

*Salomon Reinach
with sincerest regards of
George Hempl*

EARLY
ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS

14

FABRETTI 2343-2346

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IN MEMORY OF JOHN ERNST MATZKE

EARLY ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS

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How I, a Germanic scholar, came to be interested in Venetic and Etruscan, I have told in my report on the results of my Italic studies. This report has been delayed, chiefly by the difficulties inherent in such an undertaking, but it will now be published in a very short time. The present paper is an abstract from it. A few weeks before his death, Professor Matzke urged me to hasten the publication of my report. He said that my silence was being misinterpreted, and that I owed it not only to myself but also to my friends to publish something at once—if only a fragment. I was touched by what he said and the way in which he said it. It was almost exactly what another friend, Otto Jespersen, had written me from Copenhagen not long before, and what still others, as if by concert, now began to urge upon me. I saw the force of their arguments and decided to drop everything else and complete my report. And now that Fate has suddenly cut short the life of one of them, I can find no more appropriate tribute to lay on his grave than the fragment he so recently urged me to publish. If it seems abrupt or takes things for granted that I have given in the report but could not well incorporate here, scholars will, I trust, consider the circumstances of publication. There are, however, a few matters of a general character that must be briefly touched upon before I proceed with the interpretation of the inscriptions.

Etruscan is a sister of Latin. In their earlier stages the two languages can hardly be distinguished. But Etruscan matured far more rapidly and had already passed into old age when Latin was only attaining her majority. To put it otherwise, Etruscan is an Italic dialect that became a modern Romanic language in ancient times. Many of the forms, phonological changes, and other linguistic phenomena that we are wont to regard as characteristic of modern languages, are to be found in Etruscan long before the days of Julius Caesar. The development of the language, from the early stage when it was almost identical with Latin, down to the time when it was so different that the Romans regarded it as a totally alien tongue, can be traced step by step on the chiseled monuments that stand in our museums. In attempting to read Etruscan, scholars have, however, largely confined themselves to a study of late inscriptions, and have permitted the relatively

modern forms that they there found to blind them to the original character of the language—much as Old-English scholars once did with West Saxon. The situation in which the philological world at present finds itself with reference to Etruscan is as regrettable as it is extraordinary. The kinship of Etruscan and Latin lies open for all men to observe, and yet this fact is denied by practically all Indo-European philologists. Moreover, the study of this important Italic Language has been permitted to fall into the hands of a school, which has made of this denial a cardinal dogma and has prescribed for its disciples a rule of conduct, or only-legitimate method of study. Here, carefully screened from the light of Indo-European philology, “Etruscologists” spin airy webs, while without, in the busy world of learning, scholars concern themselves with other things. It would be impossible for me here to discuss the situation in detail. I must, in this paper, restrict myself to the presentation of three very early inscriptions, and I shall be satisfied if I succeed in making it clear that early Etruscan can scarcely be distinguished from Old Latin.

The inscriptions will be found in Fabretti's *Corpus*, Tab. XLII, 2343-2346. All I know about their origin is what Fabretti quotes* on page CCIV, namely, that they are from various friezes or paintings found in ancient Etruscan tombs near Corneto-Tarquini. So far as I can learn, their genuineness has never been questioned, nor their Etruscan character. A study of the forms of the letters shows that we have three, not four, inscriptions; for 2345 and 2346 are parts of one and the same. The first two give the names etc. of the dead; the last (2346-2345) pertains to the formalities of cremation. I can not detect any material difference in age, either epigraphic or linguistic. Perhaps the forms of the letter for *a* prove 2344 to be the oldest, and 2346-2345 to be the youngest. According to Etruscan custom, the writing runs from right to left, but I have reproduced it in our way. I have also substituted for the Etruscan characters the conventional transcription, in Italics, and have added the phonetic transcription in Roman.

In the grammatical discussion, a prefixed asterisk (*) marks a reconstructed word or form; a prefixed period (.) indicates phonetic spelling. An apostrophe (') before an .l .m .n or .r signifies that the consonant is syllabic. The letters .y and .w represent the voiced fricative consonants heard in English *ye* and *woo*. The macron (¯) is added to a long vowel, rather than placed over it. The pitch accents of Greek and Sanskrit are indicated by the usual signs. The sign for stress, in accordance with the best modern usage, precedes the stressed syllable; but, to avoid misunderstanding, I use the grave (`), in order that it may point toward the syl-

*“*essais des différentes frises ou peintures qui se trouvent dans les souterrains des anciens Étrusques près de Corneto* (Piranesi *De Rom. magnificentia et architectura*, Romae 1761).”

lable to be stressed, not away from it. I have indicated the stress only when it has shifted from the initial syllable. The phonetic characters employed are the usual ones, the vowels having their German values, and the consonants their English. The turned *e* (*ə*) stands for an obscure vowel, for example, that beginning the word *ago* and that ending the name *Anna*. Small capital *.k* and *.g* represent the velar stops in *cook* (*.kuk*) and *good* (*.gud*), as distinguished from the more palatal sounds in *kick* (*.kik*) and *give* (*.giv*). A curl over a velar consonant indicates labialization. Thus we hear *quick* sometimes as *.k̄ik*, sometimes as *.kwik*. Compare also *alive* (*ə'laiv*), *devout* (*dɪ'vaut*), *eatable* (*i'təb'l*), *Wednesday* (*.wenzdi*), *purely* (*.pyu'rli*), etc. *s'* is a conventional way of representing a distinct *s*-sound usually due to contraction; it has nothing to do with accent.

It should be noted that, as in most other early scripts, no graphic distinction is made between voiced, voiceless, and aspirated stop consonants. Thus *t* may stand for pure *.t*, for aspirated *.t*, or for *.d*, and *p* for *.p*, aspirated *.p*, or *.b*, etc.; just as we use *s* for *.s* (as in *so*) and for *.z* (as in *rose*). Furthermore, *θ φ χ* are employed with exactly the same values as *t p k* (or *c*). Thus, while *k* stands for *.k* or *.g*, *χ* too may stand for *.k* or *.g*. Similarly in English, while *k* stands for *.k* (for example, in *hook*), so too, *c* may stand for *.k* (as in *cool*), while it may also stand for *.s* (for example, in *city* etc.). Moreover, in Etruscan a *u* may stand for *.u* or *.o*, or for an obscure vowel (like that in Latin *optumus* or *optimus*), while *v* too may stand for *.u* or *.o*, or for a similar consonant (*.w .f* etc.).

I should state that in Etruscan, as in primitive Italic generally, the stress originally fell on the first syllable. From this it shifted in Latin to a long penult or to the syllable preceding a short penult. In Etruscan a different principle prevailed. The stress regularly stayed on the first syllable if that contained a long vowel or a diphthong. If it contained a short vowel, the stress shifted to the nearest long vowel or diphthong; see *Xermuṛi*, *ḫericaru*, *stani*, etc., below. This shift is often betrayed by the reduction of the vowel of the initial syllable (for example, *ναφοθs'* = *.nə'po'ts'* < *.nepo'ts*, Latin *nepo's*, 'grandson,' Lemnos Stone; also *ə(n)nə'ke*, variously spelled *annice* (F. III, 391), *eneke* (F. 2614), *uneke* (F. I, 234), *unuke* (Gamurrini, 607 and 608) 'granted, gave,' Latin *annuit* 'assented, granted,' see also *raneθ* below); or by its total disappearance (see *frannuv* below; *θne* < *τομή*, page 10; and *eca s'uθis* (*.e'ka' s'uttis* < *.ksup-ti-s* 'the down below') 'this tomb,' F. Tab. xli. 2183, later *ca suθi*, F. 1933, CIE. 4539); sometimes by other phonological changes. Compare also *Miθiuns* = *.mli'to'ns* < *Μιλίτων*, *Plunice* = *.plu'ni'kə* < *Πολυνεικής*, etc., which caused Skutsch and others trouble. The shift took place at a very early date, after the shortening of final *-o-* (see *Vecaθ* below) but before the change of medial *-d-* to *-l-* (see *θριḫtenti*, page 15).

FABRETTI 2343

This inscription was cut on the beveled edges of the octagonal capital of a column. Unable to read the text, scholars did not know where it began, and guessed wrong.

Vecaθ Xermupi φericaru :n stani puru hem:
 (.wekat kermə'bi- peri'ka-ro n[a-to] stan'ni- pu-ro hem)
 'Vecath, the beloved son of Chermupu, a man free of alloy.'

It will be observed that there are two puncts at the end of the legend, and also before the abbreviation *n* = *natu*.

Except for the loss of final -o- in *Vecaθ* and *hem*, the inscription might be Old Latin as well as Etruscan.

Vecaθ (.wekat) < .wekato-, Greek **Ἐκάτων*, *Ἐκάτων*, whence Latin *Hecato*. The true Latin form would be **Vecato*, but I find no trace of such a name in Italy, see *Xermupi* below. In Etruscan a final long -o regularly shortened after a short syllable (compare iambic shortening in Latin*) and early fell away. The shortening obviously took place earlier than the shift of stress spoken of above. With *Vecaθ* from .wekato-, compare *hem* from .hemo- below. Also *Uni* (.u-ni < .u-nio < .u-nio- < .yu-no-) 'Juno,' and *Θυπθα*, page 9. With these, contrast names like *Laru* (.la-ro-), spelled *Laaro* in Latin, and *Maru* (.mar-ro-), page 10; and such a verb as *niceθu* (.nik(ə)to-) 'pledge,' Latin *necto* 'bind, oblige, pledge,' F. 2404.

Xermupi (.kermə'bi-) is the genitive of the name *Κέραμβος*. Such changes as -am- > -əm- > -mə- are common, cf. Greek *Her-ac-les* > Latin *Her-cu-les*. From the names *Vecaθ* and *Xermupi*, it is clear that we have to do with members of a Greek family. There evidently were not a few Greeks among the Etruscans, even in the earliest times (observe the *V*-, not *H*-, of the name *Vecaθ*), who acquired wealth and standing. A notable case is that recorded on the *grande sepolcro* (Gamurrino, 799) of Laris Pulena, who is stated to be 'the great-grand-son of Laris Pule the Greek'—*prumts Pules Larisal Creices*. Compare also the story of Demaratus, the reputed Greek progenitor of the Tarquin family.

*In Etruscan we fortunately are not, as in Latin, dependent upon the evidence furnished by metrical texts and upon the conflicting interpretations that modern scholars have put upon ancient metrical usage. The loss of -o- after a short syllable and its preservation after a long syllable are facts that can not be argued away. At another time I shall show that the Old-English loss of a final short -u after a long syllable and its retention after a short syllable, instead of offering (as argued by Sweet and Sonnenschein, *Classical Philology*, January, 1911, page 3) evidence against the doctrine of iambic shortening, offers evidence for it.

pericarū (.peri'ka-ro) 'very dear,' Latin *perca-rus*. In all but the very oldest Etruscan (for example, *apastus eθ palamneus tupanktus*, F. 2341), final -s disappeared, as in Old Latin, after a short vowel, provided no vowel followed. At an early date, the *s*-less forms prevailed in Etruscan, the *s*-forms in Latin. Observe *puru*, *sθunimv*, *Titv*, *χsimeu*, *icamus*, *fravvmv* below; also *eluri* under *θriϕtent*, page 15. Later the -o became -ə, written -e, see *Titv*, page 11. *peri-* is, of course, older than the *per-* of Latin *per-ca-rus*.

:n is an abbreviation for *natu* (.na-to) 'son,' Latin (*g*)*na-tus*. (For *n-* < *Gn-*, see *stani* below.) Compare the use of *f* in Latin inscriptions as an abbreviation for *fi-lius*.

stani (.stan'ni-) 'of alloy,' genitive of the word seen in Latin *stannum* 'alloy.' Italian *stagno* and the other Romanic forms point to a Latin **stagnum* 'alloy.' Compare Latin *stagna-re* 'plate with alloy.' As medial -*Gn-* becomes -*nn-* in Etruscan but not in Latin, it is evident that the Romans adopted the Etruscan form with its -*nn-*. This suggests Etruscan influence on Rome in the matter of the working of the metals, which is just what we have reason to expect. But differentiation from *stagnum* 'water that has flooded land,' 'standing water,' 'swamp,' doubtless contributed towards fixing the Etruscan form in Roman speech. Historically, *stagnum* 'a piece of shallow standing water, a fen' is one and the same word as *stagnum/stannum* 'a metal wash, the alloy used in plating.' English *wash* too has both meanings. Initial *Gn-* became (*n*)*n-* in both Etruscan and Latin, see *n[atu]* above.

puru (.pu-ro), Latin *pu-rus* 'pure,' 'free of,' compare Horace's *sceleris purus*. For the loss of -s see *pericarū* above.

hem is from .*hemo* < .*hemo-*, Old Latin **hemo-*, *hemo-nem*, Latin *homo* 'man.' For the loss of -o-, see *Vecaθ*, page 8.

NOTE ON *Janus*

The *Ani* 'Janus' that is often cited (Körte, *Etrusker*, in the Pauly-Wissowa Real-encyclopädie, 767), as a sort of mate to *Uni* 'Juno,' is a ghost-word. The idea is based upon the erroneous supposition that the Bronze Liver has *Ani θne*, in section 6. Close scrutiny reveals the fact that the text reads *Tins θne*, corresponding to the *Tins θne-θ Θυϕθas* in the inner sections 18-20. It is remarkable, however, how near Janus was all the time. For *Θυϕθα*, or *θυϕθα* (F. 1054, CIE. 445) is .dup'il'ta- < .dupil'ta- < .du'pla-ti < .du'pla-tio < .du'pla-tio- 'doubleness.' (For the shortening and loss of -o- after -i, see *Vecaθ*, page 8.) That is, we have before us no other than Janus Bifrons, who so often appears in the form of a lamp-statuettes, called *alpan* (.al'pa-n < .lam'pa-, Greek λάμπη). This Etruscan

word for 'lamp' has been deified and been used to add formidableness to the list of Etruscan divinities whose names are supposed to be incapable of reconciliation with Indo-European. The *Tins θne* (ε)θ *Θuϑθas* on the Bronze Liver is *Jovis templum et Ja-ni-* 'The section ('temple' in the technical sense) of Jupiter and Janus.' *θne* is .tne- < .tə'me- < Greek *τομή* 'section' (compare the *tem-* in Latin *templum*). The Etruscan -e- < Greek -η betrays non-Doric Greek influence on Etruscan divination. While on some of the lamp-statuettes the old Italic god is called *Θuϑθa* (*Θuϑθas' alpan* 'lamp-statulette of *Thupltha*,' F. 1054, CIE. 445), on others he is given a name corresponding to Latin *Janus Clusius*. Thus on F. 1051, CIE. 437, we find *Culs'ans'i alpan*, and on F. 1052, CIE. 438, *S'elans'l alpan*. *Culs'an-s'i* (.kəl's'a-ns'i) and *S'elan-s'l* (.s'ə'la-ns'l) are genitives of one and the same name, that is 'Janus Collus,' or 'Turn-neck Janus,' compare our slang term *rubber neck* 'person who has the habit of looking back to watch others, while he tries to keep on walking ahead.' This *collus* is from .kolsos, .kelsos, γ/κελ 'turn, twist,' cf. Latin *collum*, *collus*, etc. The Etruscan *Culs'-* is for kols-; *S'el-* is from .skel < kels-. The initial i- or y- before the long a- of .ia-no- regularly assimilated to the preceding consonant (see *χsimeu* below), whence the syllable -a-n-. But we do not find *Colsos* or *Collus* in Latin; for through popular etymology and association with *clu-do*, *clu-sus*, the name assumed the form *Clu-sius*. The use of an effigy of Janus to hold a light is, of course, due to his being the old Italic god of light.

FABRETTI 2344

Maru : *σθυνimv-m Titv* : *χsimeu letive* : *Iapzi smalvi* : *Θanriθer*
(.mar'ro- stu-nimo-m titō ksimeo le-ti-ve- i'a'ptsi- smal'wi- tanriter)
'Maru the sturdy and Titv the distinguished, dead (or who died) of the Iapygian disease at Tarentum.'

It will be observed that the only punctuation consists of double puncts to mark proper names. Such punctuation stands after the two personal names and before the two geographical names.

Maru (.mar'ro-) is to Latin *Maro* as *Marro-nius* is to *Maro-nius* (Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, page 189). *Maro* would appear in Etruscan as **Mar* (see *Vecaθ* above), while *Marius* would be **Mariu*, later *Marie* (F. 654, CIE. 2451), still later **Mari*.

σθυνimv (.stu-nimo) 'very sturdy' or 'very steadfast,' a superlative in -imo-s, cf. Sanskrit *sthū-rās* or *sthū-lās* 'thick, large, strong,' and Sanskrit *sthū-na-*, Greek *στῦλος* 'post, column,' originally 'phallus.' The change of medial -l- to -n- is common to a large part of the Etruscan territory. Still, the Etruscan adjective may have the -n- of Sanskrit *sthū-na-* rather than the -l- of Greek *στῦλος*. For the loss of -s, see *φericaru*, page 9.

-m 'and,' here = .m, as on the Lemnos Stone and often elsewhere. In F. 2345 below, it is syllabic (= .'m); but we also find -em (*les'c-em*, Magliano) and -um (*axr-um* F. 2598) = .əm. This is the same word as Old-Latin *em*, *im* 'then,' seen also in Latin (*inter*)*im*, formed like *interdum*. Compare Umbrian *enom* 'then' = Palignian *inom* 'and' = Latin *enim* 'for.' Also Umbrian *pun-um* 'quando-que' (Buck's Oscan and Umbrian Grammar, § 201, 5). For the relation of idea between 'and' and 'then,' compare the like use of "then —, then —, then —," and "and —, and —, and —," in narration. The Etruscan word is almost always enclitic; in F. 2345 (page 16), it introduces a new clause. When so used, it seems to have retained the old sense 'then.'

Titv (.tito) < .titos, Latin *Titus*. This .tito later became .titə, written *Tite*, see *pericaru*, page 9.

χsimeu (.ksimeo), Latin *eximius* 'distinguished.' An initial short vowel was often lost in forms having the stress on a succeeding long vowel, compare *e'ca*̄, later *ca*̄, page 7. Before a long vowel, *i* was consonantal (that is, .y) and assimilated to a preceding consonant, doubling it if immediately preceded by a short vowel. Thus .əksim'ya-s > .ksim'ma-s. (This gemination of the preceding consonant after a short vowel is proved by Latin spellings like *Spurinna*, *Porsenna*, etc.; see also *raneθ*, page 17.) Observe the masculine family names *Tarχna*-s and *Tarčna*̄ < **Tarčni'a*-s and **Tarčni'a*̄ (originally respectively genitive and ablative of the -ia feminine name of the family, which was added to the first name just as the tribal name in -ia was in Latin), also the derived feminine *Tarχ'nai*; and compare these with the original feminine nominative '*Tarχniā*'. As e- is lost in *χsimeu* too, it is clear that the comparatively few forms of the adjective that did not end in a long vowel adopted the shortened form of those that did; but it is not certain whether they also shifted their stress to the final syllable or simply had it on the first syllable of the shortened form. The medial *i* or *e* certainly did not disappear before the short -o. Moreover, it is clear that the initial stress of the nominative, accusative, and vocative (the most commonly used cases of a name) held its own in masculine names like *Tavarsio* (.taursio, Greek ταύρε(σ)ιος, Latin *Taurus*) on the Lemnos Stone, and the later *Askamie* (.askamiə < .askanios, Greek Ἀσκάνιος, Latin *Ascanius*), F. 2614 quat., and the still younger *Fulni* (.folni < .folniə < .folnio(s) < .folwios, Latinized as *Folnius*, but in real Latin, *Fulvius*) F. 251 and II. p. 28 Tab., CIE. 428. *χsimeu* and *θvniuv* may be common adjectives or cognomens, I am not sure which.

letive (.le-ti-we-), the nominative plural masculine of .le-ti-wo, Latin **le-ti-vus* 'killed,' 'dead,' is to *le-tum* 'death,' as *furti-vus* 'stolen' is to *furtum* 'theft,' and as *capti-vus* 'captured' is to *captus* 'capture,' etc.

The ending *-e-* (compare Old-Latin *plourume-* for the later *plu-rimi-*) is the intermediate stage between older (*-oi* >) *-ei* and later *-i-*. Compare (F. 314, Tab. xxv, CIE. 52) *fvimv* — *pace* (.fu⁻imo pak⁻ke⁻, for κκ < κτ, cf. *θυχτιθ*, page 16), Latin *fuimus pacti-*; with *fvimv*, compare *fravimv*, page 16.

Iapzi (.i'a⁻ptsi⁻), genitive of **Iapzu* (.i'a⁻ptso) 'Iapygian,' 'pertaining to the 'Ιάπυγες' (the natives of 'Ιάπυγία, whence Latin *Iapygia*, the territory about Tarentum, and thus northwest of Greece), of which 'Ιάπυξ 'the northwest wind' is really the singular. For the origin of the name, see page 13.

smalvi (.smal⁻wi⁻), the genitive singular of **smalvu* < .smalwom 'evil, disease,' Latin *malum* 'evil, misfortune, injury.' The Etruscan form finally determines the etymology of the Latin word and establishes its connection with English *small*, the development of the idea 'small' into that of 'bad' being common the world over. For the *-v-* (.w) seen in the Etruscan form and in French *mauvais*, see also Venetic *malua* 'evils,' Pauli, AIF. III. No. 201. With the use of *malum* in the sense of 'disease,' compare the like use of *evil* in early English, still more or less familiar in *king's evil* 'scrofula.' Also *malady* (from Late-Latin *male habitus*), and *illness* (which formerly meant 'badness'), and *He's very bad to-day* 'He's very sick to-day.' My colleague Professor Elmore calls my attention to the following from Horace (Sat. I. 5, 62):—

Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta jocus,

as to which Morris says: "Some disease, not understood even by the scholiasts." This naming of a disease from the place where it is found is not uncommon. We, too, speak of the *Roman fever*, *Texas fever*, *Gambian disease*, *Syrian plague*, *Aden ague*, *englische Krankheit*, etc.

Θανριθer* (.tanriter) 'at Tarentum.' Etruscan Θανριθer, Latin *Tarento-*, and Greek Ταραντ- (in Τάρας, -αντος) are all corruptions of Greek .tarthen-, which is a doublet of .parthen-, seen in παρθένος 'maid.' The Indo-European form was .ǵherǵhe⁻r > .ǵherǵhe⁻n, genitive ǵh⁻r'ǵhenos. According as the stress permitted, the first syllable was .ǵher- or .ǵh⁻r-, and this variety was regularly reflected in Greek by forms with τερ- and forms with παρ-. Thus, while the nominative was *τερθήν, there were oblique forms like the genitive παρθένος. A competition set in, whereby one of the rival forms (.ter- or .par-) won the day, or a compromise form (.tar-) resulted. In Greek we find the old genitive παρθένος employed, but regarded as the nominative of an *o*-stem. This passed into North-Eastern Etruscan; but with it the old nominative *τερθήν also came in, becoming

*The identity of the initial letter is partly concealed by an accidental mark, slighter and different from the strokes of the letters.

by metathesis *tre'te-n*. Thus at the beginning of the very old Novilara inscription we find :-

Partenus polem is'airon tet
'A maid presented this pedestal,'

and at the close, in more elaborate form :—

Treten telet aunem polem tis'u s'otris' eus'
'A maid presented this (same) pedestal in accordance with the
testament of her benefactor.'

tet (.de⁻d) is from *tetet* (de⁻de⁻d), while *telet* (.'deled) is from .'deded, see under *raneθ*, page 17. *polem* < .podem = πῶδα. *is'airon* < .isto- + .aiso-m, cf. Latin *iste* and Oscan *etsu-d*. *aunem* = Latin *eundem*, with regular change of medial -nd- to -nn-. For other details see my report.

The compromise form .tar- is found in Τάρας, -αντος, and in Latin *Tarentum* and Etruscan Θανριθερ. All the forms show metathesis of one kind or another. The Greek and the Latin forms betray the influence of *nt-* and *nto-*stems, the name thus falling in with such names as *Uzentum*, *Hydruntum*, *Sipontum*, etc. (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, page 260). The Etruscan form retains the dental stop in its original position (.tarthen-, Θανριθερ), but it suffers a peculiar metathesis of the surrounding sonorants : thus the *r* and the *n* exchange places, but under the influence of the original form, the *r* is restored next to the *n* that had taken its place. The form Θανριθερ is a locative without suffix (Brugmann, II. §256 and 257), the word being a consonant stem in Etruscan, as originally in Greek.

This makes it clear that the name of the city is no other than *tre'te-n*, or παρθένος 'the maid,' that is, 'Αθήνη Παρθένος. This *Treten* stands to the locative *θανριθερ* exactly as 'Αθήνη does to the locative 'Αθήναι. The naming of *Tarentum* for *Athene* probably goes back to the early Cretans that are reported to have been instrumental in building the city, and whose speech, as revealed by the writing on the seals etc. found by Evans and others, I shall soon show to be pure Attic. The association of the name of the town with the Spartan Parthenians was doubtless secondary, and probably due only to popular etymology. As is well known, the various ancient accounts are contradictory.

NOTE ON *Iapzi*

In *Iapzi* we have an important name that has been much discussed but still sadly needs elucidation. We may best begin by comparing the form 'Ιάπυγες with 'Ιάποδες, the name of an allied branch living in Illyria. Kretschmer (*Einleitung*, p. 260) says: "Der Wechsel der Stammform in

'*Ίάποδες* : '*Ίάπυγες* hat eine Parallele an *κλᾱφιδ-* 'Schlüssel' : dor. *κλᾱικ-* (Theokrit) und *ὄρνιδος* : *ὄρνιχος*.'" This is certainly beside the mark. I cannot see how we can proportion $\delta : \gamma :: \delta : \kappa :: \delta : \chi$. Moreover, *-οδε-* by the side of *-υγε-* appears to tell a very plain story. In '*Ίάπυγες*/'*Ίάποδες* we have a Greek compound name, meaning 'men who fight with vigor,' or 'fierce fighters.' The first element is the stem *.isa-* 'vigor, virility,' compare *.eisa-* in Latin *eira*, *i-ra*, 'impetuosity, passion, rage, etc.,' *.isə-ro-s* in Greek *ἰερός* / *ἰαρός*, Sanskrit *isrā-s*, 'strong, vigorous, active, etc.' The second is the stem *.pug* seen in Greek *πύκτης* 'boxer,' Latin *pugil* 'boxer,' *pugna* 'fight.' The form '*Ίάπυγες* is clear. But *.pug* involves the labial *.p*, the labiovelar *.u*, and the velar *.g*. Such a grouping is more or less unstable, especially in the unstressed member of a compound. By the shift of tense labialization from the *.u* to the *.g*, there arose the stem *.poḡ*, with labial *.p* and labiovelar *.ḡ*. Before *ε*, this *.poḡ* regularly developed into *ποδ*, hence the form '*Ίάποδες*. The form '*Ίάπυδες* is clearly a contamination of '*Ίάπυγες* and '*Ίάποδες*, and may be purely literary.

The Umbrian forms *Iapusco*, *Iabuscom*, etc. in Latin script, and *Iapuzkum* in Umbrian script, are interesting. The ending *-(i)sko-* is an adjective ending used with the names of peoples, cf. Latin *Opsci-*, *Osci-*, *Falisci-*, etc. (Buck §256), and particularly Germanic names like Old-English *Wylisc* 'Welsh,' *Scyttisc* 'Scotch,' *Englisc* 'English,' etc. (Kluge, *Stammbildungslehre*, §210); for which we usually find in Latin and Greek the related *-iko-* : '*Ἰνδικός*, *Germa-nicus*, etc. The spelling *u* in the Latin script proves that the Umbrian word had *.u*, not *.o*. After this *.u*, we expect *.g*, hence the early form for the Umbrian word was **Ia-pug(i)sko-*, which by contraction would become **Ia-puksko-*, but the lost voice of *.g* was usually transferred to the *.p*, so that we get **Ia-buksko-*. The **Ia-pud(i)sko-* that is usually assumed as the basis of the Umbrian forms (Planta, I. p. 70 etc.; Kretschmer, p. 259; Buck, §256) is impossible; for such a form would have given us in Umbrian, not *Iapuzkum*, but an *Iapur'skum*, corresponding to *etur'stamu*, as Planta realizes (I. p. 407). By partial assimilation of *k* to *s*, *.Ia-puksko-* became *.Ia-putsko-* (reflected in the Umbrian spelling *Iapuzkum*), and later, by complete assimilation, *.Ia-pu(s)sko-* (reflected in the Latin script *Iapusco*).

It is impossible to tell whether the Etruscan *Iapzi* (*.i'a-ṽtsi-*) arose out of *.ia-podisko-* or out of *.ia-pugisko-*. That the *z* still spelled *.ts* (<*.ds* or <*.ks* <*.g-s*) there can be no doubt; for *z* is the usual Etruscan (as also the Venetic) spelling for *.ts* or *.st*. Of the many illustrations of this I need cite but two: (1) *.ts* : *zal* (*.tsa-l*) 'three,' see p. 18; (2) *.st* : *heczi* (*.(h)ek'stri-*), Latin *exeri-* 'of the stranger,' F. 1915, CIE. 4116. Further details, as also the evidence that the Iapygians were Greeks, will be found in my report.

FABRETTI 2346 AND 2345

2346: *Icamus ia θριψtent-χα . πι*

2345: *m-θυχτιθ . νυhunt . aisaru . ustvn . fravvmv pici . fust . raneθ*

.i-ka-mos ya- trip'de-nt-ka pi-

'm-dukkit nu-u-nt aisaro- us-to-n fra-wəmo piki bust ran'ne-d.

'Now let us strike [the lyre], and let the devout ones dance the sacred dance. Then lead thou forth, O Messenger of the Gods, the burner of the dead; we have brought the pitch, he will sprinkle the place of burning.'

The punct is missing in several places, probably simply because no longer distinguishable.

icamus (.i-ka-mos) 'let us strike up,' Latin *i-ca-mus*, volitive subjunctive of *i-co* 'strike.'

ia (.ya-) < **iam*, Latin *jam* 'now.' Final -m disappeared in Etruscan long before final -s did, and a preceding short stressed mid vowel (.e or .o) early became silent, see *fust* but *aisaru* and *pici*, page 16.

θριψtent (.trip'de-nt) 'let them dance the tripodatio,' Latin *tripodent*, volitive subjunctive of *tripodo*, -a-re, 'to dance (as a religious performance).' In Etruscan a really medial -d- regularly becomes -l-: *mλαχ eluri zeri-c* (.mla-ḡ elori tse'ri-k) = *μάλαγμα adoris seri-que* 'a batter of spelt and whey' (Mummy Ms. 5-22); see also -a-dek- > -a-lək-, page 18. But in .tripo'de-nt, the -d- began the stressed syllable and was, therefore, virtually initial. Etruscan *eluri* corresponds to the Old-Latin variant *edoris*. Latin *edo-ris* would be .e'do-ri in Etruscan and would have been written **eturi*; cf. *tetet* under *raneθ*, page 17.

-*χα* (.ka), Latin -*que* 'and.' The Capuan Tablet still has *χue* (.ḡə), but Etruscan .ḡ early became .k,* hence we usually find -*ce* (F. 2598), -*χe* (F. 2327 ter *b* and very frequently elsewhere), or -*χα* (as here), all = .ka, or we find -*c* (see under *θριψtent* above), with the obscure vowel lost. But unstressed -ḡə at times became -klə, thus we find -*cle*, -*χle* and -*χla* '-que,' which persisted after .ḡ had become .k in other words: *Lautnes'-cle caresri Aules'* 'of Lautne and dearest Aule' (F. 1915, CIE. 4116). With the

*Where .kw is found in later texts, it is foreign (*Cvinte* < Latin *Quintus*) or of secondary development (-*χva* < -*tra(ns)* in the Mummy Ms., 8-3 etc.: *celi hubis' zaθrumis' fter-χva Neθunsl* 'walk thirty-four times past the statue of Neptune'). *celi* is .ke-le- < .ke-de-, 'walk, stride.' From Latin *ce-de* we should expect *cel*, with loss of the short -e, certainly in so late a text. *celi* (< .ke-de-) makes more probable Brugmann's derivation from *ce* + √*sed*. (see Walde). It would seem actually to be from *ce-sedeo* 'sit here,' 'come on over here and sit with me,' 'come along, don't stand there,' 'come on,' 'march,' etc. As in Umbrian etc., the .e- in Etruscan was very close and was often written *i*, especially when unstressed.

more usual Etruscan $-\chi a$, $-\chi e$, etc., compare Venetic $-ka$ (No. 22), $-ke$ (No. 9), $-\chi e$ (No. 291). The genitive ending $-es$ (in northern spelling, $-es'$), seen in *Pules* and *Creices*, page 8, and in *Lautnes'* and *Aules'*, is $.e^{-}s < .eis$, Oscan $-eis$, Umbrian $-es / -er$ (Buck, §171), which arose in the i -stems.

pi ($.pi^{-}$), Latin piu^{-} or pi^{-} , 'the devout ones,' here probably the hired mourners.

m - ($.m$) 'then,' see $-m$, page 11.

$\theta u\chi ti\theta$ ($.duktit$, Latin $ductita^{-}$, imperative of *ductito* 'lead, lead along, lead forth.' In Etruscan this verb is of the third conjugation, with final short $-e$ regularly lost. The $-kt-$ is a sign of great age, for $.xt$ early became $.k(\kappa)$ in Etruscan, cf. *pace* under *letive*, page 11.

$nv\text{h}unt$ ($.no^{-}o^{-}nt$) 'messenger.' The word originally meant 'new-comer,' being due to the conglomeration of $*neu(i)os$ $*uentos$, $nov(i)us$ $ventus$. The Etruscan word is the same as Latin $nu^{-}ntius$ 'messenger'; but the peculiar phonology led to changes that were not identical in the two languages. In considering these, it should not be forgotten that the Italic stress rested on the initial syllable. In Latin we find the development: $*neuios$ $uentos$, which by metathesis of $-ios$ and $-os$ and regular change of $-sw-$ to $-w-$ (Sommers, p. 231b) became $*neuoentios$ > (Sommers, p. 97) $*neuentios$ > (Sommers p. 74, 2) $nouentios$ > (Sommers, §86) $*nountios$ > (Sommers, p. 175) $nu^{-}ntius$. Etruscan, on the other hand, developed as follows (in Latin spelling) $*neuos$ $uentos$ > $*neuoentos$ > $*nouoentos$ > $*nouountos$ > $nu^{-}u^{-}ntos$, the vocative of which (with regular loss of final $-e$) is our $.no^{-}o^{-}nt$, speld *nv\text{h}unt*.

$aisaru$ ($.ais\text{a}ro^{-}$) < $.ais\text{a}ro^{-}m$, genitive plural, 'of the gods.' The 'messenger of the gods' was Mercury, who also conducted the souls of the dead to the lower world. The invocation is, therefore, to him. *aisar* (*aesar Etrusca lingua* 'deus,' Suetonius) is a variant of *aisos* ($\alpha\iota\sigma\omicron\iota$ 'θεοὶ' ἵπὸ Τυρρηνῶν, Hesychius), see Buck, page 12 etc. Contrast the retention of $-u$, which represents $-o^{-} < -o^{-}m$, with the complete loss of short $-om$ in *fust* below.

$ustvm$ ($.us'to^{-}n$) < $.us'to^{-}r'm$, Latin *ustorem*, accusative of *ustor* 'cremator.'

$fravvmv$ ($.fra^{-}w\text{a}mo$), Latin $*fera^{-}vimus$ 'tulimus.' This form, by its loss of $-e-$, betrays the shift of stress spoken of above; compare also *θne*, p. 10. With *fravvmv*, compare *fvimv* under *letive*, page 11.

$pici$ ($.piki$) < $.pikim$, Latin *picem*, accusative of *pix*, Lithuanian *pikis* 'pitch.' For the loss of $-m$, see *ia* above.

$fust$ ($.bust$) < $.bustom$, Latin *bustum* 'place of cremation.' I regularly represent the Etruscan letter B by the conventional transcription f , but it is obvious that it here still has its original function of representing the labial stop $.b$. Pauli was mistaken in deriving the Etruscan B from the old

three-barred *h*. It is nothing but a cursive form of **B**, and got the value .f as old .bh became the labial fricative. In the inscription Gamurrini 804, the first two *f*'s are written 8, the following three have the form **B**. For the loss of -om, see *ia*, page 15.

raneθ (.ran'ne-d < .ran'ye-d < .ranie-t) is the third singular future of Latin **ranio*, Greek *ῥαίνω* '(be)sprinkle.' The change of -t to -d is the same as in Oscan, Umbrian, and Latin; compare Old-Latin *sied*, *fhefhaked*, etc. But this -d is found only in very old Etruscan, for it early became silent (*tenu*, F. 2033 *bis*, E *a*) and in time a preceding short -e disappeared (*tenu*, F. 2070, III. 329). The ending of Latin *tenuit* is a reconstruction on the basis of the present, which has -t < -ti, cf. Etruscan *s'uθit* (.s'u(d)dit), Latin *subdit*, F. 2335. Corresponding to Latin -it (< -ed) and -i-t (< -eid), Sommers, page 618, Etruscan had -ed and -e-d: the former in *tenue(d)* (F. 2033, *bis*, E *a*), later *tenu* (F. 2070, III. 329), and in many other verbs, for example, (F. 2100): *eisne-v-c eprθne-v-c macstre-v-c*, Latin *aestuma-vit-que imperita-vit-que magistra-vit-que*; the latter in .ənnə'ke- 'gave' (see page 7), and in *tetet* (de'de-d, cf. *θriθtent*, page 15), with which contrast *telet* (.deled), page 13. The form *tetet* is found in F. 2753, an inscription that is usually classed as "mixed Oscan and Etruscan," but which is in reality pure Etruscan from beginning to end.* The only consideration that has led scholars to suppose that this inscription is not pure Etruscan is the fact that several words in it are obviously Indo-European, which was not compatible with the current doctrine that Etruscan is not Indo-European.

It will be observed that that part of our inscription that is numbered 2346 forms a sense-unit. What is numbered 2345 falls into two sense-units. If we write the text in this way, we get three metrical lines:—

'i-ka-mos 'ya- trip'de-nt-ka 'pi-
 'm-duktit, 'no-o-nt 'aisar(o-) us'to-n;
 'fra-wəmo 'piki, 'bust ran'ne-d.

'Let us strike up now, and let the devout ones dance the sacred dance.
 Then lead forth, O Messenger of the Gods, the burner of the dead;
 We have brought the pitch, he will sprinkle the place of burning.'

Each verse is a trochaic dimeter catalectic, with the substitution of a dactyl for the trochee in the first foot of the first dipody, less often of the second dipody. The meter is, of course, dynamic, that is, based on stress, not time.

*Fabretti made a strange blunder in reading the perfectly distinct *per aciam* as *aeraciam*, and others carelessly followed him.

NOTE ON THE NUMERALS

As there has been occasion to refer to the numerals, I may say that the correct order is that of Campanari :—

<i>max</i>	<i>θu</i>	<i>zal</i>	<i>huθ</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>s'a</i>	<i>semφ</i>	<i>cezφ-</i>	<i>muv-</i>	<i>mealχls</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Every form is a regular derivative from primitive Indo-European. The puzzling *zal* (.tsa-l) is from older **zar* (.tsa-r), which arose by metathesis (cf. English *three* but *third*) from .tsra- < .tis(ə)'ra-, Avestan *tis'aro-*, Sanskrit *tisrās*, Old-Irish *teoir*, etc., 'three.' The Etruscan numerals were often feminine abstracts like Greek *οἴνη* 'the number one' and German *die Eins*. The older **zar* (.tsa-r) is reflected in *zθrm* (.tsa-tr'm) < **zarθm* (.tsa-rt'm) 'thirty' < (.tis(ə)'ra- 'three,' + .dek'm 'ten'). As in this word the .-ra- became .-a-r by metathesis, the .d of .dek'm came to stand next to the .r, and thus .tsa-rdek'm became .tsa-rdk'm > .tsa-rt'm > .tsa-tr'm, spelled *zθrm*, *zθrum*, etc. In other numerals, the final -a- remained in position, and thus .-a-dek- became .-a-lək (see page 15) > .-(a)k-, spelled *-(a)lχ-*, etc. : *celc*, *cialχ-us'*, *cealχ-ls*, etc., all forms of the word for 'fifty'; *s'ialχ-v(e)is* 'sixty' (the analogy of the preceding *ci-* of the word for 'fifty' caused the substitution of *s'i-* for *s'a-* 'six,' which is from **zecsā* (.tsek'sa-), compare, with initial stress, *zecsans'l* (.tseksans'l) 'of a six-year-old,' Latin *sexennis*); etc. The tens usually appear in the adjective form, with the Indo-European adjective suffix *-we-s*, *-wents*, seen in Avestan *vi-saiti-vant-* 'twenty-fold' and in Greek *τετρας*, *-ἄντρος*, etc. (Brugmann, II. §182, 2, II². §356). This *-we-s* appears as *-veis* and *-vis* (*ei* and *i* = close e-) on the Lemnos Stone (*s'ialχ-veis*, *-vis*); as *-us* (.os < .wes < .we-s, cf. Latin *soror* < .sweso-r) in the Mummy Ms. (*cealχ-us* etc.); and as *-ls* (a dull syllabic l + s) in Italian Etruscan (*cealχ-ls* etc.). In Southern Etruria the final *-s* of this adjective suffix passed by analogy to the numbers below *mealχls* 'ten' when these were used as adjectives: thus *maxs*, *huθs*, etc., by the side of the *max*, *huθ*, etc., found on the dice. This *-s* has been mistaken by some scholars for an inflectional ending, and has been used as shot to fire at the "Indo-Germanites" (Skutsch, Pauly-Wissowa, 805-47).

CORRECTIONS

- Page 6, line 7, read *Italic language*.
“ “ “ 8, “ *has made*.
“ “ “ 9, “ *for its disciples*.
“ 7, “ 12, add *r' represents an Umbrian variety of r*.
“ “ “ 35, read *see fravumv, page 16*.
“ 13, “ 26, “ *Qanriber*.
“ 15, “ 5, “ *no⁻o⁻nt (not nu⁻u⁻nt)*.
“ 16, “ 23, “ *no⁻o⁻ntos (not nu⁻u⁻ntos)*.

