *[dou]i ad* (Herbig 1913:75, 1923:233, Vetter 1925:27, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347), *ff[in]kad* (Olzscha 1965:123, in Radke 1965:136), *[fe]rad* (Vetter 1953:280, Joseph & Klein 1981:294), and *[pa]rad* (Joseph & Klein 1981:294).

<sup>194</sup> Ribezzo interpreted the text as an injunction to *bring* offerings, taking *ceres* either as 'granum', one of the gifts (1918:56, 1927:151; 1929:79 n.4), apparently in the accusative (?), or as the recipient (1930:74 (with *l[o]uffrom*), 1934:226, 1936:46) in the genitive (??).

(2) *euios* — *ff.jiqod*: The following letters are *euios:mamaz*, followed by a small lacuna. On the lower edge of this lacuna both Mengarelli's and Thulin's drawing shows a small trace, seen also by Vetter (1953:280), who read *zextos*, and apparently by G. Giacomelli ("la *e* va supplita quasi interamente", 1963:41). Both Peruzzi (1964a: 152-3) and Radke (1965:137) deny its existence, however, and I myself have likewise been unable to find it. Their doubt whether the lacuna could not have contained two letters seems unjustified. The lacuna is followed by part of an *x* (the upper right-hand and both lower ends are preserved), a *t* (Radke's alternatives *k* and *i* (1965:137) are impossible) and *os*: *euios:mamaz[e]xtos*, or perhaps *euios:mamazextos*.

Reading *l[o]uffir* 'Liber' in the first phrase, after Vetter, has its repercussions for the way in which *euios* is interpreted, since the interpretations quoted in the discussion of the first phrase *ceres* — \**ad* all presupposed that *euios*: was to be taken together with the following *mamaz[e]xtos* as part of the second phrase. As Herbig (1913:78 n.1) and Scherer (1956:118) had noted, this had the disadvantage of making the first phrase the only one not to end in *:*, while at the same time assuming *:* *within* what was apparently a closely connected group of names, since *euios : mama z[e]xtos* was interpreted as either (1) praenomen + gentilicium + cognomen (Herbig *CIE* 8079 ('Sextus Mama Euius'), Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:150-1, 1930:74, 1934:226, 1936:47, Vetter 1939:155), an interpretation which can be rejected for a text of this date and which furthermore requires that *ff Jiqod* is interpreted as a third person *singular*, or (2) a gentilicium followed by two praenomina (in which case *euios* is singular (Meister 1916:101), not a Sabellic-type nominative plural in /-ōs/, as Norden (1939:206-7) and Vetter (1953:280) suggested, as this would clash with the Early Faliscan a-stem nominative plural *sociai* in EF 4, cf. §4.2.6, §4.3.6) or (3) three praenomina (Herbig 1913:78 n.1, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347-8). See also §7.2.1 for a discussion of this group of names.

As a consequence of Vetter's *l[o]uffir* 'Liber', *euios* was again attached to the first phrase by G. Giacomelli (1963:41-2) and Peruzzi (1964a:166) and interpreted as *Eũios*, an epithet of *l[o]uffir*. As was said above, Radke (1965:134-5) is in my view right in regarding *l[o]uffir* as impossible and as a consequence, in removing the basis for the restoration *ui[no]m* and for the interpretation of *euios* as *Eũios*. If *l[o]uffir* is dropped as a correct or even possible reading, maintaining *euios* as *Eũios* (Olzscha in Radke 1965:137,<sup>195</sup> G. Giacomelli 1978:525, Morandi 1982:55) has no other basis than the frequently adduced association of Ceres with Liber: but the only evidence for this association at the time of the Ceres-inscription seems in fact to be the reading of *l[o]uffir* 'Liber' in the Ceres-inscription itself (cf. Le Bonniec 1958:303-4).

<sup>195</sup> Olzscha, who had previously (1965:123) interpreted *l[o]uffir* implausibly as 'uel' (cf. Oscan *loufir TB* 1,8) to avoid the hyperbaton 'Liber uinum ...at *Eũios*' (although he was apparently quite happy to accept the hyperbaton in *soç[iai] porded karai*), maintained this interpretation by reading *u[el ro]uff[om]* (?) *ui[no]m*, with an adjective preceding the noun, contrary to the normal Faliscan word-order (§8.4.1). This reading is maintained by Radke (1994).

The inscription then continues with *med* followed by a lacuna that has on its left edge the left half of an *f* and on its right edge the middle part of a shaft (see fig.12.1), which can be part of an *i*, *t*, or *z*, but not of an *a* (*pace* Thulin 1908:258 n.3 and Radke 1965:137), and which is in its turn followed by *qod*:. For this *ff Jiqod* both Buonamici (1913:40) and Herbig (1913:74-80) independently arrived at an restoration *ff[i]fiqod* or *ff[ef]iqod* ‘finxerunt’; similar restorations had been considered by Thulin (1908:258) and Herbig himself (*CIE* 8079). This has been adopted by all editors except Ribezzo, who, having first adopted *ff[i]fiqod* as ‘fecit’ (1918:248 n.3), later erroneously claimed that it did not fit the lacuna and proposed the impossible *fiqod* ‘figat’ (1927:150-1), and *ff[e]iqod* (‘fingat’ 1930:74-5, 1936:47, ‘figito’ 1934:226). The lacuna is in fact large enough to allow even the *ff[i:ff]iqod* considered by Lejeune (1955:146 n.9) and Radke (1965:137). As the fragment containing *Jqod*:. cannot be joined perfectly onto the group of shards that contains *ff*, the size of the lacuna can be adjusted by a few millimetres, which affects both the possibilities for the letter between *far* and *ef* in the preceding and the lacuna in *hut\*[ Jilom* in the next line. If the lacuna in *ff Jiqod* is enlarged, Radke’s *ff[e:]fiqod* (1965:137) becomes possible; if it is reduced, *ff Jqod* can be restored only as *ff[i]fiqod*. *F[:ff]iqod* and *fiqiked* are usually regarded as perfects of *tingo*: Lejeune (1955:148-50) rejected the possibility that they are forms of *facio*. This view has now been revived by Poccetti (2005:31-5) and Berenguer & Luján (2005:206-7), however: see §5.2.1.7-8. For the ending of *ff[:ff]iqod* see §5.1.4e. The names followed by *med* show that the phrase is undoubtedly a potters’ signature of the *iscrizioni parlanti*-type (see §8.8.2), with a direct parallel in *tele\*[1-2?] med fiqiked* EF 9.

(3) *prau[ — karai*: The interpunct after *Jiqod*:. is followed by the clearly legible *pra* and the lower half of a *u* (or possibly of a *d* or *l*), after which the text continues on another fragment (cf. fig.2.1). All editors except Thulin read an *i* at this point, although the traces of this letter seem to fall in the joint between both fragments (Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8079), and I doubt whether they are not in fact part of the joint. After the lacuna, the text continues with *osurnam:so*. This is followed by the leftmost part of a small circle on the left edge of a lacuna, either *c* (thus most editors) or possibly *q* (Thulin 1908:258; Ribezzo 1927:151). The lacuna itself may have contained three or four letters, depending on the sizes of the lacunas in *ff Jqod*., *\*[ ]\*ad*, and *urnel[ ]tela*.<sup>196</sup> On the other side of the lacuna is the lower half of a shaft, which can be part of an *f*, *i*, *p*, *r*, or *t*, but not of a *q* (Thulin 1908:258). Herbig restored this as *soç[ia]pporded* (cf. Thulin 1908:258), which has been accepted by all editors except Ribezzo.<sup>197</sup> Note that here is

<sup>196</sup> Thulin’s *so(q)orded* (without lacuna), based on a reconstruction he later discarded, is impossible, as he himself admits (1908:255, 258).

<sup>197</sup> Ribezzo’s *soç[ui]ai* (1927:151) and Vetter’s alternatives *soç[ruei]* or *soç[ru]* (1925:26-7) are epigraphically possible; not so Ribezzo’s *soç[uai]* (1918:56, 1930:74) and *soç[dali]* (1934:226), and Vetter’s alternatives *soç[orei]*, *soç[erei]*, or *soç[rei]* (1925:26-7).

only *one* trace between the edge of the lacuna and *orded*: reading *soç[ia]iporded* (Vetter 1939:155, 1953:280, Pisani 1964:347) is impossible. This the only part of the inscription where the editors agree to some extent: *prau[i]os urnam : soç[ia]i] porded karai* : ‘Pravius gave the urn to his dear girlfriend’ has been the accepted reading and interpretation since Herbig, with the exceptions noted above.

(4) *ego* — *fitaidupes*: The next phrase starts with the letters *ego*, clearly ‘ego’, attested in Early Faliscan *eco* EF 2, *eko* EF 6, 7, and *ego* EF 465\*: Ribezzo’s interpretation of *ego* as an \*/ekō/ from the Sabellic pronominal stem /eko-/ (‘ita’ 1918:56, 1934:226; ‘sic’ 1930:74-5), or as ‘e(r)go’ (1927:151) is not convincing.

In the following letters, *urnel[la]* (thus first Ribezzo 1918:56), only the lower halves of the *u* and the *l* are preserved (the second is omitted by Thulin). The remaining two or perhaps three missing letters (depending ultimately on the size of the lacunas in *ff Jiqod* and *soç[ ]porded*) are best taken together with the *Jtela* following the lacuna and interpreted as an adjective with *urnel[la]*, as was already proposed by Thulin (1908:259).<sup>198</sup> Since Ribezzo (1934), this *urnel[la 2-3]tela* has generally been regarded as a ‘diminutivo continuativo’ along the lines of Catullus’ *turgiduli ocelli* (3.18). Of the restorations along this line, the most attractive is surely Watkins’ *ti]tela* (1995a:129) based on *eco urna tita uendias* Lat 479†, although along with it Watkins unfortunately resurrected Knobloch’s (1958:137-8) highly fanciful interpretation ‘piggy-bank’ for *urna tita*. Other possibilities are Pisani’s *pa]tela* ‘patula’ = ‘larga, ampia’ (1946:53, 1964:347-8) and Giacomelli’s *lu]tela* ‘lute(ol)a’ (1963:41-3, 1978:525-6), which has been adopted by Peruzzi (1964a:161), Radke (1965:137), and Morandi (1982:56). Ribezzo’s *arcen]tela* (1918:56, 1927:151, 1930:74, 1934:226) does not fit the lacuna (nor the sense, as the urn is anything but bright as silver), and Vetter’s *pu]tela* ‘parvula’ (1953:280) is based on his very doubtful interpretation of *putellio* MF 151 as ‘infans’.

The remaining *fitaidupes*<sup>199</sup> is usually divided either as *fita idupes* or as *fitai dupes*.<sup>200</sup> *Fita* or *fitai* has been connected to (1) Latin *fungo* and derivations (*fitilla* Thulin 1908:259, Herbig CIE 8079, Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:151, 1930:74, 1934:226, 1936:47; perfect participle *fi(c)ta* G. Giacomelli 1963:41-3, 1978:525-6, Peruzzi

<sup>198</sup> Most early editors let the next word start after the lacuna, reading either *telafitai* (thus Gamurrini 1894:340, Thulin 1908:259, Herbig 1913:85 n.2 (both interpreting it as the name of a goddess), Herbig 1923:233 (“der zu Erde gewordenen (Toten)”), Vetter 1925:30 (first person singular perfect of an unknown \*/tela-/ or *tela* ‘terra’ (thus Herbig CIE 8079, Jacobssohn 1910:3, Buonamici 1913; *ex Jtela* ‘ex terra’ Stolte 1929:107).

<sup>199</sup> Mengarelli’s and Ribezzo’s drawings, Buonamici (1913:45-6), Ribezzo (1918:56, 1927:151-2, 1930:74-5, 1934:226), and Stolte (1929:107), erroneously read an *r* instead of *p*.

<sup>200</sup> Other divisions are Buonamici’s *tela fitaid ures* (1913) and Stolte’s *ex Jtela fita idu res* (1929:107). Morandi (1982:56) and Watkins (1995a:129 n.5) compare *fitaidupes* to South Picene *pidaitupas* TE.5.

1964a:161-2, Morandi 1982:56), (2) Latin *fio* (*fitum est* Andr.29L Stolte 1929:107, *fitai* ‘exstiti’ Vetter 1953:280; Herbig’s comparison of Umbrian *fito* *TI* VIb.11 (*CIE* 8079) assumes the same root), and (3) Latin *fetus* (Pisani 1946:53, 1964:347-8).

*Dupes* was first interpreted as ‘bipes’ (Thulin 1908:259, Herbig 1913:85 n.2, 1923:233), but this was rejected by Vetter (1925:29-30, 1953:282-3), who connected it with Latin *dupondius* (thus also Pisani 1946:51-3, 1964:347-8, and Morandi 1982:56). Ribezzo (1936:47) took *dupes* as a present participle *\*dubens* ‘potens’. G. Giacomelli (1963:41,43, 1978:525-6) and Peruzzi (1964a:163-4) both divide *idupes*, reading ‘\*indupens’ = ‘pesante’ and ‘\*indupes’ = ‘impes’ = ‘impetus’ respectively. The problem with these last suggestions is that they presuppose an *i(n)du-* (again with a problematic drop of a syllable-final nasal) at a time when this word at least in Latin still had the form *endo* in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.4.<sup>201</sup> Radke’s interpretation (1994:108-9) of *idupes* as ‘Idubus’, with the ending *-pes* (instead of the expected *\*-fos*) ascribed to a presumed Sicilian presence in the ager Faliscus, is in my view entirely without merit.<sup>202</sup> Likewise unconvincing is Matzloff (2006:67-75), who divides *fit aidupes*, with *aidupes* as ‘qui a le pied enflé’ (≈ Οἰδῖπovς), translating “[Pravios] a-t-il une crise de goutte? («devient-il podagre (*aidupes*)?»), «devient-il homme aux pieds enflés?»)”.

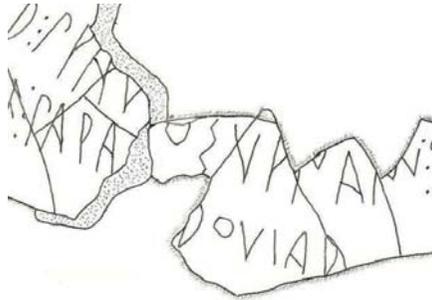
(5) *arcentelom* — *douiad* The fifth phrase, which appears to be syntactically linked with the fourth, starts with a clearly legible *arcentelomhut*. This is followed by a lacuna whose width again depends on the one in *ff* *Jiqod*: if that is reduced or left as it is, two letters are missing here; if it is enlarged, two or three (cf. fig.12.2). Pisani’s view (1946:53, 1964:348-9), which he incorrectly ascribes to Stolte (1929), that this lacuna contained only a part of the decoration but no letters is untenable in view of the form of the horse on the other side of the vase and also of the fact that the decoration is actually interrupted for the *l* almost directly following the lacuna, implying that the inscription was written *before* the decoration (cf. fig.12.2). A small trace is preserved on the left edge of the lacuna, consisting of the upper part of a shaft tilted slightly to the left, belonging to an *i* (eds.), an *u*, or an *l* (Ribezzo 1936:47). The traces of a *c* or *x* seen by Vetter (1939:156, 1942:220) on the right-hand edge of the lacuna are non-existent.

*Arcentelom* is obviously derived in some way from *argentum*, either as a diminutive or as an adjective. Some authors have interpreted both words as nouns, e.g. Herbig, who interpreted *arcentelom* as ‘\*argentulum’, and his *hut\*ilom* (*CIE* 8079) as ≈

<sup>201</sup> This applies also to Stolte’s interpretation of his misreading *idu res* (1929:107).

<sup>202</sup> Note e.g. (1) that Radke’s parallel, Sicilian *nanepos* in the inscription from Centuripe, has a different vowel-grade; (2) that assumptions about a Sicilian presence in the ager Faliscus are entirely based on Dion. 1.21.1; (3) that this would be an instance of interference involving an *inflexional* suffix without any indications of interference or borrowing from Sicilian on the higher levels of the borrowing hierarchy (§1.3.2.2).

Greek  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\pi\lambda\eta\eta?$ , later (1923:233) suggesting *hut[im p]ilom* ‘ $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omega\ \pi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu$ ’: others have interpreted both as adjectives, e.g. Pisani (1946:51,53-4, 1964:347-8) who read *dupes : arcentelom hutilom* (or *hut\*ilom*) and interpreted ‘dupondium argentulum fusile’. Martzloff (2006:68-9) unconvincingly derives *arcentelom* from *arceo* in the same way that *adulescentulus* is derived from *adolesco*, and regards it as similar in sense to Greek  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\iota\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ . He continues (2006:75) his translation (quoted above) with “Je tiens a sa disposition (*pe:parai*) une petite potion, en guise de petit remède (*arcentelom*)”.



**Fig.12.3. Detail of 1, showing the join between *prau[* and *]osurnam:soç*.**

The shards with *prau[* and *]osurnam:soç[* do not fit together, a fact obscured by the large amount of filler material used in the reconstruction. The line underneath, with *pe:paraf*, runs straight into *]osurnam:soç[*, whereas *]douiad* is written much lower. The shards with *]osurnam:soç[* and *]douiad* should be moved slightly upwards and tilted c. 5-10° counter-clockwise (cf. fig.12.1). (Tracing from author’s slides.)

Most editors, however, take one of the words *arcentelom hut[ ]ilom* as a noun and the other as an adjective (often again as a ‘diminutivo continuativo’). Reading *arcentelom* as a noun and *hut\*[ ]ilom* as an adjective does not result in adequate interpretations for the latter (Herbig 1913:85-6; Buonamici 1913; Vetter 1925:29-30, *hutiçilom* 1953:280,283; Stolte 1929:107; *hutiçilom* ‘gegossen’, from an adjective in *-icius*, Knobloch 1958:136; *huti[p]ilom* ‘quadruplum’, from Etruscan *huθ* with a Latin suffix, Radke 1965:138). It is more promising to take *arcentelom* as an adjective, with *hut\*[1-2]ilom* as a noun. The best proposal seems to be G. Giacomelli’s *huti[c]ilom* ‘\*futicillum’ (1963:41,43, 1978:525-6), a double diminutive, like *penis - peniculus - penicillus* (Peruzzi 1964a:163-4). In that case, the change in gender is surprising (G. Giacomelli 1963:43 n.15), and the word is perhaps rather a genitive plural (Peruzzi).<sup>203</sup> Ribezzo’s *hut[r]ilom* ‘poculum’, ‘operculum’ (1918:56 etc.) and *hutilom* ‘futillum, operculum’ (1936:47) are epigraphically and linguistically impossible.

<sup>203</sup> Unclear as to the precise status of both words are Buonamici’s *hutilom* (1913) and Radke’s ‘Silberausuß’ (1965:138).

The final part of the text is usually read as *pe:para[i]douiad* (with enough space after *douiad* to show that this is indeed the end of the text) and interpreted as ‘peperi duat’ since Herbig (1913:84-7): reading *pe:parai* at this point (Herbig 1913:85 n.2, 1923:233, Stolte 1929:107, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347) is unjustified. The reading is not without problems, however. The width of the lacuna shows that more is missing than one *i*, and while *pe:para[* seems to run straight into the *prau[*i*]os* in the line above it, *douiad* is written downwards at an angle to the rest. This difference in direction is less marked if the shards with *Josurnam:soç[* and *Jdouiad* are moved slightly upwards and tilted 5-10° counterclockwise, as they are in Herbig’s drawing (cf. fig.12.1).

Syntactically, too, the abrupt change from the first person *pe:para[i]* to the third person *douiad* is awkward: *douiad* is usually taken either as a loose addition to the text or as directly dependent on *pe:para[i]* (Herbig 1923:233, Vetter 1925:30). Vetter (1953:283) in fact considered integrating a conjunction, but the lacuna is too small for this. None of the proposals to avoid these problems are attractive. Peruzzi’s *pe : para[dke]douiad* ‘per par accedat’ and *pe : para[te ke]douiad* ‘per parate accedat’ (1964a:164-6) do not result in a really meaningful phrase, and assume an omission of word-final *r* that is difficult (§3.5.7b). Ribezzo’s *pe* (‘-que’ (1918:56, 1930:74, ‘(nem)pe’ 1927:151-2) followed by *para---* ‘para(tum)’ (1918:56) or by *para[ad]doviat* [sic] (1927:151), *para[i]douiad* (1930:74-5), or *para[:]douiad* (1934:226) ‘superaddat’, ‘iuxta addat’ (1936:47), are impossible on various grounds.

Therefore, even though several words can be more or less plausibly isolated, it is very difficult to make any sense of the last two phrases. The fourth phrase opens with ‘I, a little ... urn’, which appears to be the subject of *pe:para[i]* (if to be read thus), but how *pe:para[i]* is to be understood is unclear because of the problems in interpreting *telafitaidupes* and *arcentelom hutif. Jilom*, which constitute or contain the object of *pe:para[i]*. None of the attempts to interpret this part of the text or similar sentences resulting from different restorations (Pisani 1946:51-4, 1964:347-9, G. Giacomelli 1963:41-3, 1978:525-6, Peruzzi 1964a:160-6) is in my view really convincing.

**(I-5) The text as a whole.** Putting together the readings discussed above, I arrive at the following text, choosing to be too cautious rather than too bold:

- (1) *ceres:far\*[0-2]e[1-3]tom:\*[3-5]uff[1-4]ui[2]m:\*[3-4]\*ad* (invocation?)  
(with interdependent second, third and fourth lacunas, where 8-10 letters are missing in all, and the possibility that *Jtom:\** and *Juff* are in the wrong order)
- (2) *euios:mamaz[e]xtosmedff.f]iqod:* (formulaic potters’ signature)
- (3) *prau[*i*]osurnam:soç[*ia*]pordedkarai:* (statement that the vase was a gift)
- (4) *eqourne[*ati*?]telafitaidupes:*
- (5) *arcentelomhutif. Jilom:pe:para[i]? 1-2]douiad*

Earlier authors regarded the contents of the text, especially of the first and the last part, as religious (Thulin 1908:258, Herbig *CIE* 8079, Buonamici 1913:37-8, Taylor 1923:76-7); some more specifically connected it with the funerary ritual (Herbig 1913, 1923, Stolte 1929:109-111, 1930, Altheim 1931:117-8, Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:150-1, 1930:74-5, 1934, 1936:46-8).<sup>204</sup>

Vetter, stressing the third phrase, regarded the text rather as a commemoration of a festive occasion, with the first part as an invocation of Ceres' blessing on the recipient (1925:27-8). This interpretation has been adopted by most later authors (Pisani, Lejeune, Knobloch, G. Giacomelli, Peruzzi (connecting the first part with the cult of Bacchus), and, with some hesitation, Radke). Although this has the advantage of being based on a relatively clear part of the text, it provides no clues for the restoration of the more fragmentary parts of the text. The fact that the first phrase may be an invocation while the second phrase is a definitely formulaic signature (§8.9.2), while the third phrase seems to be of a more personal nature, does not seem to point to any kind of consistency within the text as a whole. Like many of the early texts, it appears to be 'highly individual', and, although using of formulaic phrases, it has no real parallels.

**Poetic aspects.** The inscription was regarded as metrical by Vetter (1925:27, 1953: 281-2) because of the word-order in *soc[iai] porded karai* and because the text can be divided into five lines of an approximately equal number of syllables. Thus, we have c.12 syllables in the first line (depending on the reconstruction, e.g. 12 in Vetter's 1953 rendering *ceres : far me[re]tom : l[o]uf[ir] uinom : [fe]rad*), 11 in the second, 12 in the third, probably 11 in the fourth, and 10-13 in the fifth, depending on the inclusion or exclusion of *douiad*). The same has been maintained by Norden (1939:206) and Brandenstein (in Pisani 1964:348)<sup>205</sup>, who apparently analysed the inscription as iambic senarii. As Peruzzi (1964a:155) states, there is a distinct possibility that the verse is Saturnian, and it is in fact analysed in this way by Radke (1994:106-8), although his interpretation of Saturnians is difficult to follow. The main problem with any metrical interpretation is that it must necessarily be based on more or less complete texts, as it requires an approximately equal number of syllables per line. Given the great uncertainties in both reading and interpretation, I do not think that it is possible to arrive at a metrical interpretation of the text that is in any way justifiable.

<sup>204</sup> Stolte (1930) and Altheim compared the horses of the decoration to hippomorphic representations of Demeter from Arcadia. The type of decoration is a common one at this period, however, and has probably no significance for the interpretation of the text (Peruzzi 1964:151 n.9, Morandi 1982:56).

<sup>205</sup> The latter's scansion, however, *cerés farméntom lóufir vīnom dōvjad / evjós mamá zextós med fīfīqód / pravjós urnám socjái pordéd karái / eq' úrnélá ?telá fitái dupés / arcéntelóm hutícilom péparai dōvjad*, is very implausible, to say the least: note (among several other oddities) that the reduplicative syllable is apparently long in *fīfīqód* but short in *péparai*.

An elaborate and more attractive discussion of the poetic aspects of the text is given by Watkins (1995a:126-31, 1995b:45-8), for his discussion focuses more on the *textual* than on the *metrical* basis for a poetical interpretation. Unfortunately, his interpretation is based on Vetter's untenable restorations, and this invalidates several of his conclusions, although perhaps not the overall gist of his discussion. In his view, *Ceres far me[la]tom Louff[i]r ui[no]m p[a]rad* is a variation of a traditional blessing formula found also in Paelignian *dida · uus · deti · hanustu · herentas* Pg 9<sup>206</sup>: a variant in the sense that the crucial verb of the formula, *douiad*, was replaced in the first phrase by a *p[a]rad* that is echoed later in the text by *pe:parai* (as he reads it). The 'frustrated expectation' in which this results is then resolved at the end, where the expected *douiad* is deftly inserted, making the text into 'ring-composition' (for his definition of this term, cf. Watkins 1995a:34-36). Watkins is thus unique in making the difficult and isolated *douiad* at the end into one of the cornerstones of his interpretation. Poccetti (2007:251), too, draws attention to the stylistic features that can be regarded as Faliscan, abstaining from judgement on the poetic form or metre itself.

*From two autopsies* in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 3548). **Bibliography:** Gamurrini 1894:339-41 (*autopsy*); Mengarelli 1908 (*autopsy*); Thulin 1908 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:184-5 (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:3 (11); Herbig *CIE* 8079; Herbig 1913:74-8, 80-7; Buonamici 1913:37-49 (1); [Weege in Helbig 1913:361]; Meister 1916:99-101; [Della Seta 1918:52 (*autopsy*)]; Ribezzo 1918:248-9; Taylor 1923:77; Herbig 1923:233; Vetter 1925; Ribezzo 1927:150-1; Buonamici 1929b:511; Ribezzo 1929a:79 n.4; Stolte 1929; Ribezzo 1930:74-5; Stolte 1930; Giglioli 1930:337; Altheim 1931:117-8; Ribezzo 1934; Buonamici 1936:424-6; Ribezzo 1936; Vetter 1939a:155-6 (*autopsy*); Norden 1939:266-7; [Andrén 1940:87]; Vetter 1942:220-1; Pisani 1946; Lejeune 1952a:340-1; Safarewicz 1953:245-6; Bruhl 1953:25; Vetter 1953:279-83 (241); Lejeune 1955:146-8; Scherer 1956:118; Knobloch 1958; Le Bonniec 1958:303-4; Radke 1962:143; G. Giacomelli 1963:41-4 (1) (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:347-9 (151); Peruzzi 1964a:150-67 (*autopsy*); Radke 1965b (*autopsy*); Olzscha 1965:123; G. Giacomelli 1978:525-6 (1); *FI* II.2 p.208 (*autopsy*); Joseph & Klein 1981; Agostiniani 1982:150-1 (591); Morandi 1982:54-6 (8); Radke 1994 (*autopsy*); Watkins 1995a:126-31; Watkins 1995b:45-8; Martzloff 2006:66-74; Poccetti 2007:251. **Photographs:** Mengarelli 1908:101-2; G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.II; G. Giacomelli 1978:509. **Drawings:** Mengarelli 1908:103 (reproduced in Herbig *CIE* 8079 p.23, Peruzzi 1964:151 fig.2); Thulin 1908 *inter* pp. 254-5 (reproduced in Herbig *CIE* 8079 p.22, Morandi 1982:55); Ribezzo 1918:56 fig.2 (reproduced in Ribezzo 1927:151); Lejeune 1952:122.

### 12.3. The two impasto pitchers

**2-4.** Two impasto pitchers, reputedly from Civita Castellana, were sold to the Museo di Villa Giulia in 1921. The first words of **2** were quoted already in 1933 by Pallottino, but the inscriptions were published in their entirety only in 1935 by Giglioli and Braun. They were dated to the seventh century by Giglioli, in which case they would be older than the Ceres-inscription (which is usually treated as the oldest Faliscan inscription).

<sup>206</sup> Already Buonamici (1913:38) had pointed to this text as a parallel, but it has largely disappeared from the discussions of the text by later authors.

2. Scratched *c.* 1½ times around the body (letters 4-11 mm high) of a small impasto pitcher that also contains 3. From their position on the vase, G. Giacomelli (1963) concluded that 2 is the primary inscription.<sup>207</sup>

*propramom*<sup>10</sup> :*pramed[u]mo*<sup>20</sup> *mpramodpra*<sup>30</sup> *medumom:pr*<sup>40</sup> *amodpropra*<sup>50</sup> *mōđ:pr*  
*amod*<sup>60</sup> *umō[m]*

Dextroverse. The letters vary in size, and the text is damaged at several points. After letter 46 the text bends downward to pass under the first line. From my autopsy, I can almost completely confirm the readings of G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi. They rightly stated that the text starts with *propramom*, not with Giglioli's *propramod* (adopted by most authors), Braun's *propramop*, or Ribezzo's *propramoe*. They also rightly read letter 11 as : where others read a lacuna ([*e*] Giglioli, [*:*] Ribezzo) or an empty space (Ribezzo, Pisani, Vetter). Letters 16-17 are a very clear *e* (certainly not Braun's and Ribezzo's *i!*) and the upper left-hand corner of a *d* (hardly Ribezzo's and Vetter's *p*). This is followed by a lacuna of one letter on the place of letter 18, where [*u*] is the obvious restoration: the traces of this *u* seen by Vetter are non-existent. Letters 26-27 are *od*, as G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi saw, not Giglioli's *oe*, which has been adopted by most authors.

Following letter 44, Vetter read a double and G. Giacomelli a triple interpunct, but, like Peruzzi, I can see no interpunct at all at this point. The text then continues with *propram*, followed by letters 51-53, the first of which is obviously *o*; the second is read as *đ* or *d* by G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi, and the third is a triple interpunct with one point missing. Feretti's drawing accompanying Giglioli's article has led to the misreadings *pro pram[od]* *ępramod* (Giglioli), *pro pram[ed]i* (Ribezzo), *pro pram[o]e* or *pro pram[oe]* *e pramod* (Pisani 1937) and *pramō[ e a ]pramod* (Pisani). After *um* there appear to be slight traces, so that the final letters 63-64 can be read as *umō[m]* (Vetter and G. Giacomelli) rather than *um[om]*.

Due to the repetition of the various elements, the resulting text can easily be divided into separate words and word-groups: (1) *propramom* : *pramed [u]mom*, (2) *pramod pramed umom* : , and (3) *pramod propramōđ* (or *pro pramōđ*) : *pramod umō[m]*. (Alternatively, the text could be divided into segments according to the interpuncts, but this does not result in a clearer picture.) Apart from the fact that this is clearly some kind of polyptotic word-play like e.g. *duenom duenas* EF 3 and *tulate tulas* EF/Etr 385, the interpretation is difficult, to say the least. The main word is *pramo-*, occurring in the ablative *pramod*, and in the masculine or neuter accusative (or neuter nominative) of a compound *propramom*. *Propramōđ* is usually read as *pro pramōđ* (preposition with noun in the ablative) but in view of *propramom*, it can also be read as *propramōđ*, an ablative of the compound *propramo-*. *Pramed* appears to be an

<sup>207</sup> Pisani, too, regarded 2 as earlier, but his argument for this, namely that in 3 the word-final consonants are missing, is spurious.

adverb (Vetter 1939a:147): Pisani, however, interpreted it as a subjunctive of a verb *\*pramo*, equal in sense to Latin *promo*. Although I cannot agree to the details of his interpretation, it does appear to be the only way of reading a verbal form in the text. (Another way would be to take *propramom* as a first person singular aorist (or perfect with an aorist ending?), as has been proposed (and rejected) for *tulom* MF 72, but this would clash with the accepted reading *pe:para[i]* in EF 1. Knobloch's (1966:48) *pramo(n)d* is morphologically impossible.)

*Pramo-* /prāmo-/ ← PIE *\*pr̥h̥mo-* (*\*pr̥h̥mo-/?*) recurs in Latin *prandium* ← *\*prām(o)-ed-jo-m/* 'early meal' or 'first meal' (cf. §6.2.58), but the exact meaning of *pramo-* and its derivatives in this text can only be guessed at. A meaning 'breakfast' (thus Ribezzo (with *pro pram[ed]i* 'pro prandio' and an adjective *pramidumom*, *pramedumom* ('prandial'?)), and Knobloch) or 'meal' (Pisani) does not seem particularly attractive. Vetter (1939:148) gave the word the meaning 'good', but later does not recur to this unargued explanation.

*Umom* has only recently received a convincing interpretation. M. Mancini (2003:239-41, 2004:205-7) rightly points to the *udmom* in 'Old Hernician' [---] *matas udmom ni hvidas mi kait[sis ---]* He 2. This may be the name of a type of vase: Rix (1998:250-1) explains it as /ud-mom/ ← PIE *\*u̯ed-*, comparing Latin *unda* ← *\*ud-nā*, and *umom* can in fact very well represent *\*ummom/* ← *\*ud-mom/* (cf. §3.3.4.3). This may finally lay to rest the presumed connection between *umom* and Latin *umidus* and *umor*, which, although rejected already by Braun (in Giglioli 1935:241), keeps cropping up in the literature. If *umom* were indeed derived from an *\*u̯g<sup>u</sup>-smom/*, the expected result at this date would rather be *\*u̯ksmom/* (cf. *iouxmen|ta* CIL I<sup>2</sup>.1). (Pisani tried to avoid this problem by deriving *umidus* from *\*u̯H-sm-*, which seems equally impossible.) I fail to understand how *umom* can be explained by "assonanza con vinom o, meglio ancora, a ragioni onomatopeiche" (G. Giacomelli 1963:45).

It is in my view impossible to interpret the text beyond the vaguest possible sense. Most of the interpretations that have been proposed are based at least partly on misreadings, on the impossible connection of *umom* with *umidus*, or on various unsubstantiated interpretations of *pramo-*. Explaining the text as an injunction to eat all day (Ribezzo) or to drink wine before, during, and after breakfast (Pisani, Knobloch 1966:48-9) furthermore require a *pro* used in the sense of *ante*, while Pisani's *a jpramo* 'post prandium' also requires an *a* used in the sense of *post*. A similar translation which avoids these problems is M. Mancini's (2004:206-7) "al primo pasto (*propramod*) per prima una brocca (scil. di vino); al pasto principale (*pramod*) per prima una brocca; al primo pasto, al pasto principale per prima una brocca". For Giglioli, the text was an invocation referring to "una primizia (di un liquido –vino? latte?– oppure invocazione a qualche divinità di sorgente?)" (1935:241); Braun (1935:443) referred to the text as a "formula magica", which amounts to little more than saying 'this is unintelligible'.

3. Scratched, once around the body (letters 5-9 mm high), close to the foot, of the impasto pitcher that also contains 2.

*ecoquto\*<sup>10</sup>uotenosiot<sup>20</sup>iñiasdueno<sup>30</sup>mduenassal<sup>40</sup>ue[sto]duolte<sup>50</sup>ne:*

Dextroverse. The *q* is  $\Phi$ , the *s*  $\Sigma$ . For *c* before *o* and *q* before *u*, see §11.2.2-3. The fifth letter, although damaged, is certainly a *t* (pace Ribezzo's *eco quiō* 'ego cuius?'). *Quto* is followed by a vertical stroke (cf. Agostiniani's drawing). The *n* read by virtually every editor apart from Buffa (who read nothing at all here), Braun (interpunct), and Vetter (*i*), is impossible: the reading of the second word can only be *quto* (thus Dirichs, Buffa, Pisani (although *quto[n]* still in Pisani 1934), Braun, Vetter, Peruzzi, Agostiniani).

*Quto* is an adaptation of the Etruscan *qutun* occurring e.g. in *mi qutun lemausnas* Etr III from Narce. It is usually regarded as the nominative of an  $\bar{o}n$ -stem (thus first Braun 1935:440-1), cf. *cupi<d>o* MF 62 and *apolo* MF 65, but this poses a problem if (as most editors do) *duenom* is interpreted as an adjective to go with *quto*, for *duenom* can only be a neuter nominative. However, *quto* might be read as *quto(m)*, an adaptation of Etruscan *qutun* to the  $\bar{o}$ -stem neuters. Colonna (1974:140-1) in fact observed that Etruscan *qutun* would best be derived, not from Greek  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\theta\omega\nu$ , but from a Greek  $*\kappa\hat{\omega}\theta\omega\nu$ , apparently unaware that this form is attested from Hesychius ( $\kappa\hat{\omega}\theta\alpha$ :  $\pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha$  κ 4788 Latte). Early Faliscan *quto* could thus represent /kūtōm/ or /kūtōtm/ (or perhaps even /gūtōm/ or /gūtōtm/, cf. Latin *guttur* and *guttus*). Another possibility is that *quto* is to be read as *quto(r)* /gūtōr/ or /gūtōtr/, a counterpart of Latin *guttur*, which is also often derived from  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\theta\omega\nu$  (or perhaps from a  $*\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\rho$ ?). Both readings assume omission of a word-final consonant in Early Faliscan (cf. §3.5.7), but provide a satisfactory explanation for the neuter *duenom*. There are several possible ways to divide the text here:

(1) *quto<n> euotenosio* (Pallottino, Pisani 1934, Buonamici 1934, Buffa, Giglioli, Braun, Ribezzo, G. Giacomelli, Devine, Agostiniani), with *quto<n>* = Etruscan *qutun* and a name *euoteno-* that is has been connected with *euio*s EF 1, although it is usually not made clear how: a direct derivation (with as suffix /-tēno-/? ) seems unlikely (but cf. Lejeune 1952b:123), so that some editors have assumed an (equally unlikely) pun, e.g. '«quello che tiene da Evio»' (G. Giacomelli 1963:46, 1978:527);

(2) *quto<n>e uotenosio*, with *uotenosio* = *uo<l>tenosio/uo(l)tenosio*, referring to the same person as *uoltene* (see below), in which case *quto<n>e* could be explained (like *arute* MF 269 and *larise* MF 270, and MLF 372 and 373) as having an 'epenthetic [ə]' or as being an accusative in *-e(m)* used for the nominative (see §9.2.2.1,4);

(3) *quto ieuotenosio* (Vetter), with a name *ieuoteno-*;

(4) *quto neuotenosio* (Pisani 1935 etc.), with a name *neuoteno-*;

(5) *quto [n]euo tenosio* ' $\kappa\acute{\omega}\theta\omega\nu$  novum Teni' (Dirichs), taken up by Peruzzi, which depends entirely on the *[n]*, and assumes preservation of a Proto-Italic  $*\text{eu}/$  (§3.2.5; see also §18.3.3), and an early omission of word-final *-m* (§3.5.7a).

(6) *quto* \**e* (?) *uotenosio* (*quto ne uo(l)tenosio* Steinbauer in Rix 1998:250 n.21), with *uotenosio* = *uo(l)tenosio/uo(l)tenosio*, the same person as *uoltene* (see below).

My own preference is either (2) or (6), although in (6) it is quite unclear how \**e* should be interpreted. Note that regarding *uotenosio* as the same name as *uoltene* is only possible if it is assumed that in *uotenosio* the syllable-final *l* was omitted either by accident (*uo(l)tenosio*) or intentionally (*uo(l)tenosio*): I would then rather regard it as an error than assuming that it is the omission of a consonant that was weakened in syllable-final position, as is discussed in §3.5.7*b*. However the name is read, the name is certainly a genitive in *-osio*, not, as Knobloch wants it, an adjective *euotenosio(s)* (1954) or *euotenosio(m)* (1966:48). Note that in the first of these interpretations it is assumed that *quto* is masculine, in the second that it is neuter, while stems in *ōn*-stems are usually feminine.

The next problem is *duenom*, which as it stands can hardly be anything else than an adjective with *quto* (thus first Braun 1935:443). This is only possible if *quto* is a neuter, which would seem to point to *quto(m)* or *quto(r)* rather than to an *ōn*-stem *quto* /kūttō/ or /gūttō/, for it is unlikely that the latter would be neuter (thus G. Giacomelli 1978:527). If *duenom* is a noun, the only possible meaning would be *bonum* ‘a good thing’ (TLL 2.2098,42-2099,27): the meaning ‘possession’ is apparently found only in the (collective) plural (TLL 2.2101,6-81). Even if *duenom* could mean ‘possession’, then *titias duenom* would still clash with *eqo quto euotenosio*: *euotenosio* certainly gives the name of the owner, not of the potter, as Pisani suggested. Peruzzi’s *eqo quto neuo tenosio titias duenom duenas* ‘ego κάθων nouum Teni (et) Titiae bonarum bonae’, involves a morphologically difficult a-stem genitive plural in *-om* (cf. §4.3.7). This whole problem would be solved if *duenom* could in any way be interpreted as = Latin *donum*, but it is impossible to derive *duenom* from *donom* /dōnom/ ← \*/doh<sub>3</sub>nom/ (or, alternatively, Latin *donom* /dōnom/ from *duenom* /dūenom/) by any regular process. Pisani therefore explained *duenom* as a hyper-Umbrism (!) for *donom*, comparing cases where Umbrian *ue* corresponds to Latin *o*, which would have been used to obtain a pun with *duenas*. This explanation is apparently adopted by G. Giacomelli (1978) and Morandi: in my view, it is too far-fetched.

The text ends in *salu[.]duoltene* (certainly not Ribezzo’s *salqemo* or Braun’s *uoltzne*). The last *e* of *uoltene* is placed below the line for lack of space, as the (circular) inscription had already ended up against its own beginning: to mark this point, a double interpunct was added between *uolten* and *eco*. The earliest editors read no more of the verb than *salue...* Vetter’s *saluēn* has no ground at all and made him take *uoltene* as a dative with an impossibly early monophthongization of /-ei/ → /-ē/ (§3.7.5). G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi rightly read a *d* after the lacuna, making it possible to read *salue[fo]d*, for which cf. *saluetod tita* (Colonna 1980). G. Giacomelli’s *saluē [me]d* (1963:44,46, 1978:527) remains an attractive alternative, however, in view of Latin *ne*

*med malo statod CIL I*<sup>2</sup>.4. Peruzzi's *salu[ō me]d uoltene* 'nonne me saluum uultis?' (assuming, like his *eco quto neuo* (see above), that the pitcher replaced one that was broken) is very difficult, assuming (again) an early omission of *-m* (§3.5.7a), a *uolte* apparently with a secondary ending, and an impossible *-ne = nonne* (?) affixed not to the *initial* but to the *final* word of the question. *Uoltene* appears to be a vocative of a name derived from the frequently occurring *Volta*, perhaps with a suffix */-ēno-/:* cf. §7.2.2.16. It is not necessary to compare Greek *χαῖρε καλῶς* (Pisani) or to assume that *uoltene* is the vocative of a *\*/u̯tenos/* 'Geliebter' (Knobloch 1966:49).

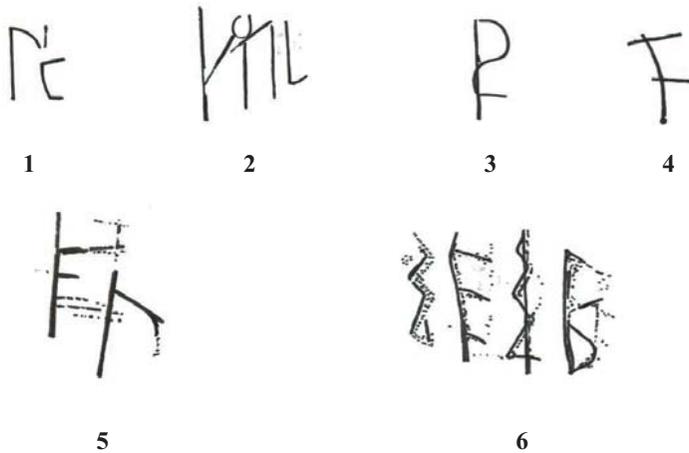
**From two autopsies** in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 43110). **Bibliography:** (I) Pallottino 1933:241 n.1 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1934; Buonamici 1934:356; Dirichs 1934:26; Buffa *NRIE* 974; Pisani 1935; – (II) Giglioli 1935:238-41 (*autopsy*); Braun 1935:436-45; Buonamici 1936; Ribezzo 1936:143-65 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1937; Norden 1939:266 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1939a:145-56 (*autopsy*); Hofmann 1940:120-2; Pisani 1946:51 n.2; Lejeune 1952b:121-3; Vetter 1953:283-5 (242A-B); Knobloch 1954; Bassi 1956:51-2 (61); G. Giacomelli 1963:44-6 (2a-b) (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:349-51 (152a-b); Peruzzi 1964a:174 n.78; Knobloch 1966:48-9; Peruzzi 1967b; Devine 1970:112-4; G. Giacomelli 1978:526-7 (2b); Colonna 1980c:52-3; Agostiniani 1981:389; Agostiniani 1982:150 (590); Morandi 1982:56-7 (9); Lejeune 1989:67 (8); M. Mancini 2003:240-1; M. Mancini 2004. **Photographs:** Giglioli 1935:239 fig.1; Ribezzo 1936:154 fig.A, tav.I; Bassi 1956 tav.XXI; G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.III. **Drawings:** Ferreti in Giglioli 1935:240 fig.2 (reproduced in Lejeune 1952b:122 (partly), Morandi 1982:57, Lejeune 1989:67); Gasperini in Agostiniani 1981:389.

4. Scratched c.1½ times around an impasto pitcher (height 15 cm, letters 4-11 mm high), similar to the one of EF 2 and EF 3. Seventh century.

*e\*\*azieput<sup>10</sup> ilepekapen<sup>20</sup> arufiakale<sup>30</sup> ptiauessal<sup>40</sup> uetesocial<sup>50</sup> ofetioskai<sup>60</sup> osuelosa  
ma<sup>70</sup> nossalueto<sup>80</sup> saluessit<sup>90</sup> eiofeteqem<sup>100</sup> eneses\*ei<sup>110</sup>*

Dextroverse. Several of the letters have very curious forms or appear to be corrections of other letters, as is explained below. The inscription leaves me with the impression of having been written by someone who had only a slight grasp of the art of writing, or, more specifically, who was perhaps not used to writing in this particular alphabet. The reading of the difficult text has been greatly improved by Prosdocimi's re-edition of the text in *CivFal*, all the more as this is accompanied by excellent photographs, and my discussion is largely based on his readings and interpretations (see also fig.12.4).

The traces of letters (*ut?*) read by Vetter before the text are at the very best accidental scratches. Letter 1 is an *e*, followed by letters 2-3 that look like  and have been read as *pe* by most editors (*pi* Braun 1935:447-8). Prosdocimi, however, interprets this as an *n* with a square *c* inserted underneath, comparing the *c* in Etr **XLIV**. The use of *c* itself, square or otherwise, remains surprising, however, as elsewhere in the inscription *k* is used before *a*. Letters 8-12 are , to be read with G. Giacomelli and Prosdocimi as *util* (*al* Giglioli, *χil* Braun, *ijil* Ribezzo, *\*l* Vetter, *itu* Pisani 1937, 1946, *iē* Pisani 1964). This first part of the text defies any attempt at interpretation. Prosdocimi goes no further than *en* = 'in' and a hesitating adoption of Pisani's *lepe* 'vive' (for which, see below).



**Fig.12.4. Various details of EF 4 as shown in Prosdocimi's photographs.**

(1) Letters 2-3, usually read as *pe*, but by Prosdocimi as *nc*. (2) Letters 8-12, read by G. Giacomelli and Prosdocimi as *util*. (3) Letter 16, the *k* of *kapena*. (4) Letter 27, the first letter of *\*aleptia*. (5) Letters 30-31, the *ep* of *kaleptia*. (6) Letters 104-107, read by Prosdocimi as *sešb*. (Author's drawings after the photographs in Prosdocimi 1990.)

The next part is usually read as the names of women followed by *ues saluete sociai* (cf. §7.2.1). The first is *kapena*: the first letter of this word, letter 16, is  $\text{P}$ , apparently some kind of correction (*r* from *c* Vetter, *k* from *r* or *p*, or *r* or *p* from *k* Peruzzi, *k* from *r* Prosdocimi). The second is *rufia*: although the sides of the *u* are convex, Vetter's *rofia* is groundless. Both readings presupposes an almost impossibly early monophthongization of /ou/ (cf. §3.7.2 and Rix 1993a:85-6). The third name is more difficult. The first letter (letter 27) is  $\text{F}$  and has been read as a *v* (Giglioli, Braun; *v* or *u* Pisani), but Prosdocimi's photograph shows that it is rather a *k* (thus Ribezzo, Vetter, G. Giacomelli, and Peruzzi). According to Peruzzi and Prosdocimi it was corrected from a *t* (which was in fact an alternative reading proposed by Giglioli). Letters 30-31 are  $\text{H}$ : the first is usually read either as an *e* (Braun, Ribezzo, Pisani, Vetter, Peruzzi) or a *k* (Giglioli, G. Giacomelli), the second may be an *e* (*s* Vetter). According to Prosdocimi, the first letter is an *i* with horizontal bars that are probably unintentional, while the second is *p* (*kaliptia*). I am not so certain with regard to the *i* as Prosdocimi, especially as the distance between this letter and the next is quite large, and would maintain the possibility of an *e*. The phrase *ues saluete sociai* gives a problematic *ues* (cf. §4.7.3), and a *sociai* that shows that at this date the pronominal nominative plural had replaced the older nominal nominative plural in /-ās/ and /-ōs/ (cf. §4.2.6).

What follows is usually read as the name of several men followed by *salueto*. The names are clearly legible as *ofetios* (*ofetɣos* Giglioli, *ofeiɣos* Braun), *kaios*, *uelos* (*velqs* Braun), and *amanos*, but the relation between these names is not clear: see §7.2.1. Most editors assume four separate names. Vetter took *ofetios* as the nominative plural of a gentilicium, followed by three praenomina, but I doubt if at this date gentilicia already played any role: Brauns praenomen + gentilicium + patronym + cognomen is certainly impossible at this date. In all these interpretations *uelos* is nominative, a thematized form of Etruscan *Vel*, although it could also be a genitive *uelos* (thus Pisani, who interpreted *kaios uelos amanos* ‘Gaius Velis f. Amanus’ with the father’s name between the praenomen and the gentilicium, as is done later in Umbrian and Volscian).

*Salueto* presents a problem, for, not only would we expect *saluetod*, as in the seventh-century inscription from Osteria dell’Osa, *saluetod tita* (Colonna 1980c), but as the number of men is plural, we might even expect even *saluentod*. Prosdocimi (1990:304-5) attributes the absence of *-d* to a different morphology, pointing to Umbrian, where the original form *\*/-to/* is not differentiated for number either: cf. §5.2.4.4 and §5.3.1.16-17. *Salueto* seems to be followed by a similar expression *salues seite*. *Salues* appears to be an i-stem nominative plural in */-ēs/*, either a regular plural from an elsewhere unattested i-stem adjective *\*/salɥi-/*, or an irregular transfer of the i-stem ending to another declination. *Seite* is can hardly be taken in any other way than equal in sense to Latin *sitis*, in which case it must be an error either for *s{e}ite* or for *s{ei}te*: see §5.2.1.18. The greetings themselves, *ues saluete sociai*, *salueto*, and *salues seite* have parallels in *salue[to]d uoltene* EF 3 and the inscription from Osteria dell’Osa, *saluetod tita* (see Colonna 1980c).

The last part of the inscription starts with *ofeteqemene* (not Ribezzo’s *ofiehemene*). Peruzzi (1967b:122), finding a sequence *qe* difficult, read this as *ϕe*, but Prosdocimi rightly chose for *qe*, pointing to Etruscan *silqetas* ET La 2.3 and Latin *qetios* CIL I<sup>2</sup>.2658 (text after Mancini 1979:370). The last problematic part is letters 104-107, , where several of the letters appear to be reworkings or corrections. The readings of the various editors at this point are, understandably, wildly different (*seṣseie* Giglioli, *sevesgseie* Braun, *seṣipseie* Ribezzo, *seis(u)peie* Pisani, *seis[\*]eṣie* Vetter 1939a, *seis.eṣie* Vetter 1953, *seṣ\*\*eie* G. Giacomelli 1963, *sses\*\*eie* G. Giacomelli 1978). Prosdocimi read *seṣbeie* (his text erroneously has *neṣbeie*), with a *b* that would presumably be a *lettre morte*: the photograph (tav.XIIC) shows that it is virtually impossible to read otherwise, although it is equally impossible to see what it should mean. Prosdocimi cautiously referred to South Picene *bie* at the end of Sp CH.1.

I mention only to reject Pisani’s *e pea zie pię lepe kapena rufia uale eti aues saluete sociai (i)ofet uos kaios uelos amanos salueto salue sei te iofet eqemene sei s(u)peie* ‘In pia die pie vive, Capena; Rufia, vale et aveas; salvete, sociai! Futuit vos Gaius Velis f. Amanus. Salveto! Salve, sive te futuit equitabiliter, sive \*suppediter’ (thus Pisani 1964:349). Apart from impossible readings *pea*, *pię*, *uale eti aues*, *uos*, *sei*

*s(u)peie*, this contains several oddities: (1) the absence of *-d* in the ablatives *pea* and *die* and in the adverbs *pię*, *eqemene*, and *s(u)peie* (its omission in *salueto* is at best an exception, not the rule); (2) *eti* side by side with *(i)ofet*, *iofet* ← *\*/iob<sup>h</sup>eti/*, as both should have lost */i#h/* by the same rule; (3) *aves* as a subjunctive of *aueo*; (4) an accusative *uos* side by side with the nominative *ues*; (5) the active sense of *eqemene*, formed with same suffix as the Greek medial participles in *-μενος*. Of this reading, *lepe* (which has no parallel in Italic at all) has been adopted by some recent authors. Rix (1993a:86) considers the possibility that *iofet* may be *iubet*, but (like *rufia*) this requires a very early monophthongization of */ou/*.

**From autopsy** in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 43111). **Bibliography:** Giglioli 1935:241-3 (*autopsy*); Braun 1935:445-51; Buonamici 1936:424-6; Ribezzo 1936:165-8 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1937: 238-45; Vetter 1939a:151-6 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1946:51 n.2; Vetter 1953:285-7 (243); Bassi 1956:51-2 (62); G. Giacomelli 1963:44-6 (3) (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:349-51 (152a-b); Peruzzi 1967b (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1978:526-7 (3); Prosdociami 1990 (*autopsy*); Rix 1993a:85-6. **Photographs:** Giglioli 1935:241 fig.3; Ribezzo 1936:162 fig.B, tav.II-III; Bassi tav.XXI,62; G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.IV; Prosdociami 1990 tav.I-XII. **Drawing:** Giglioli 1935:242 fig.4.

## 12.4. The other Early Faliscan inscriptions

5. The eighth- to seventh-century necropolises of Montarano, situated to the northeast of the town, on the north side of the Rio Maggiore, are the oldest necropolises of Civita Castellana, and probably belong to the early settlement on Colle di Vignale. These necropolises were excavated in 1888-1890 (*FI* II.2 pp. 4-5), when the following inscription was found, scratched on a seventh-century *olla* decorated with two horses, from tomb LVII/43:<sup>208</sup>

### *eitam*

Dextroverse. The form of the *t*, *ʔ*, is unexpected at this date, especially in a dextroverse inscription (cf. §11.2.3). Vetter, comparing Praesamnitic *te·clii·m* Ps 16, 17 and Oscan *spuriieis culcfnam* Cm 27, suggests that *eitam* may be an accusative. This is preferable to dividing the word as *eita m(arci)* (Peruzzi, comparing the interpretation of *tulom* MF 72 as *tulo m(arci)*). For these problematic ‘isolated accusatives’ see §8.1.4 and §9.2.2. Peruzzi also suggested that *eitam* may be an adaptation of the Etruscan *itan* Ve 3.21 and may denote a type of vase. In an earlier publication (Bakkum 1991) I rejected this interpretation, but I am now prepared to adopt it on the basis of e.g. *tafina* Etr XXXIII. As a parallel, I then suggested fourth-century *eiṯma leicunas* ET Cm 2.83, 2.84; other possible parallels are South Picene *iitas* AP.3 and *eiṯah* AQ.1. G. Giacomelli’s equation of *eitam* with Oscan *eitiuam* Po 3, *eituam* TB 19 etc. is unconvincing.

<sup>208</sup> Nogara (in Herbig *CIE* 8001) erroneously gave the provenance as tomb LVI.

*From autopsy* in the Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 3519). **Bibliography:** Herbig *CIE* 8001 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:289 <250>; G. Giacomelli 1963:56 <22>; Peruzzi 1964a: 169-70; G. Giacomelli 1978:78-82 <5>; Colonna 1980d; *FI* II.2 p.86 (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 0.3; Bakkum 1991 (*autopsy*); Bakkum 1992:2. **Drawings:** Nogara in *CIE* 8001; *FI* II.2 p. 86.

**6-7.** Scratched, **6** beside a graffito of a human profile, **7** upside down,<sup>209</sup> on a bucchero cup from tomb LXXXVI/6 of the La Penna necropolis. Sixth century.

*ekolartos*

*ekokaisiosio*

Sinistroverse, with *s* ξ (the apparent ξ in **6** is a slip of the stilus). For the use of *k* before *o*, see §11.2.2-3. In **6**, *lartos* is a genitive: there is no reason to interpret it as a nominative, as does Colonna (1977). In **7**, a chance point in the second *o* (not in Cozza & Pasqui's drawing) led the earliest editors to read *kaisiθsio*. Herbig was the first to read *kaisiosio* (1910) and to interpret this as a genitive (*CIE*), although he still considered Danielsson's *kaisi oσtio* ('ostiu(m)'='poculum'?). His interpretation was not generally adopted (Buonamici preferred Danielsson's, and Stolte and Ribezzo regarded *kaisiosio* a dittography) until it was confirmed by the publication of *uotenosio* EF **2** in 1933 and of *aiḿiosio* EF **467\*** in 1952. For Knobloch's suggestion that *kaisiosio* is an adjective *kaisiosio(s)* (1954) or *kaisiosio(m)* (1966:48) has not been adopted (cf. §4.4.2). For the formula *ego* OWNER<sub>GEN</sub>, see §8.7.1.

*From autopsy* in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 759). **Bibliography:** Cozza & Pasqui 1887a:175 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1887:61-2; †Dennis 1890:161; Gamurrini 1894:340; Herbig 1910:97-8 (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:4 <12>; Herbig *CIE* 8163; Buonamici 1913:54-55 <6>; [Weege in Helbig 1913:368]; Herbig 1917:33; [Della Seta 1918:59 (*autopsy*)]; Stolte 1926:28 <11>; Ribezzo 1930:98; Lejeune 1952b:123; Vetter 1953:288 <245a-b>; Knobloch 1954; G. Giacomelli 1963:48-9 <4a-b> (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:342 <146Ca-b>; Peruzzi 1965:149 n.2; Knobloch 1966; Devine 1970:23-4; Colonna 1977:104; G. Giacomelli 1978:528-9 <4a-b>; *FI* II.2 p.151 (*autopsy*); Agostiniani 1982:151 <592>; Lejeune 1989:66-7 <6>. **Photograph:** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.V. **Drawings:** Cozza & Pasqui 1887a:175 (reproduced in *CIE* 8163); Herbig *CIE* 8163; Lejeune 1952b:122; Lejeune 1989:66.

**8-9.** Scratched, **8** close to, and **9** behind a broken-off handle on a dolium (height 63.8 cm, Ø rim 24 cm on the outside; letters 25-35 mm high) from tomb III of the Ponte Lepre necropolis.

*ud*

*tele\*[1-2?]/medfifiked*

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The letters *ud* are unexplained. Gulinelli's edition of the text (the first based on autopsy since Herbig's, as well as the first to include photographs and a drawing) now clearly shows that the first letters are *tele* and that the

<sup>209</sup> When the cup stands on its foot. Vetter read the inscription as dextroverse with an upside-down *a*, but the other letters, especially the *e*, show that this is incorrect.

earlier readings *heva*, *h-eva*, *veza*, *vepa*, or *zvea* (Herbig 1913), *heva* (Herbig 1923, Pisani), *h-eva* (Herbig 1923), *-e-a* (Vetter), and [...]*ja* (G. Giacomelli) are impossible. *Tele* is followed by a shaft with a small side bar that may or may not be intentional: an *i*, *a*, *v*, or *e*, according to Gulinelli. These first signs are separated from the rest by a space of 4 cm that is apparently empty: Gulinelli saw only very slight traces here, but noted that the distance of the letters elsewhere in the inscription is very regular, which would make the empty space a strange anomaly. *Fifiked* has been interpreted as a third singular perfect of *fingo* since Herbig, in which case the *k* may be an early instance of the occasionally occurring Faliscan custom to use *k* to denote /g/ (see §11.2.4). It is unlikely that it is a form of *facio* (cf. Lejeune 1955:148-50), although this idea has recently been revisited (e.g. Poccetti 2005:31-5, Berenguer & Luján 2005:206-7): see §5.2.1.7-8. The phrase has a parallel in *mama z[e]xtos med ff[.ff]iqod* EF 1: see §8.8.2.

**Bibliography:** (I) Herbig 1913:71-4 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1923:231; Vetter 1953:291 (257); Lejeune 1955:146-8; G. Giacomelli 1963:51-2 (11a-b); Pisani 1964:345-6 (148); Agostiniani 1982:151 (593). – (II) Gulinelli 1996 (*autopsy*). **Photographs:** Gulinelli 1996:226 figs.1 and 3. **Drawing:** Gulinelli 1996:226 fig.2.

10. Scratched under the foot (∅ 8.5 cm; letters 8-10 mm high) of an Attic black-varnished cup from the area of the Tempio Maggiore on Colle di Vignale. First quarter of the fifth century.

### *apolonos*

Sinistaverse, with *a* A, *p* P, *n* N, and reversed *s* (S). There is enough space both before and after the word to show that the text consisted of one word only. Just as the genitive is used in *Besitzerinschriften* to indicate a human owner, so it is used here to designate the god as the owner of the cup dedicated to him (Pisani). It is not necessary to assume that a verb such as *sum* or an adjective such as *sacer* is lost or was implied, as does G. Giacomelli. The use of the isolated genitive in Faliscan dedications is discussed in §8.10.1. For the worship of Apollo in the ager Faliscus, see §2.3.4.

**From autopsy** in the Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 7377). **Bibliography:** Jacobsohn 1910:3 (3); Herbig *CIE* 8030 (*autopsy*); Taylor 1923:78; Vetter 1953:292 (260); G. Giacomelli 1963:59 (31); Pisani 1964:341-2 (146A); Moscati 1983:66 (*autopsy*); Comella 1986:171 (28) (*autopsy*); Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.2912; Wachter 1987:397. **Photograph:** Moscati 1983 tav.XVIII,b-c. **Drawing:** Herbig *CIE* 8030 (reproduced in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.2912); Comella 1986 tav.76,R49.