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ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS ON AN ATTIC KYLIX IN THE J. PAUL GETTY
MUSEUM: ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

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1. Introduction

Two Etruscan inscriptions, one archaic and one neo-Etruscan, are incised on the underside of the foot of a red-figure Greek kylix, now part of the collection of antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Pl. XI).¹ The inscriptions were originally edited and interpreted by Jacques Heurgon in 1989.² Heurgon's readings were reviewed and in several important aspects corrected by Marina Martelli in 1991, who also offered a substantially different analysis of the neo-Etruscan inscription.³ This paper is offered in response to those discussions, but most specifically to Martelli's reading and analysis of the neo-Etruscan inscription.

2. Preliminary information

Inscription (1) is inscribed on the bottom of the foot of the kylix along the outer portion of the rim.

(1) IT[-]N TURUC[---?]S

Inscription (2) is inverted with respect to (1) and runs parallel to it along the inside. Both are written in sinistrotrograde ductus (see photograph).⁴

(2) [---]xE.CAVI.Cx[--]xULI.HERCLE.S.

Neither inscription is complete. The foot of the kylix has suffered considerable damage and only a portion of the original – approximately half – survives.⁵ As a result, the end of (1), except for inscription-final *sigma*, and the beginning of (2) are missing.

The kylix dates to the first decade of the fifth century BC (500–490 BC).⁶ Its provenance is not known but the spelling of /s/ by means of *sigma* (HERCLE.S.) points to a 'southern' Etruscan alphabet and thus a southern Etruscan source.⁷ The inscriptions also belong to two different chronological layers of the language. The fact that the verb form TURUC[E] (see § 3 below) is written with its medial vowel U indicates that inscription (1) is to be dated to the archaic period, roughly sometime before 450 BC, the

¹ Collection of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California. Inv. No. 83.AE.362 (+84.AE.80+85.AE. 385.1–2). Name of Artist: Onesimos (painter) and Euphronios (potter). Title: Attic Red-Figure Kylix Type C. Date: 500–490 BC. Medium: Terracotta. Size: H: 19 cm; Diameter: 46.6 cm; Diameter (foot): 20.5 cm.

² Jacques Heurgon, "Graffites étrusques au J. Paul Getty Museum", *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 4, 1989, 181–186.

³ Marina Martelli, "Dedica Ceretana a Hercle", *Archeologica Classica*, 42, 1991, 613–621.

⁴ I thank Elana Towne Markus, Curatorial Assistant, Department of Antiquities, The J. Paul Getty Museum, for her response to several queries concerning the kylix. I also thank The J. Paul Getty Museum for permission to publish the photograph.

⁵ Reconstruction of the foot of the kylix was completed in 1986 (*per litteras* 8/1/95, Elana Towne Markus). It is worth noting that the foot was also damaged and repaired in antiquity. For references see Heurgon, "Graffites étrusques", 481, footnote 1.

⁶ Heurgon, "Graffites étrusques", 481.

⁷ Martelli, "Dedica Ceretana", 616 assigns the inscription to Caere on the basis of letter forms. Caere is a likely source but is by no means as certain as Martelli suggests.

point at which medial vowel loss begins to be attested in the writing system.⁸ Inscription (2) on the other hand must be dated later than (1), since the theonym HERCLE.S. shows the loss of its medial vowel, cf. Greek Ἡρακλῆς, Etruscan HERCELE (*Etruskische Texte* Pi S.1).⁹

The two inscriptions were incised by different hands. The letters in inscription (2) are smaller (1.2 cm) than those in (1) (1.5 cm) and appear to have been written in a more robust fashion. (1) and (2) also show different orthographic practices. Inscription (2) has single puncts separating words and the final letter of this inscription, the S of HERCLE.S., appears to be marked with puncts both in front and behind.¹⁰ In contrast, (1) is written *scriptio continua*.¹¹

3. Inscription (1)

The surviving portion of inscription (1) consists of an object pronoun IT[-]N and a transitive verb TURUC[-]. Martelli reads this verb phrase as IT[U]N TURUC[E].¹² Restoration of the vowel U in the final syllable of the object pronoun is probably a better hypothesis than A, even though /a/ is the original vocalism (cf. archaic ITAN *Etruskische Texte* Ve 3.21), since late archaic inscriptions show evidence for weakening of vowels in final closed syllables (cf. ITUN *Etruskische Texte* Ta 3.2, TC 52).¹³

In terms of syntactic structure, this inscription is in all likelihood the same as that exemplified by *Etruskische Texte* Ta 3.2 (ITUN TURUCE VENEL ATELINAS TINAS CLINIARAS). The major constituents are commonly in OVS order in archaic dedicatory inscriptions, particularly if the object is a pronominal form.¹⁴ Thus inscription (1), insofar as it is attested, fits this constituent order perfectly.

Obviously, the large lacuna between *gamma* and *sigma* indicates that a considerable portion of the inscription is missing, including the praenomen and gentilicium of the dedicator and possibly also the name of the deity to whom the cup was dedicated (Heracles?). The inscription-final *sigma* is the inflectional ending either of the gentilicium or of the theonym, if this constituent was written in inscription-final position, cf. *Etruskische Texte* Ta 3.2.

4. Inscription (2)

Heurgon and Martelli agree that (2) is a dedicatory inscription offered to Heracles, but disagree about the syntactic structure and the interpretation of the text. Heurgon claims that (2) is a nominal sentence and adopts the following reading: E{.}C(A.)AVI.CR[AI]CULI. HERCLE.S. ‘this (is) the Greek cup of Herakles’. But this analysis entails several *ad hoc* assumptions concerning the segmentation and interpretation of the words in the text and is rightly rejected by Martelli.¹⁵ Unfortunately, Martelli

⁸ Etruscan is divided into two chronological blocks, archaic vs. neo-Etruscan, on the basis of the phonological change eliminating vowels in medial and final syllables. The dividing line between the two periods is set roughly at 450 BC, when evidence for this change begins to show up in the writing system. For brief discussion of syncope in Etruscan see Helmut Rix, “La scrittura e la lingua”, in *Gli Etruschi. Una nuova immagine* 1984, 216–217.

⁹ All Etruscan inscriptions are cited from Helmut Rix, *Etruskische Texte* II, Tübingen 1991.

¹⁰ Since inscription (2) is neo-Etruscan, as is clearly shown by the syncope of the medial vowel in HERCLE.S., it is difficult to believe that the puncts beside the final -S in this word are syllabic puncts as suggested by Heurgon, “Graffites étrusques”, 181 and Martelli, “Dedica Ceretana”, 616. Syllabic punctuation is a feature of archaic Etruscan orthography. For the latest word on syllabic punctuation see Rudolf Wachter, “Die etruskische und venetische Silbenpunktierung”, *Museum Helveticum* 43:2, 1986, 111–126.

¹¹ There is no evidence for word puncts in this inscription, despite Heurgon, “Graffites étrusques”, 181.

¹² Martelli, “Dedica Ceretana”, 613.

¹³ For discussion of vowel weakening in Etruscan see Carlo de Simone, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen* II, Wiesbaden 1970, 66–70.

¹⁴ For the facts see Britta Schulze-Thulin, “Zur Wortstellung im Etruskischen”, *SE* 58, 1992, 177–195, especially 180–181.

¹⁵ Martelli, “Dedica Ceretana”, 616.

herself does not offer a detailed syntactic analysis of the inscription. Rather, she turns her attention to Heurgon's reading of the second full word, CR[AI]CULI, and offers a different reading and morphological analysis.

Martelli is correct in thinking that the second letter of Cx[--]xULI can be read as *alpha* or *lambda* in addition to *rho*, which is the reading proposed by Heurgon. She is also right that the first letter after the lacuna could be a *sigma*, rather than *gamma*. Accordingly, she proposes the reading CA[---]SULI and suggests that the sequence -ULI is to be interpreted as a combination of inflectional suffixes, a genitive in -UL followed by a locative in -I, i.e. CA[---]S-UL-I.

Based on the inscription KAPES SLI (*Etruskische Texte* Vc 0.3), which Martelli assumes to be a miswriting for KAPES{S}LI and thus a genitive + locative formation (to be segmented KAPES{S}-L-I) of the same structure as CA[---]S-UL-I, the medial portion of the stem is restored as CA[PE]S-. Martelli does not speculate about the lexical meaning of this putative stem but she does say that CA[PE]SULI "designa un luogo posto sotto il regime di *Herclē*".¹⁶

Martelli's reading and morphological analysis do not convince. First of all, she provides no evidence to support her claim that the locative ending -I can be affixed to the genitive. In all uncontroversial cases of genitive + locative combinations it is the locative postpositional element -ΘI/-Θ/-T, not the locative ending -I, which is affixed to the genitive, e.g. UNIALΘI "in the (sanctuary) of Uni", VELSENALΘI "in the (area) of Volsinii".¹⁷ Second, her analysis of CA[PE]SULI as a genitive + locative precludes an interpretation for the rest of the inscription, even though a reasonable interpretation lies ready at hand.

Martelli claims that it is possible to detect the trace of a letter at the upper edge of the fragment containing the first full letter of this inscription.¹⁸ I agree. And I also think that it is possible to detect a portion of the same letter at the bottom edge of the same fragment. This is, in fact, the trace of a letter that Heurgon detected but thought was the top portion of the vertical stroke for the epsilon of TURUC[E] in inscription (1).¹⁹ If I am right, and both the upper and lower traces belong to the same letter, then a most plausible candidate comes readily to mind. The break in the fragment here is *lunate* in shape. This rules out every letter-form but one which has such a shape, namely *gamma*. Indeed, if the letter inscribed before E was *gamma* then this would neatly explain why only the uppermost and lowermost portions of the letter are visible. I suggest that the reading for the initial portion of (2) is [---]ÇE. This provides us with the springboard for the correct interpretation of this inscription.

Since this inscription is a dedication to the god Heracles, it seems reasonable to assume that (2) is the same type of dedicatory inscription as (1), though neo-Etruscan in terms of its phonology and lexicon.²⁰ The constituents typically found in neo-Etruscan dedicatory inscriptions are the following: object pronoun + verb TURCE + name of dedicator + name of deity (with genitive case inflection). If this syntactic structure is imposed upon (2), then CAVI.Cx[--]xULI must be an onomastic formula indicating the name of the person dedicating the kylix and the fragment [---]ÇE must be the remains of the final syllable of the verb of dedication, TURCE. Based on other dedicatory inscriptions in which the subject is positioned after the verb, we are able to restore the object pronominal form ECN in initial position and to complete the inscription as in (2.1) below.

(2.1) [ECN.TUR]ÇE.CAVI.Cx[--]xULI.HERCLE.S.

¹⁶ Martelli, "Dedica Ceretana", 617.

¹⁷ For discussion of the locative suffixes see Rix, "La scrittura e la lingua", 224.

¹⁸ Martelli, "Dedica Ceretana", 616.

¹⁹ Heurgon, "Dedica Ceretana", 181.

²⁰ For the constituents and their order compare *Etruskische Texte* Ta 3.9, *Etruskische Texte* Cr 3.26, *Etruskische Texte* OB 3.3, and SE 59, 1993, REE no. 26, 269–271.

The inscription now fits the syntactic pattern of a typical neo-Etruscan dedicatory inscription with an object pronoun.²¹ The only troublesome aspect of this interpretation is, and this was noted by Martelli,²² the proper analysis of the names CAVI and Cx[--]xULI. The problems are not insurmountable, however. CAVI is a masculine praenomen deriving from an archaic form */kavie-/ (cf. *Etruskische Texte* Cr. 2.56 KAVI[E]-, etc.), a reasonably well-attested name in southern Etruria.²³ Although final *-ie does not generally appear as -I in inscriptions from the south, there are some forms in which this is indeed the case (cf. MACLAI *Etruskische Texte* Cr 1.60).²⁴ For Cx[--]xULI I prefer to follow the reading of Heurgon, namely CR[--]ÇULI, and to restore the nucleus of the initial syllable as [AI], CR[AI]ÇULI. The onomastic formants KRAIK-, CRAIC- and the chronologically later variant CREIC-²⁵ (with ai > ei/ __ C²⁶) point to a stem *craice as the base upon which CR[AI]ÇULI was built. The ending -ULI is somewhat puzzling but can be compared to the suffix -ULE attested in the gentilicium TITULE (*Etruskische Texte* Vn 2.2) built to the praenomen TITE.²⁷ The final -I requires derivation from a suffix *-ulie, cf. the -I of CAVI.

With restoration of the gentilicium, inscription (2) can be read as in (2.2) below.

(2.2) [ECN.TUR]ÇE.CAVI.CR[AI]ÇULI.HERCLE.S.

The inscription translates as “Cavi Cr[ai]culi dedicated this (kylix) on behalf of Heracles”.

5. Final remarks

The two inscriptions on this kylix, although incised by different scribes, are dedicatory inscriptions with the SAME syntactic structure, the only difference being that inscription (1) belongs to an older chronological layer of the language than inscription (2). Exactly how two dedicatory inscriptions came to be inscribed on the same kylix is more difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Nevertheless, a plausible scenario can be constructed once we are reminded that the foot of the kylix was broken and repaired in antiquity (see footnote 5). It makes sense to think that the second dedicatory inscription was added after repairs to the foot of the kylix were successfully completed.

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²¹ See Schulze-Thulin, “Zur Wortstellung im Etruskischen”, 181.

²² Martelli, “Dedica Ceretana”, 616–617.

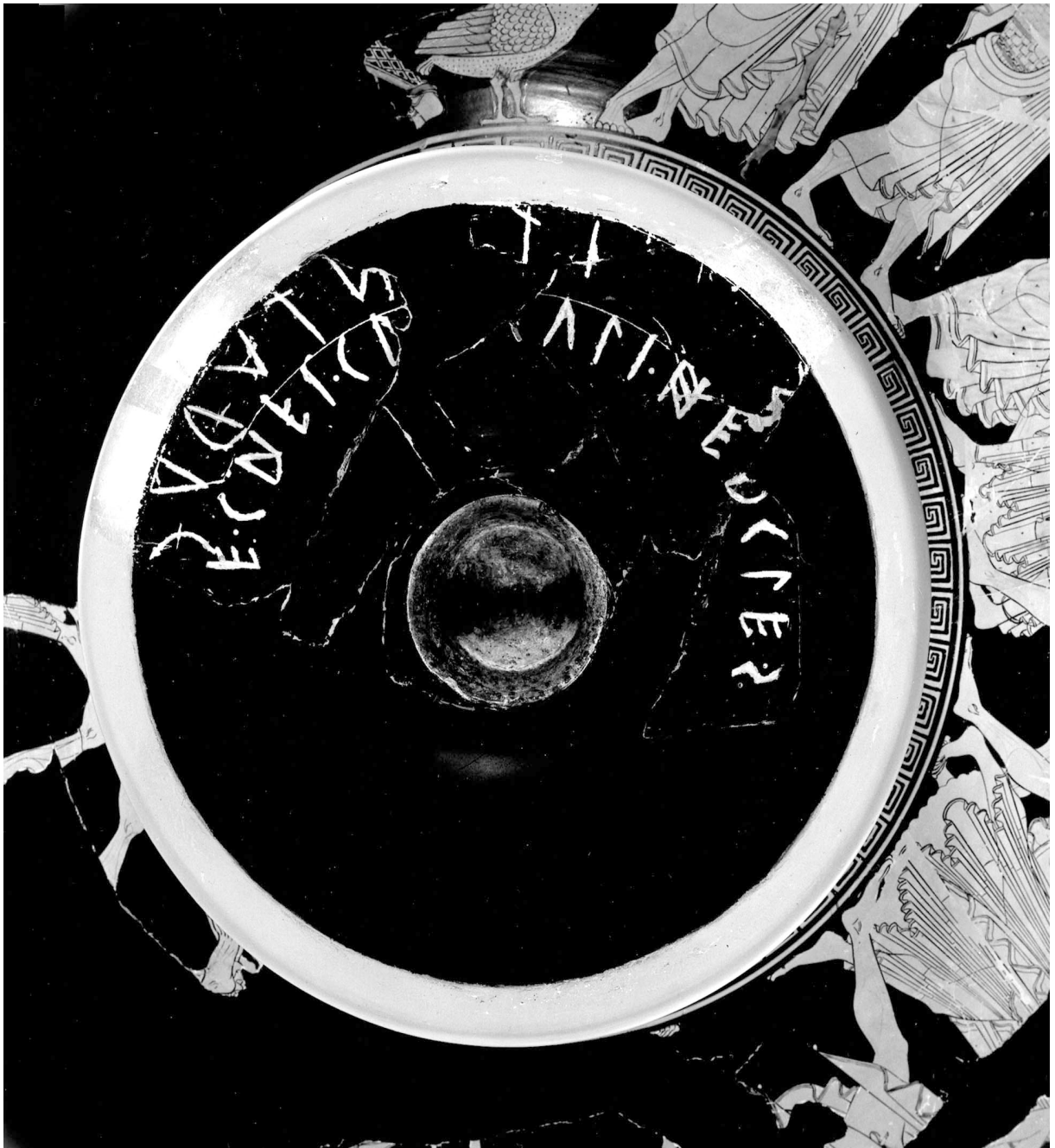
²³ The praenomen CAVI is a borrowing from Italic *gāw(i)yos, cf. Faliscan CAVIO, Oscan GAAVIIS (gentilicium). *(i)yo-stems typically appear in southern Etruscan inscriptions with an ending -IE.

²⁴ I thank Helmut Rix (*per litteras*) for bringing this gentilicium to my attention.

²⁵ For the forms of these hypothetical bases see *Etruskische Texte* I, Tübingen 1991, 80.

²⁶ The parameters of this change are discussed in some detail in Helmut Rix, “La scrittura e la lingua”, 218.

²⁷ I owe this suggestion to Helmut Rix (*per litteras*).



Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California. Accession Number: 83.AE.362
 Artist: Onesimos (painter) and Euphronios (potter). Title: Attic Red-Figure Kylix Type C (detail)
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