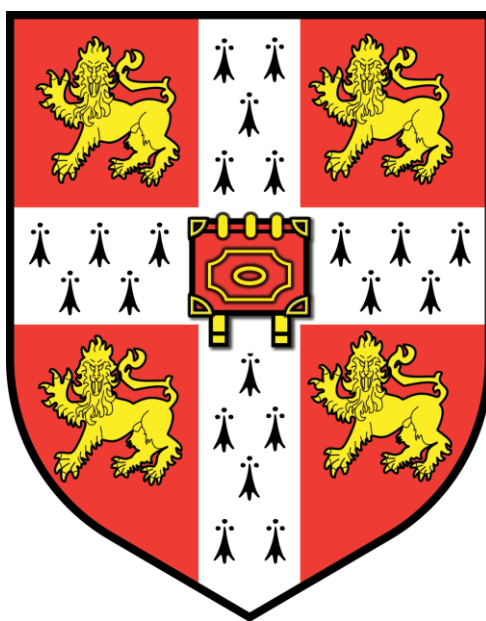


Language Contact in South Oscan Epigraphy



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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that I have submitted for a degree or diploma or similar qualification.

Statement of Length

This thesis is 79,853 words in length, in accordance with the specifications of the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Classics, including footnotes, references and appendices but excluding the title page, front matter and bibliography.

Summary

This thesis examines evidence for language contact between Oscan and Greek in the corpus of Oscan inscriptions from Lucania, Bruttium and Messana. These inscriptions were written in an adapted form of the Greek alphabet from around the fourth to first century BC, with a few of the latest texts written in the Latin alphabet; as a group, these texts are referred to as 'South Oscan'. The work draws on modern sociolinguistic theory of bilingualism and language contact alongside previous scholarship on ancient linguistics, epigraphy and archaeology. It also suggests a series of general principles for dealing with small epigraphic corpora from a sociolinguistic viewpoint.

After laying out these frameworks, this work gives an introduction to the sites of the region and past scholarship on language contact in this corpus. The main body of the thesis deals with the corpus of texts from a number of complementary angles. Firstly, the adaptation of the South Oscan alphabet from the Greek alphabet is explored in detail. In particular, the development of various signs for /f/ and the use of 'extra' Greek characters like chi, theta and phi are investigated as evidence of ongoing contact between the languages.

The rest of the thesis deals with the corpus by genre or inscription type: this includes dedications, curse tablets, legal texts, official texts (including coin legends) and funerary texts. While some types of text, such as curse tablets, show pronounced influence and borrowing from Greek, other genres such as legal or official texts show far fewer contact phenomena, even within the same community. In other instances, language contact appears to have resulted in regional linguistic developments: for example, some of the formulae used in South Oscan dedicatory and funerary texts appear to be creative adaptations arising from a combination of influences from both Oscan and Greek, without fully adopting existing models from either language. This thesis therefore stresses that communities developed norms about the appropriateness of borrowing from Greek in various kinds of texts. In many instances, linguistic and epigraphic borrowing from Greek in written texts seems to be determined by individual choice and variation within these community norms, rather than the result of incompetence.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was written with the generous financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council, UK. Further financial assistance for travel was provided by Pembroke College, Cambridge; the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge; and the British Council Erasmus Programme. I completed my BA and MPhil, as well as my PhD research, at Pembroke College and the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge. I would like to thank the academics, students, librarians and support staff at both for providing a fantastic learning and research environment. I would also like to thank the staff and students at Chelmsford County High School for Girls for giving me the opportunities that led me here.

I spent a brief period during my research as a visiting Erasmus scholar at the Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici at Ca' Foscari, Venezia. I would like to thank Prof. Ettore Cingano for his hospitality. Heartfelt thanks also to Olga Tribulato, who not only welcomed me to Venice but also supervised my undergraduate dissertation at Cambridge, and was the first to ask me to consider continuing to graduate study. I would also like to thank the British School at Rome for the use of their library, and for many mind-expanding conversations over dinner. In particular, thanks to Maria Pia Malvezzi for her invaluable help in getting permissions to visit museums.

Photographs in this thesis are used by kind permission of a number of museums who allowed me to conduct research during 2012. I would like to thank: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; la Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei; la Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Salerno, Avellino, Benevento e Caserta; Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum; Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Muro Lucano; Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata 'Dinu Adameșteanu' (Potenza); Museo Provinciale, Potenza; la Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata. Reproductions of images from other publications are credited in the text.

I would also like to thank all the scholars from Cambridge and other institutions who have been so generous with their time and their advice over the past few years. A number of

scholars have made their work available to me before publication, or have travelled with me to various sites and museums in Italy and Greece, and without these contributions this thesis would be much diminished. In particular, I would like to thank: David Abulafia (University of Cambridge); James Clackson (University of Cambridge); Michael Crawford (Institute of Advanced Studies); Monique Dondin-Payre (CNRS, Paris); Emmanuel Dupraz (Université de Rouen); David Langslow (University of Manchester); Fiona Mowat (University of Edinburgh); Alex Mullen (University of Oxford); Robert Pitt (British School at Athens); Paolo Poccetti (Università di Roma Tor Vergata); Philomen Probert (University of Oxford); Ulrike Roth (University of Edinburgh); Timo Sironen (University of Oulu); Heikki Solin (University of Helsinki); Pippa Steele (University of Cambridge); Andreas Willi (University of Oxford); Greg Woolf (University of St Andrews); Nick Zair (University of Cambridge).

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This thesis is dedicated to my family, who always believed I could do anything; and to Patrick Clibbens, for his undiminishing support and love since long before I started to write this thesis.

Abbreviations and Conventions

I Conventions

The following conventions apply to the forms given in the text. ‘Native’ alphabets include Central Oscan, Umbrian, Etruscan, etc.

Fonts

tanginúd	epigraphically attested form, ‘native’ alphabet
<i>tanginom</i>	epigraphically attested form, Latin alphabet
τανγινουδ	epigraphically attested form, Greek or South Oscan alphabet

Single letters

/f/	phoneme
[f]	phone, allophone of phoneme
*f	unattested or reconstructed form
<F>	epigraphic form
*<F>	unattested epigraphic form
<φ>	epigraphic form (Greek letter)

Transcriptions of inscriptions¹

πακ(ισ)	abbreviated form, expanded form supplied
λεκ(?)	abbreviated form, expanded form cannot be supplied
[2-3]ιομ	damaged text, space for 2-3 letters
[-?]	damaged text, unknown number of letters
[γ]αφισ	damaged text, missing letter(s) supplied by editor
α	partially visible letter(s), identifiable in context
τ{αν}αγγινουδ	letter(s) inscribed in error, removed by editor
<κ>λοπουστ	letter(s) left un-inscribed in error, and supplied by the editor; or inscribed as different letter in error, and corrected by the editor

¹ These transcription conventions are based on those used by Michael Crawford in his *Imagines Italicae* edition – see Crawford (2011b); see also the conventions recommended by Cooley (2012) 352-355.

σαλας. φαλε	word divider in the form of a dot or point (where no word dividers are used, the transcription will divide the words with spaces only)
πολε'ν'τα	ancient correction or addition to the text
αφαματετ	letters in ligature
[^{vac}]	small vacat
vacat	vacat of whole line length

II Abbreviations

Verb forms		Noun forms	
PRES	present	NOM	nominative
PERF	perfect	ACC	accusative
IMPERF	imperfect	GEN	genitive
AOR	aorist	DAT	dative
FUT	future	ABL	ablative
IMP I	imperative I	LOC	locative
IMP II	imperative II	SING	singular
INDIC	indicative	PL	plural
SUBJ	subjunctive		
OPT	optative	Other	
ACT	active	ADV	adverb
PASS	passive	ADJ	adjective
MID	middle	GDV	gerundive
PART	participle		

Collections of inscriptions

Capialbi	V. Capialbi, <i>Inscriptionum Vibonensium specimen</i> , Naples, 1845.
CEG	P.A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , Berlin; New York, 1983/1989.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , Berlin, 1828-77.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1863 onwards.

DTA	IG volume 3, part 3, appendix: ‘ <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> ’, Berlin, 1897.
DT Audollent	= Audollent (1904).
Dubois GG I	= Dubois (1995).
Dubois GG II	= Dubois (2002).
Dubois S I	= Dubois (1989).
Dubois S II	= Dubois (2008).
DVA	= Lazzarini (1976).
ET	= Rix (1991).
FD III	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , Tome III, Épigraphie. Paris, 1929 onwards.
GDI	H. Gollitz, F. Bechtel, et al., <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt- Inschriften</i> , Göttingen, 1884-1915.
HN	= Rutter (2001).
ID	F. Durrbach (ed.), <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , Paris, 1923-1937.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin, 1873 onwards.
ILLRP	A. Degrassi, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> I-II, Florence, 1957, 2 nd edition 1965.
<i>Imagines</i>	= Crawford (2011b).
Kropp	= Kropp (2008).
LSAG	= Jeffery (1990).
LGPN	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Oxford, 1987 onwards.
NGCT	= Jordan (2000).
Pocc	= Poccetti (1979).
RV	= Lejeune (1990).
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden, 1923 onwards.
SGD	= Jordan (1985).
ST	= Rix (2002).

III Editions

Oscan inscriptions named in this thesis are labelled in two possible ways. Inscription numbers preceded by a two-letter code (e.g. Lu 5, Me 1) are from Rix (2002) *Sabellische Texte*. Numbers preceded by a full Latin place name or ethnic name (e.g. Potentia 39, Lucani 1) are from Crawford (2011) *Imagines Italicae*. Where an inscription is numbered in both editions, both numbers will be given at the first mention, but then the inscription will be referred to by the Rix number. Where there is no Rix number available, the inscription will be referred to by the Crawford number. Some of the longer Crawford numbers may be abbreviated (e.g. Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1 as Luc/Bret/Sic 1).

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

I Introduction

This thesis aims to explore evidence of Greek/Oscan language contact in the corpus of ‘South Oscan’ texts, using perspectives from sociolinguistics, epigraphy and archaeology. ‘South Oscan’ is a shorthand term for the epigraphic corpus comprising the Oscan-language texts from ancient Lucania, Bruttium and Messana. These texts are written primarily in a script adapted from the Greek Ionic alphabet, though later texts in particular may be written in the Latin alphabet. The South Oscan corpus dates from around the C4th BC until the Social War (91-88 BC) or soon afterwards, when the Roman domination of Italy effectively ended the use of Oscan for epigraphic texts. This thesis will also use evidence from Greek-language inscriptions which contain Oscan-style names or other Oscan linguistic features.

South Oscan epigraphy offers the opportunity to study a relatively unusual language contact situation. Many studies of language contact in the ancient world examine contact between a local language and a regional or supra-regional language, to which speakers of the local variety shift over a period of time. Contact between Latin and the majority of the other languages of the Roman Empire, for example, follows this pattern. The contact between Oscan and Greek cannot be viewed in quite the same way, because neither was ever the undisputed dominant language of the whole area. In some cities, such as Naples, the aristocracy was Greek-speaking; in others, such as Laos and Paestum, the elite began to use Oscan rather than Greek in its written texts; and in others, such as the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio, Oscan alone was used until Latin became the preferred written language. Greek never completely displaced Oscan, nor vice versa: the decline of both in Italy was caused by the expansion of Latin, with Oscan undergoing language death around the C1st BC-1st AD.¹ Greek almost went the same way, although it enjoyed a long period of prominence and prestige in Naples into

¹ Adams (2003) 112, 146–147; Clackson and Horrocks (2007) 83; Wallace (2008) 96.

the Roman Imperial Period,² and the Griko dialect of Calabria and Puglia may perhaps provide evidence of the continuity of Italian Greek to the present day.³

The corpus of South Oscan texts has grown considerably during the late C20th and early C21st, resulting in a collection of Oscan-language texts that is considerably understudied, both as individual texts and as a corpus. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to examine these texts as a group, but also as part of a wider context of language contact in the ancient Mediterranean. Additionally, this work hopes to present a number of general principles for the study of smaller epigraphic corpus languages – a field which does not have the established methodological and theoretical frameworks of other areas of sociolinguistics, historical sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics.

II Sociolinguistics and Historical Sociolinguistics

The study of ancient languages can be approached from a number of directions. While Oscan – along with many other ancient languages – was originally of interest primarily from an Indo-European perspective, a number of new approaches have taken shape in the late C20th and early C21st. Work on modern languages has provided a number of potential methodologies adapted from sociolinguistics, gender linguistics, contact linguistics and other fields. Here, I will look at the principles behind modern sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics and how they can be applied to this thesis.

2.1 Quantitative sociolinguistics

The advent of sociolinguistics (sometimes called ‘variation studies’⁴) was one of the greatest changes to the theoretical framework of linguistics, both diachronic and synchronic, of the second half of the C20th.⁵ The first recorded use of ‘sociolinguistics’ is in the title of a paper in an anthropological journal of 1939, but it was recognised as a field of study only in

² Lomas (2008) 123.

³ Rohlfs (1967); Horrocks (2010) 383.

⁴ Schneider (2002); Romaine (1982) 9.

⁵ Hickey (2003) 2.

the 1960s.⁶ The introduction of quantitative sociolinguistic methods for demonstrating the language variation between different social groups (pioneered by William Labov) marked a turning point in the handling and interpretation of language data.

The methodology of quantitative sociolinguistics has been remarkably constant since its inception.⁷ The methods used by Labov therefore bear talking about here, as a classic example of the methods of quantitative sociolinguistics.

LES [the Lower East Side study] included a wide range of methods for gathering data: the rapid and anonymous study of the New York City department stores; transcriptions of group interaction on the streets; a telephone survey of non-respondents. The individual interviews of LES also included a wider array of field experiments than were usually found in succeeding studies: word lists, minimal pair tests, self-report tests, and subjective reaction tests.⁸

Building on this methodology, Labov's studies of linguistic variation in Philadelphia in the 1970s combined brief, formal telephone interviews of subjects chosen randomly from the phone-book with long-term studies of families, neighbours and social networks.⁹ Labov intended his data to give both a randomised view of individual speech patterns across the community and more in-depth information about the use of language in specific settings. These methods have their problems: the telephone interviews were inevitably distorted by the limitations of the phone line, and some members of the speech community had no phone number, were unlisted, or did not make themselves available for interview (particularly men).¹⁰ The longer-term studies were intended, in part, to correct for distortions, just as the telephone interviews could correct for error in the longer-term studies.

⁶ Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012) 22.

⁷ Labov (1966); Labov (2001) 36.

⁸ Labov (2001) 36–37.

⁹ Ibid., 40.

¹⁰ Ibid., 72.

2.2 Development of historical sociolinguistics

An area of growth over the past thirty years has been ‘historical sociolinguistics’ – that is, the application of the theoretical frameworks and, to some extent, the methods of quantitative sociolinguistics to the languages of the past (see Figure 1 for the disciplines involved in this field). This sub-field of sociolinguistics has been called socio-historical linguistics (e.g. by Romaine) or, more usually now, historical sociolinguistics.¹¹

One of the first works to consider the application of sociolinguistic theory to languages of the past, and particularly to language change, was Romaine (1982).¹² Further research includes a number of works on various stages of the English language, using corpora such as the Corpus of Early English Correspondence.¹³ The field has now widened to include macrolinguistic concepts such as multilingualism, language contact, attitudes to language, and standardisation.¹⁴ The assumption of this field is that, as in spoken language, ‘variation also occurs in written language in... a patterned rather than a random way.’¹⁵ That is, following the uniformitarian principle, languages are assumed to behave in a similar way in both the past and the present.¹⁶ Writers, like speakers, make conscious and unconscious variations, some of which are conditioned by a range of circumstances and social norms. However, the patterns found in the written language will not necessarily be identical to those in the spoken language. By understanding patterns in the material and the factors which may influence writers, it is possible to reconstruct a written language in its social and cultural context.

¹¹ Romaine (1982); Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (2012); Milroy (1992); Machan and Scott (1992); Jahr (1999); Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003); Bergs (2005).

¹² Romaine (1982).

¹³ Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996).

¹⁴ Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy (2012) 1.

¹⁵ Romaine (1982) 13; Lodge (2004) 9.

¹⁶ Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012) 24.

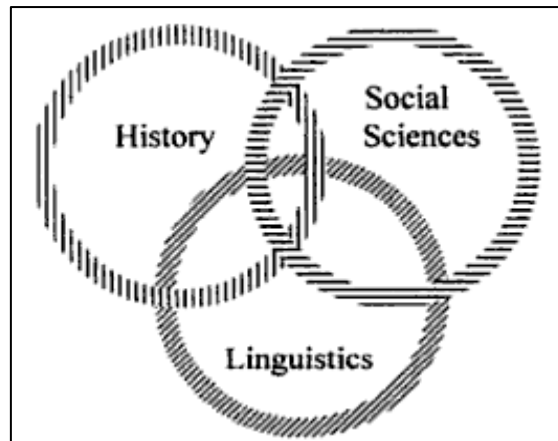


Figure 1: A model of the disciplines involved in historical sociolinguistics.¹⁷

It is a matter of debate how closely the languages of the past can be explained using the methods and theory built up by modern sociolinguistics.

The fundamental methodological fact that historical linguists have to face is that they have no control over their data; texts are produced by a series of historical accidents... the great art of the historical linguist is to make the best of this bad data – ‘bad’ in the sense that it may be fragmentary, corrupted or many times removed from the actual productions of native speakers.¹⁸

In other words, epigraphic and literary corpora are unsatisfactory evidence for sociolinguistics. They are self-selecting, and we cannot possibly hope that they represent the whole range of usages in the speech community (or even the range of usages of the individuals who wrote them). The literate population in many past societies was relatively small, mainly comprised individuals from certain social groups (e.g. aristocracy, craftsmen, perhaps soldiers), and tended to exclude particular groups (e.g. women, children, lower socio-economic classes). Many ancient texts were subject to stylistic conventions which set them apart from spoken language.¹⁹ We also cannot hope to gather the range and detail of background information on each individual available in studies of spoken languages. To put it

¹⁷ Bergs (2005) 8.

¹⁸ Labov (1972) 100.

¹⁹ Janse (2002) 337.

another way: ‘historical sociolinguists are forced to make do with the records that have managed by chance to survive through the centuries.’²⁰

This has now become known generally as the ‘bad data problem’.²¹ It still has some acceptance in the field,²² including in Classical studies.²³ However, the apparent disadvantages of written historical texts over recordings of spoken language have sometimes been exaggerated or misunderstood, and some of the problems of historical sociolinguistics are also encountered in studies using spoken data. For example, achieving a genuinely representative sample is extremely difficult in all sociolinguistic study,²⁴ and is not necessary for obtaining valid results.²⁵ There are also positive aspects to the data used in historical sociolinguistics: for example, the speaker/writer cannot be influenced by the process of data collection (the ‘observer paradox’).²⁶ In collecting spoken data, the ‘interview’ is itself perceived as a speech event subject to clear rules, and so it is hard to gain a full picture of a speaker’s idiolect using traditional Labovian techniques.²⁷ Janda and Joseph suggest that, in studying the past, we can and should strive for ‘informational maximalism’ – that is, ‘the utilisation of all reasonable means to extend our knowledge of what might have been going on in the past, even though it is not directly observable.’²⁸ This suggestion can be followed in studies on ancient languages if an interdisciplinary methodology is used, since the use of different languages, scripts, iconography, materials and locations provide multiple modes of expression that can be understood together.²⁹

The ‘bad data problem’ is not just about the lack of completeness in historical corpora; more fundamentally, it is about the relationship between spoken and written language. It

²⁰ Toon (1992) 30.

²¹ Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy (2012) 2.

²² Lodge (2004) 23; Bergs (2005) 45.

²³ Mimbrera (2012) 227, “It is obvious that we cannot use sociolinguistic methods to elicit our data, since we only possess written documents.”

²⁴ Rietveld, van Hout, and Ernestus (2004) 350.

²⁵ Hernández-Campoy and Schilling (2012) 65.

²⁶ Vázquez and Marqués-Aguado (2012) 124.

²⁷ Milroy (1987) 25; Bergs (2005) 17.

²⁸ Janda and Joseph (2003) 37.

²⁹ Mullen (2012) 13, 29; Mullen (2013) 55.

could be assumed that texts can be understood only in their relation to the spoken language.³⁰

Romaine's response to Labov's 'bad data' argument shows that this assumption is invalid:

Although historical data, of course, may be fragmentary... the only way in which they can be bad in the other sense intended by Labov is by invidious or inappropriate comparison with the spoken language. Historical data can be valid in their own right (as can other instances of the written language) regardless of the extent to which they reflect or are removed from the productions of native speakers.³¹

In this view, writing is not a representation of speech: instead, speech and writing should be seen as instances of the same language embodied in different media, each with 'full autonomy as a vehicle for language'.³² Not all written forms of language are intended to represent a speech act: in many instances, a written piece has no spoken equivalent, e.g. in legal language.³³ In these cases, it may be more accurate to talk about a written document being read out than a speech act being represented in writing.

Throughout this thesis, we will come across instances where epigraphic and linguistic decisions have been taken that could only be relevant to a written text. It is not always helpful, or a fair representation of the decisions taken by the writer, to view texts as representations of speech. For this reason, this thesis will lean more towards Romaine's approach of seeing written language as a medium of language distinct from speech, but without seeking completely to divorce the two. It may be that in some instances neither the speech nor the writing is 'primary', but both are intended to work together, e.g. as part of a ritual. Even in written texts with no spoken equivalent, writers may seek to represent speech-sounds – e.g. sounding out a word phoneme by phoneme when unsure of the spelling. Speech and writing are therefore separate, as Romaine shows, but the two are constantly interacting.

³⁰ Labov (1972) 109; Schneider (2002) 69–70.

³¹ Romaine (1982) 122.

³² *Ibid.*, 14.

³³ *Ibid.*

2.3 Methods in ‘corpus languages’ and *Trümmersprachen*

If possible methods for studying the languages of the past in their social context have continued to be a source of debate, the correct approach to more fragmentary languages is particularly problematic. We should clarify the terminology used here: I hesitate to use the term ‘corpus languages’, as used by Langslow,³⁴ because of the possible confusion with the distinct term ‘corpus linguistics’. Corpus linguistics is not the study of ‘corpus languages’ (otherwise variously called ancient languages, dead languages, or Classical languages), but the study of corpora, which can comprise spoken or written material from any language, past or present. Historical corpus linguistics is one sub-set of this field. Langslow argues that the similarity between these two areas should be drawn out by the use of the term ‘corpus languages’,³⁵ but the benefit of drawing this comparison may not be worth the potential ambiguities. There is also an important distinction to be drawn between languages such as Latin and Greek, which provide many thousands or millions of words in both epigraphic and literary (manuscript) documents, and those languages which survive in much smaller, primarily epigraphic, samples.³⁶ While the former may be approached with methods similar to those used in studies of corpora brought together from extensive samples of modern languages, this may be more problematic for the latter. A helpful term here is the German *Trümmersprache*, ‘remains-language’, which encompasses the idea of a language attested in a small, fragmentary corpus.³⁷

Langslow’s hesitations about the terms ‘dead language’ and ‘ancient language’, while valid, do not necessarily pertain to Oscan.³⁸ For these reasons, I am comfortable speaking of

³⁴ Langslow (2002) 24.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Today the TLG corpus of Greek (Homer to AD 1453) has over 105 million words (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/about>, accessed 18/06/12); the Corpus of Early English Correspondence has 2.7 million words (<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/domains/CEEC.html>, accessed 18/06/12). Compare the British National Corpus, of 100 million words (<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>, accessed 18/06/12) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English, 425 million words (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca>, accessed 18/06/12).

³⁷ The word *Trümmersprache* is found used in a number of senses; for this sense, see Lass (1997) 274.

³⁸ For example, the observation that “dead languages need not arise through language death, and language death often yields not a dead language but no language at all.” Langslow (2002) 23.

Oscan as a ‘dead language’ (in the sense of both a language which has undergone language death, and one which is no longer spoken), an ‘ancient language’ (in that our evidence for it is restricted to what is normally described as the ‘ancient’ world) and as an ‘epigraphic corpus language’ (in that its evidence is primarily a body of epigraphic material), or – for brevity – as a *Trümmersprache*.

Should we expect the methods for investigating *Trümmersprachen* from a sociolinguistic standpoint to be the same as for other languages, such as Greek and Latin, or even broadly similar? For example, it has been suggested that the number of tokens attested for any sociolinguistic variable has to be at least fifteen, and ideally thirty or more, a goal that very poorly-attested languages are unlikely to meet.³⁹ One approach would be to see these languages as sources of material relating to education and citizenship, through the use of personal names and writing conventions.⁴⁰ Langslow gives as examples the progress of Romanisation and the transition to Roman citizenship in Etruscan and Venetic, as shown by the alphabets used and the onomastic styles preferred.⁴¹ This kind of (partly extra-linguistic) information can reveal a great deal about how communities experiencing language contact, cultural contact and language death renegotiate identities, and how this negotiation varies between individuals within the same communities.

Concepts from modern studies on language contact, such as code-switching and interference (see below), have been used fruitfully in the study of ancient linguistics during the last decade, notably in the large-scale influential works by J.N. Adams.⁴² This work shows that it is possible to assess linguistic information even where a language may be known only from a relatively small corpus. However, the place of *Trümmersprachen*, including the languages of ancient Italy, is still misunderstood within historical sociolinguistics. For example, McColl Millar mistakenly equates the domains in which the fragmentary languages of Italy survive with the sum total of the domains for which these languages were ever used.⁴³

³⁹ Hernández-Campoy and Schilling (2012) 67.

⁴⁰ Langslow (2002) 29.

⁴¹ Ibid., 36–42.

⁴² Adams (2003); Adams (2007).

⁴³ McColl Millar (2012) 49.

The potential of *Trümmersprachen* is far from being fully exploited, though recently some studies have emerged which set out to use interdisciplinary methodologies to reach a fuller understanding of small epigraphic corpora.⁴⁴ This thesis aims to contribute to this developing methodology.

III Language in Ancient Society: Reconciling Epigraphy and Archaeology

3.1 Identifying a historical speech community

In any study with a sociolinguistic element, it is necessary to define the ‘speech community’ under discussion. This is inevitably a somewhat abstract and problematic idea, but a necessary one.⁴⁵ It is not always clear in linguistic and sociolinguistic scholarship on what grounds a ‘speech community’ has been defined. Peter L. Patrick gives a sample of the different kinds of groups to which this term has been applied, showing that there is little agreement on how it should be used:

The term ‘SpCom’ [speech community] has been used for geographically bounded urban communities, both large (Philadelphia)... and small (Anniston, Alabama)...; for urban neighborhoods (‘Veeton’ in Kingston, Jamaica)... and subgroups – Belfast vernacular speakers... and the French-speaking minority of Ontario, Canada.... It has been denied for other cities (London)... but used for Anglo-Saxon England..., for urban immigrants..., and for the ‘national unity of a people’.... Cutting across geographic and class lines, it has been used of very general assemblages such as children... and women..., as well as specific and temporary ones such as members of a jury.⁴⁶

It is not clear, in other words, whether the ‘speech community’ should be defined on primarily linguistic or social lines. As soon as bilingualism becomes a consideration, it is

⁴⁴ For example, on Southern Gaul, Mullen (2013).

⁴⁵ Labov (2001) 38.

⁴⁶ Patrick (2002) 574.

insufficient to define ‘speech community’ as ‘speakers of the same language or variety’.⁴⁷ It may therefore be more helpful to define a speech community socially rather than linguistically.

One possible model is social network theory, which defines an individual speaker by their ties (weak or strong) to other individuals, ultimately building up a picture of their social network, and that of the community as a whole.⁴⁸ This model has the advantage of being more generally applicable than, for example, social class (as used by Labov), and it can also be used to study small groups.⁴⁹ The speech community could be defined as a social network: ‘a speech community consists of those people who communicate with one another or are connected to one another by chains of speakers who communicate with one another.’⁵⁰ This speech community could then be characterised as open or closed in regards to its dealings with other communities, and tightknit or looseknit in its internal structure.⁵¹ Previous work suggests that where a network is open and looseknit, there is generally more susceptibility to innovation and language change.⁵²

For ancient languages, especially *Trümmersprachen*, geographic delineations of the speech community may be among the most practical and easily applicable because this is the most readily available form of contextual information. In contrast, the use of social class, or other social groupings, is more problematic, because the nuances of these groupings may not be recoverable. A similar problem may arise with network theory. While network theory can inform our views (e.g. by suggesting that contact-induced change occurs in looser-knit communities more readily than in closer-knit ones), it does not seem possible to build up a detailed picture of social networks among speakers of a language like Oscan. However, it is possible to use the results of modern studies using these frameworks to interpret even

⁴⁷ Ross (1997) 214; Ross (2003) 176.

⁴⁸ Bergs (2005) 31–32.

⁴⁹ Milroy (1987) 172.

⁵⁰ Grace (1996) 172.

⁵¹ Ross (2003) 179.

⁵² Milroy (1987) 202; Ross (2003) 191.

relatively sparse evidence, and to inform our understanding of the dynamics of the communities in which *Trümmersprachen* were spoken.⁵³

In the present study, the ‘speech community’ (or perhaps ‘writing community’) is the set of communities which produced texts in the Oscan language written in forms of the Greek alphabet. This is broadly a geographic delineation of the speech community (Lucania, Bruttium and Messana), but it is also to some extent a linguistic and cultural one (Oscan-speaking and using a particular writing system). There is some slight historical evidence for regional identities in Oscan-speaking Lucania and Bruttium: a ‘Bruttian league’ of some kind was formed in the C4th BC, and it is possible that there was a ‘Lucanian’ federation by the end of the C5th.⁵⁴ There are also coin issues referring to the ‘Lucani’ and ‘Brettii’ from around the Hannibalic War, and these two sets of coins are identical in type.⁵⁵ We may assume (tentatively) that we may group these texts as belonging to a socially-defined regional speech/writing community.

It is best, though, to see this corpus as produced by a number of distinct speech communities (individual sites or collections of nearby sites) that shared some general characteristics. The producers of these texts may also have felt that they came from a wider, regional (e.g. Lucania) or supra-regional (e.g. South Oscan, Oscan-speaking), ‘speech community’ or ‘writing community’ based on similarities of language or epigraphy – but of course, we cannot assume this to be the case, and we should stay attuned to the fact that there may be significant differences between areas and sites. Bantia, in particular, has been singled out in previous work as an area which may show a distinctive local/regional variety.⁵⁶ There may also be individuals writing in the Greek alphabet who would consider themselves to belong to a speech community that normally wrote using a different alphabet.

⁵³ Mullen (2013) 93.

⁵⁴ Purcell (1994) 386, 391. The formation of a “Bruttian” ethnic group from bands of runaway slaves is attributed to 336/5 BC by Diodorus (16.15.1-2).

⁵⁵ Crawford (2011b) 48–49. See Chapter 6: 3.2.

⁵⁶ Rix (1996) 259–260.

It is expected that there will also be variation within the community, in the same way that ‘New York English’ might be seen as one speech community, with socially-based variants within it. It is assumed here that we can, to some extent, contrast ‘South Oscan’ with ‘Central Oscan’ (texts of Campania and Samnium, mainly in the so-called Native or National Oscan alphabet adapted from the Etruscan alphabet but also using the Latin, Greek and Etruscan alphabets from time to time) and ‘North Oscan’⁵⁷ (texts in the Paelignian, Marrucinian and Vestinian languages, mainly in the Latin alphabet).⁵⁸

3.2 Language, archaeology and ethnicity

A related problem is how we marry the ‘speech community’ with cultural, political or ethnic groupings found in archaeology or literary evidence. These categories may be relatively independent of each other – so that we can never assume one-to-one correspondence between political groupings, the distribution of archaeological artefacts, emic ethnicity (as self-defined), etic ethnicity (as defined by an outsider), language, and so on. In the ancient world, where reliable evidence on a number of these points is often lacking, it can be exceptionally hard to reconstruct the multiple levels of identity and group membership of any one individual.

The influential C20th scholar of pre-Roman Italy E.T. Salmon described clearly-delineated groups in ancient Italy, naming them using terms found in the ancient literature,⁵⁹ though Salmon himself recognised that some names from Classical literature for the peoples of Italy, such as ‘Oenotri’, were very vague.⁶⁰ Ancient literature may be mistaken or vague or deliberately misleading in regard to ethnic groups: ancient ethnographical narratives are almost always those of an outsider, which inevitably colours the viewpoint presented, the

⁵⁷ For use of this term, see Dupraz (2010) 13 n.1; Dupraz (2012b) 87.

⁵⁸ Some scholars also use the designation “Pre-Samnite” for the non-Oscan Sabellian languages of Latium, Campania, Lucania and Bruttium which date to the late C6th–5th. See Rix (2002) 5–6; Wallace (2008) 96. It is very doubtful that these texts represent one language (Clackson (2012b) 136–137), but I accept this term here as the standard way to refer to these early texts. This term is also to be preferred to terms that imply a known ethnicity, such as “Oenotrian” (see below).

⁵⁹ Salmon (1967) 28–30; Salmon (1982) 7–16.

⁶⁰ Salmon (1982) 15.

groups that are identified, and the names they are given.⁶¹ Even in antiquity, it was recognised that groups such as the Etruscans (Dionysius of Halicarnassus A.R. I 30) and the Gauls (Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 1.1) might be given multiple different names depending on language or circumstances, and it is unlikely that ancient authors were ever in a position to explain these subtleties fully.⁶² But more fundamentally, it is now generally agreed that archaeological cultures (defined by Horsnaes as entities ‘with a number of common denominators that can be recognised in the physical evidence’) do not systematically match ethnic groups (as defined by the group themselves or by outsiders).⁶³

For example, the use of artefacts as markers of ethnicity is currently under scrutiny.⁶⁴ In past scholarship, a particular type of object (e.g. fibula, belt, pot) was associated with a particular ethnic group, which was often given a name derived from an ancient literary source (e.g. ‘Samnite belt’), and any person buried with this kind of object was labelled as a member of the associated ethnic group.⁶⁵ This kind of archaeological work is typical of the first half of the C20th, but its legacies persist to the present day.⁶⁶ Although most archaeologists are now aware of the inherent problems of identifying material culture with ethnic groups, there are still differences of opinion: some think archaeological culture is completely distinct from ethnicity, and others think it can be a salient and identifying feature of an ethnic group in some circumstances.⁶⁷ Artefacts may relate not to ethnicity but to other features of the society. For example, material culture may be related to a cultural identity (e.g. a Mediterranean-wide elite) rather than an ethnic identity, and it may not be possible or desirable to separate these strands.⁶⁸ Material culture could also vary within a single socio-cultural group – including in contact situations such as ‘Romanisation’ and ‘Hellenisation’, where the adoption of ‘Roman’ or ‘Hellenised’ items or styles happens at different rates

⁶¹ Lomas (2008) 110; Morgan (2009) 15; for more detail on ethnic names and their usage in ancient literature in relation to Lucania and Bruttium, see Isayev (2007) 12–19.

⁶² Poccetti (2011) 151.

⁶³ Dench (1995) 12–3; Horsnaes (2002) 18; Isayev (2007) 11; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 8–9; Giangiulio (2010) 14.

⁶⁴ Morgan (2009) 14.

⁶⁵ Yntema (2009) 145; Mullen (2013) 4.

⁶⁶ Jones (1997) 16.

⁶⁷ Derks and Roymans (2009) 3.

⁶⁸ Dench (1995) 63–66; Yntema (2009) 146–147; Mullen (2013) 5.

within one community, depending on what kind of impression the creators wanted to project.⁶⁹

Sociolinguists need to be particularly careful in their descriptions of communities, because of the particular weight that is often given to language when seeking to identify ethnic groups.⁷⁰ The assumed equivalences of race/ethnicity = language = culture stem from C19th theories about human populations, and have a strong legacy in the ideal of each nation-state having only one language and one ethnic group.⁷¹ As with archaeological cultures, a language (or a speech/writing community) is unlikely to map exactly onto an ethnic group, for a variety of reasons. The independence of ethnicity and language can be seen easily in the modern world. For example, there are citizens of the United States who would consider themselves of 'Irish' ethnicity, but whose families have not spoken Irish in generations. Similarly, first-language speakers of English come from many hundreds of ethnic groups. In Lucania, the identification of language with ethnicity is particularly problematic for sites like Paestum – at this site, the change in the language of the epigraphy has led scholars to suppose that the earlier Greek aristocracy was completely replaced (even forceably removed) by an Oscan-speaking population.⁷² This need not, in fact, be the case, and there is likely to be more continuity in population at these sites than is sometimes implied (see Chapter 2). Most importantly for this study, there are many bilingual and multilingual speakers who nevertheless identify primarily with one ethnicity, political unit or other group. To label the writer of a Greek-language inscription in Italy 'a Greek' is therefore very unwise – the writer may speak Greek, and be literate in Greek, but any statements about group membership of any kind must be tentative unless made explicit in the text of the inscription.

It is important to be as specific as possible with the terminology we have inherited from previous scholars and (ultimately) from ancient writers in order to avoid the confusion of these linguistic/archaeological/ethnic strands. It is for this reason that I refer primarily to 'Oscan-speakers', 'Greek-speakers' and so on, rather than 'Greeks' or 'Oscans' – in other words,

⁶⁹ Jones (1997) 135. See Chapter 2 for use of Romanisation and Hellenisation.

⁷⁰ Derks and Roymans (2009) 2.

⁷¹ Jones (1997) 43–44.

⁷² Wonder (2002) 40.

the use of a particular language does not presuppose their membership in any particular ethnic, political or societal group. The term ‘Oscan-speaker’ should also not be taken to imply that the individual spoke *only* Oscan. The word ‘Oscans’ is not the ethnic name usually used for speakers of Oscan, and is thus confusing in itself: the usual terms are ‘Samnites’, ‘Lucanians’, ‘Bruttians’, and so on.⁷³ In general, I will avoid such terms unless it is helpful in the context and there is good reason to think that there were people who considered themselves (or others around them) to be members of such a group; therefore, for example, I will not use ‘Oenotrian’.⁷⁴ Also to be avoided is the assumption that contact is the result of later interaction and mixing between previously well-defined groups. As we will see, it is rarely possible to identify a time at which there was no contact between two groups; the idea that any ethnic group had an early period of total isolation and ‘purity’ is usually a fiction.⁷⁵

Political, ethnic or linguistic identities may function on a number of tiered levels, rather than being mutually exclusive: local, regional, supra-regional, and so on.⁷⁶ Since the present study concerns mainly the epigraphic material, and the languages of these texts, the focus will be on speakers/writers, and their use of language to convey different messages, with a minimum of reference to the idea of normative or clearly-delineated ethnic groups.

3.3 Literacy and written texts

The debate on levels of literacy in the ancient world is ongoing, particularly since Harris’s monograph of 1989.⁷⁷ Following him, I shall assume a rate of literacy at around 5-15%

⁷³ The term “Oscan” derives from the Greek and Latin name for a group called the “Osci” or “Opici”, who supposedly inhabited the western coast of Southern Italy before the spread of the Oscan-speaking “Samnites” from Central Italy, e.g. Strabo 5.4.8. “Osci” and “Opici” are not used consistently in antiquity. See Clackson (2012b) 135-137.

⁷⁴ For the recent use of this term to refer to a population group in Italy, see for example the title of Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001); and use by Fracchia (2004) 71; for a rejection of this and similar terms Crawford (2011b) 8.

⁷⁵ Jones (1997) 104.

⁷⁶ Derks and Roymans (2009) 6; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 17; Malkin (2011) 18.

⁷⁷ Harris (1989); the literature on ancient literacy is now extensive. See for example several major collections of articles: Beard et al. (1991); Bowman and Woolf (1994a); Lomas, Whitehouse, and Wilkins

in Classical Attica and the Roman Empire as an approximate estimate.⁷⁸ However, no one has yet put forward conclusive arguments about the variation in levels of literacy in smaller groups and communities, particularly in pre-Roman Italy. While I would not claim the level of literacy in archaic and non-Roman Italy necessarily to be outside the range specified by Harris, it could of course be much lower, with almost total illiteracy (as indeed must have been the case at the very earliest period of alphabet transmission) or it could be nearer the 15% mark. There could also be considerable discrepancy between different skills; for example, reading levels could be much higher than writing levels, a pattern which has been seen even in countries with much more developed education systems, such as C18th-19th Sweden.⁷⁹ The breadth of this range makes a drastic difference to the kinds of claims we can make about the purpose of writing and the intention behind various inscriptions, though this may not be an issue that we have the evidence to resolve.

There is little detailed discussion of the role of literacy in the *Trümmersprachen* of the ancient world. The debate tends to involve discussion of archaic and Classical Greece, particularly because of the weight put on literacy in the development of the *polis* and democracy. There has been a tendency in the past to see writing, and particularly the writing of laws, as the catalyst which kick-started Athenian and Roman democracy.⁸⁰ This view has rightly been rejected and revised in more recent work, which stresses that literacy in itself does not promote rationality, democracy, growth, or any other outcome.⁸¹ There has also been some work on the role of writing in early Rome.⁸²

(2007); Johnson and Parker (2009); for detailed bibliography on this subject, see in particular Werner (2009).

⁷⁸ Harris (1989) 22 (Roman Empire), 114, 328 (Attica), 267 (Roman Italy); for arguments for a much higher level of literacy among male Athenian citizens than assumed by Harris, see Missiou (2011).

⁷⁹ Johansson (2009) 56.

⁸⁰ See Harris (1989) 40 and Missiou (2011) 143-149 for references.

⁸¹ Bowman and Woolf (1994b) 3-4; Graff (2009) 15.

⁸² Wiseman (2008) 4; Langslow (forthcoming).

To my knowledge, no scholars have made estimates of the level of literacy in pre-Roman Italy (that is, literacy in languages other than Latin or Greek).⁸³ Harris discusses the level of male literacy in archaic Central Italy (Latium and Etruria) as being approximately 5%,⁸⁴ but does not discuss Italic-speaking peoples to the south and east. He refers briefly to the possibility that the areas of Italy which had previously been Oscan-speaking were among the most literate, suggesting that literacy may have been relatively high in Oscan-speaking Campania. Using as an indication of literacy the number of monumental Latin inscriptions c.50-250 AD per 1000 sq kms for each of the Augustan regions of Italy, he notes that the 'most interesting result' of the ranking is the relatively high level of literacy in the formerly Oscan- and Umbrian-speaking areas of Central Italy (Campania 410.9 inscriptions per 1000 sq kms, Umbria 275.7, Picenum 205.1, Samnium 156.6), but does not also note that Lucania, also formally Oscan-speaking, is right at the bottom of the ranking (18.5 inscriptions per 1000 sq kms).⁸⁵

This assessment of higher and lower levels of literacy across the regions of Italy is in general unconvincing.⁸⁶ Roman Campania was comparatively wealthy and therefore may have produced more inscriptions capable of lasting to the modern day. Other factors include the intense modern interest in sites on the bay of Naples, the high state of preservation of these sites, the high level of building works uncovering ancient artefacts in and around Naples in modern times (in contrast with the depopulation and lack of building in Basilicata and Calabria), and the availability in ancient times of appropriate stone for large inscriptions, to name a few.

There is little reason to think that many ancient communities reached a literacy level above 10-15%, though some sections of society (such as the male aristocracy and craftsmen) may have seen much higher levels of literacy.⁸⁷ There is not necessarily reason to suppose

⁸³ Lomas's statement that the Sabellian-speaking "cultures were largely, although not entirely, non-literate" could equally apply to ancient Greek or Roman culture – Lomas (1996) 141.

⁸⁴ Harris (1989) 151.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 266.

⁸⁶ Cooley (2012) 307.

⁸⁷ Harris (1989) 22, 328.

that Oscan-speaking communities were either more or less literate than similar communities that spoke Greek or Latin. It may be true, however, that speakers with either Latin or Greek as their L2 may be more likely to be literate in these than in their L1 in situations where Latin/Greek had been acquired as a language of some prestige. However, it is perfectly possible for a bilingual speaker of, say, Oscan and Greek, of any period, to be literate in both, either, or neither.

The visibility of literacy to us may be affected by a number of factors, which can be helpfully grouped together into the term ‘epigraphic habit’. Communities which developed, for whatever reason, norms which included writing large numbers of inscriptions of a number of different types on non-perishable materials are likely to appear more ‘literate’ to us. Those communities whose epigraphic habit developed in such a way that fewer inscriptions were produced, or the bulk of written texts were produced on wood or papyrus, may appear less literate, but this is not necessarily the case.⁸⁸ Arguments which rely on the archaeologically visible texts as constituting the totality of the epigraphic habit of any given community – such as McColl Millar’s argument that Latin out-lived the other languages of Italy because it was used to write documents of a wider range of domains⁸⁹ – are flawed.

IV Language Contact and Contact-Induced Change

4.1 Language contact

Having discussed the challenges facing any sociolinguistic study of ancient languages, we will now consider bilingualism and language contact more specifically. The study of language contact within historical sociolinguistics is an area of particular growth, having begun in earnest in the 1990s.⁹⁰ There is evidence (in the form of inscriptions or comments by ancient authors) of a huge number of languages in the ancient world, making language

⁸⁸ Lomas (2008) 109.

⁸⁹ McColl Millar (2012) 49.

⁹⁰ Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012) 23.

contact an everyday occurrence in almost all regions – far from a marginal phenomenon.⁹¹ Some aspects of language contact, such as regional diversification and bilingualism in the ancient world, have been studied in particular by Adams.⁹² This is a fast-growing area of scholarship, with improvements being made to methodologies as different kinds of sources are used. In recent years, a number of volumes on ancient language contact have appeared which have stressed the need to take account of multiple forms of information (linguistic, epigraphic, archaeological, historical) to develop a fuller picture of ancient language contact, particularly when the languages involved are only known from small corpora.⁹³ The study of historical language contact is informed by historical sociolinguistics, but also by work on contact and multilingualism in modern languages. Here, I will give a brief summary of some of the relevant aspects of these frameworks.

Language contact is the interaction between languages with mutual speakers. These interactions can have different outcomes based on a number of factors. In their classic treatment of language contact, Thomason and Kaufman showed that (a) any aspect of language can be subject to contact-induced change, and (b) the extent and type of contact-induced change are determined by social factors, not properties of the languages involved, such as genetic closeness.⁹⁴ These social factors may include: the relative status of the languages, e.g. the existence of diglossic relationship between a high status (H) variety and a lower status (L) variety;⁹⁵ how ‘open’ or ‘closed’ the speech communities are;⁹⁶ the number and prestige of bilingual/multilingual speakers; and the use of particular languages in specific domains.⁹⁷ A useful term here is ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’, which acts as a kind of umbrella term for the factors which determine the likelihood that the language is maintained (stable

⁹¹ Langslow (2002) 25.

⁹² Adams (2003); Adams (2007).

⁹³ Ruiz Darasse (2011) 4; Mullen (2012) 13; Mullen (2013) 3; Tribulato (2012b) 42–45.

⁹⁴ Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 19; Janse (2003) x; see Mullen (2013) 63 for the possibility that some contact phenomena (e.g. the formation of pidgins and creoles) may only occur in typologically different languages.

⁹⁵ Fishman (1967); “diglossia” may also occur between two varieties of the same language: Hamers and Blanc (1989) 174–175.

⁹⁶ Ross (2003) 191; Mullen (2013) 93.

⁹⁷ Schendl (2012) 522.

bilingualism).⁹⁸ Where ethnolinguistic vitality is low, it is likely that the speech community will experience language shift (unstable bilingualism). Although we know of many factors which appear to contribute to ethnolinguistic vitality, it is still not possible to predict the outcome in any given situation before it unfolds.⁹⁹

‘Bilingualism’ refers to the ability to speak two languages. Modern scholars usually take a relatively broad definition of bilingualism – anyone who actively uses two languages at some level of proficiency may be defined as bilingual, or multilingual if more than two languages are involved.¹⁰⁰ Traditionally, there has been a divide between the study of societal bilingualism (‘contact linguistics’) and the study of individual bilinguals, particularly in relation to language acquisition.¹⁰¹ While many writers, including Thomason and Kaufman, mainly explore the outcomes of contact on whole language systems, more recently others have emphasised the need to understand language contact through the lens of the experiences of individual bilingual speakers of various competencies.¹⁰²

This point is directly relevant to epigraphic corpora. Despite the efforts of some past work to play down the importance of the individual, in many cases it is individual bilingualism and language choice, rather than the language-wide view, for which we have the best evidence.¹⁰³ The immediate social context, or domain, has long been recognised as key to understanding language choice in spoken bilingualism; this issue was most famously raised by Fishman in the 1960s.¹⁰⁴ The importance of this approach in relation to written languages has been recognised recently by some writers, such as Schendl, who notes that ‘patterns are often text-type related and cannot be generalised to other text types.’¹⁰⁵ There is some evidence that strong association of languages with particular domains in multilingual situations can be

⁹⁸ Crystal (2000) 144; see Mullen (2013) 69–70 for more detail and bibliography.

⁹⁹ Myers-Scotton (2006) 69–70.

¹⁰⁰ Adams (2003) 8; Edwards (2006) 8–11.

¹⁰¹ Myers-Scotton (2002) 4.

¹⁰² Matras (2009) 40.

¹⁰³ See for example Prosdocimi (1976) 810. He discounts many instances of Greek influence on Oscan, commenting that the vast majority of “grecisms” (i.e. borrowings from Greek) in Oscan are a matter of “parole” and not “langue”.

¹⁰⁴ Fishman (1965); Fishman (1967).

¹⁰⁵ Schendl (2012) 522.

a sign of a stable multilingual situation.¹⁰⁶ A few recent papers have begun to explore the possibility of using domain to describe and explore language use in bilingual ancient communities.¹⁰⁷ The full impact of domain, particularly as a tool in understanding language contact in *Trümmersprachen*, has not yet been explored in detail. In this thesis, I will use ‘domain’ to refer to an area of life – e.g. religion, politics, home life¹⁰⁸ – while ‘genre’ refers to a type of text – e.g. dedication, law, curse. More than one genre may belong to the same domain, and one genre may overlap several domains.

The factors that affect language contact, then, are mainly social, and act on both the societal and the individual level. The outcomes of language contact are collectively called ‘contact phenomena’ or ‘contact-induced change’ – that is, one or more of the languages end up with features they did not have before. Language contact can affect almost any aspect of the languages involved, including the lexicon (both forms and meanings), phonology, morphology and syntax (both in ways that affect the overall language typology and ways that do not).¹⁰⁹ Not only can contact-induced change affect any system of the language, it can also act in a number of different ways: for example, borrowing, calques, loan-shifts, and code-switching (all explained below). Contact can also result in wider outcomes, such as language shift (the speakers of one language eventually all use the other) or language death (a language is no longer spoken anywhere). Situations where both languages continue to be spoken are called ‘language maintenance’ situations.

4.2 Contact phenomena

Borrowing is ‘the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers’ native language.’¹¹⁰ This term generally implies that features have been taken from L2 to L1, where L1 is the speaker’s native language and L2 is any non-native language he or she speaks,

¹⁰⁶ Matras (2009) 45.

¹⁰⁷ Bats (2011); Clackson (2012a); Langslow (2012).

¹⁰⁸ Fishman’s original list of domains was “family, friendship, religion, education and employment”, though he notes that many other domains are possible – Fishman (1964) 49–51.

¹⁰⁹ Heine and Nurse (2008) 2–3.

¹¹⁰ Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 21.

though it is not always used strictly in this sense. In general, this is the only kind of influence from Greek on Oscan which has been explored in previous scholarship, and then not in any great detail.¹¹¹ Thomason and Kaufman make a distinction between ‘borrowing’ (from L2 to L1) and ‘interference’ (from L1 to L2). Interference is sometimes described as ‘substratum influence’, because it often involves speakers of a lower-prestige language shifting to a higher-prestige language; these speakers import features from their L1 into their L2 through imperfect learning.¹¹² The term ‘adstratum’ or ‘superstratum’ may be used when the L1 is of equal or higher prestige to the L2. Unlike borrowing, which typically begins with lexical items, interference is likely to act on phonology and syntax at an early stage.¹¹³ This interference may come to affect the whole L2, or it may stay limited to the shifting group and have little lasting impact on the L2 as a whole (if, for example, the shifting group is small). Here, borrowing and interference will generally be used in these senses, with ‘influence’ as a more general term, to be used when the direction of transmission may not be known. Sub-/ad-/superstratum will not be used in this thesis, since none of these is particularly helpful in defining the relationship between Oscan and Greek.

Calques are a form of borrowing, by which the word is ‘translated’ rather than being borrowed directly. For example, in German *Fernsprecher* ‘telephone, lit. distant-speaker’, the (Greek-derived) English elements have been replaced by native German elements of equivalent meaning. Incidentally, *Fernsprecher* has now been more or less replaced by the straight borrowing *Telefon*.¹¹⁴ In Latin, calques are often found in rhetoric, grammar, philosophy and so on, such as Cicero’s calque *qualitas* from Greek ποιότης, ‘quality’.¹¹⁵ ‘Loan-shift’ describes a process by which the meaning of a word is expanded on the basis of the semantic field of a near-equivalent in another language. For example, Spanish *papel* ‘paper’ has acquired the additional meaning ‘(news)paper’, on the basis of the English use of *paper* for both meanings.¹¹⁶ In Latin, the term *casus* ‘a fall, event’ expanded its meaning to include the

¹¹¹ See for example, Prosdocimi (1976); Adams (2003) 148–150. See Chapter 2 for more detail.

¹¹² Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 38–39.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹¹⁴ Matras (2009) 245.

¹¹⁵ Adams (2003) 459.

¹¹⁶ Matras (2009) 246.

technical sense of ‘grammatical case’ on the analogy of Greek *πτῶσις*, ‘a fall, (bad) event, grammatical case’.¹¹⁷ These kinds of changes to meanings are not restricted to technical registers, and are also found in the speech of lower-class characters in Plautus.¹¹⁸

It is possible to identify a loose scale of borrowing, from the lowest degree of contact to the highest. In general terms, lexical items are the most easily borrowed, with structural features being borrowed or undergoing interference only in circumstances of intense contact.¹¹⁹ This borrowing scale is abridged from Thomason and Kaufman.¹²⁰

- (1) Casual contact, lexical borrowing only. Content words.
- (2) Slightly more intense contact, slight structural borrowing. Function words. New phonemes in loanwords. In syntax, new functions and new orderings that cause little typological disruption.
- (3) More intense contact, slightly more structural borrowing. Function words, derivational affixes, some basic vocabulary. Phonemicisation of previously allophonic alternations.
- (4) Strong cultural pressure, moderate structural borrowing. Major structural features that cause relatively little typological change.
- (5) Very strong cultural pressure, heavy structural borrowing. Major structural features that cause significant typological disruption.

Other scales have been devised for how various types of borrowing behave in response to more or less pressure.¹²¹

The idea of scales of borrowing could be applied to Oscan/Greek contact in a number of ways. On the one hand, neither Oscan nor Greek died out in Italy because of pressure from the other. We might expect, therefore, relatively light borrowing/interference and a

¹¹⁷ Adams (2003) 462.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 465.

¹¹⁹ Matras (2007).

¹²⁰ Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 74–76.

¹²¹ For example, in the phonology of borrowed words: Matras (2009) 225–226.

correspondingly low level of linguistic and cultural contact as experienced by the speakers. On the other hand, it is imperative to remember that the scales given by Thomason and Kaufman and others are generalisations across the languages taken as a whole, and need not accurately reflect the context in which any given inscription was written. In some areas, such as Naples and Sicily, we know that Oscan-speakers were under intense social pressure to shift to Greek, and we believe that they did within a relatively short period.¹²² In other areas, such as Paestum, the shift went in the other direction.¹²³ Even within these areas, the experience of individuals must have varied, with some feeling under greater social and economic pressure to shift language than others – for example, because of intermarriage or other close ties with speakers of the other language. Variation in outcome in contact situations can be hard to predict – it is not always easy to know whether speakers of a language, even under intense pressure, will shift abruptly (within one generation or so) to the dominant language, whether the language death will be drawn out over a number of generations, or whether the population will maintain its language indefinitely, albeit with considerable borrowing.¹²⁴ We should therefore not be at all surprised to find evidence from any and all parts of Thomason and Kaufman’s scale in this region during this period.

Some other features produced by language contact are generally considered to be more relevant to spoken language than to written texts, although they sometimes occur in certain types of written texts, as we shall see. Code-switching, for example, involves a bilingual speaker alternating between his or her available languages in the same utterance.¹²⁵ Often this is a phenomenon that occurs when bilinguals speak to each other; it can serve a variety of different purposes, many of which are exploited deliberately by the speaker to achieve a particular effect.¹²⁶ Switches may be loosely predictable, based on the social meanings associated with each of the languages and the situation in which the conversation occurs.¹²⁷ For example, switches are a marker of in-group solidarity, in situations where

¹²² Clackson (2012b).

¹²³ Adams (2003) 148.

¹²⁴ Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 100.

¹²⁵ Hamers and Blanc (1989) 148.

¹²⁶ Matras (2009) 309.

¹²⁷ Myers-Scotton (2002) 11; Matras (2009) 115–116.

bilingualism is a marker of membership of a particular group. The boundary between borrowing and code-switching is not clearly defined, since one-word code-switches can appear very similar to borrowings.¹²⁸ This is particularly problematic when, as in many ancient language contact situations, we do not have information about the social context in which the writing was produced. Historical code-switching is a recently-developed subfield, with a particular emphasis on mediaeval and early modern Britain, though other areas such as Switzerland, France, Italy and Germany have been studied.¹²⁹ Adams's work has shown code-switching to be a mark of intimacy and shared culture in Cicero's letters to Atticus, with the topic of the letter also being relevant to the frequency of code-switching.¹³⁰

Other possible outcomes in contact situations include pidgins, creoles and mixed languages. Pidgins arise as contact languages used in restricted social settings – for example, in trade situations between two groups with no common language – and are no one's first language.¹³¹ Creoles develop either where a pidgin develops a full grammar and becomes the native language of some speakers, or by 'abrupt creolisation' in language shift situations where the shifting population acquire the vocabulary of the L2 but little of its grammar.¹³² These kinds of languages are very rarely written down (and never in the ancient world), and so these terms are not often used when discussing epigraphic corpora.¹³³ However, as we shall see, some inscriptions can be helpfully understood as being written in a mixed language – taking features from two different languages, with no overall matrix (dominant) language. This is not always easy to distinguish from code-switching in written texts, but we could consider a text to be mixed when it is not possible for us to distinguish the matrix language.

The overall message from the most recent scholarship on bilingualism and language contact is that its outcomes cannot be easily predicted. This is in part because the social factors which determine these outcomes are extremely complex, but also because bilingual

¹²⁸ Clyne (2003) 73–76; Myers-Scotton (2006) 253–260; Matras (2009) 106.

¹²⁹ Schendl (2012) 520.

¹³⁰ Adams (2003) 344–345.

¹³¹ Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 170–171.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 48.

¹³³ Adams (2003) 93.

speakers are creative and inventive in how they exploit the social meanings of both (or all) their languages. In any individual text which shows influence from another language, we should therefore be prepared to explore the full range of possible explanations of the background and intentions of the writer.

4.3 *Typologies of bilingual texts*

In recent work, there have been efforts to standardise the terms used to talk about different kinds of written text which derive from a bilingual environment. In particular, terms such as ‘mixed text’ or ‘mixed language text’ have been used in quite different ways by different scholars.¹³⁴ If these terms are standardised, it becomes much easier to compare results across the ancient world, and to build up typological models for how ancient written texts may reflect different levels of language contact. The clearest ‘typology of bilingual texts’ is that produced recently by Mullen, based on the earlier work of Adams – though he never presents these terms in tabular form.¹³⁵ Mullen’s schema is generally applicable across ancient language contact situations, and ties together our knowledge of outcomes of language contact with the kinds of texts found in a written corpus. It is reproduced below (Table 1), and these definitions of these terms will be followed in the rest of this thesis, though not every text type shown is relevant to this corpus. Mullen also offers a framework for identifying the kinds of contact situations in which these types of texts may occur (Table 2). This model will be revised and refined at the end of this thesis.

¹³⁴ See for example *ibid.*, 102, where “mixed language” refers to a language combining Latin lexicon with Greek morphological endings; *ibid.*, 408, however, uses “mixture” to refer to code-switching inscriptions; Beltrán Lloris and Estarán Tolosa (2011) 16 on the other hand use “mixed” to refer to bi-version texts containing different information in the two versions.

¹³⁵ Mullen (2012) 16; Mullen (2013) 84.

Table 1: Typology of bilingual texts, after Mullen (2012, 2013).

1. Bi-version (tri-version) bilingual (trilingual) texts	Two separate parts in different languages and ‘a content which is usually, at least in part, common to both’. ¹³⁶
2. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena	Composed in language A, but showing interference/code-switching/borrowing from language B
3. Mixed-language texts ¹³⁷	3a. Written in genetically mixed languages (e.g. pidgins and creoles), or 3b. Codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the dominant language
4. Transliterated texts	Composed in language A, but the script is that of language B.

Table 2: Models of language contact, after Mullen (2012, 2013).¹³⁸

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Types of bilingual texts	No bi-version. No texts displaying bilingual phenomena.	No bi-version. Few texts displaying bilingual phenomena, perhaps including lexical borrowing.	No bi-version. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving lexical borrowing, perhaps tag-switching.	Bi-version common. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Bi-directional influence.	Fewer bi-version texts. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Linguistic features of the higher vitality group mainly found in the lower.

¹³⁶ Adams (2003) 30.¹³⁷ Mullen differs from Adams here, since Adams includes code-switching of any kind in “mixed-language texts”. However, Mullen’s distinction seems more useful in reflecting different levels of intensity of language contact - Mullen (2012) 17; Mullen (2013) 85; Adams (2003) 30.¹³⁸ Mullen (2012) 16; Mullen (2013) 93; Langslow (2012) 292.

V Concluding Remarks on Methodology

5.1 Approaches to Trümmersprachen

To conclude, I will outline some of the general approaches taken to the South Oscan corpus in this thesis. These are derived from the theoretical discussion in this introduction, and are intended to be widely applicable to other small epigraphic corpora.

- (1) The corpus should be studied at multiple levels (individual texts; groups of multiple similar texts; entire corpus) in order to draw the most detailed picture of the language and society.

This, in a sense, mirrors Labov's methods, in which brief, formal interviews with a large sample of the speech community were complemented by longer, more detailed studies of individuals and small groups. Although all of these methods have room for error, these approaches complement each other and give a more balanced picture. This point also takes into consideration the abstract nature of the 'speech community', which is best represented neither by individual speakers (or writers) nor by pooling the evidence from many speakers, but by a combination of both methods.

- (2) The type of document (genre) must be considered; where possible, texts should be considered as a part of a group with other texts of a similar type. Genres of text should be put into the context of 'domain' where possible.

Where the corpus is small, different types of text may give us very different results, and so we must recognise the role of domain or social context on bilingual speech and writing. This is true not just of the language of the text (including the lexicon, syntax, onomastics, and so on), but also of the epigraphy and archaeological context, which may be genre-specific. It is not always useful, therefore, to pool information from many different genres and treat them as though they were all from equivalent sources. For this reason, this thesis will be divided, in

the main, by the genre of document, and will consider these groups of documents separately (though not completely independently, and with many overarching themes and patterns).

(3) The language of a text should not be separated from its epigraphy, or from its archaeological context.

The traditional layout of editions of texts has, regrettably, completely divorced the epigraphy and appearance of the texts of *Trümmersprachen* from their language.¹³⁹ This was done partly for practical reasons of cost, but as a result the disciplines of linguistics, epigraphy and archaeology were systematically separated for much of the C20th. This, in many cases, has led to misleading or incorrect conclusions, particularly where the edition contains errors or little explanation of editorial decisions. The most recent work on ancient language contact, however, stresses the importance of an interdisciplinary approach where possible.¹⁴⁰ The publication of Michael Crawford's *Imagines Italicae*, which includes photographs or drawings with the majority of its entries, has, it is hoped, brought an end to the practice of considering a text out of its context.¹⁴¹ This new edition will be used (along with autopsy, where appropriate), allowing an interdisciplinary study of the material.

(4) Where applicable, a text will be considered in relation to the range of possible responses it evoked, or was intended to evoke; these responses may be based on the text's context, epigraphy, and associated monument, as well as partial or full readings of the text, or a combination of these.

Literacy rates were low in ancient Italy, but this does not necessarily mean that an inscribed object had only a very limited audience. An observer might recognise a familiar name, format, monument type or alphabet, without being able to read the whole inscription.¹⁴² Inscriptions

¹³⁹ Vetter (1953); Poccetti (1979); Rix (2002).

¹⁴⁰ Dupraz (2010) 189; Ruiz Darasse (2011) 2; Mullen (2013) 19–21.

¹⁴¹ Crawford (2011b).

¹⁴² Cooley (2012) 285, 307–309.

themselves could be effective without being read in full.¹⁴³ These kinds of responses are taken into account in this thesis.

5.2 *The structure of this thesis*

This introductory chapter has put forward a number of frameworks for the study of South Oscan and other *Trümmersprachen*. There have been many valuable developments in sociolinguistics, historical sociolinguistics, contact linguistics, archaeology, epigraphy and literacy studies in recent decades – the task of the rest of this thesis is to apply these new viewpoints to the South Oscan corpus.

In what follows, I will begin with larger overviews of the corpus as a whole, including a brief introduction to the texts and sites, which will show the need for further study into language contact in this area (Chapter 2). I will then proceed to a corpus-wide view of the epigraphy and letter-forms (Chapter 3). The rest of the thesis will take a genre-based approach, addressing in turn dedicatory inscriptions (Chapter 4), curse tablets (Chapter 5), legal texts, official texts including coins, funerary texts, artists' signatures, graffiti and tile stamps (Chapter 6). In all of the discussion that follows, the principles outlined above will be of primary importance in allowing us to build up the fullest picture ever of language contact in an ancient *Trümmersprache*.

¹⁴³ Day (2010) 31.

Chapter 2: South Oscan Corpus and Sites

I Introduction

In this chapter, I will give an introduction to the texts of the South Oscan corpus. I will discuss some details of the previous editions of this corpus, and present an overview of previous work on cultural and linguistic contact in the region. I will then give some background to the genres of text found in this corpus and the materials used for writing. Finally, this chapter will provide some background on the sites where the inscriptions of this corpus were found, and the geographical locations of these sites relative to each other and to the Greek communities around them.

II Greek/Oscan Contact – The State of Research

2.1 Editions of the texts

The South Oscan corpus as it exists currently has a much shorter history than the Oscan corpus as a whole. In the C19th, Mommsen had little knowledge of Oscan texts from Lucania and Bruttium.¹ His edition, *Die unteritalischen Dialekte* (1850) includes half a dozen inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, plus a few tile stamps and coins.² He includes the Tabula Bantina as ‘Das römische Gesetz für Bantia’.³ By the time Conway wrote his 1897 edition, around twenty inscriptions in the Greek alphabet were available – he puts the inscriptions of Lucania, Bruttium and Messana (but not the Tabula Bantina) in a subset called ‘Southern Oscan’.⁴ Writing in 1904, Buck was aware of the use of the Greek alphabet ‘in a few inscriptions of Sicily and Southern Italy’.⁵ Vetter’s *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* includes a number of ‘Südskische Inschriften’ (numbers 180-199), grouping Lucania/Bruttium and Messana

¹ Mommsen (1850).

² Ibid., 190–199.

³ Ibid., 145–168.

⁴ Conway (1897).

⁵ Buck (1928) 23. He includes five such inscriptions in his collection, plus a few coin legends.

together in one section, though treating the Tabula Bantina (number 2) separately.⁶ At this stage, the corpus was less than one-fifth of its current size.

This corpus was hugely expanded in the second half of the C20th, as a result of the excavations of Dinu Adameşteanu, particularly at Rossano di Vaglio.⁷ Many of the newly-discovered texts were edited by Poccetti as a supplement to Vetter's edition.⁸ In the C21st, Rix's *Sabellische Texte* gathered almost all the previously published material into one edition.⁹ At around the same time, an edition of the coins of the region was published by Rutter.¹⁰ More recently, some additions and adjustments to the corpus have been made by Crawford in *Imagines Italicae*.¹¹ Apart from the addition of some new texts, this edition has considerable advantages over *Sabellische Texte* – especially the amount of epigraphic and archaeological information, often including photographs or drawings. This allows a much more detailed understanding of the context of the written material. The corpus of South Oscan texts is still relatively un-studied in comparison to the Oscan texts which have been known for a century or more. Although features of individual texts have sometimes been discussed in some detail, the wider regional viewpoint has been lacking, as South Oscan has rarely been studied as a group of texts.

2.2 Contact in Southern Italy

There has long been recognition that Oscan-speakers, particularly those in the south, lived in a multilingual region, and there are various comments from ancient authors to this effect, giving examples of both individual and societal bilingualism. Ennius (*Ann.* 477S) calls the Bruttians bilingual, and a gloss on this suggests that Ennius had in mind Oscan/Greek bilingualism (*Paul. Fest.* 25L).¹² Aulus Gellius (17.17.1) says that Ennius himself had three

⁶ Vetter (1953).

⁷ Crawford (2011b) 48.

⁸ Poccetti (1979); see also further editions with drawings and photographs by Lejeune and Del Tutto Palma: Lejeune (1990); Del Tutto Palma (1990).

⁹ Rix (2002).

¹⁰ Rutter (2001).

¹¹ Crawford (2011b).

¹² *bilingues Bruttaces: Ennius dixit quod Brutti et Osce et Graece loqui soliti sunt* – Adams (2007) 149.

hearts, because he was trilingual in Oscan, Greek and Latin.¹³ There has been some debate on whether Ennius was an Oscan-speaker, since he came from an area of Apulia where Messapic was spoken rather than Oscan.¹⁴ The *Canusini bilingues* of Horace *Sat.* 1.10.30 were also presumably bilingual in Greek and Oscan.¹⁵ Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* 37.23-25) tells a story of a Lucanian ambassador who delivered a speech to a Syracusan court in impeccable Doric Greek.¹⁶ In Campania, Strabo (5.4.7) mentions that some Oscan-speakers were given full citizenship in Greek-speaking Naples.¹⁷ A passage of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, preserved in Athenaeus (*Deipno.* 14.632), describes a language shift away from Greek – he comments on a change of language (φωνή) and the resulting barbarisation (ἐκβεβαρβρωσθαι) of the Greek-speakers of the town, who became ‘Etruscans and Romans’ (though Oscan-speakers may be the ‘barbarians’ he means to refer to).¹⁸

Beside these ancient testimonia, we have archaeological evidence that indicates extensive cultural contact in this region. There has not always been agreement on the degree to which the culture of the ‘native’ (which tends to mean ‘Italic-language-speaking’) communities of Southern Italy was affected by the nearby presence of the colonies of Magna Graecia.¹⁹ Salmon maintained that Oscan-speaking peoples were in general impervious to Greek influence, even in areas of close contact such as Campania.²⁰ Against this, Lejeune stated that Oscan-speakers using the Greek alphabet were very much in the Greek cultural sphere, at least at some periods, rather than in the ‘Italic’ or ‘native’ one,²¹ though at the same time he denied that there was strong Greek influence on the religion of the region.²² Archaeological

¹³ *Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat, quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret.*

¹⁴ Adams (2003) 117.

¹⁵ Purcell (1994) 403; Adams (2003) 149.

¹⁶ Isayev (2007) 31.

¹⁷ Lomas (1996) 138.

¹⁸ Wonder (2002) 41.

¹⁹ The idea of a “native” population, while sometimes a useful short-hand, is difficult. Many of the peoples who interacted with Greek-speakers in and around areas of Greek colonisation were not “native” to the area, since Greek colonisation prompted migration to the coast - Malkin (2011) 47.

²⁰ Salmon (1967) 63.

²¹ Lejeune (1970) 274.

²² Adameşteanu and Lejeune (1971) 83.

understanding of the area has increased dramatically since the 1970s, and we are in a position to put forward a more nuanced view of cultural contact in Southern Italy.

We may, for example, make clearer distinctions between different sites and different intensities of contact. It is clear that in some contexts, many Oscan-speakers became assimilated (or nearly so) into Greek-speaking populations, most notably at Naples and probably also Messina.²³ But at many sites, the most recent archaeological evidence consistently shows that Italic-speakers were selective in the aspects of Greek culture which they appropriated and adapted. This is true across art, architecture and epigraphy. So, while Italiote red-figured vases took on Greek forms and depicted Greek mythological stories, they did so with creative adaptation and independent development for the local market; new ceramic forms were also created in Italy; and tomb paintings at various sites show a similar admixture of Greek and local elements.²⁴ The *naiskos* form of funerary monument, found in Italy from around the C2nd BC, is also evidence of both Latin-speaking and Oscan-speaking communities adapting a Hellenistic form and producing it locally;²⁵ while the continuity in certain types of grave goods shows that local populations maintained particular funerary practices that were culturally significant to them.²⁶ The adoption of the Greek practice of dedicating terracotta figurines did not involve a complete overhaul of the structure of the sanctuaries and shrines.²⁷ The layout and organisation of sites such as Roccagloriosa show the multiplicity of influences, from Italy and elsewhere, on the builders of the site.²⁸

Southern Italy was an area of profoundly close contact between Greek- and Oscan-speakers from the C6th onwards, and this had a clear effect on the material culture and settlement organisation of all of those communities.²⁹ Interaction between Greek-speakers and the other inhabitants of Italy was neither simple nor one-directional. We can understand the culture of the area not as the complete maintenance of earlier practice, or as the

²³ Leiwo (1995).

²⁴ Denoyelle and Iozzo (2009) 31; Dench (1995) 65; McKay (2004) 87–88; Isayev (2007) 42.

²⁵ Gualtieri (2003) 209.

²⁶ Horsnaes (2002) 74.

²⁷ Fracchia (2004) 75–76.

²⁸ Gualtieri (2004) 45–46; Fracchia (2004) 69–70.

²⁹ Purcell (1994) 383; Gualtieri (2000a) 49; Gualtieri (2004) 44.

wholesale adoption of Hellenistic models, but as the use of a common cultural ‘language’ that people all across Italy used to assert their membership of the Mediterranean elite.³⁰

The range of possible outcomes in zones of cultural and linguistic contact has led to some dissatisfaction with the terms ‘Hellenisation’ and ‘Romanisation’ to describe these phenomena.³¹ These terms are felt to over-emphasise the role of Greece and Rome in what was often a multifaceted, locally-driven phenomenon. Malkin gives a recent summary of some of the proposed alternatives, including ‘creolisation’, ‘hybridity’, ‘contact zones’ and ‘middle ground’ (his preference).³² ‘Creolisation’ is an unhelpfully ambiguous term to use for cultural contact when discussing languages, since in linguistics ‘creolisation’ refers to a very specific phenomenon, of which we have next to no evidence in the ancient world.³³ ‘Hybridity’ or ‘hybridisation’ has been criticised for implying ‘two distinct and identifiable “strains” that are being hybridised’.³⁴ The idea of ‘middle ground’ is perhaps useful in reducing reliance on a ‘Greeks vs. natives’ model of contact and change, but it too is ambiguous without a considerable amount of explanation.

‘Mediterraneanisation’ is a new alternative term, used where there is a need to emphasise the multiplicity of interacting influences from Greece, Italy and elsewhere.³⁵ This term may reflect that local populations were taking part in a Mediterranean-wide culture, but it is somewhat difficult to use it to refer to changes within Italy itself if the term is meant to apply the adoption of an external Italo-Greek cultural model. ‘Code-switching’ and ‘bilingualism’ are used by Wallace-Hadrill as metaphors for cultural change arising from

³⁰ Lomas (1995) 109; Dench (1995) 63–65.

³¹ Curti, Dench, and Patterson (1996) 181; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 10; Malkin (2011) 47–48; Mullen (2013) 8–13.

³² Malkin (2011) 47.

³³ Mullen offers a further criticism of this term: “[T]he important characterisation of creole languages and cultures is that they are formed through the rapid mixture of very different languages and cultures, forced together in distinctive circumstances. This term should perhaps be reserved for these distinctive languages and cultures rather than being used as a catch-all term for cultural contact.” Mullen (2012) 30 n.102.

³⁴ Osborne (2012) 327; Giangiulio (2010) 13–14.

³⁵ Mullen (2013) 13.

contact.³⁶ Unlike other terms, these neatly express that cultural (or linguistic) modes of expression are added to an individual's repertoire, rather than the 'local' being replaced by the 'Roman' – but as with creolisation, we must be clear when this is being used as a metaphor and when we are discussing code-switching in the technical linguistic sense. There is, perhaps, no single term which can take over from the convenient 'Hellenisation' and 'Romanisation', despite their drawbacks. We must keep in mind that change arising from linguistic and cultural contact is complex, heterogeneous, and likely to be locally-driven. The populations of Italy were taking an active part in, and contributing their own voices to, the 'Hellenistic' cultural *koine* of the Mediterranean, taking part in networks that linked them to Central and Southern Italy, Sicily, North Africa and mainland Greece.³⁷ These communities, and particularly their elites, existed in a profoundly interconnected Mediterranean from the second millennium BC onwards.³⁸

2.3 Previous scholarship on Greek/Oscan contact

Despite the ancient testimonia and our current understanding of the archaeological evidence, there has been relatively little scholarship devoted to Greek/Oscan contact in Italy. Prosdocimi wrote an article on 'grecisms' in Oscan in 1976, though this dealt mainly with Central Oscan texts.³⁹ As can be seen in the term 'grecisms', this article lacked the perspective from modern theory on contact linguistics, and as such does not clearly differentiate between borrowing, interference, code-switching, and other contact phenomena (see Chapter 1). The main focus of the article is on lexical borrowings, particularly in technical spheres.⁴⁰ Around the same time, Lazzeroni published an article on Greek/Oscan contact, particularly as regards onomastics; his conclusion that some 'Oscans' wrote Greek but no 'Greeks' wrote in Oscan

³⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 13–14.

³⁷ Isayev (2007) 41–45.

³⁸ Horden and Purcell (2000) 172.

³⁹ Prosdocimi (1976).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 785.

shows again that he was not allowing for widespread bilingualism or dual identities.⁴¹ This work was picked up on approvingly by some other scholars.⁴²

More recently, Greek/Oscan contact has been studied in relation to the onomastics of the Greek inscriptions of Naples by Leiwo.⁴³ In his work *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Adams gives a brief three-page overview of Greek/Oscan contact ‘without attempting to achieve anything like a complete coverage of the subject’.⁴⁴ He notes the use of the Greek alphabet to write Oscan in the south, and the fact that cities such as Paestum and Cumae changed hands in the C5th; he also identifies Naples as an important contact area.⁴⁵ Language contact in South Oscan inscriptions has been mentioned in more recent work by Poccetti,⁴⁶ although generally in reference to particular inscriptions or small groups of inscriptions, such as curse tablets.⁴⁷ Pugliese Carratelli has commented on the Greek influence on the curse tablet Lu 46.⁴⁸ Clackson has recently written on Oscan in contact with Greek in Sicily.⁴⁹

The lack of focus on Greek/Oscan linguistic contact has been commented on a number of times.⁵⁰ Even where contact with Greek has been explored in detail, texts from the Central Oscan area are often the focus. In some ways this is surprising, given the use of the Greek Ionic alphabet and the proximity of Greek-speaking communities in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily. However, the level of contact with Greek has sometimes been played down in the way that editions have been published, making some contact phenomena less obvious. For example, both Lu 23 and Lu 45 have partial Greek-language texts which precede the Oscan – but in both cases, Rix’s *Sabellische Texte* does not print the Greek portions of the text. *ST* also does not include coins produced for Oscan-speaking communities where the legends have Greek morphological endings. The new edition by Crawford, however, takes the opposite

⁴¹ Lazzeroni (1972) 2; see also Lazzeroni (1974).

⁴² Marchese (1974) 417.

⁴³ Leiwo (1995).

⁴⁴ Adams (2003) 148–150.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁴⁶ Poccetti and Gualtieri (1990); Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001); Poccetti (2009c); Poccetti (2010).

⁴⁷ Poccetti (2000); Poccetti and Gualtieri (1990).

⁴⁸ Pugliese Carratelli (1992) 17.

⁴⁹ Clackson (2012b).

⁵⁰ Dench (1995) 5; Wonder (2002) 41; Adams (2003) 148.

position, printing not just the Greek portions of these texts, and Greek-language coin legends, but also other Greek-language texts from the Oscan-speaking period of some sites. For example, Crawford includes a handle from Roccagloriosa labelled with a Greek abbreviation (Buxentum 2) and an official inscription from Serra di Vaglio with an Oscan name which is otherwise in Greek (Potentia 39). He justifies this approach by saying, rightly, that the linguistic usage at the sites cannot be understood without including this kind of information.⁵¹ This new edition, then, is an indispensable tool in understanding language contact in South Oscan.

This section will give a brief overview of the examples of contact phenomena in this corpus which have been mentioned in previous work. All of these features will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis. The epigraphy and use of the alphabet has attracted the most attention, with work by Lejeune,⁵² Cristofani,⁵³ Del Tutto Palma,⁵⁴ and Crawford (particularly in the introduction of *Imagines*)⁵⁵ being particularly prominent (see Chapter 3).

Lexical borrowings have often been discussed in relation to Greek/Oscan contact. At Pompeii, noted borrowings include the use of Greek-derived weights and measures, including **ka[d]íks** (= κάδδιξ) and **kúíníks** (=χοῖνιξ), on the Oscan inscription on the *mensa ponderaria* (Po 19/Pompei 27),⁵⁶ and the bi-version inscription **δίύ**/διοφαντος (Po 90/Pompei 90). There are not many unambiguous examples of lexical borrowing from Greek in this corpus. Greek divine names, such as ἀπελλουνηι (dat.) and ἡρεκλεισ (gen.) are found in both South and Central Oscan.⁵⁷ The verb ἀναβάκετ (Lu 13, 18, 39), possibly calqued from Greek ἀνέθηκε, has been discussed, for example by Prosdocimi,⁵⁸ Poccetti,⁵⁹ and Adams.⁶⁰ See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this form. In Lu 39, the word ‘Acheron’ may have been borrowed, but it

⁵¹ Crawford (2011b) 5.

⁵² Lejeune (1970); Lejeune (1972c); Lejeune (1973); Lejeune (1990).

⁵³ Cristofani (1998).

⁵⁴ Del Tutto Palma (1989); Del Tutto Palma (1990).

⁵⁵ Crawford (2011b).

⁵⁶ Vetter (1953) 22; Untermann (2000) 361, 406; Crawford (2011b) 663.

⁵⁷ Sironen (2011) 304.

⁵⁸ Prosdocimi (1976) 793.

⁵⁹ Poccetti (2010) 668; Poccetti (2009c).

⁶⁰ Adams (2003) 150.

could also be a damaged Oscan name (Chapter 4: 5.5). In Lu 29, $\kappa\eta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota$ may be a word borrowed from Greek.⁶¹ Both of these words, and their differing representations of [k^h] are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 and 4.

There is also recognised evidence of morphological borrowing from Greek in a number of Oscan-language texts. The classic cases are the curse tablets Lu 46 (Laos 2) and Laos 4, which use Greek morphological endings on Oscan names. Lu 46 could instead be considered graphic borrowing, if the final <-v> was meant to increase the Greek appearance of the text, rather than representing the borrowing of Greek endings (see discussion in Chapter 5). These texts are often assumed to be written by a Greek-speaker unable to use Oscan morphology,⁶² or an Oscan-speaker uncertain of how to represent certain word-endings.⁶³

A number of other texts from this region contain Oscan personal names or expressions but are probably intended as Greek-language texts. The ‘official’ inscription, Potentia 39, is problematic because it shows an Oscan name, and an Oscan dating formula, but with Greek morphology and Greek vocabulary.⁶⁴ Coin legends often show Oscan ethnic and personal names, but it is not clear that the language of the texts is Oscan. Coins featuring Oscan morphology are much less common than those with Greek morphology (see Chapter 6: 3.2).

The best example of syntactic borrowing is from Messana. The language of the inscription is definitely Oscan, but it appears to place the genitive of the father’s name directly after the praenomen, suggesting an adoption of the Greek onomastic syntax.⁶⁵ This has been debated because of the fragmentary nature of the inscription.⁶⁶ However, the spacing of the text on the stone suggests that this interpretation is correct, because there would not be space for both a praenomen and a gentilicium to fit in the lost section.

⁶¹ Untermann (2000) 396.

⁶² Pugliese Carratelli (1992) 18–19.

⁶³ Crawford (2011b) 1345.

⁶⁴ Lejeune (1967) 210–211; Manni Piraino (1968) 451–457; Guzzo (1984) 202; Lejeune (1985); Crawford (2011b) 50.

⁶⁵ Clackson (2012b) 140.

⁶⁶ La Regina (2002) 68–69.

Only a very small number of texts in this corpus show code-switching, and none are ‘bi-version’ (see Chapter 1: 4.3). Lu 23 seems to be a partially bilingual text, since the Greek and the beginning of the Oscan text both read ‘in the priesthood’, although the Oscan version gives considerably more information.⁶⁷ Possibly these are separate texts on a re-used block, since the Greek text is upside-down in relation to the Oscan (see Chapter 4: 5.4). Two curse tablets also use both Oscan and Greek. This is clearest in Petelia 2, which lists the names of the targets in Oscan, and then gives its final binding formula partly in Oscan, partly in Greek. Possibly a similar strategy is being used in Lu 45 (Buxentum 3), although it is likely that the lead tablet has been re-used and the first line does not relate to the curse (see Chapter 5).⁶⁸

The recognition of evidence for language contact in South Oscan has been patchy, and there has not yet been work on the South Oscan corpus as a whole that brings together the different elements which have been noticed. With the availability of a new corpus, and the advance of our understanding of cultural contact in archaeology, this is an ideal time to pursue an integrated picture of Greek/Oscan language contact drawing on the whole corpus, informed by the frameworks of historical sociolinguistics.

⁶⁷ Crawford (2011b) 1468.

⁶⁸ Poccetti and Gualtieri (1990) 146.

III Materials and Genres

Before approaching the epigraphic and linguistic data in more detail, it is important to remember that it is not only alphabetic forms or linguistic elements that can be borrowed or adapted. The inscriptions that will be examined here are not just linguistic data – they exist written on solid objects, which themselves could be subject to influence and borrowing. Not only was the idea of writing borrowed along with the alphabet, but ideas about the purposes for which writing could be used. Further, the idea that certain forms were appropriate to different genres of inscription was also transmitted from group to group.

No one could suggest that these ‘borrowings’ were done completely slavishly and without alteration; if this were the case, then all the communities of Italy would exhibit near-identical patterns of types of inscriptions. Rather, there is a continuity between Greek and Italic epigraphic forms which suggests that the peoples of Italy were creatively adapting the forms they encountered being used by Greek-speaking communities. Some genres of inscriptions continued to be produced, while others were created independently, heavily adapted, or ceased to be produced. These activities were influenced by a wide range of factors, from the needs of the community to the availability of materials in the local area.

This section will explore some of the issues related to the continuity and adaptation of the epigraphic habit in South Oscan. This will necessarily involve a brief introduction to many of the genres and forms that will be investigated in detail in the rest of this thesis.

3.1 Materials – stone

Stone (almost always limestone) is used in the South Oscan area for dedications to deities (both personal and official), official texts commemorating building works, and funerary texts. These usually take the form of stone blocks or stelai inscribed on one side only, though see Ps 20 (below) for the notable exception of a cippus inscribed on three sides and the top. Other stone objects, such as columns (Lu 8/Potentia 3) and pediments (Lu 39/Anxia 1) are also inscribed from time to time.

The use of stone for legal texts does not seem to have been common in this area. Our main example of the use of stone for a legal text in Southern Italy is the stele of Tortora (Ps 20/Blanda 1; Figure 1).⁶⁹ The fact that this cippus has boustrophedonic writing on multiple sides also relates it to a wider culture of written laws and sacred laws on similar objects in Greek (e.g. at Chios; Figure 2) and Latin (e.g. the Forum cippus in Rome). It is by no means certain that this text is legal in nature, though this will be explored more in Chapter 5. It is possible that the lack of availability of suitable stone was a factor in the small number of legal texts from Southern Italy on stone. Legal texts tend to be longer than dedications or commemorations of building works, because of the level of detail that is required by the nature of the text. This is much more difficult on softer stone, on which only larger letters can be inscribed clearly.

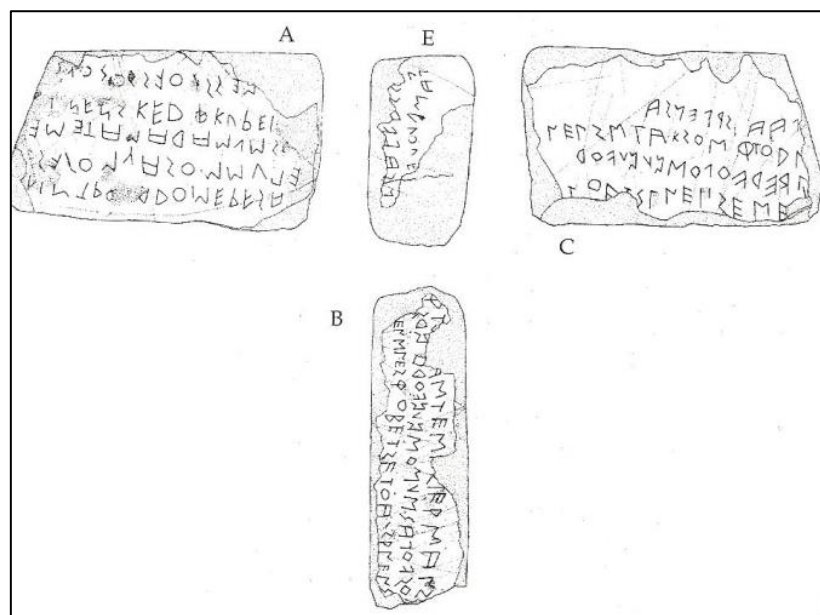


Figure 1: Ps 20 (Blanda 1), c. 500 BC. Drawing from Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001).

⁶⁹ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001).

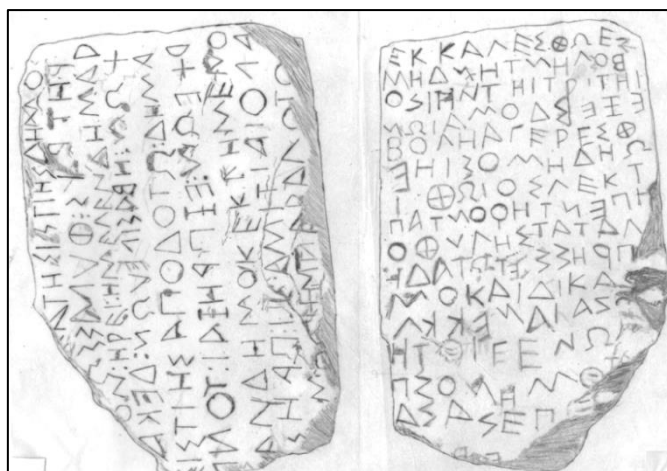


Figure 2: LSAG 343.41, Chios, c. 600-550? Drawing by Jeffrey.⁷⁰

Dedications in the South Oscan area are often quite simple and short. Many dedications feature only the name of the god in the dative, sometimes also including the dedicator's name or the reason for the dedication (see Chapter 4). This meant that larger letters were often not a problem, and only a couple of lines of text needed to be inscribed. To look at it another way, one might say that the quality of the available stone dictated how much could be carved in a dedicatory text. Some longer dedications may have been written on metal (see below).

The number of funerary texts in this corpus is small: Lu 40 (Cosilinum 2), Lu 41 (Tegianum 1), and perhaps Lu 39 (Anxia 1). Both Lu 40 and Lu 41 date from c. 100 BC; the dearth of funerary texts from an earlier period in this area suggests that funerary texts may not have been an established part of the epigraphic habit of South Oscan until a late stage (see Chapter 6).

3.2 Materials - metal

Metal coins are among the earliest South Oscan texts, starting around the mid-C4th BC; most examples are struck or cast bronze, but silver and gold coins are also found.⁷¹ The

⁷⁰ Jeffrey (1990). Image from the Anne Jeffrey Archive, <http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk>, accessed 09/07/2012.

⁷¹ Silver coinage: Lucani 1, Saunitai 1, Pitanatai Peripoloi 1, Brettii 1. Gold coinage: Brettii 1.

production of metal coinage was a practice derived from the Greek world. The coinage of Oscan-speaking communities was often produced by Greek craftsmen, especially in the earliest stages of the use of Oscan on coinage in Campania; these coins were produced in Greek workshops in cities such as Naples which were also producing coins for Greek-speaking communities.⁷² There is clear continuity between the coins of the Greek-speaking communities – for example, in the weights and designs used – and those of the Oscan-speaking communities of Lucania and Bruttium (see Chapter 6).

As mentioned above, the use of bronze for legal texts such as Lu 62, and later the *Tabula Bantina*, may be influenced by the lack of availability of hard stone. There are texts on bronze from the Greek world which deal with private agreements or private property and treaties; there are also some which deal with procedural and public law. A large number of the extant texts of these types were found at Olympia, and they include some produced by communities in Italy and Sicily. For example, a treaty between Sybaris and the Serdaioi (possibly an Italic-speaking group) from c. 530-510 has been found at Olympia (LSAG 259.01b.S456).⁷³ There are several legal texts found on bronze at Olympia (e.g. LSAG 220.05, 220.02). Among the Greek texts on bronze from Italy itself are several bronze plaques from Petelia concerning the property of a number of individuals, c. 475 (LSAG 261.28-30).

The use of bronze plaques to write legal texts in Italy may be a continuation of the Greek practice, influenced perhaps by the lack of other suitable materials. However, the communities of Italy seem to have expanded the practice of writing legal texts on bronze beyond its use by Greek-speakers; at Rome, for example, bronze became the usual material for the display of legal texts, even if copies were kept on perishable materials as well.

There are also a few South Oscan dedications on bronze tablets. Of these, Lu 12 (Potentia 2) and Lu 20 (Potentia 26) are both fragmentary. Lu 12 is likely to be some kind of official dedication, naming the responsible magistrates and the cost of the work. Lu 25 (Vibo 2) is complete, and has a short inscription: *διουφει φερσορει ταυρομ*. Perhaps short messages

⁷² Crawford (2011b) 20–21.

⁷³ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 191.

like this commemorating the sacrificing of animals (or other kinds of dedications) were more common than our current corpus suggests. The pattern of materials used suggests that bronze may have been used to commemorate acts that left no permanent trace, or were later additions to permanent structures, while stone inscriptions either stood alone or were put up at the time of construction of lasting monuments (temples, statues, etc.).

There are also three instances of bronze helmets being dedicated: Lu 18 (Luc/Bret/Sic 3), Lu 19 (Lucania 1), Lu 37 (Metapontum 1). A bronze cuirass inscribed with an Oscan name (with Greek morphology) is also thought to come from this region (see Chapter 4). In this case, the use of bronze is because of the nature of the object. The bronze helmets may show the dedication of spoils of war given by military victors, although the inscriptions do not specify this. Since this practice is known from the very earliest times in the Greek world, it has been suggested that the dedication of metal helmets in South Oscan may be the result of Hellenisation spreading northwards.⁷⁴ Similar votive objects found at other Oscan cult sites, such as Pietrabbondante, are uninscribed.⁷⁵ Possibly this indicates that South Oscan-speakers had taken on a Greek epigraphic habit – the dedication of armour – not found in areas that had less contact with Greek communities. However, since two of these helmets do not have a clear origin it is not easy to be certain that they came from more ‘Hellenised’ areas.

The use of lead tablets for curses, as well as the practice of depositing the finished curses in graves, seems to have been adopted directly from the Greek-speaking world. The earliest curse tablets in the ancient world come from Attica and Sicily; it seems that the practice then spread to the peoples of Southern Italy, including South Oscan-speakers. If South Oscan-speakers did take the idea of writing curse tablets on lead from Greek, it is likely that this community might associate Greek-language texts with magical power (see Chapter 5). The use of lead for letters and other documents does not seem to have caught on in Oscan-speaking communities; instead, the use of lead tablets seems to be specialised to one purpose, unlike in the Greek-speaking world.

⁷⁴ Poccetti (2009c) 52.

⁷⁵ Other helmets with Sabellian inscriptions (Sp BO 1/Interpromium B, Sp BA 1/Interpromium A) seem to be inscribed with the names of their owners, on the inside of the helmet, as name-labels, rather than being dedications - Ibid.

The only other inscriptions on metal are makers' marks and labels, for example on a silver cantharus (Luc/Bret/Sic 4) and the handle of a caduceus marked as 'public' (Buxentum 2). We can compare this to the makers' marks on expensive, high-status objects found across the Oscan-speaking world, for example gold rings elsewhere (Sa 22).

3.3 Materials – ceramic

The South Oscan texts on ceramics are mainly makers' marks (incised or stamped before firing) on loomweights, tiles, bricks, amphora handles, bowls, and so on, or graffiti written by later owners of the objects (see Chapter 6). While graffiti and marks indicating ownership are probably a universal of literate societies, the use of stamps could relate to their use in the Greek world. One dedicatory inscription on a ceramic object is found in this corpus, written after firing on a spool-shaped object, Lu 26 (Luc/Bret/Sic 1). Most terracotta dedications found at Oscan sanctuary sites, including Rossano di Vaglio in the South Oscan area, are uninscribed.

There is also one dipinto in this corpus – Lu 42 (Paestum 3). This inscription – a single name on a painted chamber tomb – probably indicates the name of the artist (see Chapter 6). More signed paintings of this kind probably did exist, but have not survived; this is the only painting from the so-called 'Samnite-era' of Paestum that is signed.

3.4 Conclusions

We have seen, therefore, that there is a considerable amount of continuity between the types of objects and texts found in the Greek-speaking world, and those found in the South Oscan corpus. This is found particularly in coins and curse tablets, which conform closely to epigraphic types found in Magna Graecia, Sicily and mainland Greece. However, we have also seen that Oscan-speakers adapted inscription types in a number of ways. In some cases, this was because of the availability of materials, such as the lack of hard stone that could take finely-carved inscriptions. In other cases, the reasons for the adaptation are not

clear: for example, it is not clear whether it is a coincidence that the practice of using lead for letters is not attested. In some cases, the extant corpus may not be representing the epigraphic habit of these communities accurately. In other cases the difference in the corpus may reflect a cultural difference, and a true difference in the epigraphic habit.

Our corpus does not reflect the fact that some genres of inscriptions may have been primarily or entirely written on more perishable materials, such as wood or papyrus. Unlike for Latin or Greek, we do not have literary sources which refer to the use of these materials, though it would be surprising if they had not been used to some degree.

IV Brief History of Sites

The texts discussed in this thesis are associated with a number of sites; this section will give a few brief comments on our knowledge of the history and archaeology of the main sites from their foundation up to their abandonment or establishment as Roman colonies (mainly from the 3rd-1st BC).⁷⁶ The inscriptions associated with each site are also listed. Greek-language inscriptions mentioned in the thesis are underlined. Although the area under discussion has been given as Lucania, Bruttium and Messana, there is no formal definition of Lucania and Bruttium before the Augustan period when Lucania and Bruttium became defined as *Regio III*,⁷⁷ so that a site such as Paestum could be included instead in Campania (see below). For more information on archaeological sites in Lucania, see the catalogue of sites in Isayev (2007).⁷⁸

4.1 Paestum (*Poseidonia*)

Associated inscriptions: Lu 14 (Paestum 1), Lu 42 (Paestum 3), Paestum 2, Paestum 4

Paestum (*Poseidonia*) was originally founded as a colony of Sybaris in the 7th BC.⁷⁹ By the end of the 5th, according to the traditional narrative, the Lucanians (Oscan-speakers) invaded the plain, occupying the city, and a Lucanian ruling class was created; this resulted in archaeologically visible changes, such as substantially altered burial practices and population increase.⁸⁰ The archaeology shows no evidence of a violent conquest of the city, with no destruction layer and few signs of major changes to the city and its monuments.⁸¹ Whether or not this 'invasion' model is accurate (and it is seriously questioned in modern work),⁸² the site is generally taken to have changed hands in some sense, though the chronology of the

⁷⁶ The presence of Rome in this region increased in the decades following the Hannibalic War (218-201 BC), when large areas were confiscated as *ager publicus*; the Roman colony of Buxentum was also founded. See Gualtieri (2003) 37-47. However, several of the major Roman centres (e.g. Grumentum, Potentia) were probably not established until after the Social War – Gualtieri (2003) 96-100.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 13; Isayev (2007) 3.

⁷⁸ Isayev (2007) 199-234.

⁷⁹ Cerchiai (2004) 62.

⁸⁰ Wonder (2002) 40.

⁸¹ Isayev (2007) 114-116.

⁸² Purcell (1994) 395.

change-over is far from clear, since there are more Greek than Oscan inscriptions dated after 400 BC.⁸³ Archaeological evidence suggests that there were non-Greeks present in Paestum from the C5th BC, and that Greek-speakers remained an important element in C4th society.⁸⁴ During the third quarter of the C4th BC, Alexander the Molossian arrived at Paestum with his armies; while it has sometimes been assumed that he captured Paestum and put in an interim Greek-speaking administration, it is more likely that he simply allied himself with the Hellenised Lucanian elite against the peoples from further inland.⁸⁵

We have an unusually detailed near-contemporary comment on the language shift situation in Paestum. Aristoxenus of Tarentum (preserved in Athenaeus *Deipno.* 14.632, and normally placed in the second half of the C4th or the early C3rd BC) describes the change in both practices (ἐπιτήδευμα) and speech (φωνή) at Paestum after the Lucanian take-over.

We act like the people of Poseidonia, who dwell on the Tyrrhenian Gulf. It so happened that although they had originally been Greeks, they were completely barbarised, becoming Tuscans; they changed their speech and their other practices, but they still celebrate one festival that is Greek to this day, wherein they gather together and recall those ancient words and institutions, and after bewailing them and weeping over them in one another's presence they depart home.⁸⁶

Despite Aristoxenus' talk of 'barbarisation',⁸⁷ C4th archaeology shows a flourishing material culture.⁸⁸ There also seems to have been strong continuity in the city's cult activity.⁸⁹ The city became a Latin colony in 273 BC.⁹⁰ At this time, the original Greek council building (*ekklesiasterion*) was destroyed and filled in - this was the findspot of Lu 14 (Paestum 1), among other evidence of the Greek and Lucanian periods of the town.

⁸³ Crawford (2006) 61.

⁸⁴ Wonder (2002) 41; Isayev (2007) 110.

⁸⁵ Wonder (2002) 47–49.

⁸⁶ Crawford (1993) 18.

⁸⁷ Mellor (2008) 88.

⁸⁸ Wonder (2002) 41.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 46–47.

⁹⁰ Gualtieri (2003) 19.

Note that, although ‘Lucanian’ is the standard term for the Oscan-speaking population at Paestum, some details of the Oscan-language inscriptions have closer parallels in Campania. Crawford argues that the development of inherited *dy- to *y- found in the spelling $\iota\upsilon\phi\eta\iota$ in Lu 14 (Paestum 1) – in contrast with the Lucanian spelling z- (e.g. *zoves*, Lu 38/Bantia 2) which seems to show that *dy- developed into an affricate – is proof that the residents of Paestum were speakers of Campanian Oscan.⁹¹ He also links this to similarities between the coinage of Paestum and Campania.⁹² As already noted in Chapter 1, there are often problems with assigning ethnic names to ancient cultures or groups. On the whole Crawford’s arguments that Paestum may belong linguistically with Campania rather than Lucania are convincing, though it may not be realistic to try to create a clear dividing line between the two areas based on the level of evidence we have.

4.2 Roccagloriosa

Associated inscriptions: Lu 62 (Buxentum 1), Lu 45 (Buxentum 3), Buxentum 2

The site at Roccagloriosa has been excavated and published by Gualtieri and Fracchia.⁹³ The earliest evidence of habitation dates from the C5th BC.⁹⁴ Roccagloriosa was a centre of population, surrounded by countryside characterised by a dense distribution of scattered ‘farms’; the developmental peak of the area was c. 325-250 BC.⁹⁵ The city wall dates to the first half of the C4th BC.⁹⁶ It had a large ‘public’ building on a central plateau, but the exact function of this is not known; its organisation and layout seem to be influenced both by typical Italic hilltop fortified sites and the use of public buildings in Italiote Greek sites.⁹⁷ It survived the C3rd, but much reduced in size and with considerable restructuring of the site.⁹⁸ Around 275, the aristocratic houses on the central plateau were abandoned, though the shrine

⁹¹ Crawford (2011b) 50.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Gualtieri and Fracchia (1990); Gualtieri and Fracchia (2001).

⁹⁴ Isayev (2007) 223.

⁹⁵ Gualtieri (2008) 392; Fracchia and Gualtieri (2011) 14.

⁹⁶ Crawford (2011b) 1329.

⁹⁷ Gualtieri (2004) 45–46.

⁹⁸ Gualtieri (2008) 396.

was left intact and continued to be used.⁹⁹ Landslides may have been involved in the decline of the site during this period.¹⁰⁰ The site ceased to function as a major regional centre after the end of the Hannibalic War; the Roman colony of Buxentum was founded 10 km away from Roccagloriosa.¹⁰¹ We do not know the name of the Oscan-speaking settlement.

The site gives us two very significant inscriptions. The first is a legal text on bronze (Lu 62/Buxentum 1), discovered in August 1999 during restoration works on one of the main gates of the city wall, dated to c. 300-200 BC (Chapter 6).¹⁰² Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) is a curse tablet with a Greek opening line (Chapter 5).¹⁰³

4.3 Laos (*Marcellina*)

Associated inscriptions: Laos 1 (coinage), Lu 46 (Laos 2), Lu 63 (Laos 3), Laos 4

The Greek colony of Laos, founded at the end of the 6th BC as a colony of Sybaris, is attested by literary sources and coinage, but as yet has not been found.¹⁰⁴ It is thought that the site was moved to Marcellina, c. 350-325 BC; the link between the Greek colony and the settlement found at Marcellina is not completely clear.¹⁰⁵ However, Strabo (6.1.1) notes that the colony was destroyed and replaced by a Lucanian one. The walls of the site, which enclose an area about the same size as Pompeii (around 66 hectares), have been dated to the end of the 4th; the settlement, which includes habitations as well as public buildings and open areas, was built around the same time as the walls, and is organised around a regular street grid.¹⁰⁶ The city was abandoned at the end of the 3rd, during the second Punic War.¹⁰⁷ The population appears to have left in a hurry, and the site was allowed to disintegrate.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁹ Fracchia (2004) 81.

¹⁰⁰ Isayev (2007) 122.

¹⁰¹ Fracchia and Gualtieri (2011) 15.

¹⁰² Gualtieri (2000b); Poccetti and Gualtieri (2001); Crawford (2011b) 1328–1329.

¹⁰³ Poccetti and Gualtieri (1990); Campanile (1992a); Crawford (2011b) 1333.

¹⁰⁴ Crawford (2011b) 50.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Isayev (2007) 212.

¹⁰⁷ Greco and La Torre (1999) 56.

¹⁰⁸ Isayev (2007) 212.

Lu 46, Lu 63 and Laos 4 are three curse tablets, and between them give us around half of our information on South Oscan onomastics. Lu 46, in particular, shows a high level of influence from Greek, which has led some scholars to suppose that this was written by a Greek-speaker – Pugliese Carratelli goes as far as to suppose that this was a Greek-speaker cursing the new Oscan-speaking rulers of the town.¹⁰⁹ More information on these inscriptions can be found in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.

4.4 Rossano di Vaglio / Serra di Vaglio / Tricarico

Associated inscriptions:

Found at Rossano di Vaglio:

Lu 5 (Potentia 1), Lu 6 (Potentia 9), Lu 7 (Potentia 10), Lu 8 (Potentia 3),
 Lu 9 (Potentia 6 and 8), Lu 10 (Potentia 4), Lu 11 (Potentia 5), Lu 12 (Potentia 2),
 Lu 15 (Potentia 17), Lu 16 (Potentia 13), Lu 17 (Potentia 32),
 Lu 20 (Potentia 26), Lu 21 (Potentia 25), Lu 22 (Potentia 28), Lu 27 (Potentia 12),
 Lu 28 (Potentia 20), Lu 29 (Potentia 21), Lu 30 (Potentia 24), Lu 31 (Potentia 22),
 Lu 32 (Potentia 16), Lu 33 (Potentia 15), Lu 34 (Potentia 14), Lu 35 (Potentia 11),
 Lu 36 (Potentia 19), Lu 57 (Potentia 30), Lu 59 (Potentia 31), Lu 60 (Potentia 27 and 34),
 Lu 64 (Potentia 23),
 Potentia 7, Potentia 18, Potentia 29, Potentia 33,
 Potentia 35, Potentia 36, Potentia 38, Potentia 39

Found at Tricarico:

Lu 13 (Potentia 40), tLu 1 (Potentia 44), tLu 10 (Potentia 42), Potentia 43

Found at Potentia (modern Potenza):

Potentia 37, Potentia 41

¹⁰⁹ Pugliese Carratelli (1992) 18.

The sheer number of inscriptions associated with these sites show how important they are to this study. Rossano seems to have been a centralised cult site, sacred to Mefitis, used by a number of communities in the area.¹¹⁰ A large sanctuary of Mefitis – the largest known cult complex in Lucania¹¹¹ – existed at Rossano di Vaglio from the mid-C4th, and was rebuilt around 200 BC. The monumentalisation around 200 BC seems to mark the end of the use of the site for private dedications, and the beginning of its use as an official, organised site for dedications by magistrates and public bodies.¹¹² Another phase of rebuilding took place later in the late C2nd to early C1st.¹¹³ The sanctuary continued in use into Roman times, but in the Roman imperial period the cult transferred to the neighbouring municipium of Potentia. It should also be noted that there was a great deal of re-use of stone during the period when the sanctuary was in use, with the result that not all of the inscriptions have been found in their original positions.¹¹⁴ As well as inscriptions, the votive deposits from Rossano include jewellery, ceramics, armour, terracotta statuettes, marble statues and over one thousand coins.¹¹⁵ More details of the Rossano site and the dedications found there are in Chapter 4. The development of certain aspects of the epigraphy of the site is also discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Nearby Serra di Vaglio is the largest known Lucanian settlement.¹¹⁶ The site reached its peak of population in the mid-C4th BC, when a fortification wall was also built – an inscription in Greek by an *archon* Nummelos is associated with this fortification (see Chapter 6).¹¹⁷ After an apparent period of decline, the site was destroyed (perhaps by fire) in the mid-C3rd BC.¹¹⁸ The smaller habitation site at Tricarico survived a little longer, until around the C2nd BC.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁰ Lejeune (1990) 36.

¹¹¹ Isayev (2007) 224.

¹¹² Crawford (2011b) 54.

¹¹³ Isayev (2007) 224.

¹¹⁴ Crawford (2011b) 51–53.

¹¹⁵ Isayev (2007) 224.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Crawford (2011b) 54.

4.5 Messana

Associated inscriptions:

Messana 1 (coinage), Me 1 (Messana 4), Me 2 (Messana 5),¹²⁰ Me 4 (Messana 6), Me 5 (Messana 7), tMe 1 (Messana 2), tMe 2 (Messana 8), Messana 3

Messana was originally a Chalcidian Greek colony, known as Zankle; it was re-founded c. 490 BC under the name Messene.¹²¹ In the ancient accounts, the Oscan-speaking population of Messana were mercenaries from further north who took control of the town in the early C3rd BC. Ancient sources say that the Oscan-speaking population came from Samnium (Paul. *Fest.* 150 L) or Campania (Polybius 1.7.2 and 1.8.1; Strabo 6.2.3).¹²² The use of the Greek alphabet to write Oscan might suggest that they came from Lucania or Bruttium, where this alphabet was used; but it is also possible that the Greek alphabet was adopted separately by the Oscan-speakers at Messana. There is slight evidence that there may have been different orthographic norms at Messana, and this is explored in Chapter 3. Oscan was probably not long-lived at this site: it seems that the Mamertines, as they call themselves in their inscriptions, were relatively quickly absorbed into the Greek-speaking community.¹²³

4.6 Sites with coinage only

Lucania:	Saunitai 1, Pitanatai Peripoloi 1, Volcei 1, Orlanoi 1, Orsantinoi 1, Grumentum (?) 1
Bruttium:	Breig 1, Consentia 1, Hyporum 1, Taesia 1

The Volcei 1 coinage was found at Buccino, which is included on the maps below, as is Cosentia. The other coins do not have confirmed original findspots, and therefore are not marked on the maps. There is also extant coinage of the Brettii (Brettii 1 Coinage) and the

¹²⁰ Rix's Me 3 is an incorrect copy of either Me 1 or 2. Me 1 and 2 are two carvings of the same text.

¹²¹ Luraghi (2008) 147.

¹²² Crawford (2011b) 58.

¹²³ Clackson (2012b) 141.

Lucani (Lucani 1 coinage - in Crawford's opinion, also produced by the Brettii).¹²⁴ See Chapter 6 for more detail on coinage and coin legends in this corpus.

4.7 Other sites

Many of the sites mentioned in this thesis provide a smaller number of inscriptions. These are given in Table 1 for reference. Modern place-names are given in italics. Some Greek inscriptions (underlined) not included by Crawford's edition are included here, as they will be discussed in this thesis.

Table 1: Sites and inscriptions

Site	Associated Inscription(s)
Lucania	
<i>Tortora</i>	Ps 20 (Blanda 1)
<i>Castelluccio</i>	Ps 1 (Nerulum 1)
Atina Lucana	Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1)
Cosilinum	Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1) Lu 40 (Cosilinum 2)
Tegianum (<i>Teggiano</i>)	Lu 41 (Tegianum 1)
<i>Muro Lucano</i>	Lu 4 (Numistro 1) Numistro 2 (found at <i>Baragiano</i>)
Anxia	Lu 39 (Anxia 1) Anxia 2
Bantia	Lu 1 (Bantia 1) = Tabula Bantina Lu 38 (Bantia 2) Bantia 3
Metapontum	Lu 37 (Metapontum 1) Metapontum 2 <u>SGD 124</u>
Heraclea	Lu 61 (Heraclea 2) (found at <i>Montegiordano</i>) Heraclea 1
Bruttium	
Thurii Copia (<i>Castiglione di Paludi</i>)	Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1) Thurii Copia 2

¹²⁴ Crawford (2011b) 49.

Crimisa	Lu 23 (Crimisa 1) Lu 24 (Crimisa 2) Lu 44 (Crimisa 3)
Petelia	Petelia 1 (coinage) Petelia 2 <u>IG XIV 637</u> <u>Pocc. 201</u>
Ager Teuranus (<i>Tiriolo</i>)	Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1) Teuranus Ager 2 Teuranus Ager 3 Teuranus Ager 4 <u>NGCT 82</u>
<i>Staletti</i>	Ps 2 (Scolacium 1)
Caulonia	Caulonia 1 (coinage) Caulonia 2 Caulonia 3 Caulonia 4 Caulonia 5
Nuceria (<i>Nocera Terinese</i>)	Nuceria 1 (coinage) Nuceria 2
Vibo Valentia	Vibo 1 (coinage) Lu 25 (Vibo 2) tLu 3-5 (Vibo 5) tLu 6 (Vibo 8) tLu 7 (Vibo 7) tLu 8 (Vibo 6) tLu 9 (Vibo 3) Vibo 4 Vibo 9 <u>tLu 2</u> <u>IG XIV 2402.2</u> <u>Capialbi 131, 134</u>
Taurianum (<i>Gioia Tauro, Taureana di Palmi,</i> <i>Oppido Mamertina</i>)	Tauriani 1 (tLu 13) Tauriani 2

4.8 Inscriptions without findspots

A number of inscriptions from this corpus have no clear provenance, but are thought to come from this region. These are:

Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1

Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2

Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3

Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 4

Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 5

Lucania 1

SEG 29.1026

4.9 Maps of the region

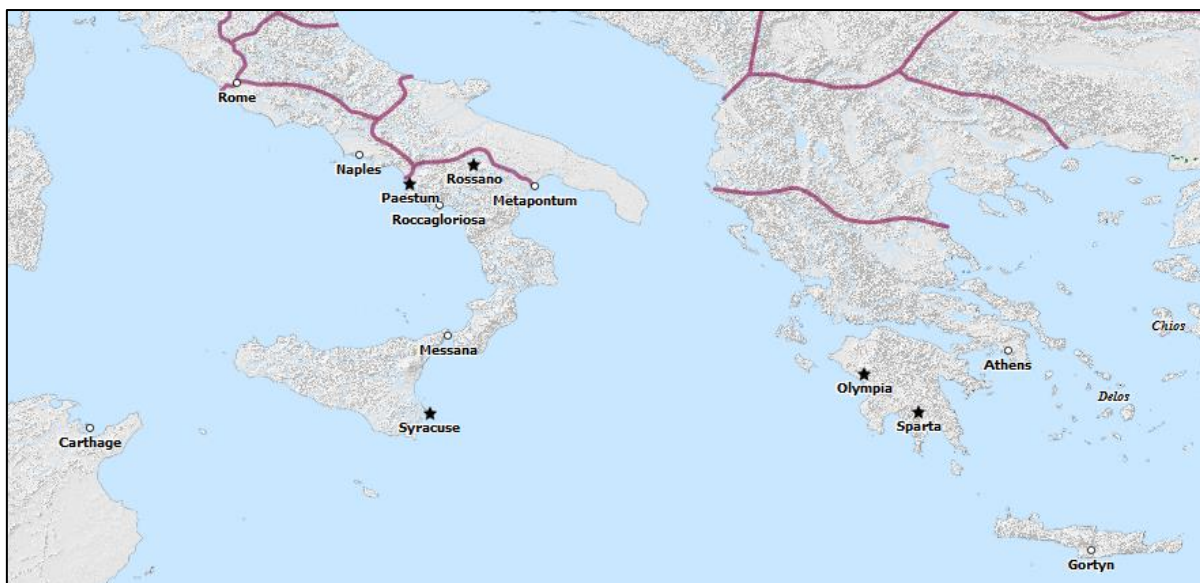


Figure 3: Area of South Oscan inscriptions in its Mediterranean context. Augustan regions are marked; Lucania and Bruttium correspond to Augustan *Regio III*. Data from Antiquity à-la-carte.

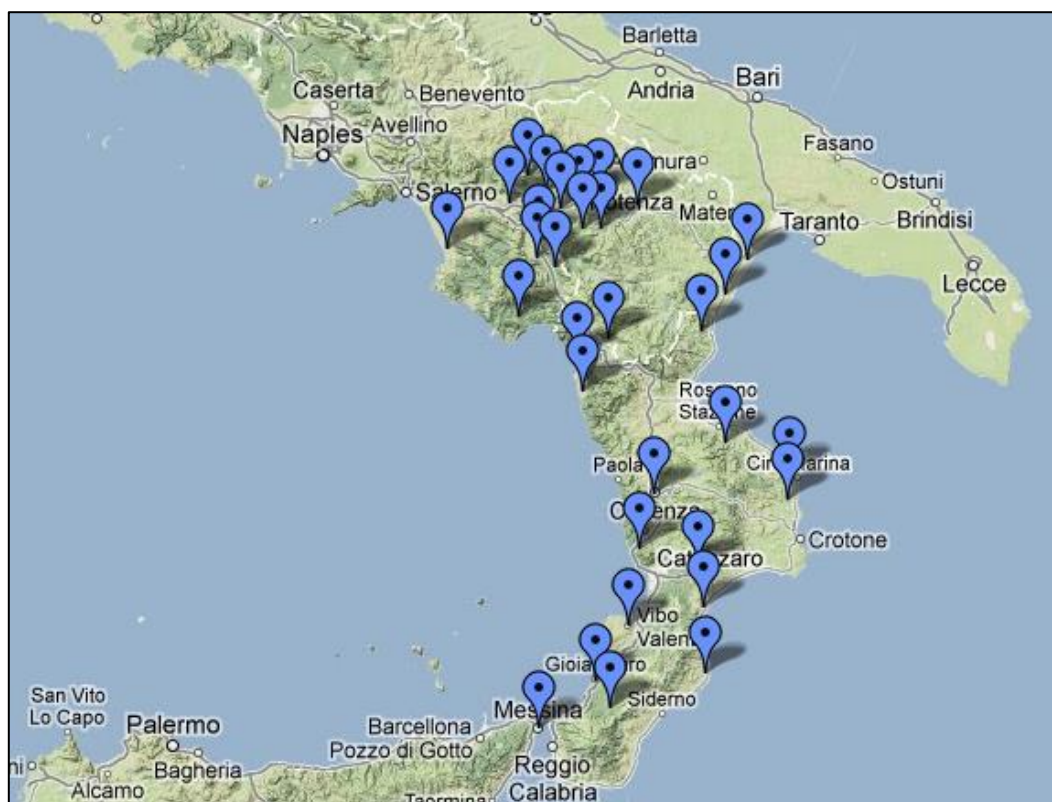


Figure 4: Findspots of South Oscan inscriptions. Data from Google Maps.

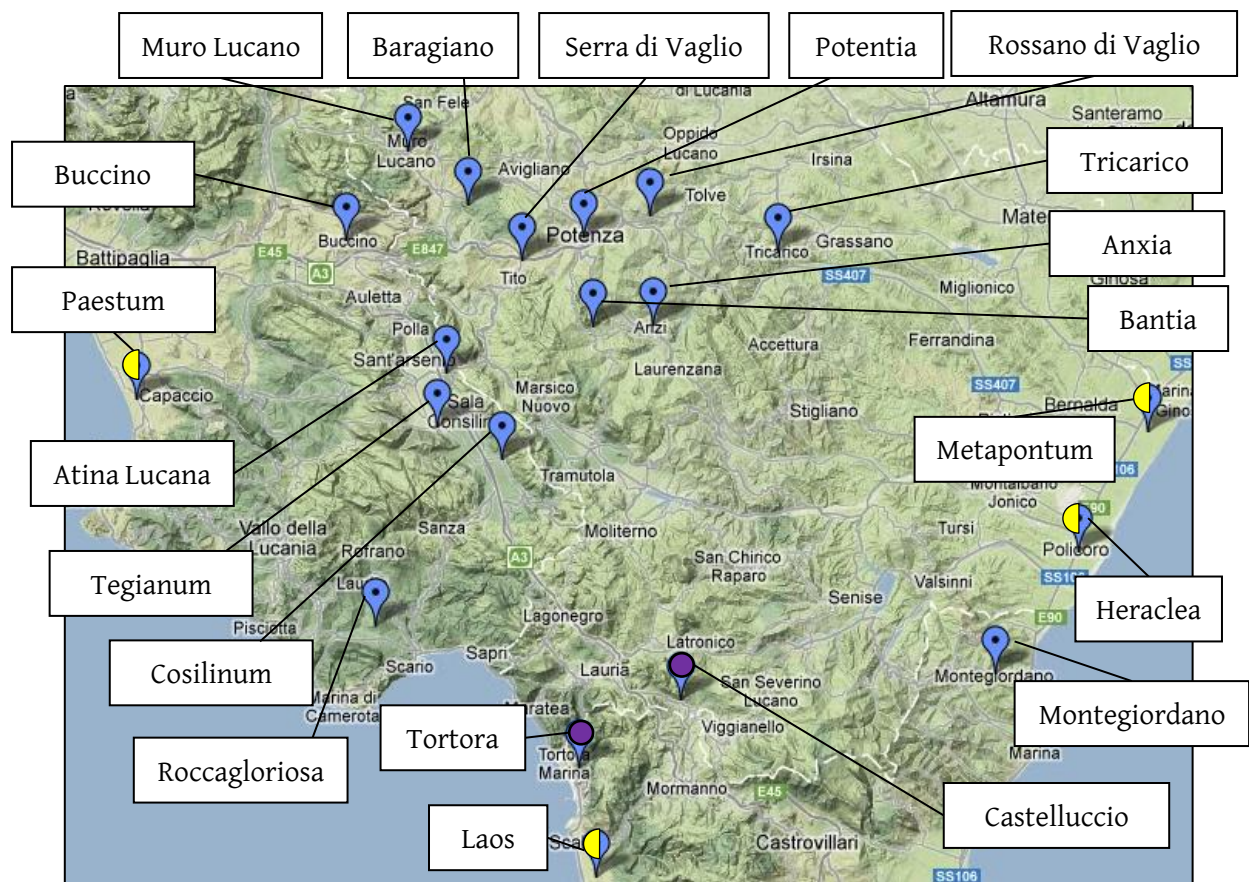


Figure 5: Findspots of South Oscan inscriptions, Lucania. Data from Google Maps.

Blue circles mark sites with South Oscan inscriptions;

purple circles mark sites with only 'Pre-Samnite' inscriptions.

Known Greek foundations with Oscan inscriptions are half yellow, half blue.



Figure 6: Findspots of South Oscan inscriptions, Bruttium and Sicily. Data from Google Maps.

Blue circles mark sites with South Oscan inscriptions;

purple circles mark sites with only 'Pre-Samnite' inscriptions.

Known Greek foundations with Oscan inscriptions are half yellow, half blue.

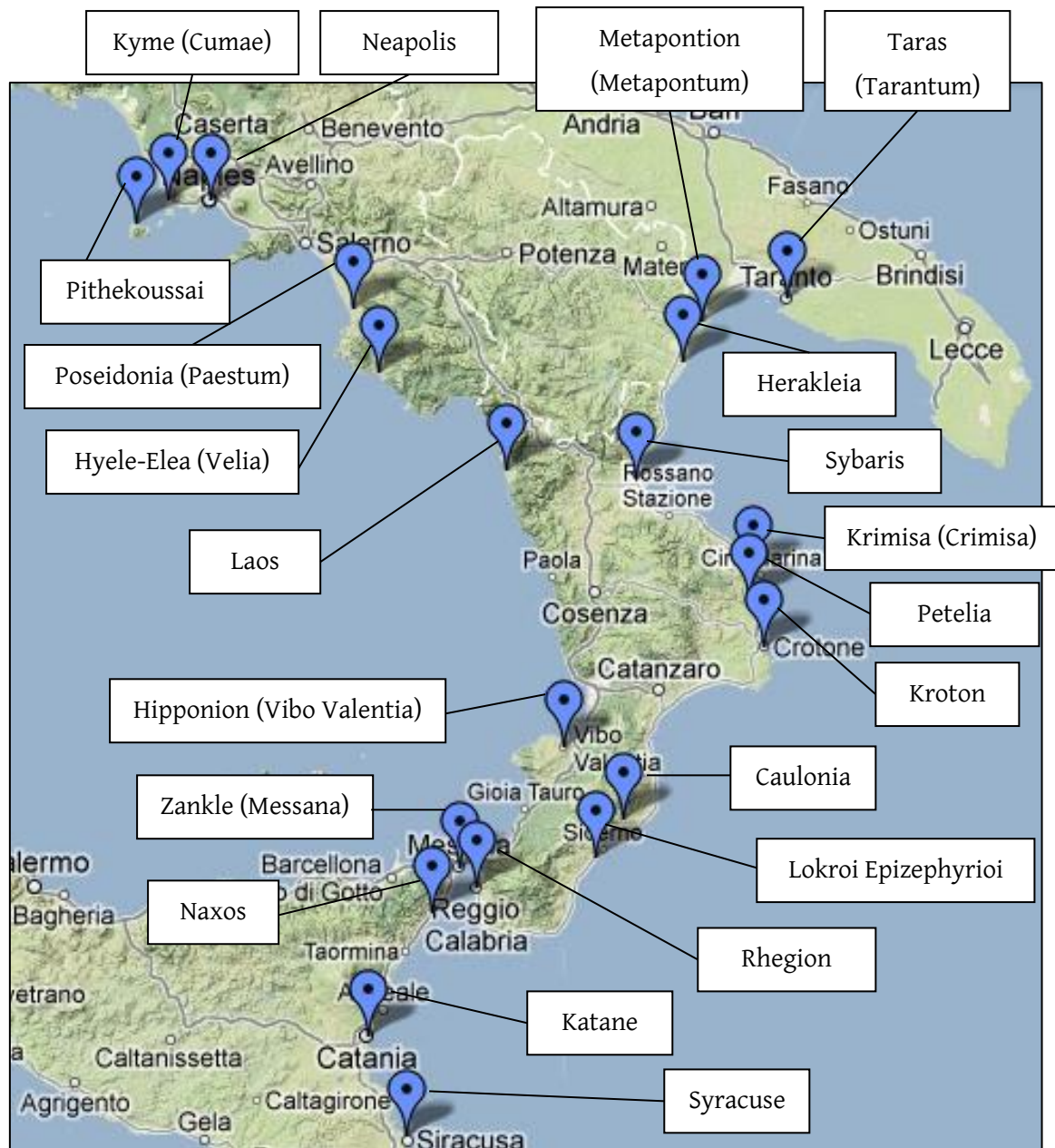


Figure 7: Major Greek foundations in the region. Data from Google Maps.

V Conclusions

In this chapter, we have seen that language contact is not a trivial issue in this corpus. Oscan-speakers were in close geographic proximity with Greek-speakers, and we can see from the overview given here that linguistic and non-linguistic contact phenomena are a relatively common occurrence in the inscriptions from this region. We have also seen, however, that there has not been a great deal of scholarship on these phenomena. The scholarship that exists either deals with a subset of the inscriptions – for example, those from one particular site or only one genre of texts – or, where a wider perspective has been offered, modern theory on language contact and historical sociolinguistics has not always been used to help interpret the evidence.

In the past scholarship on borrowings from Greek and other evidence of contact in South Oscan, lack of competency is an issue that comes up frequently. Even writers who admit that Oscan-speakers can be creative in their adaptations of Greek architecture, art, or other aspects of material culture do not write in the same way about the use of language.¹²⁵ But it is possible that borrowings from Greek were a deliberate strategy by the composer of some inscriptions, rather than being the result of imperfect learning or lack of competency in writing. This corpus has not been considered in detail from this viewpoint, and this will be a possibility that will be explored extensively in the rest of this thesis.

The idea of creative adaptation of Greek models reflects the current scholarship of the archaeology of Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily. Archaeologists are increasingly moving away from models that suggest that the peoples of Italy passively absorbed Greek or Roman culture without adaptation or creativity. Seeing borrowing from Greek into Oscan as, in part, a deliberate process also fits better with recent research on code-mixing in spoken languages – it is now known that this kind of behaviour is not arbitrary, or a sign of incompetence, but follows various rules and patterns.¹²⁶ Among other things, code-switching can be driven by stylistic considerations, including the associations that are evoked by each language in the

¹²⁵ Prosdocimi (1976) 792, 866.

¹²⁶ Matras (2009) 101.

mind of the speaker.¹²⁷ In many cases in the current corpus, a similar set of criteria may apply – in certain genres of inscriptions, a certain amount of switching between Oscan and Greek would be appropriate (intra- or inter-sententially, or even on a non-linguistic, visual level). This may involve both bilingualism and biliteracy; and interaction between the two languages can be managed creatively and deliberately, as it can by modern bilingual speakers.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 105.

Chapter 3: Alphabets, Orthography and Epigraphy

I Introduction

In contrast to Central Oscan, which (like Latin) received the Euboean Greek alphabet through the intermediary of Etruscan, the South Oscan alphabet was adapted from the Hellenistic Ionic Greek alphabet as used in a number of the Greek colonies in Southern Italy.¹ This transmission probably took place in the first half of the 4th BC, perhaps half a century after the creation of the Central Oscan alphabet.² The precise timing and mechanism of this transmission is still a matter of considerable debate, with corresponding different views on the degree and duration of Greek influence on the Oscan-speaking communities of Italy.

In the use of any existing alphabet to represent a new language, there will be compromises and adaptations. In many cases, the adapted alphabet will show inconsistent usages, variation across different communities, or changes over time. These variations are not linguistic variation, since the spelling of a word in one way or another does not affect the message of the inscription or reflect any variation in the spoken language. However, like linguistic variation, orthographic variation can reveal social variation, attitudes to different languages, and the strength of social norms within the group; it is therefore a helpful source for historical sociolinguistics.

An orthography is a set of spelling norms established and accepted by the community.³ ‘Orthography’ is a word more commonly used in the context of the education and literacy of the last few hundred years than in ancient epigraphy. However, it will become clear in this chapter that there were established norms of spelling and epigraphic practices in Oscan. These norms were rather more flexible than today’s standards of ‘correct’ spelling, and

¹ Some scholars use the terms Osco-Greek, Osco-Etruscan (or Native Oscan) and Osco-Latin for Oscan written in the adapted Ionic Greek alphabet, the adapted Etruscan alphabet, and the Latin alphabet respectively; however, I prefer the terms South Oscan, Central Oscan and North Oscan, since they cause less ambiguity about the language of the inscription.

² Lejeune (1970) 272.

³ Rutkowska and Rössler (2012) 214.

we can think of them in terms of tendencies and preferences rather than absolutes. There may have been variation in norms between communities, as there is in modern English (e.g. British vs. American spelling). Some norms of spelling were shared across the South Oscan area, many of which (such as preference for using eta in diphthongs) I will not discuss in detail here.⁴ However, this chapter will not only deal with orthographic norms. The original development of the alphabet is just as important as the orthography of the period in which the alphabet was well-established: experimentation in the earliest periods of the use of the Greek alphabet to write Oscan must also be examined.

This chapter will deal with the debates surrounding South Oscan epigraphy and orthography that are most relevant to the issue of linguistic contact. First, I will explore the original adaptation of the alphabet – especially the origin of the sign for /f/, which has implications for the original transmission of the alphabet and the extent of ongoing contact between Greek, Central Oscan and South Oscan. I will go on to discuss the orthography of South Oscan, particularly in regards to ‘extra’ characters – that is, letters like psi and xi (which represent two phonemes) and chi, phi, theta (which, in Greek, represent phonemes not found in Oscan). While none of these letters is needed to represent the sounds of Oscan, they are all used to various extents in South Oscan epigraphy; their patterns of usage indicate that South Oscan communities developed norms as to where these characters were most appropriate.

⁴ For more detail on the orthography of vowels, see Zair (2013) 222.

II The Evolution of Signs for /f/

2.1 Greek alphabets and Oscan

Various Greek alphabets were models for writing Oscan during its history. One of the earliest pieces of evidence for a Greek alphabet being used to write an Italic language in Southern Italy is Ps 20 (Blanda 1), which is written in an adapted Achaean Greek script; the language of the inscription is not Oscan, but a related Sabellian language (see Chapter 6: 2.5). In the first half of the C5th BC, experimentation with various Greek alphabets seems to have occurred in a number of locations across Southern Italy. It is possible that some of these texts were written by Greek-speakers experimenting with writing names and words of Oscan origin. For example, in the first half of the C5th BC, there were a number of texts (Salernum 1, Ps 8/Salernum 2, Salernum 3) in the Achaean alphabet produced at Fratte di Salerno, Campania, alongside texts written in the Oscan and Etruscan alphabets. Other Oscan-language texts produced in Campania use the Euboean alphabet of Naples (Cm 37/Picentia 2, 425-400 BC) and the Ionic alphabet (Cm 31/Picentia 3, c. 300 BC). In the first half of the C4th, the Greek alphabet is used for some dedicatory helmets; these were possibly made by Oscan-speakers from Campania, but could represent one of the earliest attestations of the ‘South Oscan’ alphabet.⁵

2.2 Signs for /f/ in the languages of Italy

The development of a sign to represent the phoneme /f/ was a problem for all of the languages of Italy which adopted some form of the Greek alphabet. Etruscan, Latin, Umbrian, South Picene, ‘Pre-Samnite’ and Oscan all responded in various ways to this need.⁶ Different strategies included the use of digamma (which originally represented /w/ in Greek) as <FH> and <F>, the use of <↑> (probably also an adaptation of digamma), and the development of

⁵ Lu 19 (Lucania 1), Lu 18 (Luc/Bret/Sic 3), Lu 37 (Metapontum 1) - Cristofani (1998) 276.

⁶ Lejeune (1966); Stuart-Smith (2004) 34.

signs such as <8> and <: >. A summary of the forms used for /f/ in different languages is given below, following Stuart-Smith, with the addition of the Tortora half-bow.⁷

FH	early Etruscan, Old Hernican (?archaic Latin)
F	Latin (?Pre-Samnite)
↑	Faliscan; Old Umbrian
8	Etruscan (from 575 BC on); Oscan; Umbrian; Old Sabine (Poggio Sommavilla)
:	South Picene (Old Volscian)
𐌁	'Pre-Samnite' (South Picene /w/)

The early Italic inscription from Tortora may have invented a 'half bow' sign, <𐌁> or <𐌁>, for /f/ independently, though it may be related to the almost identical characters that South Picene uses for /w/.⁸ The similarity of these characters (Figures 1 and 2), and the linguistic similarities between South Picene and the 'Pre-Samnite' of Tortora (e.g. in the third-person plural of past tense verbs), have led some scholars to argue that not only are the languages extremely close genetically but also that the populations were in contact. For example, Rix has argued that the Tortora inscription was written by migrants to the south from Picenum in the C7th or C6th, and that they were already familiar with the South Picene alphabet when they emigrated.⁹ This interpretation is still a matter of debate.¹⁰ Direct contact or migration does not seem to be the best solution here, since the South Picene alphabet is not used in Lucania – it is more likely that these signs represent two independent adaptations of digamma.

⁷ Stuart-Smith (2004) 34.

⁸ Crawford (2011b) 19; Stuart-Smith (2004) 37.

⁹ Rix (2003) 159–161; Rix (2009) 254.

¹⁰ Triantafyllis (2007) 485–486; Crawford (2011b) 19.

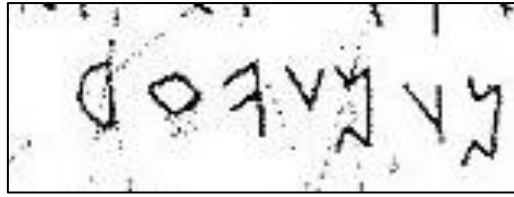


Figure 1: 'Pre-Samnite' <f>. Detail from drawing of Ps 20 (Blanda 1) <fvfufod>.

Drawing from Crawford (2011b) 1336.

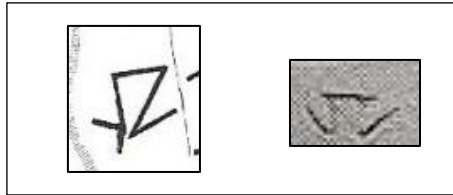


Figure 2: South Picene <v>. Detail from drawing of Sp AP 2 (Asculum Picenum 2), and detail of photograph of Sp TE 5 (Interamnia Praetuttiorum 1). Direction of writing is top to bottom. Images from Crawford (2011b) 190, 196.

The origins of <8> (South Picene <: > is probably a reduced version of <8>) are not clear.¹¹ The sign was introduced into all Etruscan alphabets around 600-550 BC, with its earliest attestation in Etruscan thought to be an inscription from Caere (c. 575-50).¹² While it was previously thought that <8> was an Etruscan invention, perhaps modified from or <H> (reduced from <FH>), an early Sabellian inscription from c. 600 BC (Figures 3, 4) suggests that it is just as likely to be an invention of speakers of an Italic language that was then borrowed into Etruscan.¹³ Stuart-Smith dates this inscription (Um 2/Forum Novum 2) to c. 675 BC, around a century earlier than the earliest Etruscan attestation – if this is correct, then <8> would almost certainly be an Italic innovation. Crawford, following Cristofani, dates Um 2 to c. 600 BC, making the sequence of the inscriptions less clear.¹⁴ It may be unrealistic to try to pin down which language made the innovation: in the context of widespread bilingualism and

¹¹ The sign <8> = /f/ is also found in the Lydian alphabet of Asia Minor (C6th-4th BC), which was adapted from the Greek alphabet with some modifications. The connection between the use of <8> in Italy and in the Lydian alphabet is not clear. Adiego (2007) 769; Rix (2008) 144.

¹² Stuart-Smith (2004) 37.

¹³ Ibid.; Cristofani (1978) 412, 419.

¹⁴ Crawford (2011b) 10.

general alphabetic experimentation, it may be better to see this as a period of joint experimentation across linguistic boundaries.



Figure 3: Um 2 (Forum Novum 2). Crawford (2011b) 163.

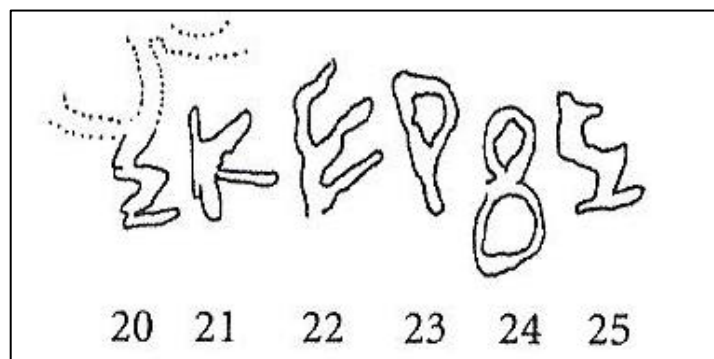


Figure 4: Um 2 (Forum Novum 2) detail: **skerfs**. Marinetti (1985) 169.

It is not clear whether the sign was an adaptation of , <H> or neither. In one Oscan inscription in the Etruscan alphabet (Cm 27/Saticula 6, 350-300 BC) it appears to be used as a sign for aspiration, which might suggest a close relationship with <H>.¹⁵ However, this attestation does not necessarily tell us much about the origins and value of the sign 300 years earlier.

¹⁵ Clackson (2006) 145. Cm 27 has **culcfnam**, vs. **culchna** in Cm 22 (Saticula 1), both from Greek *κυλίχνη*.

2.3 South Oscan characters for /f/ - early development

The details of the South Oscan alphabet have been explored by Lejeune,¹⁶ Del Tutto Palma,¹⁷ Antonini¹⁸ and Cristofani.¹⁹ The origin and development of the sign for /f/ is by no means an isolated problem – it relates to the transmission and development of the South Oscan alphabet as a whole, and the extent of ongoing contact with Greek. The changing forms of this sign have also been used to help establish dates for inscriptions where there is limited archaeological context. However, the development of the sign for /f/ is complex, and changes in the form of the sign cannot always be dated securely.

One view, detailed by Lejeune (Figure 5), is that the alphabet was adapted by Oscan-speakers in Lucania from Greek colonists during the 4th BC.²⁰ At this early stage, *<8> = /f/ (unattested) was taken from the Central Oscan alphabet, which acted as a secondary model. In Lejeune's explanation, Central Oscan influence on the epigraphy of South Oscan ceases at this stage, and all attested forms of South Oscan /f/ (<θ>, <S>, <S>, <Z>, etc.) are independent later developments.²¹

An alternative view put forward by Cristofani (Figure 6) is that the South Oscan alphabet, including the adaptation of <S> from <8>, was devised at Naples by Greek-speakers minting coins for Campanian Oscan-speaking communities at the very beginning of the 4th BC.²² This argument is based on the apparent similarity between the signs for /f/ in South Oscan inscriptions, <S> or <Z>, and those used in coin legends of silver didrachms minted at Naples for the Fenserni in Campania in the early 4th BC (c. 395-390).²³ These use both Greek alphabet (φενσερν) and Central Oscan alphabet (**fensernum**) legends, both with /f/ in the

¹⁶ Lejeune (1970); Lejeune (1972c); Lejeune (1990).

¹⁷ Del Tutto Palma (1989).

¹⁸ Antonini (1990).

¹⁹ Cristofani (1998).

²⁰ Lejeune (1970) 276–277.

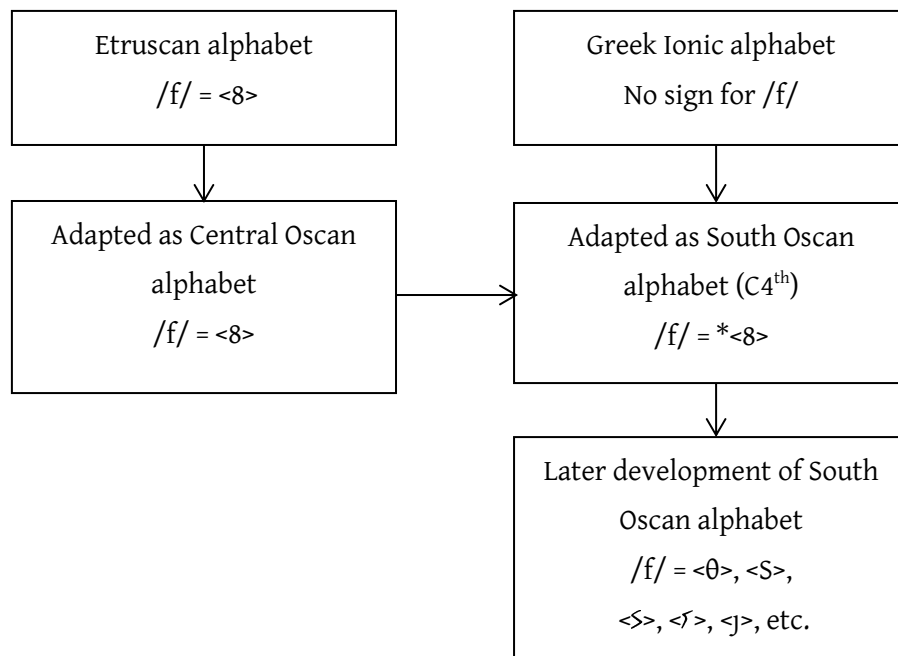
²¹ Ibid., 276; Stuart-Smith (2004) 89.

²² Cristofani (1998).

²³ Ibid., 276.

shape of <2>.²⁴ At the end of the C5th and the beginning of the C4th, there is thus close contact and interaction between the Greek script adapted for Oscan and the Central Oscan alphabet.²⁵ Crawford broadly shares this view, but with the alteration that the sign used is not <2> but a ‘die-engraver’s error for 8’.²⁶

Figure 5: Schematic of Lejeune’s explanation of the development of the South Oscan alphabet, including signs for /f/.

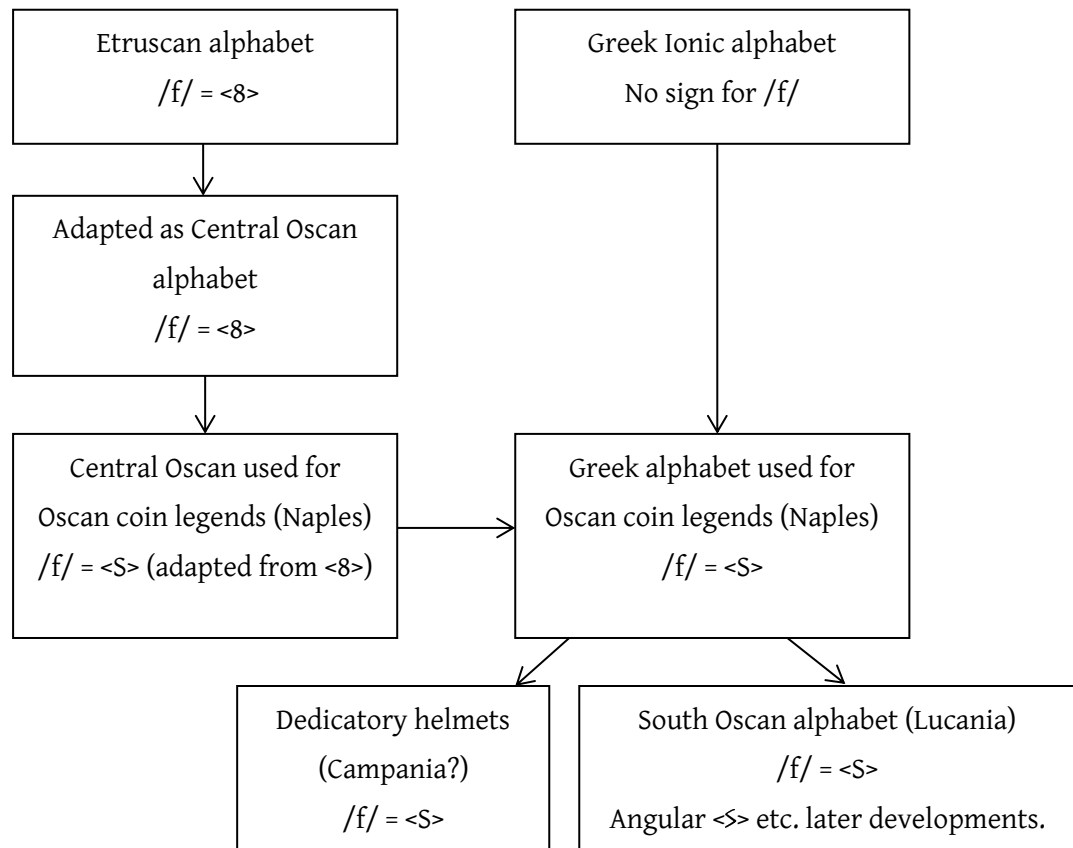


²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Crawford (2011b) 17.

Figure 6: Schematic of Cristofani's explanation of the development of South Oscan alphabet, including signs for /f/.



Stuart-Smith adds to this hypothesis the observation that a number of other didrachms from around the same time show experimentation by Greek coin mints with signs for /f/. In particular, she cites the coinage of Allifae (c. 400-395; Figure 7), in which she sees various signs as representing /f/, including <OH>. She states that intervocalic voicing may have been the reason for the choice of the digraph <OH> rather than <8>. If <8> was felt to represent the voiceless sound only, an alternative sign would be needed for the voiced allophone.²⁷ Crawford, however, reads <αλιοηα>, saying: ‘the “whiskers” on either side of the O... are die-breaks... we think that the engraver was using omicron + aspirate to represent f.’²⁸ He explains elsewhere that: ‘omicron, used for ov = f, f thus being represented by f and h, a

²⁷ Stuart-Smith (2004) 86.

²⁸ Crawford (2011b) 581.

Greek variant of Etruscan *vh*.²⁹ This seems unlikely – Etruscan <VH> (<FH>) was in use only at an earlier date, and had been replaced by <8> in all Etruscan alphabets. Even if this were an independent creation, the use of <O> alone as a consonant is unusual, and seems to invite considerable confusion. If this interpretation is correct, it is completely unique in Oscan epigraphy. A better explanation might be a deliberate adaptation to make the <8> easier to carve. If the unusual form of the O is in fact an ill-formed <8>, we could read <αλι8hα>. This would be a non-standard spelling for /f/, perhaps based on a misunderstanding of the value of <8>.

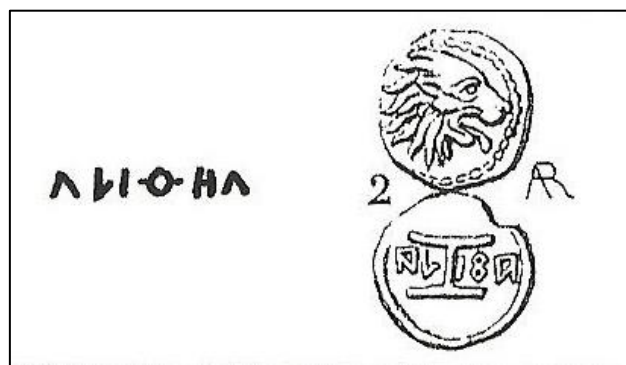


Figure 7: Coin inscriptions from Allifae (c. 400-395).³⁰

Image from Stuart-Smith (2004) 86, copied from Friedländer (1850) Plate V.

The possible variant for <8> in the coinage of Allifae is also found in the coinage of Nuceria Alfaterna (275-250 BC; Figure 8). It is possible that the diamond- or O-shaped realisation of <8> was an accepted variant in coinage; it is less clear that this represents a different phonological realisation, as Stuart-Smith suggests. Crawford does not accept these as ‘genuine variants’, but ‘as the result of error or lack of skill on the part of the engraver’.³¹ Stuart-Smith notes that <8> sometimes resembles a or <β>, in her opinion perhaps also representing voicing between vowels.³² Crawford rejects this too: ‘we doubt whether any engraver cut B for *f* deliberately, rather than simply cutting it as easier than 8... 8 must have been excruciatingly difficult to cut for such tiny coins; and the fact the engraver sometimes

²⁹ Ibid., 21.

³⁰ Sambon (1903) no. 818, 819.

³¹ Crawford (2011b) 903.

³² Stuart-Smith (2004) 87.

cut B and sometimes cut 8 suggests that in both cases he was trying to cut 8.³³ It is possible that all other unusual signs for /f/ also represent easier-to-cut adaptations of the sign <8>.



Figure 8: Signs for /f/ used in the coin inscriptions of Nuceria Alfaterna (275-250).

Stuart-Smith (2004) 87.

Cristofani hypothesises that the Neapolitan adaptation of the Ionic Greek alphabet, plus <8>, expanded from its use in coinage to other genres where the writer wished to represent Oscan in Greek script, e.g. in the helmet dedications Lu 18 (Luc/Bret/Sic 3) and Lu 19 (Lucania 1), around 350 BC. Both show /f/ = <2> (facing the opposite way to the direction of writing, which is right-to-left). The direction of the writing suggests that the writers may have been familiar with the Central Oscan alphabet, which is also written right-to-left.³⁴ Other inscriptions from C4th Campania written in the Greek alphabet indicate, in Cristofani's opinion, that this desire to use the Greek (or 'Osco-Greek') alphabet continued for some time. He includes here Cm 16 (Surrentum 4), which he reads as $\phi\pi\nu\epsilon\iota\sigma$, with a Central Oscan-style diacritic on the first <ι>.³⁵ Only later, at the end of the C4th BC, did the South Oscan alphabet become the writing system of Lucania, later spreading to Bruttium and Messana.³⁶

Both Crawford and Cristofani could be criticised for their lack of detail on the sign <θ> for /f/. Cristofani makes no mention of this form. It is not clear how exactly the use of theta fits into the overall development of the sign. One possibility, accepted by Lejeune and Stuart-Smith, is that it is a later adaptation of <8>. Another possibility, raised by Crawford (see Figure 9), is that the use of <θ> for /f/ pre-dates the borrowing of <8>, and was borrowed from Greek as an available sign that was not otherwise needed. These possibilities need not be completely

³³ Crawford (2011b) 581.

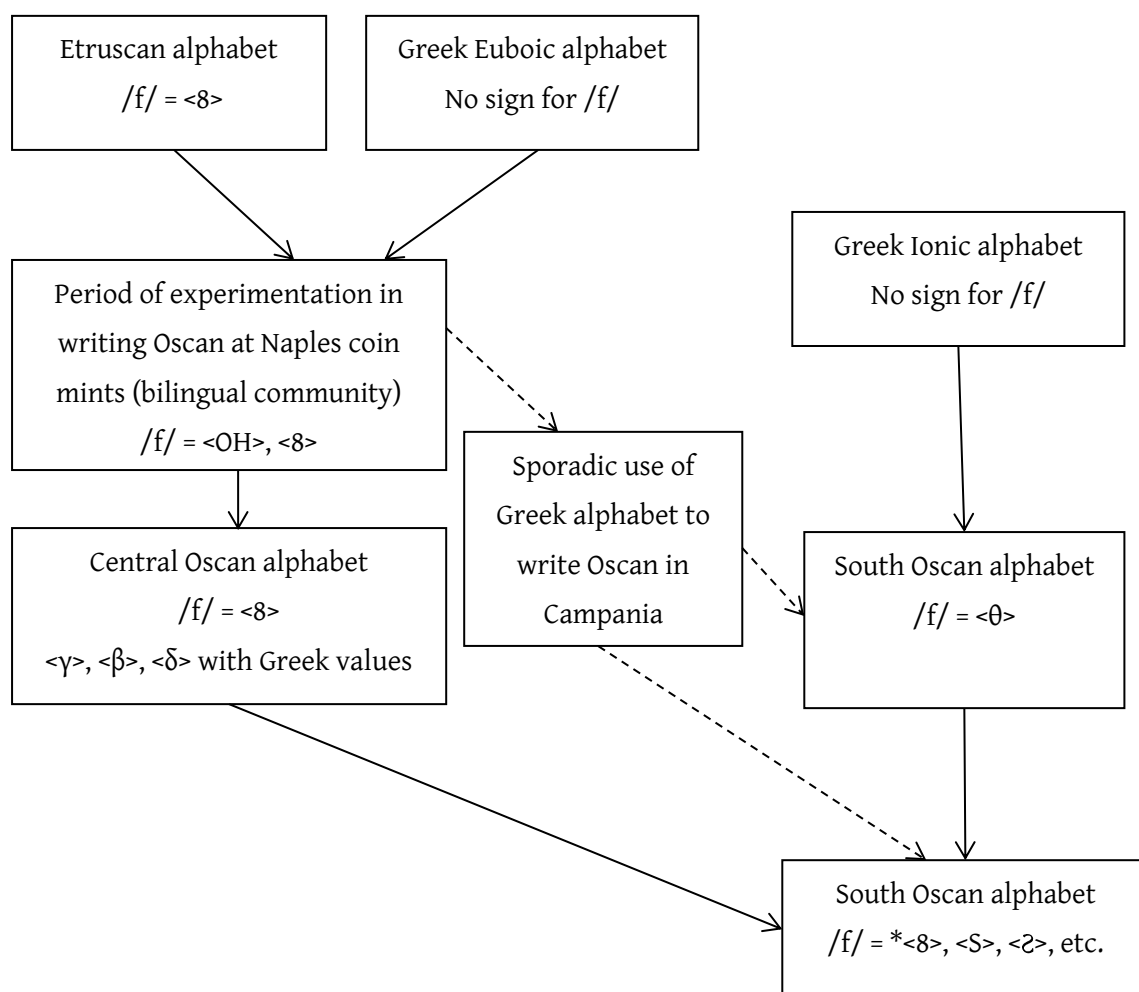
³⁴ Crawford disputes this reading, preferring $\phi\pi\nu\epsilon\iota\sigma$ - Cristofani (1998) 277; Crawford (2011b) 1312, 1317.

³⁵ Crawford (2011b) 854.

³⁶ Cristofani (1998) 277.

mutually exclusive – for example, it could be that <8> was borrowed but adapted by some writers to resemble Greek <θ> more closely, with subsequent development towards <S>. This would imply multiple points of influence from Central Oscan, which is denied by Lejeune; but this seems the best solution.

Figure 9: Schematic of Crawford’s explanation of the development of the Central Oscan and South Oscan alphabets, including signs for /f/.



Crawford’s overall approach, which is to see an essential continuity in the use of various Greek scripts to write Oscan in Campania and Lucania with multiple periods of reference to Central Oscan/Etruscan, is probably the most realistic.³⁷ It seems unlikely that, following Lejeune, there was only a single point of interaction between the alphabets of

³⁷ Crawford (2011b) 17.

Lucania and Campania. However, Cristofani's approach has the advantage of explaining why <8> is not attested in South Oscan, by placing the adaptation of <8> into <S> in the period of experimentation at Naples. Both Lejeune and Crawford have stages where <8> is introduced into the South Oscan alphabet before being adapted into <S>, leaving it unclear why <8> is not attested. In Crawford's explanation, this is particularly dissatisfying, as we have evidence of both an earlier stage, <θ>, and a later one, <S>.

2.4 Signs for /f/ in later inscriptions

Figure 10 shows the range of signs used for /f/ in the South Oscan alphabet. Number 1, *<8>, is unattested.

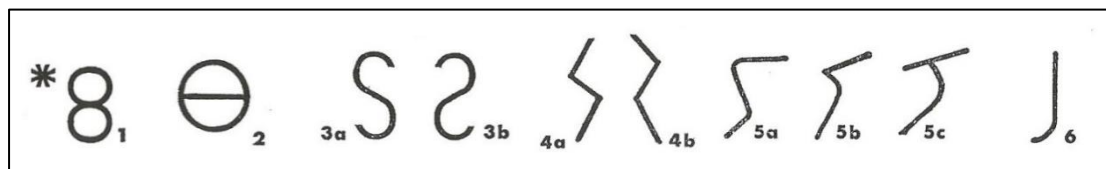


Figure 10: Development of signs for /f/. Images from Lejeune (1970) 275.

Although we can hypothesise about the likely order of development in the signs for /f/, there are considerable problems with attempts to date the forms. If it is possible to create a coherent chronology of the development of the signs for /f/ anywhere, it would be at Rossano di Vaglio, where we have the largest number of tokens from one site. However, even at Rossano it is extremely difficult to establish a relative chronology, let alone an absolute one. The inscriptions are rarely in situ, for the most part having been re-used as building material in antiquity.³⁸

The use of <θ> for /f/ occurs only at Rossano di Vaglio, in three inscriptions: Lu 28 (Potentia 20; Figure 11), Lu 30 (Potentia 24), Lu 36 (Potentia 19; Figure 12). All three were re-used in the monumentalisation of the site, and should therefore be dated pre-200 BC on archaeological grounds.³⁹ All are dated 325-275 by Crawford, putting them among the earliest

³⁸ Crawford (2011b) 53.

³⁹ Ibid., 53-54.

inscriptions at Rossano. The use of theta itself is the main evidence for the early date of Lu 28. Lu 30 has a <-fσ> ending (*-ns > *-f > *-f + s > -fs), as opposed to the later <-σσ> (-fs > -ss), which indicates an early date. Lu 36 is dated on the use of the -ει diphthong spelling. Zair has shown that there is no evidence that the -ει diphthong spelling is used only in earlier inscriptions – rather, both -ει and -ηι were used throughout the range of time covered by the corpus, though -ηι perhaps became more common from the C3rd onwards.⁴⁰ If Lu 28 is only dated on the basis of the use of theta, then it too cannot be used to establish the chronology. Although Lu 30 suggests that theta might have been in use at an early stage of the sanctuary site, it is possible that the use of theta continued as an archaising variant throughout the use of Oscan at the site (cf. Lu 6 and 7).



Figure 11: Lu 28 (Potentia 20) detail: <μεφίτα> (from μεφίτανοι). 325-275.

Author's photo, 26/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.



Figure 12: Lu 36 (Potentia 19) detail: <μεφίτανοι>. 325-275. Author's photo, 26/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.

The lack of dating criteria is not just a problem for inscriptions with theta for /f/; it is a problem for the Rossano corpus as a whole. Table 1 shows the difficulties of creating a relative chronology in the signs for /f/. Archaeological context can, in the majority of cases, only date these inscriptions to before or after 200, when older inscriptions were re-used for

⁴⁰ Zair (2013) 222–223; Zair (forthcoming), Chapter 2.

building material.⁴¹ Those which remained in situ at the site are assumed to be post-200. There has therefore been a reliance on epigraphic dating criteria; an approximate progression in the shape of the signs for /f/ has been identified, through from theta, to an angular <S> shape, to a curved <S> which exists alongside occasional variants such as and a curved line <J>.

But there are problems with using this development to try to establish reliable datings. Some inscriptions are dated primarily on the use of the spelling of diphthongs: this can only be used to date an inscription to post-300 BC, and it is possible that the -ει spelling continued as a variant after this date.⁴² The use of /h/ = <F> is also problematic, since <H> and <F> can co-exist within the same inscription (e.g. Lu 5/Potentia 1, where <H> is used for numerals); we also know that <F> was already available in South Italy by c. 400 BC.⁴³ Engravers working at Rossano could employ a degree of orthographic archaism, such as the use of four-barred sigma alongside lunate sigma in Lu 6 and 7 (Potentia 9 and 10). Other epigraphic features in these inscriptions – such as the use of lunate sigma and epsilon – can help us to make overall judgements, but these features are not always used consistently within one inscription.

It is possible, therefore, that there were a number of variant signs for /f/ in common currency over a long period. It is likely that forms such as <J> and indicate a later date than <θ> or <S>, but the existence of an older form in an inscription should not be used in itself to give an inscription an earlier date. The form <S> seems to appear throughout several centuries (see also Table 2).

⁴¹ Crawford (2011b) 53–54.

⁴² Zair (forthcoming) Chapter 2.

⁴³ Crawford (2011b) 55.

Table 1: Inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio containing /f/. Date: C=Crawford, L=Lejeune.

Inscription	Date	Dating criteria (archaeological)	Dating criteria (epigraphic)	Form of /f/
Lu 28 (Potentia 20)	C: 325-275	Re-used c. 200	/f/ = <θ>	<θ> (Lejeune type 2)
Lu 30 (Potentia 24)	C: 325-275	Re-used c. 200	<-fσ> ending	<θ> (Lejeune type 2)
Lu 36 (Potentia 19)	C: 325-275	Re-used c. 200	-ει diphthong	<θ> (Lejeune type 2)
Lu 16 (Potentia 13)	C: 325-275	Re-used c. 200	-ει diphthong	<S> (Lejeune type 4a) (Figure 13)
Lu 15 (Potentia 17)	L: 300-275 C: Later in C3 rd	Re-used c. 200	-ηι diphthong	<Z> (Lejeune type 4b) (Figure 14)
Lu 33 (Potentia 15)	L/C: 300-200	Re-used c. 200	-ηι diphthong	<S> (Lejeune type 4a/5a) (Figure 15)
Lu 17 (Potentia 32)	C: 300-200	Re-used c. 200	--	<F> (Lejeune type 5a)
Lu 13 (Potentia 40)	C: 250-200	Re-used in later Roman villa ⁴⁴	/h/ = F -ηι diphthong	<F> (Lejeune type 5a)
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	L: 325-300 C: 250-200	Re-used c. 200	/h/ = F	<S> (Lejeune type 3a)
Lu 6 and 7 (Potentia 9, 10)	L/C: 200-175	Remained in situ	-ηι diphthong	<S> (Lejeune type 3a) (Figure 16)
Lu 32 (Potentia 16)	L: 125-100 C: c. 200	No known context	-ηι diphthong	<J> (Lejeune type 6)
Lu 31 (Potentia 22)	L: 125-100 C: c. 200	No known context	-ηι diphthong	<S> (Lejeune type 3a)
Lu 12 (Potentia 2)	L/C: 200-100	Post-200 context	--	<S> (Lejeune type 3a)
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	L/C: 125-100	Remained in situ	-ηι diphthong /f/ = 	<S> (Lejeune type 3a)
Lu 34 (Potentia 14)	L/C: 125-100	Re-used for later repair of wall ⁴⁵	/f/ = 	

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1425.

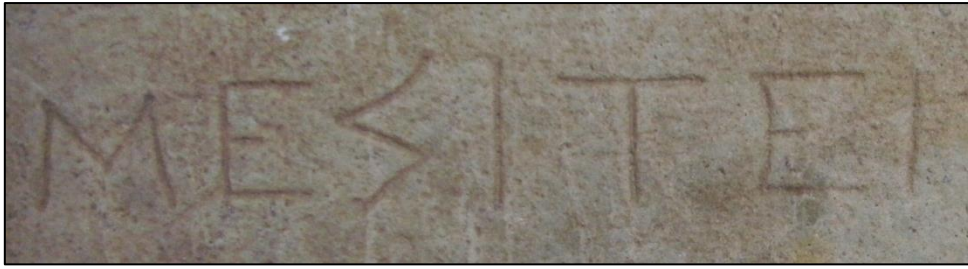


Figure 13: Lu 16 (Potentia 13) detail: <μεσιτει>. Author's photo, 26/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.



Figure 14: Lu 15 (Potentia 17) detail: <μεσιτη>. Author's photo, 26/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.



Figure 15: Lu 33 (Potentia 15) detail: <μεσιτη>. Author's photo, 26/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.

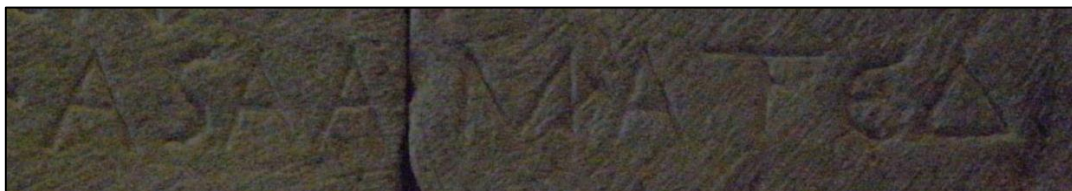


Figure 16: Lu 6 (Potentia 9) detail: <αφαματεδ>. Author's photo, 27/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 54.

2.5 for /f/

The use of for /f/ merits some special attention. This occurs in three inscriptions, Lu 5 (Potentia 1), Lu 34 (Potentia 14) and Lu 26 (Luc/Bret/Sic 1). In Lu 34 and Lu 26, this is the main dating criterion used by Crawford.⁴⁶ Crawford suggests that the use of reflects the change in pronunciation of beta in Greek to a fricative, which he believes to have happened perhaps c. 150 BC.⁴⁷ This would have implications for the phonology of Oscan: 'in both cases the representation of /f/ with indicates that between vowels, and before a liquid, the sound was a voiced fricative, either bilabial [β], or labiodental [v].'⁴⁸

The use of this orthography as a dating criterion is difficult, since there is little clear evidence of the change of voiced stops into fricatives in progress in Greek. It was once thought that /b/ had become a fricative in Greek during classical times.⁴⁹ There is some circumstantial evidence that indicates that this sound change was beginning in the C5th in Laconia and the Argolid and the C4th in Crete, though it is very difficult to confirm this.⁵⁰ While there is some evidence that the change of /g/ to a fricative may have begun this early, it is generally agreed that [b] > [β] was a widespread change in Greek only in the C1st AD.⁵¹ There is no positive evidence that the dialects found in Southern Italy and Sicily were already undergoing this change during the latest stages of South Oscan writing.

Regardless of the pronunciation of this phoneme in Greek, the use of for /f/ could nevertheless indicate medial voicing in Oscan. It is possible that late voicing of /f/ between vowels motivated a change in orthography. Stuart-Smith argues, however, that medial voicing of /f/ is not a late feature of Oscan, but that it was present in Common Italic.⁵² If the intervocalic voicing of fricatives had always existed in Oscan, there is no reason to see the use of for /f/ as necessarily a post-150 BC spelling; it could be an attempt to represent voicing

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1309, 1386.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 55.

⁴⁸ Stuart-Smith (2004) 90.

⁴⁹ Jannaris (1897) 61.

⁵⁰ Gignac (1975) 68 n.1.

⁵¹ Buck (1955) 58; Teodorsson (1974) 221; Gignac (1975) 63; Horrocks (2010) 170.

⁵² Stuart-Smith (2004) 91.

at any period.⁵³ This feature is therefore not necessarily reliable as a dating criterion until we find more inscriptions with this feature that are dateable by other means.

An alternative theory, suggested by Lejeune, is that the spelling for /f/ does not have any phonetic basis; rather, it shows a graphic assimilation of the characters <8> and in an attempt to ‘déosquiser’ the look of the inscription.⁵⁴ This does not necessarily account for the use of both <S> and in Lu 5 (Figures 17, 18, 19). The in Lu 5 is not typical of South Oscan beta – the loops of the reflect the shape of the <S> used, with a larger curve in the bottom half of the letter. This may in fact be a further variant of <S>, perhaps a reflection of the handwritten cursive form.⁵⁵ From photographs, the in Lu 26 appears to be a similar shape.⁵⁶



Figure 17: Lu 5 (Potentia 1) detail: πωμφοκ. Author’s photo, 27/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.



Figure 18: Lu 5 (Potentia 1) detail: αφαματετ (MAT in ligature). Author’s photo, 27/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.

⁵³ In Lu 26, is found alongside features usually considered to occur in earlier inscriptions: four-bar sigma and the –ει diphthong. Either the inscription contains archaising features, or it is not as late as the suggests. It is possible that for /f/ is also found in Um 41 (Capena 1), *uobúrí* (650-625 BC), though the interpretation of this inscription is unclear (thanks to James Clackson for this observation). See also perhaps the coinage of Nuceria Alfaterna (section 2.3).

⁵⁴ Lejeune (1966) 181.

⁵⁵ An alternative suggestion is that the is due to influence from or borrowing of a Latin word like *stabulor* – Fortson and Weiss (2013).

⁵⁶ See Chapter 4, Section 3.4 (Figure 2).

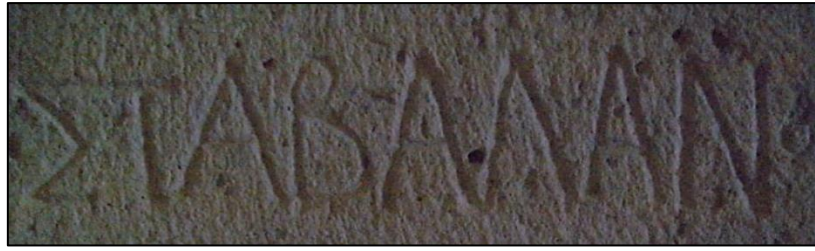


Figure 19: Lu 5 (Potentia 1) detail: σταβαλανο. Author's photo, 27/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.

At Rossano, we are able to identify overall tendencies in the development of the signs for /f/, but not necessarily the dates at which certain forms were adopted or fell out of use. Given the difficulties of establishing a clear chronology at Rossano di Vaglio, any chronology of the development of the signs for /f/ in other areas must be approached cautiously. The tokens from other sites are shown in Table 2: a number of these inscriptions have good archaeological contexts. These texts suggest that there were a number of variants that co-existed c. 300 BC. The bronze helmets Lu 18 and Lu 19 may be part of a different tradition that adapted the <8> independently, as stated earlier. This would account for their use of a sign not found elsewhere (curvy <S> that is 'backwards' in respect the right-to-left direction of writing).

Table 2: Inscriptions from sites other than Rossano containing /f/.

Inscription	Date	Dating criteria	Form of /f/
Lu 18 (Luc/Bret/Sic 3)	c. 375-350	Helmet style	/f/ = <2> (Lejeune type 3b)
Lu 19 (Lucania 1)	c. 350	Helmet style	/f/ = <2> (Lejeune type 3b)
Lu 14 (Paestum 1)	c. 300	Arch. context	/f/ = <S> (Lejeune type 3a/4a)
Lu 63 (Laos 3)	c. 300	Arch. context	/f/ = <S> (Lejeune type 4a)
Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)	c. 300	Shape of /f/	/f/ = <S> (Lejeune type 3a)
Metapontum 2	c. 300	Arch. context	/f/ = <S> (Lejeune type 4a)
Lu 62 (Buxentum 1)	c. 300-200	Arch. context	/f/ = <S> (Lejeune type 4a)
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Before c. 200	Use of Oscan?	/f/ = <7> (Lejeune type 5b)
Lu 26 (Luc/Bret/Sic 1)	After c. 200	/f/ = 	/f/ =

It is worth commenting on the sign used for /f/ in Lu 63 (Laos 3), since this letter does not appear in Crawford's reading. In line 4, he reads: γν[α_F]ισ αδις, contra Poccetti: γναι φαδις.

His objection that there is a large lacuna after the <γν> is fair, but he also states that ‘the supposed third hasta of the S = f is illusory; nor is any other praenomen here so abbreviated’.⁵⁷ Autopsy and the photographs below (Figure 20) suggest that the third hasta exists and was deliberate. Further, if this were a lunate sigma, it would be much more angular than all other examples on the tablet. It therefore seems likely that this sign represents /f/, following Poccetti. This reading does not make much difference to our chronology here, since Lu 62 and Paestum 1 both show examples of angular <S> from around the same time. The problem of the unusual abbreviation of the praenomen remains unresolved.



Figure 20: Lu 63 (Laos 3), end of line 4. <[area of damage]ἰ φαδις>

Author's photo, 12/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

2.6 Phi as /f/ ?

It has been suggested that South Oscan occasionally uses <φ> for /f/, for example in Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) and Lu 46 (Laos 2).⁵⁸ This claim has not been explored in detail previously, and so merits discussion here.

In Greek-language inscriptions, the letter which represents Latin /f/ is usually <φ>. For example, on Delos there are several examples: Ferus as Greek φερων, Ofellius as Greek οφελλιον (both c. 100 BC), and Aufidius as Greek αυφιδιος (end of C2nd BC).⁵⁹ Greek writers sometimes also transliterate a Latin /p/ with <φ>, such as in the name Sulpicius (as

⁵⁷ Crawford (2011b) 1349.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 55.

⁵⁹ Stuart-Smith (2004) 136.

Σολφικίος), possibly because of some difference in quality that led Greek-speakers to hear the Latin stop as aspirated.⁶⁰

There is some evidence of a similar phenomenon when Greek borrowed words containing /f/ from Oscan. The coinage of Fistelia was produced with both Greek-language and Oscan-language (Central Oscan alphabet) legends. Some coins are bilingual (Figure 21). The Oscan legends use <8> for /f/, and once <θ> for /f/ (probably as a variant of <8>). The Greek legends use <φ> for Oscan /f/.

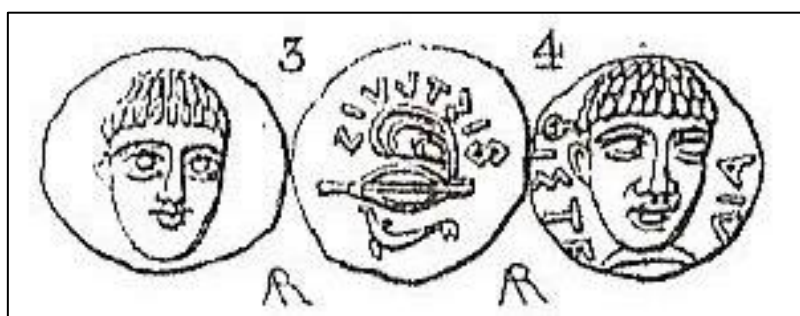


Figure 21: Bilingual coin type from Fistelia (Phistelia 1 Coinage: 4a).

Obv. <φιστε> downwards on left; <λια> or <λιλ> upwards on right. Rev. <fistluis>.

Image from Stuart-Smith (2004) 138, copied from Friedländer (1850) Plate V.

However, we can see in borrowings from Greek into Oscan that Oscan <8> was not used to transliterate Greek <φ>. In Central Oscan, Greek <φ> is transliterated either with <P> (e.g. **diumpaís**, Sa 1/Teruentum 34 ~ νύμφη) or with <PH> (**aphinis**, Po 40/Pompei 34 ~ Ἀφίνιος), and the digraph is used only from the second half of the C2nd BC.⁶¹ The Greek phi represents a voiceless aspirated stop, not a fricative, and the Greek use of <φ> (/p^h/) for Italic /f/ is only an approximation.⁶²

⁶⁰ Threatte (1980) 468.

⁶¹ Stuart-Smith (2004) 136; Sironen (1987) 114. It was around the second half of the C2nd BC that Latin started to represent Greek <φ> as <PH> rather than <P>. It is possible that this Latin spelling influenced the spelling in Central Oscan, or that both Latin- and Oscan-speakers were becoming more aware of Greek orthography at this point.

⁶² Stuart-Smith (2004) 136.

In later Greek, the letter phi represents a fricative [ɸ] or [f]. It has been suggested that the change of the Greek aspirated stop [p^h] to a fricative could date to as early as 300 BC, though the first undisputed evidence of this change is from Roman Imperial times.⁶³ The first clear indication of the [p^h] > [f] change is in Attica and Asia Minor during the C2nd AD; there is apparently no evidence of such a change in the Egyptian papyri throughout the Roman Empire and into the Byzantine period.⁶⁴ On the other hand, we know that Laconian Greek had already undergone a change [t^h] > [θ] by the C5th BC, with possible suggestions of similar changes in Elean, Cretan and Thessalian, though this need not imply an early change affecting [p^h].⁶⁵ The first transcription of Greek phi with Latin <F> (*Dafne*), indicating that Greek [p^h] had become a fricative in some forms of Greek used in Italy, is in the latter stages of the history of Pompeii (C1st AD).⁶⁶ It is not out of the question that Greek phi represented a fricative during the period when South Oscan was being written, but there is no positive evidence of this change having taken place for any speakers before the turn of the millennium.

With this background in mind, we can look in more detail at the apparent examples of <ɸ> being used for /f/ in South Oscan. In Lu 46 (Laos 2, Figure 22), Poccetti reads theta, rather than the phi of the original publication by Pugliese Carratelli.⁶⁷ However, the name βoθpovι(-), or possibly βoθovι(-) (if the following character has been crossed out), has not been adequately explained. It is not clear whether this name is a Greek name incorporated into the Oscan naming system, or a Greek individual name; in either case, it does not correspond to any known Greek name. It could be derived from Greek βόθρος ‘ditch’; or it could be a compound name, with a first element *bou*-.⁶⁸ Poccetti makes some further suggestions, including the possibility that it may relate to the Latin cognomen Botrus/Botrys (and the Latin gentilicium Butronius), from Greek βότρυς, “(bunch of) grape(s)”; the spelling could be explained by a folk-etymological connection to Greek βόθρος.⁶⁹ Crawford returns to the reading with phi, but this does not produce any clearer parallels in Oscan, Latin or Greek,

⁶³ Threaght (1980) 469.

⁶⁴ Gignac (1975) 98; Horrocks (2010) 170.

⁶⁵ Buck (1955) 59; Horrocks (2010) 170–171.

⁶⁶ Gignac (1975) 99.

⁶⁷ Pugliese Carratelli (1992); Poccetti et al. (1993) 168.

⁶⁸ McDonald (2012a) 50. Also see Chapter 6, below.

⁶⁹ Poccetti et al. (1993) 168–169.

though perhaps the intention is to link the name to Latin (borrowed from Sabellian) *bufo*, ‘toad’. While the origin of this name remains very uncertain, Poccetti has provided the most plausible comparanda, using the reading with theta. This is not by any means a clear case of <φ> = /f/.

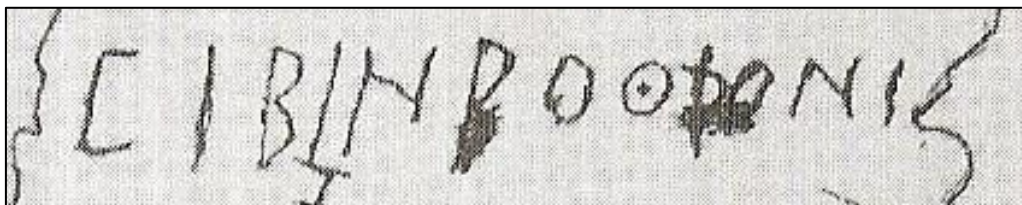


Figure 22: Lu 46 (Laos 2), detail: φιβιν βοθρονι. Image from Crawford (2011b) 1344.

In the case of Lu 45 (Buxentum 3, Figure 23), phi is used in the name φοινι(κις), and is therefore representing [p^h] or [p]. If the use of phi here reflects a change of Greek [p^h] > [φ] (fricative articulation), it would be an extremely early attestation of this sound change. It is much more likely that the writer is trying to reflect, as closely as possible, a Greek aspirated stop. Probably he was aware of the Greek spelling of the name, and so borrowed the Greek character, either to represent the pronunciation of the name accurately or to maintain a visual link with the Greek orthography. The use of other aspects of Greek orthography (e.g. accusatives in -v) in this inscription supports this explanation.

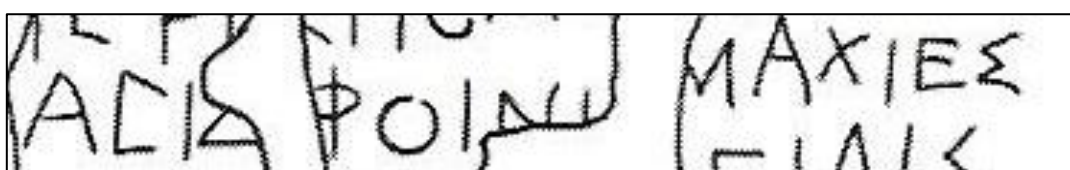


Figure 23: Lu 45 (Buxentum 3), detail: [γ]αφισ φοινι[κις] μαχιεσ.

Image from Crawford (2011b) 1476.

There is one further possible use of <φ> = /f/ not mentioned by Crawford in his introduction. In Petelia 2 (Figure 24), Crawford ‘translates’ the names νοφιο αλαφιω and μιναδο σκαφιριω as *Novia Alfia* and *Minata Scafiria*.⁷⁰ ‘Alfius’ is an attested Latin gentilicium, and so the translation is possible, though ‘Alpius’ is also attested. However, the second name

⁷⁰ Ibid., 1476.

is problematic, since ‘Scafirius’ lacks good comparanda in Latin. Solin and Salomies list Scafius, but no Scafirius or Scafrius; they do however list Scarpus and Scarpus as attested gentilicia.⁷¹ Both of these, with metathesis of the /r/ and anaptyxis, could be a close equivalent to Scapirius.

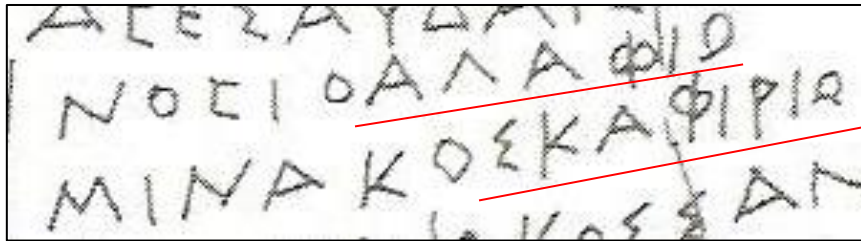


Figure 24: Petelia 2, detail: names with <φ> underlined in red.

Image from Crawford (2011b) 1475, plus author’s underlining.

Therefore, although Greek-language texts did use phi for Italic /f/, as the nearest available equivalent, there is little evidence that South Oscan texts made the same correspondence. Where phi appears, it is more likely to represent [p] or [p^h].

III ‘Extra’ Characters in South Oscan

3.1 Introduction⁷²

This section will deal with ‘extra characters’: that is, letters used in the South Oscan alphabet that were not required to represent the sounds of Oscan. This includes signs that represent more than one phoneme (such as <ψ> = /ps/), as well as signs that represent Greek phonemes not shared by Oscan (such as <χ> = /k^h/). As with the analysis of the development of the signs for /f/, above, the patterns of use of these extra characters have considerable implications for how we view the corpus as a whole. The way in which the use of these characters varies across genres shows that they were not considered by (at least some) writers of Oscan to be fully part of the alphabet in the way that, say, the signs <α> or <κ> were.

⁷¹ Solin and Salomies (1994).

⁷² A version of the discussion in this section also appears in a forthcoming article. See: McDonald (forthcoming).

In fact, the use of these ‘extra’ signs, which would have been familiar from Greek inscriptions, is an indication of how Oscan-speakers formed their own norms of orthography based on Greek epigraphic models and ongoing contact with Greek-speakers. It also shows that some communities – notably Messana – may have formed different epigraphic norms.

The use, or non-use, of ‘extra’ characters can show a desire to forge or maintain connections to Greek texts and Greek identities, particularly in names. Certain orthographic practices are used by some writers of Oscan to increase the ‘Greek’ appearance of a text. This orthographic ‘Greekness’ interacts with linguistic influence from Greek in the text, but is independent of it because orthography is fundamentally extra-linguistic. The epigraphy of South Oscan shows another way in which Oscan-speakers formed their own language and genre norms, and how writers used those norms in a variety of ways.

3.2 *Psi, xi and zeta*

Psi and xi each represent two phonemes, and therefore are not necessary to the representation of Oscan; zeta is probably used to represent /z/, a phoneme arising from several different sources, for which other spellings were available. These characters are normally considered to be part of the South Oscan alphabet, and not ad hoc graphic borrowings from Greek. While I also do not consider them to constitute borrowings as such, they are used in ways that suggest that they may have been thought of as distinct from the normal alphabet.

3.2.1 *Psi*

We can see from Table 3 that the Greek letter psi is the most common way to spell the cluster /ps/ in South Oscan. However, it is not used absolutely consistently. All our examples of psi are found in names, whether personal names or divine names. The few examples of <πσ> are found in other kinds of words (see also an example from Messana, section 3.4, below), and we do not have any non-onomastic words that use psi.

The use of <πσ> might arise from familiarity with the Central Oscan alphabet, which contained no letter psi. The use of <πσ> is unlikely to come from contact with another variety of Greek. The <πσ> spelling is very rare in all Greek varieties, apart from in very early inscriptions in ‘green’ alphabets (for example, on Crete) and some very late Roman Imperial inscriptions: areas without a psi character usually write <φσ>, not <πσ>.⁷³ This has been variously put down to aspiration of the stop in this combination (i.e. <ψ> = [p^hs]), a lenis or lax stop in this position,⁷⁴ or an increased voice-onset time in both aspirated stops and stops followed by /s/.⁷⁵ One of the rare examples of <πσ> in Hellenistic Greek is found in the spelling of a Greek name (Αὔτοπσια) on a red-figured pot produced in Italy.⁷⁶ Other exceptions are found on Amorgos (in the name Λαμπσαγορεο, IG XII.7 141), the lead tablets from Styra in Euboea (word-finally only, in the name Χάροπς, IG XII.9 56) and a law from Eretria (IG XII.9 1273-4).⁷⁷

Lu 5 (Potentia 1), which uses <πσ>, is from Rossano di Vaglio, though it may be a late inscription; it may be that Central Oscan or Latin epigraphy was acting more strongly than Greek as a model by this time. However, Lu 5 still aligns itself with Greek epigraphy in other ways – for example, it uses Greek acrophonic numerals instead of the Roman numerals that were used in Central Oscan (see discussion of Lu 5 in Chapter 4).⁷⁸ It is possible that the split in usage is between names (which use psi) and other words (which use <πσ>), rather than between inscriptions which do or do not use psi. Unfortunately, we have no inscriptions that use both psi and <πσ>, so this cannot be confirmed.

⁷³ Clackson (2002) 23.

⁷⁴ Lejeune (1972b) 72.

⁷⁵ Clackson (2002) 29; see Hawkins (2012) 126–133 for a detailed discussion and up-to-date bibliography.

⁷⁶ Threatte (1980) 20; Trendall (1967) no. 797.

⁷⁷ Clackson (2002) 23.

⁷⁸ The use of acrophonic numerals was in decline in Attica at this time; it is normal there only until the end of the C2nd BC. Threatte (1980) 112.

Table 3: Use of <ψ> and <πσ>

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 37 (Metapontum 1)	Dedication	400-375	καμπσανασ ⁷⁹ (unknown)
Laos 1	Coinage	350-300	στα οψι (male name)
Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1)	Curse	350-300	νομψις (male name)
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	Curse	330-320	νοψιν (male name) νοψιν (male name) οψιον (male name) νοψιν (male name) οψιον (male name) νοψα (female name)
Lu 28 (Potentia 20)	Dedication	325-275	νυμψδοι (god name?) νυμψδοι (god name?)
Laos 4	Curse	c. 300	νυμψιος (male name)
Lu 20 (Potentia 26)	Dedication	300-200	[-]νπψηδ[-]
Lu 61 (Heraclea 2)	Graffito	Before 275	νοψ (male name)
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	Dedication	250-200	[νυ]μψδοι (god name?)
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Curse	Before 200	νυμψιμ (male name) ⁸⁰
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	Dedication (Official)	125-100	(ω)πσανω ('building' – gerundive)

3.2.2 Xi

Table 4 shows that the use of xi follows a similar pattern to psi, although it is rarer. Like psi, xi is more common than the written-out form <κσ>, but it may have been particularly attractive to use xi in names rather than in other kinds of words. As above, the written-out version of xi in Greek would normally be <χσ>, which is never found in Oscan. As above, it seems that the division may be between names, which use xi, and non-names, which use <κσ>, though no inscription uses both spellings.

⁷⁹ Uncertain reading: may be καμψανασ. Crawford (2011) 1451.

⁸⁰ This is incorrectly written <πσ> in ST.

Table 4: Use of <ξ> and <κσ>

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Curse	-	μαμερεξ (male name)
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	αραξ (male name)
Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)	Dedication (Official)	c. 300	εκσ ('thus') ⁸¹
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	Dedication	250-200	-υξ (male name?)

3.2.3 Zeta

Table 5 shows the use of zeta. Zeta is considered by Lejeune to have been added to the alphabet at a later stage than the original transmission.⁸² It is found for /s/ voiced between vowels as [z], for the outcome of initial /di-/ (primarily found in the divine name 'Jove') and for voiced fricatives from other origins, as in Lu 35 (Potentia 11) and Lu 31 (Potentia 22).⁸³

We find one spelling with zeta for 'Jove' at Rossano di Vaglio, but also several with <δι>. The use of initial <Z-> is also found in later inscriptions from Bantia, written in the Latin alphabet. It is not certain what sound is being represented, though it is probably [z]; zeta had started to represent this sound (rather than the cluster [zd]) from the mid-C4th BC.⁸⁴ There is a small chance that the writer was making a visual link with the name 'Zeus' in Greek, though it is more likely that the letter has been adopted to represent a new phoneme in the language with considerable similarities to the sound represented by zeta in Greek. Lejeune considers this to be the original use of zeta in Oscan, with its use for intervocalic [z] < /-s-/ arising later, though the dating of the inscriptions does not make this clear.⁸⁵

For /s/ voiced between vowels into [z], both zeta and sigma are used: for example, in 'the same man', probably pronounced something like [eʒedom] at Rossano di Vaglio (Lu 5, Lu 11). Since Central Oscan lacks a <Z> character, the spelling with sigma more closely reflects

⁸¹ Cf. ex (Lu 1/Bantia 1), **ekss** (Cm 1/Abella 1). Rix also reads λεκσε in this inscription; Crawford reads λεκ(?) σε[νατειο].

⁸² Lejeune (1990) 34.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Threatte (1980) 547.

⁸⁵ Lejeune (1990) 34; Stuart-Smith (2004) 91.

the Central Oscan orthography. However, writing <S> for both voiced and unvoiced variants is not cross-linguistically unusual where the difference is not contrastive – see use of <S> in German, where [z] is the allophone used in syllable onsets, with [s] elsewhere (e.g. Sohn [zo:n] vs. Bus [bʊs]).⁸⁶ It is therefore likely that this is not a dialectal difference (e.g. voicing of medial /s/ in Rossano only), but that it was only in Rossano that the use of zeta was extended to the [z] allophone of /s/.

Table 5: Use of <ζ>

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Caulonia 2	Dedication	325-300	φεζεισ ('of Venus')
Lu 31 (Potentia 22)	Dedication	c. 200	φενζηι ('to Venus', *ven(e)zei)
Lu 11 (Potentia 5)	Dedication (Official)	200-100	εισειδομ ('the same man')
Lu 35 (Potentia 11)	Dedication	200-100	ζωφηι ('to Jove') ⁸⁷ , πιζηι ('pious?' < *pid(e)zei)
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	Dedication (Official)	125-100	αιζνω ('bronze'), ειζιδομ ('the same man')

3.3 Theta, phi, chi and double gamma

Theta, phi, chi, and the double gamma spelling for /ŋg/ are more marginal in South Oscan orthography. Unlike what we have seen so far, these letters often seem to be the result of deliberate graphic borrowing by the writer, intended to make the word or text appear more 'Greek'.

3.3.1 Theta

Theta has a number of different uses in this corpus, shown in Table 6. As already discussed above (2.3), it is used in relatively early inscriptions at the Rossano di Vaglio

⁸⁶ The letter <Z> is not available for [z] in German because it is used for [ts].

⁸⁷ Cf. Spellings with δι- (Lu 6, Lu 7, Lu 27, Lu 25, Lu 13) and ι- (Lu 14). Both δι- and ι- are found in the Central Oscan alphabet. The spelling z- is found in the Latin alphabet at Bantia (Lu 38).

sanctuary (Lu 28, 30, 36).⁸⁸ In these cases, it is being used as a symbol for /f/, though it is not clear whether it has been adapted directly from the Greek alphabet or whether it is in part an adaptation of Central Oscan <8>.

Theta is also used in bilingual Greek/Oscan texts, such as the Petelia 2 curse tablet, which is primarily in Oscan, with a code-switch into Greek in the final formula. The coinage of Laos shows both Oscan and Greek names, and it is in one of the Greek names that theta is used. In these cases, it is clear that theta has been used as part of a Greek word or name. It is therefore not surprising that the spelling with theta is maintained. Lu 46 (Laos 2) is a curse tablet, with a series of Oscan-type names. The name βοθρονι(-), or possibly βοθονι(-), has not been adequately explained – see section 2.6. If this name is Greek-influenced, or borrowed from Greek and incorporated into the Oscan naming system as a gentilicium, then the retention of the theta is notable. It may represent an effort to maintain a spelling or pronunciation found in the corresponding Greek name, as in φοινι[-] in Lu 45, or an attempt to make an Oscan name look Greek.

Table 6: Use of <θ>

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Laos 1	Coinage	350-300	Greek text: ευθυμο(ς/υ) (male name)
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	Curse	330-320	βοθρονι(ον) (male name)
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	χθωνιε (Greek text: 'of the underworld') καθεκε (Greek text: 'place (them)')

3.3.2 Phi

The letter phi is used on a number of occasions in Oscan-language texts, though always in the context of names (Table 7). In Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) the name φοινι[-] appears. *Phoenix* is a Greek name from the C5th onwards (ultimately derived from 'Phoenician'). In this case, however, it has been incorporated into an Oscan-style name as a gentilicium, and may

⁸⁸ Lejeune (1990) 28.

well have been considered to be an Oscan name. Since Oscan lacks a phonemic distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants, this name would be pronounced as [poinikis] or similar.⁸⁹ The use of the phi suggests a desire to make a visual connection to the Greek name, or even attempt to retain the aspirated pronunciation.⁹⁰

The use of phi in Petelia 2 is more ambiguous, and is discussed in detail earlier in the chapter. There are no other names in this inscription that feature either /f/ or medial /p/, so it is difficult to confirm what sound the writer intended to represent. A further possibility is that the use of phi has little to do with the pronunciation of the names, and more to do with the look of the text, since the writer could have been motivated by a desire to make his curse tablet appear more visually Greek.

Table 7: Use of <φ>

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Curse	-	φοινι[-] (male name)
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	αλαφιω (female name) σκαφιριω (female name)

3.3.3. Chi

Chi is used in Greek words in this corpus, but also occasionally in words and names of Oscan origin (Table 8). Lejeune characterises this as the occasional use of chi in loanwords from Greek, but in fact the usage is slightly more complicated than he implies.⁹¹ Chi did not have to be used even where a Greek word was borrowed which contained /k^h/. The word-division and interpretation of Lu 29 (Potentia 21) is controversial (see Chapter 4), but κιομοι may be a borrowing from Greek, with the aspirate represented by <κ^h>.⁹²

⁸⁹ There is a possible example of this name in the Central Oscan alphabet, spelt with an initial <P>, but the reading is in doubt. Crawford (2011b) 460 reads **pumik(iis)**.

⁹⁰ Poccetti and Gualtieri (1990) 150.

⁹¹ Lejeune (1970) 315.

⁹² Del Tutto Palma (1987) 369.

Chi is also used, in Lu 45 (Buxentum 3) and possibly also Lu 39 (Anxia 1), in names that begin in *mak-*. The names seem to be Oscan in origin – the name **makkiis** is attested a number of times in Central Oscan.⁹³ The use of chi here seems to be an attempt to create a link with Greek names in *makh-*, particularly those ending *-makhos*. A similar phenomenon is found in a Greek inscription which spells the Latin name Domesticus as Δομέστιχος.⁹⁴ We could also compare the use of chi in the Greek spelling of the Italian town Acerrae as Ἀχέρραι: Poccetti suggests that this is a folk-etymological spelling based on the similarity to the mythical river Ἀχέρων.⁹⁵ Alternatively, the use of chi in *mak-* names is another instance of the Oscan stops sounding aspirated to Greek-speakers, though μαχιεσ (Lu 45) does not show the proximity to a liquid which is commonly seen where an Italic unaspirated stop is spelled as an aspirate in Greek.

The use of chi in the abbreviated form of the ethnic name *Volceientes* on the coinage of Volcei may reflect the pronunciation of the name of the city in Greek. Possibly, as we have already seen, there was some non-phonemic aspiration of Oscan /k/, whether in certain environments or in all environments, which led to it being written with an aspirate by Greek-speakers using the Greek script.

Table 8: Use of <χ> and <kh>

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Curse	-	μαχιεσ (male name)
Potentia 39	Official	400-300	αρχησ (Greek text: ‘magistracy’)
Petelia 2	Curse	c. 300	χθωνιε (Greek text: ‘of the underworld’)
Lu 39 (Anxia 1)	Dedication/ Funerary?	300-250	αχερηι (Unclear. Male name [μ]αχερηι, or loanword from Greek Ἀχέρων, ‘underworld’)
Lu 29 (Potentia 21)	Dedication	250-200	κχομοι (Unclear. Perhaps from Greek χῶμα, ‘mound’)
Volcei 1	Coinage	216-209	φελεχα- (Greek text: abbreviated ethnic name)

⁹³ Pompei 98, Fagifulae 9, Aeclanum 16, tPo 27/37 (Pompei 122).

⁹⁴ Threatte (1980) 469.

⁹⁵ Poccetti (2009b) 38.

3.3.4 Double gamma

The use of <vy> and <γγ> to write the sound /ɲg/ is shown in Table 9. In Central Oscan, as in Latin, this sequence would be written <NG>. In Greek, the ‘standard’ spelling was <γγ>, though <vy> was also used as a variant.⁹⁶ South Oscan follows the general Oscan practice by using <vy>. This sequence is attested mainly in the word τανγινोध, ‘decision’, which typically appears in official inscriptions referring to a decision of the senate. In one instance the writer of the inscription Lu 62 (Buxentum 1) seems to begin to write <vy>, but then corrects to the more typically ‘Greek’ spelling <γγ>.⁹⁷ Alternatively, he was aware of two available spellings and ended up using both by forgetting that he had already begun the first <vy>. Lu 62 is a legal text, probably written with some official backing and with a degree of professionalism. The writer makes a number of mistakes and omissions in the text, so we could conclude that he was incompetent, wrote the same sound twice, and happened to do it in two different ways. However, there does seem to be a possible motivation for the correction in this case.

Table 9: Use of <γγ> and <vy> for /ɲg/

Inscription	Genre	Date	Items
Lu 24 (Crimisa 2)	Official	300-200	κανγ- (Unknown)
Lu 62 (Buxentum 1)	Legal	300-200	τ{αν}αγγινουδ (‘by decision’ – ABL.SING.)
Lu 6 (Potentia 9)	Dedication (Official)	200-175	τανγινोध (‘by decision’)
Lu 7 (Potentia 10)	Dedication (Official)	200-175	τανγινोध (‘by decision’)
Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1)	Official	c. 150	τανγινोध (‘by decision’)
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	Dedication (Official)	125-100	τανγινουτ (‘by decision’)

⁹⁶ Threatte (1980) 597–601.⁹⁷ Poccetti and Gualtieri (2001) 233; Zair (2013) 223.

3.4 Messana – a different tradition?

The use, and non-use, of the ‘extra’ characters is very slightly different in the Oscan inscriptions of Messana, indicating that these inscriptions may represent a separate strand in the tradition of Oscan epigraphy, though the evidence is far from clear (Table 10). Historically, the idea of a separate tradition is plausible, since the Mamertines who occupied Messana were apparently Oscan-speaking mercenaries hired in Campania (see Chapter 1). This would suggest that they were familiar with the Central Oscan alphabet, but that they came to use the Greek alphabet in their epigraphy on Sicily. The Oscan-speakers of Messana experienced a relatively quick shift to Greek.⁹⁸ It is telling, for example, that all the monumental inscriptions in Oscan at Messana are dated only to c. 275-250. Given that the historical date for the take-over of the Mamertines is 288 BC, it is possible that there was only one generation that produced Oscan inscriptions. The influence of a Greek-style naming formula may also be seen on Me 5 (Messana 7).

The use of <πσ> in Messana has a comparandum in the relatively late Lu 5, from Rossano di Vaglio, so it is not clear that the usage in Messana differs to that elsewhere. Messana gives us the only non-name word where xi appears: μεδδειξ. There are various spellings for this nominative plural found in the Central Oscan alphabet – in Central Oscan we find both <ks> and <ss>, because of a sound change which leads to assimilation of /ks/ → /ss/. Our only example of a name spelled with <κσ> rather than <ξ> is also from Messana, at around the same time. This appears to be a reversal of the pattern we find elsewhere in South Oscan, though the evidence is very limited. It is possible that in either, or both, areas these spellings were actually in free variation – or that these inscriptions from Messana happen to be exceptions to a general rule.

⁹⁸ Clackson (2012b) 141.

Table 10: Extra characters and alternative spellings at Messana

Me 1 (Messana 4)	Dedication (Official)	c. 250	ουπσενσ ('built' – 3 rd PL.PERF.)
Me 1 (Messana 4)	Dedication (Official)	c. 250	μεδδειξ ('magistrate' – NOM.PL.) ⁹⁹
Me 4 (Messana 6)	Dedication	c. 275	μαμερεκσ (male name)

While the evidence is extremely limited, therefore, it is possible that there were differences between the orthography of Messana and the orthography of the rest of South Oscan. The clearest difference is in the use of <κσ> and <ξ>, but even this may be due to chance. If there was a divergent orthographic tradition in Messana, influenced by the Central Oscan writing of Campania or the Greek written in Sicily, we would need considerably more instances of these spellings being used consistently to begin to prove it.

3.5 Conclusions

The use of 'extra' characters in Oscan is a key part of our evidence for contact with Greek. As we have discussed in Chapter 2, the epigraphy and orthography of these texts do not have to be viewed as 'correct spelling' and 'errors' as they have sometimes been in the past. For example, we have seen patterns in the use of extra characters which suggest that names (both personal and ethnic) may have been treated differently to other words. Names deriving from Greek, or Oscan names that may have been given folk-etymological Greek origins, show a particularly high level of extra characters and atypical spellings; this is the case even where the name seems to be integrated into the Oscan naming system as a gentilicium.

We have also begun to see epigraphic differences between different genres of text. Curse tablets, for example, show quite a high proportion of the use of extra characters. It is understandable if Oscan-speakers felt that the 'Greekness' (from their point of view, the 'foreignness') of curse tablets was part of what made the magic work, in the same way that the Greeks themselves obfuscated curse texts to put them at one step removed from everyday

⁹⁹ Cf. *medix* (Pg 1/Corfinium 1) and *medd[ɪ]ks* (Cm 2/Surrentum 1). Also *meddɪss* (Cm 6/Nola 3).

language. For Oscan-speakers, deliberate graphic or linguistic borrowing could be a way of separating curse tablets from ordinary language (see Chapter 5). Official and legal texts, particularly dedications, do not show a great deal of graphic borrowing from Greek, but they show some. Greek features were not a low feature to be avoided, but something that could be admitted into even expensive, officially-backed texts. It also seems likely that different communities developed different norms, though evidence for this is very slight.

IV Conclusions

In this chapter, I have explored the South Oscan corpus as a whole from a number of interrelated viewpoints. The original adaptation of the alphabet from the Greek Ionic alphabet and the addition of characters such as the signs for /f/ are clearly of importance in our understanding of the level and duration of Oscan/Greek contact. Similarly, the variation in the usage of a number of supplementary Greek characters in the South Oscan alphabet can be used to understand ongoing interaction with Greek. Several recurring themes have come out of this chapter that are relevant to the rest of this thesis.

Firstly, it should be emphasised that there was ongoing contact and interaction between Greek- and Oscan-speakers in Southern Italy. For the transmission of the alphabet, for example, we should not be looking for a single, defined moment of transmission from either the Central Oscan area or Magna Graecia. Rather, it is more realistic to see the development of the South Oscan alphabet – and indeed all the alphabets of Italy – as the result of ongoing experimentation in a multilingual environment. Most new alphabets were developed with more than one existing alphabet available as a model. These were not isolated communities, and there were multiple influences on writers of Oscan at all periods.

Secondly, we have begun to see the interaction between orthographic and epigraphic norms and the personal choice of the individual speaker/writer. There were many ways in which South Oscan as a speech/writing community developed norms – for example, which materials were most appropriate to different types of texts (discussed in Chapter 2), and the contexts in which certain alternative spellings could be used. These norms developed in

reference to the habits of other literate societies with which they were in contact, but ultimately were specific to this community. On the other hand, these norms were not set in stone: individuals had an element of choice in how they wrote their text, depending on what they wanted to convey. In our corpus, which is spread considerably across time and space, we must always be aware that different writers may be under different influences, may have different intentions, or may simply have different preferences. However, it seems from the data presented in this chapter and in Chapter 2 that we can explain these individual choices within a broad framework of the epigraphic habit of the South Oscan area.

Chapter 4: Dedicatory Inscriptions

I Introduction

In this chapter, I will deal with inscriptions commemorating religious dedications to deities. Since the excavation of the cult site at Rossano di Vaglio, dedicatory inscriptions have made up a considerable proportion of the South Oscan corpus (around 50 inscriptions out of a total of 132). As a result, these inscriptions are necessarily key to our picture of the epigraphic habit and language of the Oscan-speakers of Lucania and Bruttium.

In the ancient world, speakers and writers are typically presented as adhering closely to tradition in their choice of language in the religious domain. Adams gives examples of adherence to a traditional language for bilingual speakers of Celtic/Latin in Gaul,¹ Latin/Greek/Punic in Sardinia,² and Palmyrene/Latin at Rome,³ among others. In all these cases, the inscriptions are bi- or tri-version, showing a version (though not necessarily direct translations) in a more traditional language of the community alongside Latin or Greek or both, according to the spoken lingua franca at the time of writing. A similar motivation may lie behind the writing of the Iguvine Tablets in Umbrian, apparently following past practice even after the Umbrian script was obsolete and the language was in decline. Across the ancient world, a language may be retained in the religious domain even as its use is decreasing in other domains. Against this background, we might expect all Oscan-speaking communities except those experiencing the most extreme external pressure (for example, speakers in post-Social War Italy, the Oscan-speaking minority of Naples, and the Oscan mercenaries at Messina) to retain Oscan for their religious inscriptions.

But language choice is just one aspect of how contact can be reflected in inscriptions. Borrowing of religious language, names of deities and religious practices would also reflect a contact situation, though one in which the community maintained a greater degree of

¹ Adams (2003) 190.

² Ibid., 210.

³ Ibid., 249.

ethnolinguistic vitality than those undergoing language shift. It is well-known that the languages of Italy were affected by borrowing from Greek religious practices: Greek gave Italy two divine names – Apollo and Herakles – that were borrowed across Latin, Sabellian and Etruscan.⁴ A number of sites in Southern Italy, including Crotone, Vibo Valentia and Caulonia, have dedications in both Greek and Oscan, often to identical or equivalent deities.⁵ While religion in general is said to tend towards archaism and tradition, from the earliest written documents Italic religion accepts new deities, particularly from the Greek world. Borrowing and interference may extend beyond the names of new deities or new practices, and affect the syntax, basic vocabulary or form of the dedications.

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the level of Greek influence on South Oscan dedicatory inscriptions by looking at wider patterns across the corpus and by analysing in detail some of the more problematic inscriptions. The type of influence (borrowing, interference, etc.), the variation between different sites and between different time periods will also be discussed.

II Dedications in the Greek-Speaking World

Although dedications with inscriptions are not found in all societies, the practice of giving durable goods to divine recipients is very widespread in societies around the world. In the ancient Mediterranean, this was a way (alongside prayer and sacrifice) in which humans sought to maintain good relations with the gods.⁶ The dedicated objects, whether or not they were associated with inscriptions, could be specially made – e.g. figurines or miniatures – or everyday objects could be ‘converted’ into a dedication.⁷ Both of these types of dedication seem to be present in the Oscan-speaking world – small terracotta statues have been found at various sites, including Rossano; objects such as helmets (e.g. Lu 19/Lucania 1) were repurposed.

⁴ Clackson and Horrocks (2007) 45.

⁵ Poccetti (2008) 25–26.

⁶ Bodel and Kajava (2009) 19.

⁷ Osborne (2004) 2.

There is a lack of a single term for the objects involved in this process – they are called variously dedications, offerings, votives, hoards and deposits.⁸ Here, the general term ‘dedications’ will be used, for want of a better term. It is not always clear that our conception of what counts as a ‘dedication’ maps perfectly onto any ancient category, or indeed what exactly the modern criteria for inclusion in this category are.⁹ Suggested criteria – Poccetti proposes ‘la presenza di una struttura formulare e il rinvenimento in un santuario’ – may both exclude dedicatory inscriptions and include inscriptions not meant as dedications.¹⁰ Attempts have been made in this chapter to explain the range and variety of possible formulae and details found in the inscriptions associated with dedications (see below), while recognising that it is not always possible fully to recover the ancient category of ‘dedication’, if there was such a thing.

Our picture of Greek religious practice is generally more complete than that of Sabellian practice, owing to the large number of inscriptions which have survived. By the C9th gifts to the gods were common in Greek sanctuaries; by 700, these objects were increasingly inscribed, predominantly in verse.¹¹ Over time, both prose and verse inscriptions appeared on a variety of dedications, though verse epigrams continued to be associated mainly with dedications that were reasonably large, outdoors and of high quality.¹² The location of the dedication was given a great deal of thought, with many larger dedications apparently standing near altars.¹³

The act of dedicating the object probably included a sacrifice, with libation and prayer, and then the dedication of the object.¹⁴ There were some restrictions on the kinds of offerings and inscriptions that could be made – military and athletic victory dedications, including the dedication of arms, were limited to those who had achieved something notable

⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁹ Bodel and Kajava (2009) 17.

¹⁰ Poccetti (2009c) 45.

¹¹ Day (2010) 3.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 10.

¹⁴ Ibid., 5.

in these areas. Otherwise, there is huge variety in the form of dedications, with cost as the main constraint.¹⁵

The core of almost all Greek epigrams was as follows: dedicator as subject, verb of dedicating (usually ἀνέθηκε, but there are various alternatives), the dedication as the direct object, and the god as the indirect object – 75% of all archaic prose inscriptions in *DVA* follow this pattern.¹⁶ Alternatively, the god can appear in the genitive, indicating the god's ownership of the dedication – this pattern covers almost all of the remaining 25% of prose inscriptions.¹⁷ The object is often named as 'me', making the dedication a 'speaking object'. There can be additions about the circumstances – most commonly identifying the act of dedication as part of a vow (εὐξάμενος, modifying the dedicator), as a tithe (δεκάτη) or 'first-fruits' (ἀπαρχή).¹⁸ Other additions can include further identification of the dedicator, a divine epithet, or indications that the dedication is the result of an athletic or military victory.¹⁹ Increasingly over time (although the practice is present from at least the C5th BC), the inscription simply presents the name and details of the dedicator, with no mention of the deity. For example, CEG 399 (Lokroi Epizephyrioi, 472 BC) reads, 'I, Euthumos, a Lokrian, son of Astukles, won three times at the Olympics. And he placed this image for mortals to look on'.²⁰

It is not clear how reliant the Oscan practice was on Greek models. All South Oscan dedications are currently dated from the C4th to c. 100 BC. Poccetti suggests that the proliferation of dedicatory texts in Oscan, starting in the C4th and continuing into the C3rd–2nd, shows a 'renouvellement des relations et des échanges culturels entre Grecs et indigènes'.²¹ He believes that this represents the participation of non-Greeks in Greek culture, with Italic-speakers in the South (unlike the Latin- and Etruscan-speakers of further north) having no epigraphy in cult places until they adopted the Greek habit. In fact, he sees the Sabellian habit of dedicatory inscriptions as a whole being derived from Greek practice, spreading from south

¹⁵ Umholtz (2002) 279.

¹⁶ Day (2010) 6.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 8 n.29.

²⁰ Ibid., 181.

²¹ Poccetti (2010) 668.

to north.²² If this analysis is true, it has widespread implications for our understanding of religious practices and the extent of cultural contact with Magna Graecia in these societies.

The idea that Sabellian-speaking peoples derived their habit of writing dedicatory inscriptions from Greek-speakers is possible, though very difficult to evaluate given the paucity of early evidence. If we see possible evidence of Greek influence on Oscan language or practice, how do we date it, particularly where there are isolated or scattered examples of the phenomenon? If the practice of adding inscriptions to dedications was borrowed from Greek-speakers, perhaps as early as the 5th BC, which linguistic features were influenced at the same time? Could some linguistic influence come at a later date? To draw the fullest possible picture, both the corpus as a whole and individual inscriptions need to be examined in detail, alongside comparanda from Greek and other varieties of Oscan.

III Details of the Corpus

3.1 Sites of the inscriptions

In this section, I will consider the inscriptions given by Rix in Lu (Lucania) and Me (Messana) as ‘Weihinschriften’ (Lu 13-37, 64; Me 1, 2, 4, 5),²³ plus other inscriptions (Lu 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 38) where a deity is mentioned or there are other good reasons for viewing it as a dedication of some kind. Some inscriptions new to Crawford’s edition are also included (see Table 1). Lu 39 (Anxia 1) I consider to be an unclear case, which will be discussed further below. This gives a total of 50 inscriptions.

²² Poccetti (2009c) 57.

²³ Me 3 is an erroneous copy of the text of Me 1 or Me 2.

Table 1: Dedicatory inscriptions by findspot.

Findspot	Number of ins.	Inscription numbers
Unknown	3	Lu 26 (Luc/Bret/Sic 1) Lu 18 (Luc/Bret/Sic 3) Lu 19 (Lucania 1)
Lucania		
Rossano di Vaglio	32	Lu 5 (Potentia 1), Lu 12 (Potentia 2), Lu 8 (Potentia 3) Lu 10 (Potentia 4), Lu 11 (Potentia 5) Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 6), -- (Potentia 7) Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 8), Lu 6 (Potentia 9) Lu 7 (Potentia 10), Lu 35 (Potentia 11) Lu 27 (Potentia 12), Lu 16 (Potentia 13) Lu 34 (Potentia 14), Lu 33 (Potentia 15) Lu 32 (Potentia 16), Lu 15 (Potentia 17) -- (Potentia 18), Lu 36 (Potentia 19) Lu 28 (Potentia 20), Lu 29 (Potentia 21) Lu 31 (Potentia 22), Lu 64 (Potentia 23) Lu 30 (Potentia 24), Lu 21 (Potentia 25) Lu 20 (Potentia 26), Lu 60 (part) (Potentia 27) Lu 22 (Potentia 28), -- (Potentia 29) Lu 57 (Potentia 30), Lu 59 (Potentia 31) Lu 17 (Potentia 32)
Paestum	2	Lu 14 (Paestum 1) Paestum 2
Tricarico	1	Lu 13 (Potentia 40)
Cosilinum	1	Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)
Bantia	1	Lu 38 (Bantia 2)
Metapontum	1	Lu 37 (Metapontum 1)
Anxia	1?	Lu 39 (Anxia 1)?
Bruttium		
Crimisa	2	Lu 23 (Crimisa 1) Lu 24 (Crimisa 2)
Caulonia	1	Caulonia 2
Vibo Valentia	1	Lu 25 (Vibo 2)
Sicily		
Messana	4	Me 1 (Messana 4) Me 2 (Messana 5) Me 4 (Messana 6) Me 5 (Messana 7)
Total	50	

Rossano di Vaglio is an extremely important site for the discussion of dedications. It furnishes us with the most Oscan dedications of any site by far, the next being the sanctuary site of Pietrabbondante, with around a dozen dedicatory inscriptions written in the Oscan alphabet; this is in large part due to the extensive excavations at both sites.²⁴ Rossano accounts for around a quarter of the total number of Oscan inscribed dedications (there are a total of 124 dedications, 50 from the South Oscan area, of which 32 are from Rossano; the remaining 74 are from the North and Central areas). Because of its importance I will give a brief summary of the dating of the inscriptions from the site.

3.2 *Rossano di Vaglio*²⁵

The Rossano site was sacred to Mefitis, a native Italic goddess (also named in Hi 3/Abellinum 1, Hi 4/Aeclanum 3, Po 55/Pompei 38), though there are also dedications to Jupiter and Mefitis (Lu 7, 35) and Mamers (Lu 28, 36) at the site. One inscription is either to Mefitian Venus, or Venus and Mefitis, depending on the reconstruction (Lu 31/Potentia 22). It is not clear if these were seen as two different goddesses or two names for the same goddess, and whether these names were also seen as names for Aphrodite.²⁶ In some cases (e.g. Lu 31, 36) the other deities are 'Mefitian', perhaps just because of their presence in the same sanctuary and not because of any special relationship with Mefitis.²⁷ The sanctuary site gives us two main types of text: about three quarters of the total are from the C4th to the C2nd, and use the South Oscan language and alphabet; the remaining quarter are in Latin, and date from the Late Republic and Early Empire.²⁸ All of the attested named dedicators are male.²⁹

As discussed in Chapter 3, the chronology of the inscriptions of Rossano is not easy to determine. Many texts were found displaced from their original positions, and all tend to be

²⁴ Crawford (2011b) 1.

²⁵ See also summary of the history of the site, Chapter 2.

²⁶ Poccetti (2008) 27.

²⁷ Lejeune (1990) 58.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

made from the same soft yellowish sandstone.³⁰ The re-use of inscriptions as building materials suggests that the site was initially used for private dedications. When Rossano started to be used for official dedications by magistrates, the sanctuary was rebuilt on a larger, more monumental scale, and older blocks were re-used.³¹ Lejeune states that the great altar is dated to 350-300 BC, which gives a *terminus post quem* for the inscriptions, assuming this represents the first stage of building.³² However, Crawford suggests that earlier inscriptions were re-used in the monumentalisation of the sanctuary, and that this monumentalisation, including the building of the altar, in fact took place c. 200 BC; this appears to be confirmed by the fact that coins found underneath the altar go up to the very end of the C3rd.³³

Lejeune divides the inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio into two phases by epigraphic criteria, as shown in Table 2 and 3. Note that not all of the inscriptions included in *Imagines* were known to Lejeune, and that Crawford has also separated some fragments that were considered to be one inscription in Rix's edition: thus Lu 60 = Potentia 27 and 34; Lu 9 = Potentia 6 and 8. Lejeune does not divide his 'phase B' more specifically, though he states that a more precise dating either side of 200 BC may be possible.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid., 26.

³¹ Crawford (2011b) 53.

³² Lejeune (1990) 26.

³³ Crawford (2011b) 54.

³⁴ Lejeune (1990) 28.

Table 2: Lejeune's phases of the Rossano di Vaglio inscriptions.

	Phase A	Phase B
Features	<p>Scripta continua</p> <p><H> = /h/ M1, N1, P1 <θ> = /f/</p>	<p>Either scripta continua, or simple interpuncts; vowel spelling reform happens during this period.³⁵</p> <p><F> = /h/ M2, N2, P2 <S> = /f/ Later, use of lunate E and S.³⁶ Archaising of forms among some scribes.³⁷</p>
Approx date	350-300 BC	300-100 BC
Lejeune Numbers	RV-08, RV-49, RV-12, RV-33, RV-35, RV-44/-50, RV-52	<p>(script. con.) RV-07, RV-11, RV-27, RV-30;³⁸</p> <p>(interpuncts) RV-01, RV-05, RV-17, RV-18, RV-28</p> <p>Also in phase B.³⁹ RV-02, RV-03, RV-04, RV-06, RV-10, RV-19, RV-20, RV-21, RV-25, RV-26, RV-34, RV-39, RV-47, RV-51, RV-57, RV-58</p>

³⁵ Ibid., 26; but see Zair (2013) for arguments against a sudden spelling reform.

³⁶ Lejeune (1990) 31.

³⁷ Ibid., 30.

³⁸ Lejeune also includes 'RV-44' as a Phase B inscription. This appears to be an error, since he has already included RV-44/-50 as Phase A. It is not clear which inscription is meant.

³⁹ Lejeune assigns all the material not showing Phase A features to Phase B by default. Lejeune (1990) 28.

Table 3: Dating of the Rossano di Vaglio inscriptions.⁴⁰

	Inscription Number	Lejeune Date	Rix Date	Crawford Date
Lejeune's 'Phase A'	Lu 60 (part) (RV-08/Potentia 34)	c. 350	mid- C4 th	--
	Lu 60 (part) (RV-49/ Potentia 27)	c. 350	mid-C4 th	300-200
	Lu 30 (RV-12/Potentia 24)	350-300	mid- C4 th	325-275
	Lu 36 (RV-33/Potentia 19)	350-300	end C4 th	325-275
	Lu 28 (RV-35/Potentia 20)	350-300	late C4 th	325-275
	Lu 16 (RV-44/-50/Potentia 13)	350-300	C2 nd	325-275
	Lu 29 (RV-52/Potentia 21)	350-300	end C4 th - early C3 rd	250-200
Lejeune's 'Phase B'	(script. con.)			
	Lu 9 (RV-07/-04/ Potentia 6, 8)	300-100	C3 rd	c. 200
	Lu 15 (RV-11/Potentia 17)	300-100	early C3 rd	300-275
	Lu 22 (RV-27/Potentia 28)	300-100	C3 rd	300-200
	Lu 12 (RV-30/Potentia 2)	300-100	--	200-100
	(interpuncts)			
	Lu 8 (RV-01/Potentia 3)	300-100	C2 nd	200-100
	Lu 31 (RV-05/Potentia 22)	300-100	end C2 nd	c. 200?
	Lu 6 (RV-17/-42/Potentia 9)	300-100	beg C2 nd	200-175
	Lu 7 (RV-18/Potentia 10)	300-100	beg C2 nd	200-175
	Lu 5 (RV-28/Potentia 1)	300-100	end? C2 nd	125-100

Crawford's dates follow Lejeune's system, broadly speaking. Where he does deviate, this is not necessarily on strong grounds. For example, the redating of Lu 29 on the basis of the <I> is not definitive. The later date he gives RV-49 (Lu 60/Potentia 27)⁴¹ is because of the redating of the altar, and his belief, contra Lejeune, that this inscription is not to be associated

⁴⁰ The inscriptions included in Phase B by Lejeune by default are not included on this table. Crawford does not make many clear changes to the dating of these inscriptions, though he often narrows down the time frame to one century. The latest inscriptions at Rossano, in Crawford's view, are dateable to 125-100 BC. These are: Lu 5 (RV-28/Potentia 1); Lu 4 (RV-21/Potentia 14); Lu 32 (RV-06/Potentia 16); Lu 21 (RV-20/Potentia 25).

⁴¹ Potentia 27 is only one part of Lu 60; the other part is Potentia 34, which Crawford considers to be undateable. Crawford (2011b) 1417.

with the building of the altar in any case.⁴² However, as we have already seen in Chapter 3, there are problems with a considerable number of epigraphic dating criteria. The use of the spellings $-\epsilon\iota$ and $-\eta\iota$ as dating criteria, based on Lejeune's theory of a 'spelling reform' c. 300 BC,⁴³ is no longer tenable. These were co-existing variants for most of the period, of which $-\epsilon\iota$ was the less common.⁴⁴ Similarly, we have seen in detail in Chapter 3 that the progression of signs for /f/ may have been misunderstood in the past. We also know that forms Lejeune considers to belong to different phases can co-exist within one inscription – for example, the two forms of <H> in Lu 5 (<H> used in numerals, <F> elsewhere), and the use of both lunate and four-bar sigma in Lu 6 and 7.⁴⁵ Since later writers could use archaising forms, it is harder to take 'older' forms as definitive dating evidence.⁴⁶ In fact, 'archaising' may not be the right way to look at the use of some of these forms, if there was simply a range of available forms being used concurrently without any sense that some were 'older' than others.

Combined with the extensive re-use of inscriptions at the site, it becomes very difficult indeed to establish the relative chronology of the inscriptions with any certainty. None of the inscriptions at Rossano di Vaglio is dated by archaeological context. Crawford's relative chronology, which places personal dedications in the main before official inscriptions, is helpful to a degree in establishing the kinds of activities which took place in the sanctuary over the period of its use.⁴⁷ However, official and personal dedications may use different language; therefore, differences between early personal dedications and later official dedications should not necessarily be interpreted as change over time.

⁴² Crawford (2011b) 51.

⁴³ Lejeune (1970) 272.

⁴⁴ Zair (2013) 222–223; Zair (forthcoming), Chapter 2.

⁴⁵ For the use of two different letter forms within one inscription outside Rossano, see Lu 62 (Buxentum 1; both <H> and <F>) and Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1; both lunate and four-bar sigma).

⁴⁶ Lejeune (1990) 30.

⁴⁷ Crawford (2011b) 53.

3.3 Other sites

The other sites where dedications have been found are spread around Lucania, Bruttium and Northern Sicily (Figure 1). Each site provides only one or two dedicatory inscriptions, though all give us at least one other Oscan inscription of some kind. Three inscriptions (Lu 18, 19, 26) are of unknown provenance, but are assumed to come from this area because they are written in an adapted form of the Greek Ionic alphabet. Lu 18 and 19, though, pre-date most of South Oscan epigraphy, and are written right-to-left, which suggests that the writer may have been familiar with the epigraphy of Oscan-speaking Campania (see Chapter 3). Some of these inscriptions have archaeological or historical contexts which make them easier to date than the inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio. However, the small number of inscriptions from each site makes it difficult to see developments over time within one community.

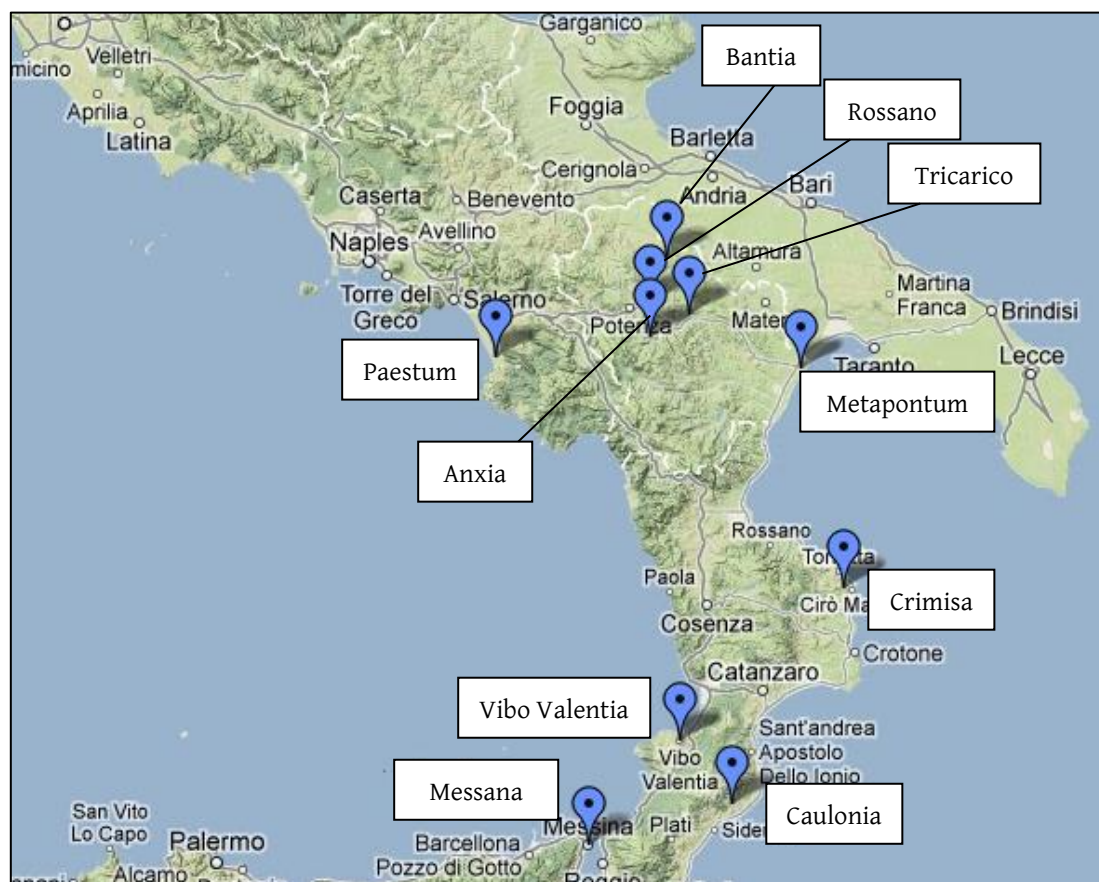


Figure 1: Findspots of Oscan dedicatory inscriptions

3.4 Materials of the inscriptions

We have already discussed in Chapter 2 the relevance of the material and shape of inscriptions to the epigraphic habit of the community. Here, I will go into more detail about the materials used for dedicatory inscriptions in particular. The materials used for the inscriptions are indicated in Table 4.

Table 4: Materials used for dedicatory inscriptions

Material	Number of inscriptions	Forms
Stone	42	Block: 37
		Stele: 3
		Pediment: 1
		Column: 1
Ceramic	2	Spool?: 1
		Bowl fragment: 1
Bronze	6	Tablet: 3
		Helmet: 3
Total	50	50

The ceramic ‘spool’, Lu 26 (Luc/Bret/Sic 1; Figure 2), is of unknown provenance. It may be a miniature altar, in which case it was manufactured for dedicatory purposes; if it is a pulley or spool it was perhaps repurposed. The other ceramic object is from Paestum (Paestum 2) – the short inscription (the genitive of a male name) is scratched after firing on the underside of the wall of the black slip bowl. Similar dedicatory objects have been found in Samnium⁴⁸ and Campania.⁴⁹ If the dedication of repurposed ceramic objects with a graffito inscription is more typical of the Central Oscan area than South Oscan, then this may lend support to Crawford’s theory that the Oscan-speakers of Paestum were Campanian rather than Lucanian (see section on Paestum in Chapter 2).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Sa 60 (Bovianum 41), Sa 43 (Bovianum 42), Sa 45 (Teruentum 23).

⁴⁹ Cm 11 (Cumae 5), Teanum Sidicinum 4.

⁵⁰ Crawford (2011b) 50.

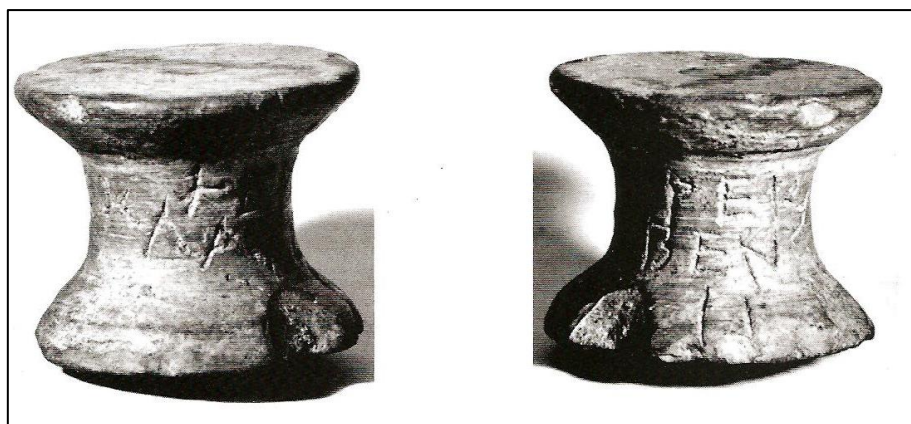


Figure 2: Lu 26 (Luc/Bret/Sic 1). Image from Crawford (2011b) 1309.

The dedicatory inscriptions on stone in this corpus are primarily in the shape of blocks or steles. Probably many of them are statue bases, and in some cases we can confirm this by references in the text to statues or by the remainders of metal on the stone (Figures 3, 4). This suggests that it was rarer for the inscription alone to be the dedicated object; rather, the inscription commemorated the dedication of another object which has since been lost. Other shapes, which suggest the stone itself is the dedication, are uncommon, and only one is found in Rossano. Lu 8 (Potentia 3) is a column, inscribed on the flat top surface; it is presumed to be dedicatory, because of its presence at Rossano, but there is no god's name mentioned. Though I will continue to regard it as a dedicatory inscription here, it is possible that it fulfilled some other function, such as commemorating building work for the sanctuary. The inscribed stone pediment is Lu 39 (Anxia 1). This inscription is a doubtful case – it may be funerary rather than dedicatory – and is discussed in more detail below. Note that Rix is incorrect about the form and material of Lu 23 and 24 (Crimisa 1 and 2): both are stone.



Figure 3: Top surface of Lu 64 (Potentia 23), showing holes with traces of metal, probably from the two feet of a standing statue. Author's photo, 26/04/12.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata.



Figure 4: Top surface of Lu 14 (Paestum 1), a stele used as a statue base.
Author's photo, 23/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum.

The re-use of bronze helmets as dedications, complete with inscriptions, suggests that these represent spoils of war and were given by military victors, although the inscriptions do not specify this. Since this practice is known from the very earliest times in the Greek world, it has been suggested that the dedication of metal helmets in South Oscan may be the result of Hellenisation spreading northwards.⁵¹ Similar votive objects found at other Oscan cult sites, such as Pietrabbondante, are uninscribed.⁵² Among the Greek-language dedicatory inscriptions on bronze armour, there is at least one which consists of an Oscan-style name with Greek morphology. The inscription on a cuirass (SEG 29.1026; Figure 5), which has no context but is assumed to come from Southern Italy, is dated to around 330 BC and reads $\nu\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\nu\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$.⁵³ The inscription indicates that dedicating inscribed armour was a practice shared between Greek- and Oscan-speaking (and bilingual) communities across the region.

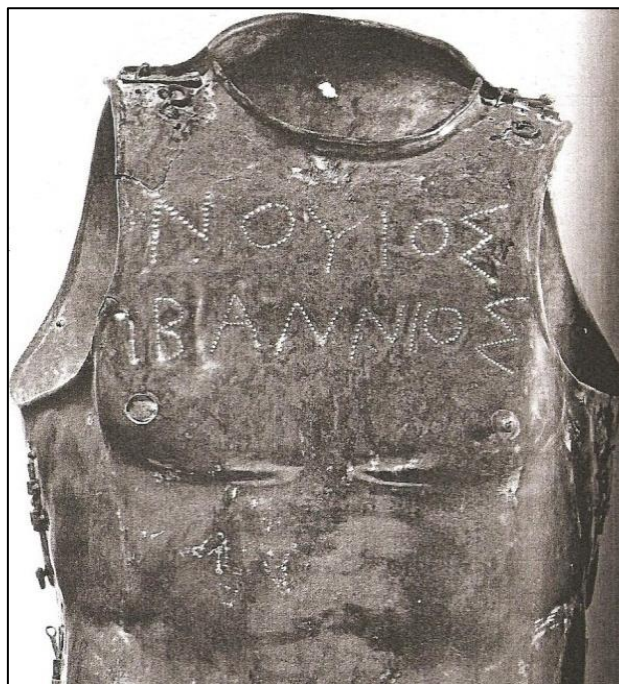


Figure 5: Inscribed cuirass (SEG 29.1026) from Southern Italy.

Image from Zimmerman (1979).

⁵¹ Poccetti (2009c) 52.

⁵² Other helmets with Sabellian inscriptions (Sp BO 1/Interpromium B, Sp BA 1/Interpromium A) seem to be inscribed with the names of their owners, on the inside of the helmet, as name-labels, rather than being dedications. Ibid.

⁵³ Zimmerman (1979); Guzzo (1981).

There are also three Oscan-language dedications on bronze tablets – two from Rossano, Lu 12 (Potentia 2) and Lu 20 (Potentia 26), and one from Vibo Valentia, Lu 25 (Vibo 2). Similar texts are also found in and around Pietrabbondante – e.g. Sa 26 (Teruentum 35), Sa 24 (Teruentum 20) – as well as in the North Oscan area.⁵⁴

The proportions of materials used for dedications are slightly different in the South (84.0% on stone, 12.0% on metal, 4.0% on ceramics) than in the North Oscan area (71.4% stone, 23.8% metal, 4.8% ceramics), and both are considerably different from the Central Oscan area (47.2% stone, 17.0% metal, 35.8% ceramics). I am not including the Capuan *iúvila* inscriptions in this count, since I assume that they are gravestones or memorials relating to feasts rather than dedications. If these were to be included, the central area would have an even greater proportion of ceramic religious inscriptions as compared to the south (45.6%), since the majority of the *iúvila* inscriptions are made of terracotta. Whether this is because of more extensive use of ceramics for dedications in these other areas, and what might cause this difference in epigraphic habit, is not clear. There is some evidence that terracotta, and ceramics generally, were more commonly used in the northern and central areas because of the lower availability of stone suitable for inscriptions. However, the South Oscan area also did not have much hard, high-quality stone available, as shown by the use of soft limestone for the majority of stone inscriptions.

The apparently higher use of stone in the extant dedications in the South may therefore reflect different epigraphic habits rather than different availabilities of material. For example, both Rossano di Vaglio and Pietrabbondante (Samnium) are large sanctuary sites. Both have high numbers of uninscribed ceramic dedicatory objects; however, there are far fewer large dedicatory inscriptions on stone found at Pietrabbondante, and there are more inscribed ceramic objects. This variance may show a regional variation in practice, though it may also show that these were different kinds of site in some other way.

⁵⁴ E.g. Pg 4 (Sulmo 3), Pg 5 (Sulmo 4), VM 3 (Antinum 1).

IV Oscan Dedication Formulae

It is difficult to give an all-purpose definition for what a ‘dedicatory’ formula must include. Guarducci gives a schema for dedication inscriptions as follows: (1) name of dedicant(s), (2) verb of offering, (3) name of the divinity in the genitive or the dative.⁵⁵ These are generally seen as core, or even essential, details; a variety of other elements, such as the date, the motive, the nature of the monument, and the names of other people who helped in the making of the monument, may be possible additions to this basic formula.⁵⁶ However, such a schema is already too restrictive, given that both Greek and Roman epigraphy give us inscriptions where the name of the deity is omitted or implied – this information was probably obvious to the viewer from the location or other attributes of the dedication itself.⁵⁷ The restriction on the grammatical case of the divine name may not reflect the range of possible structures accurately. Therefore, it is probably more helpful to talk about the elements which could be included in a dedicatory inscription in Oscan, and the combinations in which they appear. Based on Day’s observations of Greek dedicatory inscriptions, and Lejeune’s of the inscriptions of Rossano,⁵⁸ we can suppose that the core of the options available in a dedicatory inscription would be:

DN + OBJ + V + GN + (CIRC)

DN = Name of dedicator(s)

OBJ = Name of dedicated object⁵⁹

V = Verb of dedicating

GN = Name of god

CIRC = Additional circumstances and details (e.g. the reason for the dedication, official approval, the date, cost, etc.)

⁵⁵ Guarducci (1987) 254.

⁵⁶ Poccetti (2009c) 46.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Lejeune (1990) 42; Day (2010) 6.

⁵⁹ Lejeune includes words naming the object, such as δουνάκλωμ, in the ‘circumstances’ category. He names only three categories: name of dedicator in nominative, name of deity in dative and indication of the circumstances. Lejeune (1990) 42.

All of these elements are optional in Oscan dedicatory inscriptions (Table 5). None of these elements appears in every single extant example, and only one inscription contains every element. Eight inscriptions have both the name of the dedicator and the name of the deity. Of course, some inscriptions are too damaged to see the full original formula as intended, but others seem deliberately to include only the dedicator or the deity. Either the name of the dedicator or the name of the deity was typically included. Verbs of dedicating are not used in every South Oscan dedication, but are a possibility (see below).

Table 5: Elements in South Oscan dedicatory formulae (* marks fragmentary inscription).

Inscription	DN	OBJ	V	GN	CIRC
Unknown					
Lu 26 (Luc/Bret/Sic 1)			✓	✓	
Lu 18 (Luc/Bret/Sic 3)	✓		✓		
Lu 19 (Lucania 1)	✓		✓		
Lucania					
Lu 14 (Paestum 1)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Paestum 2	✓				
*Lu 3 (Cosilinum 1)			✓	✓	✓
Lu 5 (Potentia 1)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
*Lu 12 (Potentia 2)			✓		✓
Lu 8 (Potentia 3)	✓				
*Lu 10 (Potentia 4)					✓
*Lu 11 (Potentia 5)					
*Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 6)				✓	
*Potentia 7					
*Lu 9 (part) (Potentia 8)			✓		
Lu 6 (Potentia 9)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Lu 7 (Potentia 10)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Lu 35 (Potentia 11)				✓	
*Lu 27 (Potentia 12)	✓			✓	
Lu 16 (Potentia 13)	✓			✓	✓
Lu 34 (Potentia 14)				✓	
Lu 33 (Potentia 15)				✓	
Lu 32 (Potentia 16)				✓	
Lu 15 (Potentia 17)	✓			✓	✓
*Potentia 18	✓			✓	

Inscription	DN	OBJ	V	GN	CIRC
Lu 36 (Potentia 19)				✓	
Lu 28 (Potentia 20)				✓	
*Lu 29 (Potentia 21)				✓	✓
Lu 31 (Potentia 22)				✓	
Lu 64 (Potentia 23)	✓	✓		✓	✓
Lu 30 (Potentia 24)				✓	
Lu 21 (Potentia 25)		✓			
*Lu 20 (Potentia 26)			✓	✓	
*Lu 60 (part) (Potentia 27)					
Lu 22 (Potentia 28)	✓	✓			
*Potentia 29	✓				
Lu 57 (Potentia 30)	✓				
*Lu 59 (Potentia 31)	✓				
*Lu 17 (Potentia 32)	✓				
Lu 13 (Potentia 40)	✓		✓	✓	✓
*Lu 38 (Bantia 2)	✓			✓	
Lu 37 (Metapontum 1)					✓
Bruttium					
Lu 23 (Crimisa 1)					✓
Lu 24 (Crimisa 2)					✓
Caulonia 2				✓	
Lu 25 (Vibo 2)				✓	✓
Sicily					
Me 1 (Messana 4)	✓		✓	✓	✓
Me 2 (Messana 5)	✓		✓	✓	✓
*Me 4 (Messana 6)	✓				
*Me 5 (Messana 7)	✓			✓	
Funerary?					
? Lu 39 (Anxia 1) ?					

4.1 Dedicators

Where the name of the dedicator is given, it tends to be placed prominently, typically on the first line of the inscription, and usually as the very first element.⁶⁰ In several cases, the name of the dedicator has the first line, or even the first two lines, of the inscription to itself (Lu 6, 7, 8, 15, 18). This placement would enable partial readings of the inscription by people who might struggle to read a longer message. The layout of the inscription therefore suggests that the name of the dedicator was considered the most significant aspect of many inscriptions, because the nature of the dedication and the name of the deity would probably have been self-evident.

As stated above, all of the named dedicators in the South Oscan corpus are men. This reflects Oscan practice generally: only one Oscan inscription names a female dedicator (Hi 4/Aeclanum 3). Interestingly, this inscription is a stone statue base dedicated to Mefitis.⁶¹ If female dedications to Mefitis were not out of the question, some of the dedications at Rossano which do not give the dedicator's name (Lu 31-36, for example) may have been dedicated by women, but this is speculation.

While we are not always sure of the number of people involved in the dedication (26 out of 50 inscriptions do not name the dedicator, whether because of damage or by design), we have no examples which explicitly name more than one dedicator, apart from Me 1 and Me 2, which state that they were set up by two *meddices*. Inscriptions with multiple dedicators are not common in Sabellian languages on the whole, but do come up occasionally in both Oscan (Pg 5/Sulmo 2, Sa 24/Teruentum 20, maybe Cm 9/Cumae 4) and North Sabellian varieties (VM 3/Antinum 1). The lack of multiple dedicators in the South may be down to chance, or may reflect a habit of dedications naming only one individual. Lu 5, 6 and 7 all mention that they have been set up *σενατηις τανγινοδ*, 'by decision of the senate', which of course implies the involvement of people other than the named individual. This formula is common in the Oscan corpus, but it is only known to be used in a dedicatory context at

⁶⁰ Poccetti (2009c) 49.

⁶¹ *siviiú magiú / mefit(ei)*

Rossano – this site’s status as a large monumentalised sanctuary made it an appropriate location for collective and officially-sanctioned dedications.

4.2 Name of dedicated object

While the dedication is sometimes called a ‘gift’, or a ‘tithe’ (sometimes believed to be the adoption of a Greek practice⁶²) further specifics are not usually given. Presumably this is because it was fairly self-evident in most cases – because, for example, the statue referred to was on top of the base bearing the inscription. There are possible exceptions, such as Lu 20, which seems to mention bronze statues (see discussion below).

We do not have any South Oscan dedications that refer to themselves explicitly in the first-person (so-called ‘speaking objects’). These occur rarely in Oscan as a whole – of the dedications, only Fr 4 (Histonium 7) and Cm 10 (Herculaneum 1) imply that the object is speaking, in both cases using the verb **súm** but not explicitly naming the object as ‘me’. Rarely, a South Oscan dedication implies ‘I am’, for example by the use of the genitive of the dedicator’s name – see for example Paestum 2, although this may be a mark of ownership on a piece that was later found in a dedicatory context rather than naming a dedicator.

The *figura etymologica* equivalent to Latin *donum dedit* (**dunúm deded**) does not appear in South Oscan, assuming that the fragmentary Lu 20 has not had this formula taken out by damage.⁶³ This figure appears in Latin, Umbrian, North/Central Oscan and Venetic.⁶⁴ The exclusion of South Oscan from the use of this formula may show something of a separation from practices in the north. If the use of the formula is a sign of Romanisation,⁶⁵ then the lack of the formula in South Oscan may show a lower level of Roman influence.

⁶² Lejeune (1990) 42; however, the surrendering of one-tenth of possessions or booty is attested in texts from several branches of Indo-European, and in many non-Indo-European-speaking cultures: see Mullen (2013) 207 n.137.

⁶³ Poccetti (2009c) 73.

⁶⁴ Euler (1982) 7–8. A similar but not identical formula (different derivation of the noun), δῶρον διδόναι, is found in Greek (Ibid., 23).

⁶⁵ Ibid., 17.

4.3 Verb of dedicating

In the Oscan corpus as a whole, the verb of dedicating is typically **dede(d)**, although we also have **súm** in two cases where the dedication is a ‘speaking object’ (Fr 4, Cm 10). In one case, Sa 21 (Teruentum 5), we have a verb **dadikatted** (probably a calque from Latin *dedicavit*) – this inscription is on a temple façade, and therefore may follow different linguistic norms than smaller dedications.

Lejeune states that none of the dedications in Oscan from Rossano have a verb of dedication.⁶⁶ Some inscriptions do show verbs which are not specialised to dedication, such as $\alpha\alpha\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$ (Lu 5, 6, 7) and $\pi\omega\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$ (Lu 5, 9, 12). In Lu 20, Rix tentatively reads the letters $\langle\epsilon\delta\epsilon\rangle$ which may be part of the verb $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon$.⁶⁷ There are also several fragmentary inscriptions which could have space for a verb (Lu 22, for example). But it is notable that in many cases even the fragmentary inscriptions of Rossano do not seem to have space for a verb, suggesting that they were rarely used.

In the rest of South Oscan, verbs of dedicating do appear, typically $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\tau$. As well as a bronze tablet (Lu 20), this verb appears on a bronze helmet (Lu 19). It may be significant that this is not a specialised verb of dedicating – Poccetti suggests that Latin and Etruscan had no special verb of dedicating at an early period, rather using the same verb as they might use for other types of gifts (as in the Latin *dono*, or the Etruscan verb *muluvanice*).⁶⁸ He further suggests that the verb $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\tau$ is used in imitation of the Greek $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$, as a loan-shift taking on the meaning ‘make a dedication, give to a god,’ but this is not at all certain.⁶⁹

However, the other verb which occurs, appearing in Lu 13 (Tricarico), Lu 18 (unknown) and possibly Lu 14 (Paestum), is *anafaket* – spelt variously $\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ (Lu 18), $\alpha\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau$ (Lu 13) and something like $\alpha\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\delta$ (Lu 14). This verb does not appear in the rest of the Oscan corpus, or indeed in the rest of Italic, although verbs of the *fac*- root appear without the

⁶⁶ Lejeune (1990) 41.

⁶⁷ Rix (2002) 128; Poccetti (2009c) 55.

⁶⁸ Poccetti (2009c) 59–60; Poccetti (2010) 668.

⁶⁹ Poccetti (2010) 668.

prefix.⁷⁰ Traditionally, the verb has been taken as a combination of two native Oscan elements. The *faket* element is based on the Oscan perfect, *fefacid*, but without the reduplication; it may be deduplicated because of the compounding.⁷¹ The word ἀναφεῶ may show a shorter form of the same root. Alternatively, this may be a present tense verb (cf. Latin *facit*),⁷² though this raises the question of why the present is used in these inscriptions while only past tense verbs are used in other dedications. The prefix is probably *an-* (Umbrian **an-***tentu*, ‘lay on top’, *an-seritato* ‘observe’), with anaptyxis.⁷³ For similar anaptyxis before this root in Oscan, compare **manafum**, third-person (**aa**)**manaffed** < **man-fe-f-* < *(*man-*) *d^he-d^hh₁-*.

However, Poccetti offers an alternative explanation: these forms may be calques or loan-shifts based on the common Greek dedicatory verb ἀνέθηκε (ἀνατίθημι).⁷⁴ In Greek, the root **d^heh₁-* means ‘place’, rather than ‘do/make’ as it does in Italic, making a partial calque from Greek with a directly borrowed prefix more likely, in his view, than an independent development in Oscan.⁷⁵ This would constitute a remodelling of the semantic field of the verb in contact with Greek. This argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that there are parallels for **d^heh₁-* meaning ‘place’ in compounds in Italic – e.g. Oscan **manafum** ‘hand over’ (Cp 37/Capua 34), Latin *mando* ‘entrust’.

Poccetti also sees the preverb *ana-* as a potentially borrowed element. It is not clear that this is the case, since the prefix could simply be understood as **an-* with anaptyxis, which occurs with *-nf-* clusters but not with *-n-* plus another consonant (cf. **manafum**, **anafríss** but **anter**). The form ἀνακειτ would represent an analogical extension of the form without anaptyxis found in verbs not beginning with *f-*. An alternative suggestion, also rejecting the idea of a borrowed prefix, is that this is **an-ad-* for ἀναφακετ and simply **an-* for ἀνακειτ.⁷⁶ But Poccetti suggests that the *ana-* preverb is the result of a misanalysis of the Greek verb ἀνέθηκε

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Buck (1928) 170; Adams (2003) 150; Willi (2010) 8; Dupraz (2012a) 28.

⁷² Lejeune (1970) 291.

⁷³ Buck (1928) 193; Untermann (2000) 94.

⁷⁴ Poccetti (2009c) 52.

⁷⁵ Untermann (2000) 258; Poccetti (2009c) 53.

⁷⁶ Lejeune (1966) 176.

as *ana* + DO/MAKE.⁷⁷ In ἀναφεδ (Lu 14; Figure 6, 7), or ἀνα[ff]εδ as Poccetti has it, he suggests that there is a partial calque, with the preverb borrowed from Greek, but with the verb remodelling itself on other verbs such as **aamanaffed** and **prúffed** which also have the root **d^heh₁*-.⁷⁸ He therefore sees this verb as part borrowing (the prefix), part loan-shift/calque (the verbal root). It is not clear that this scenario is more likely than this being a native Oscan verb, albeit perhaps one with a limited distribution. The kind of calquing described here – a borrowed prefix plus a translated verbal stem – is relatively uncommon. Where affixes are borrowed into a language, it is usually as an element within a borrowed word or series of words; later, these affixes may come to be productive with native stems.⁷⁹ There are therefore difficulties with seeing ἀνα- as a borrowed morpheme.

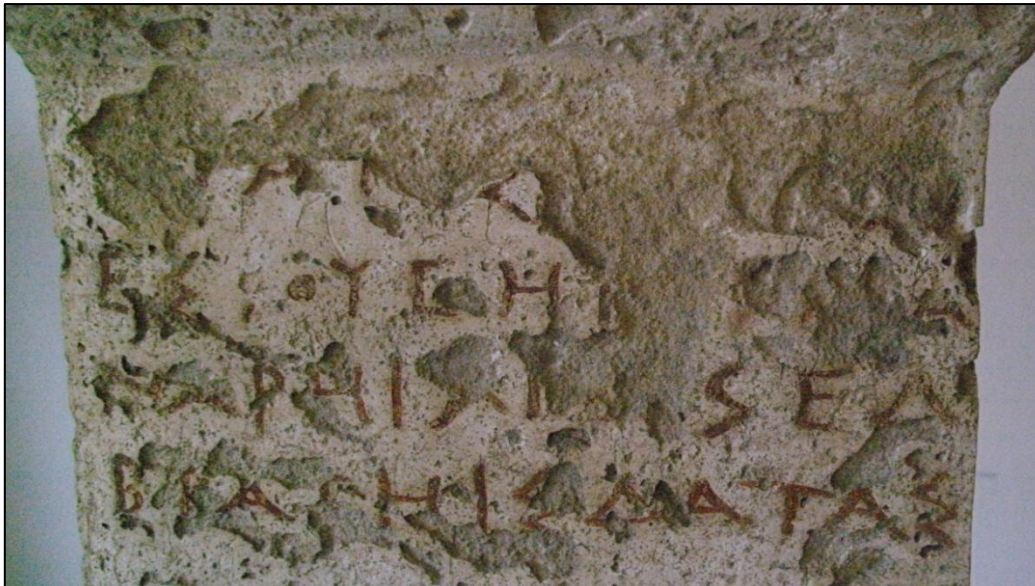


Figure 6: Lu 14 (Paestum 1). Author's photo, 23/04/2012.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum.

Text reads: [σ]τατ[ι]σ [3-4]ι / ες ιουφηι [3-4]α/ναρηι αγ[α]φεδ / βρατηις δατασ

⁷⁷ Poccetti (2010) 669.

⁷⁸ Poccetti (2009c) 53.

⁷⁹ Winford (2003) 62.



Figure 7: Lu 14 (Paestum 1), detail, $\alpha\nu[\alpha]f\epsilon\delta$. Author's photo, 23/04/2012.

If contact is a factor here, it may be that Oscan-speakers familiar with Greek epigraphy selected *anafaket* from several equivalent options because of its similarity to the Greek verb – this kind of variation would be enough to explain the apparent higher popularity of this verb in the south as compared to the north. But whether or not the form of the verb has been influenced by Greek, the verb *anafaket* may be a continuation of the Greek practice of having a specialised verb meaning ‘dedicate’, since it does not appear outside a dedicatory context.⁸⁰ Since this verb does not appear elsewhere in the corpus, but does appear in a number of locations in the south, this is also one aspect of Oscan dedications where there may be a significant difference in epigraphic practice between north and south. This variation may or may not be the result of contact with Greek practices.

Also worthy of mention here are verbs such as $\alpha\phi\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$, $\omega\pi\sigma\alpha\nu\omega$, $\sigma\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\omega$. These are not verbs that are confined to dedicatory contexts, being found in other kinds of building inscriptions, and as such they were not counted by Lejeune when he discussed the dedicatory formulae of Rossano; but they are also used in inscriptions such as Lu 5, 6, 7, which are clearly dedicatory in nature. As in secular building inscriptions, they follow the formula ‘X ordered (by decision of the senate) that (this) be built/set up’. In this situation the ‘officialness’ of the inscription seems to outweigh the ‘dedicatory’ feel, and the verbs usually found in official inscriptions are used. In addition to these, some non-finite verbs appear several times, notably in the formula *brateis datas*, discussed below.

⁸⁰ Poccetti (2010) 668.

4.4 Name of god (syntax)

Greek prose dedicatory inscriptions use both the dative and the genitive (as in either ‘I am of x’ or ‘This object is of x’, to indicate the ownership of the god).⁸¹ Since the genitive is the normal way to claim ownership of an object in Greek, this syntax seems to stress the god’s ownership, rather than the act of giving by the dedicator. Examples of the use of the genitive are widespread, including in the Greek used in Italy, and include both poetry and prose inscriptions.

- (1) **[Φοί]βο** μέν εἰμι’ ἄγαλ[μα **Λ]ατ[οί]δα** καλ[ό]ν
 [ho δ’ Ἀ]λκμέονος ἡνὶς Ἀλκμεονίδες
 [h]ίποισι νικέ[σας ἔ]θεκε μ’[ὀκέαις] ...
 CEG 302.1-3, Boeotia, c. 540 BC.⁸²
- (2) **τῆς Ὑγίης**
 Dubois GG I 32. Naples, c. 190 BC, scratched after firing on twelve goblets.
- (3) **τᾶς Ἡέρας** ἠιάρος / ἐμὶ τᾶς ἐν πεδί- / ὀι. Φυνίσσο- / ς με ἀνέθε- / κε ὄρταμο- /
 ς φέργῶν / δεκάταν
 Dubois GG II 9. Sybaris, 550-500 BC. Dedicated axe.
- (4) **το Διός** ἔμι
 Dubois GG II 113. Unknown location in Italy, 510-475. Dedicated helmet.

Oscan most frequently uses a god’s name in the dative to indicate the deity to which the dedication has been made. The genitive is used in four South Oscan examples where the name of a deity appears (19 use the dative, and one the vocative). For those who have accepted Rix’s conjecture *τουτικεσ διποτερεσ* (reading the <M> characters as *san*), the genitive

⁸¹ Day (2010) 6.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 99.

is used earliest in the ‘Pre-Samnite’ C5th inscription from Nerulum (Ps 1/Nerulum 1).⁸³ It has been suggested that this may be a calque from a Greek cult name (Ζεὺς Πολιεύς).⁸⁴ If this were the case, the alternation between the genitive and the dative, under possible Greek influence, would have a very long history in Italic. However it seems more likely that the correct reading is τουτικεμ διποτερεμ, in the accusative – the letters are well-formed <M> signs, and probably do not represent san.⁸⁵ Crawford also disputes that this inscription contains a calqued divine name.⁸⁶

In North and Central Oscan, the genitive of the god’s name is quite rare, occurring in five of those inscriptions which name a deity (versus 23 examples of the dative). These five inscriptions are: Furfo 1, Fr 4 (Histonium 7), Fr 5 (Histonium 5), Sa 30 (Fagifulae 3), Hi 6 (Aeclanum 1), and Cm 10 (Herculaneum 1; this also has a dative of the god’s name as part of the same inscription). In the case of Furfo 1, Fr 5 and Hi 6, the genitive stands alone, and forms the whole of the inscription; in the other cases it qualifies the possessed object, which is either implied (Cm 10 – **herentateís. súm**) or stated explicitly (Sa 30 – **[sakara]klum maatreís [damat]ras futre[isp]e**). It is possible that the genitive always implies a speaking object, whether or not the verb ‘I am’ is used explicitly. The idea behind the genitive, as in Greek, seems to be one of emphasising the god’s ownership of the object – Greek, Oscan and Latin typically use the genitive for a mortal owner’s name as well.⁸⁷

The proportion of divine names in the genitive in South Oscan is very similar to that in the North and Central areas. The four inscriptions where the genitive is used are Lu 6, Lu 7, Lu 26, and Me 5. Lu 26 is the only one where the genitive seems to be part of the syntax of the rest of the inscription; in the others, although there is more information in the inscriptions, the genitive appears alone at the end in a syntactic unit of its own. This use of a genitive as an independent unit in a longer inscription does not occur elsewhere in either Oscan or Umbrian (though the use of stand-alone genitives is found), and so its use in South Oscan, particularly

⁸³ Rix (2002) 71 (Ps 1).

⁸⁴ Rix (1997) 146; Poccetti (2009c) 56.

⁸⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1340.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 1341.

⁸⁷ Poccetti (2009c) 50.

in the heavily Greek-influenced area of Messana, may be significant. Poccetti suggests that this pattern is used because more complex Oscan dedicatory formulae developed in parallel with, or even after, the formulae for official inscriptions put up by magistrates. In cases such as Lu 6 and 7, he suggests, the official formula was thought to be more central to the meaning of the inscription, so that the religious nature of the inscription is indicated by one syntactically isolated word.⁸⁸ While this is plausible, it does not explain why this syntax only appears in the South Oscan area, and does not appear at important cult sites in other areas such as Pietrabbondante, where official dedications always use the dative and incorporate it into the syntax of the rest of the inscription.

It is possible that the slightly higher proportion of divine names in the genitive in South Oscan, appearing in contexts where it is not used in the other Sabellian languages, reflects some level of influence from Greek.⁸⁹ Although the genitive is used only in a minority of Greek inscriptions, it is by no means rare. However, the Greek inscriptions usually show a genitive as the whole inscription, as in example (2) above, or with the verb ‘to be’, as in the other examples. Longer inscriptions with a genitive of the god’s name as a final tag do not seem to be a common Greek usage – and in fact, if anything, in longer inscriptions the god’s name tends to come at the beginning. It is possible, therefore, that the use of the genitive of a divine name at the end of a longer inscription is a South Oscan innovation.

4.5 Additional circumstances

The formula *brateis datas* (‘for a grace received’) appears four times in this corpus (Lu 14, 15, 16, 64; Lejeune names the first three, but Lu 64 has since been discovered).⁹⁰ It turns up seven times elsewhere in Oscan.⁹¹ Poccetti’s statement that this formula is most frequently attested in the south is a little misleading, since nearly as many appear in Samnium; but it is true that Lu 14 (c. 300, see section 4.3 for images) may be the oldest dated attestation of this

⁸⁸ Ibid., 56.

⁸⁹ See Clackson (2012b) 140 for this possibility in Me 5.

⁹⁰ Lejeune (1990) 42.

⁹¹ Pg 4 (Sulmo 3), Pg 6 (Superaequum 3), MV 5 (Incerulae 4), Sa 59 (Saepinum 4), Sa 60 (Bovianum 41), Sa 26 (Teruentum 35), Hi 5 (Aeclanum 2).

formula in Oscan. The other attestations are C3rd or later. This may suggest an innovation c. 300, followed by a spread from south to north, although excluding Bruttium in the far south.⁹² With so few texts, and the problems of dating already discussed elsewhere, I cannot be as certain as Poccetti that this formula has radiated from south to north.⁹³ If anything, this formula seems fairly equally spread across the Oscan-speaking area (Figure 8). The time depth between the earliest usage in Paestum (#2 on the map, end of C4th) and its use in the north (Navelli, #11 on the map, first quarter of the C3rd) does not seem large enough to make the direction of travel completely clear, although generally the earlier examples from further south are C4th/C3rd, and those further north are C3rd/C2nd (where the date is known).

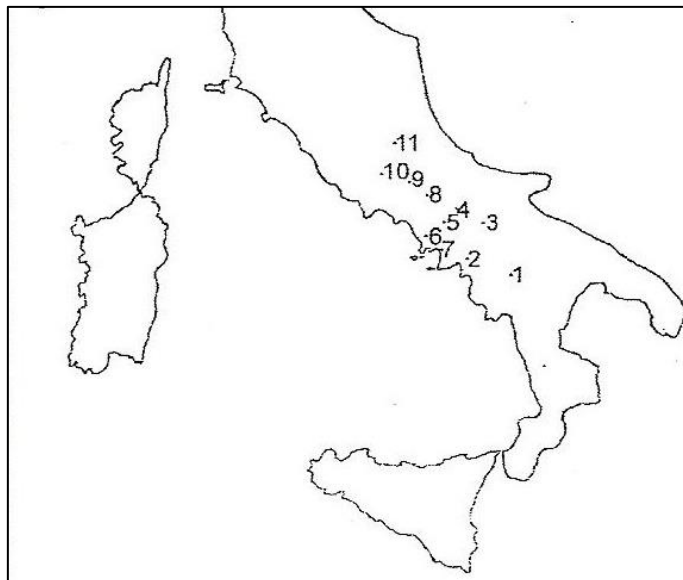


Figure 8: Locations of inscriptions with *brateis datas* formula. Image from Poccetti (2010) 670.⁹⁴

The meaning of the phrase does suggest knowledge of similar terms in Greek. In Greek, the terms χάρις and δίδωμι (or ἀντιδίδωμι) are found in various combinations, in both literature and inscriptions, and particularly from the Hellenistic period onwards, to express the idea of giving something to the god in return for a favour.⁹⁵ In Oscan, the fact that the term *brateis* is always strongly associated with the verb 'give' particularly suggests a Greek

⁹² Poccetti (2009c) 85; Poccetti (2010) 669.

⁹³ Poccetti (2009c) 87; Poccetti (2010) 670.

⁹⁴ Key to map: 1. Rossano di Vaglio (3 attestations), 2. Paestum, 3. Mirabella Eclano, 4. Sepino, 5. Campochiaro, 6. Venafrò, 7. Teano, 8. Vastogirardi, 9. Sulmona, 10. Superaequum, 11. Navelli.

⁹⁵ Lazzarini (1976) no. 708, 792; Lazzarini (1990) 850.

origin for the whole phrase.⁹⁶ The Oscan phrase does not borrow the term χάρις, nor does it calque any particular set phrase from Greek, but rather has adopted the semantics of the phrase and created a new fixed formula in Oscan. Poccetti sees the construction in the Oscan version of the formula as a ‘genitive absolute’ expression.⁹⁷ However, doubts have been raised over whether the genitive absolute exists in Oscan, since this is the only phrase in which it appears – it could rather be a genitive of concern fossilised into a formulaic phrase.⁹⁸

The word used for ‘grace, favour’ is *brati-* (< **g^wrh₂-t-*),⁹⁹ which has the same lexical root as Latin *gratia*, *grates*. The Oscan word seems to have undergone a similar expansion of meaning as the Latin, to include ‘divine favour, grace’, from an original meaning ‘thanks’ (a meaning that it still has in the Tabula Bantina, and which therefore continued alongside the specialised meaning).¹⁰⁰ It is worth noting that the Gaulish term *bratou*, which has an etymologically identical root (< **g^wrh₂-to-*) and apparently similar meaning, is used in a dozen or so Gaulish inscriptions of Southern Gaul written in the Greek alphabet, in the formula δεδε βρατου δεκαντεν ‘gave as a tithe (in return for) a grace’.¹⁰¹ In Gaulish, the phrase βρατου δεκαντεν always follows the main verb, while in Oscan this formula can appear before or after the main verb if one exists.¹⁰² If the verb of the Gaulish formula is also < **deh₃-* (it could in principle also be from < **d^heh₁-*)¹⁰³ then the similarity with the Oscan formula is particularly striking. It is possible that in both Oscan and Gaulish, a variation on this phrase was brought by, or inspired by, Greek-speakers, and that the formula reached different fixed forms at a later date. Alternatively, since it is not clear in which direction this formula, or a precursor of this formula, has travelled, this similarity could be explained by Italic influence on the Gaulish formula, with Greek-speakers acting as a vector.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ Poccetti (2009c) 82.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 83.

⁹⁸ Tikkanen (2011) 107.

⁹⁹ The noun is formed as a feminine t-stem. See Rix (2000) 209–210 for more detail.

¹⁰⁰ Untermann (2000) 150; Rix (2000) 215.

¹⁰¹ Poccetti (2010) 671; Mullen (2008); Mullen (2013) 189–215 for the most complete discussion of the origin of this formula.

¹⁰² Poccetti (2009c) 66.

¹⁰³ Mullen (2008) 256, 261.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 258; Mullen (2013) 213–214.

Further specifications of the circumstances of the dedication are not common. We have several inscriptions that indicate that they were done in the magistracy of the main dedicator, and at the command of the senate. The wording of these inscriptions follows that of non-dedicatory inscriptions put up at public expense. It is possible that Lu 23 and 24, which include the word(s) *σαρακιδιμαί* may also be specifying the position of the dedicator or indicating the date when the inscription was set up. This is probably a priesthood rather than a magistracy, but the word, and indeed how the words should be divided, is unclear. In Lu 13 (see below), there may be some adverbs explaining the manner in which the dedication was set up (piously, etc.). Lu 29 (also see below) may have additional details of this kind, but the inscription is ill-understood at present.

V Texts

5.1 Lu 5 (Potentia 1)

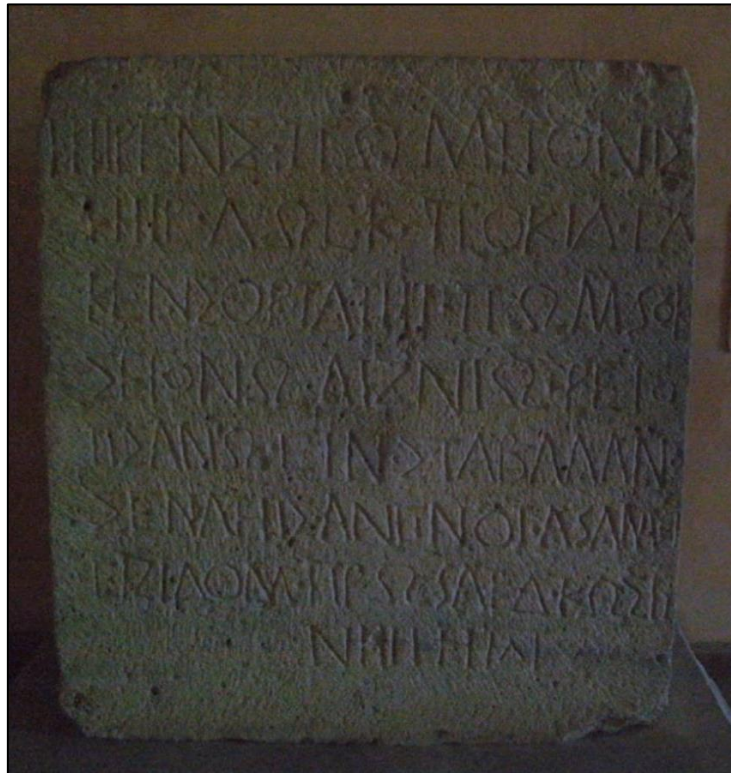


Figure 9: Lu 5 (Potentia 1). Author's photo, 27/04/2012. Museo Nazionale della Basilicata.

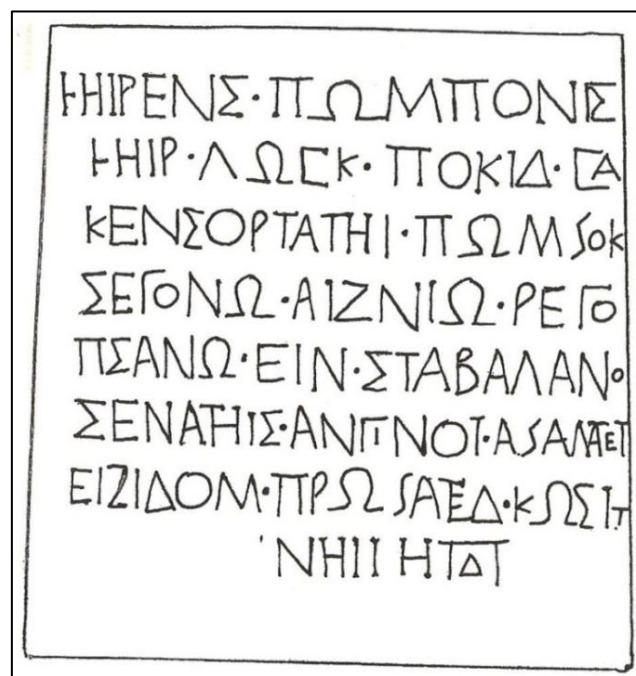


Figure 10: Drawing of Lu 5 (Potentia 1) from Lejeune (1990).

Transcription	Translation
<p><i>vacat</i></p> <p>1. ηηρενσ. πωμπονισ ηηιρ. λωφκ. ποκιδ. φα κενσορτατηι. πωμφοκ σεγονω. αιζνιω. ρεγο</p> <p>5. πσανω. ειν. σταβαλανο σenaτηις. ανγινot. αφαματετ ειζιδομ. πρωφατεδ. κωσιτ NH<H>HΔΠ <i>vacat</i></p>	<p>Heirens-NOM. Pomponis-NOM. Heirens-GEN. Luvkis-GEN. Pokidiis-GEN. Varis-GEN. censorship-DAT.SG. <i>pomfok</i>-? statue-ACC.PL. bronze-ACC.PL. kings-GEN.PL. make-GDV.ACC.PL.NEUT. and. put-up-GDV.ACC.PL.NEUT. senate-GEN.SG. decision-ABL.SG. order-3.SG.PERF same-NOM.SG.MASC. approve-3.SG.PERF. cost-3.SG.PRES? <i>n(ummos)</i> HHH PD</p> <p>Heirens Pomponis, son of Heirens, in the <i>pomfok</i>? censorship of Luvkis Pokidiis, son of Varis, ordered bronze statues of the kings to be made and put up by decision of the senate. The same man approved (them). It cost 350 <i>nummi</i>.</p>

5.1.1 Epigraphy

In many ways, this dedication follows a pattern typical to many Oscan inscriptions put up by magistrates on behalf of the wider community. It is thought to be among the latest of the dedicatory inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio, and is dated to around 125-100 BC.¹⁰⁵

The stone was found in the course of excavations in September 1971, in the south corner of the central court, surrounded by debris. The inscription is written on a hard limestone slab, intact, and measuring 0.76 high by 0.67 wide (at top) to 0.70 wide (at bottom) by 0.23 deep. On the top surface there are holes and trenches in the stone, those on the left still with evidence of metal fixings, which indicate that this stone was attached to a stone of the same height and width but of unknown depth. Presumably this other stone was a statue base which bore the bronze statues mentioned by the inscription.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1364.

¹⁰⁶ Lejeune (1971) 667.

Although the inscription is clearly an officially-sanctioned text, the stone-cutter has made a number of errors. He misses out several letters, including at the beginning of words – (ω)πσανω (line 5) and (τ)ανγινωτ (line 6). Crawford suggests that the omega of (ω)πσανω is omitted because of elision with the final /-o/ of the preceding line, though it is hard to find a similar justification for (τ)ανγινωτ.¹⁰⁷ Possibly the <τα> of (τ)ανγινωτ was painted in ligature.¹⁰⁸ The text shows indentation of lines 2 and following; this kind of strategy is also found in official texts of around the same period in Campania (see for example Po 3/Pompei 24).¹⁰⁹ However, in this case it seems to have caused the writer to run out of room at the ends of several of the lines, so that the letters at the ends of the lines have been cut smaller and in ligature.

We have already seen in Chapter 3 that this inscription follows typical Oscan spellings of <πσ>, in (ω)πσανω and <νγ> in (τ)ανγινωτ, but that it also uses the more unusual <ζ> in αιζινω and ειζιδομ. I have also already discussed the use of for /f/ in σταβαλανο. The epigraphy of the inscription, taken as a whole, suggests that the late date is probably correct, though this is not by any means certain.

5.1.2 *pomfok*

Campanile does not explain the word πωμφοκ (line 3), while Marchese sees it either as a title of the dedicator (**quinqifex*) or, as *pomfokai*, as a qualification of the censorship (**quinqifici*), making the meaning ‘in the quinquennial censorship of Luc. Pocidius’.¹¹⁰ Poccetti agrees with the second of Marchese’s propositions, as do Morandi and Crawford more hesitantly.¹¹¹ Both Campanile and Marchese see λωφκ. ποκιδ. φα. κενσορτατηι as a simple eponymic date, which Crawford accepts in his translation; while Lejeune states that this was his initial thought also, but he became uncomfortable with this interpretation.¹¹² He raises

¹⁰⁷ Crawford (2011b) 1365.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ McDonald (2012b) 7.

¹¹⁰ Campanile (1979) 26; Marchese (1974) 412.

¹¹¹ Poccetti (1979) 128; Morandi (1982) 139.

¹¹² Lejeune (1971) 672.

two objections: ‘dans une rédaction aussi minutieuse et détaillée que celle de notre procès-verbal, donnant jusqu’au prix précis de l’opération, il serait bien étrange que le magistrat qui met en oeuvre les décisions du sénat ne donne pas son titre... et si le titre était l’obscur $\pi\omega\mu\phi\omicron\kappa(\omicron\sigma)$, il devrait suivre immédiatement le nom du dédicant sans en être séparé par une indication de date.’¹¹³ He suggests instead that $\pi\omega\mu\phi\omicron\kappa$ should, because of its placement, indicate in what manner Pomponis was acting as censor in place of Pokidiis; therefore he gives it a meaning broadly equivalent to Latin *suffectus*, or ‘substituted’.¹¹⁴

There are three possible explanations for the word’s position, without necessarily having to resort to the different meaning suggested by Lejeune. Firstly, that one of the titles (*pomfok-*) was deliberately postponed so that the two titles appeared together. Secondly, given that the cutter of the inscription was not always completely accurate in what he was writing, the title *pomfok-* could have been inadvertently left out of the dedicator’s name and added in later when the stone cutter realised his mistake. Or, finally, *pomfok-* might not be a title, but a qualification of the censorship, and Heirens Pomponis might not have been a magistrate at all.

Seeing $\lambda\omega\phi\kappa. \pi\omicron\kappa\iota\delta. \phi\alpha. \kappa\epsilon\nu\sigma\omicron\omicron\tau\alpha\tau\eta\iota$ as a date is supported, in my view, by the abbreviation of the first and second elements of the name. There is no example in South Oscan of a dedicator abbreviating either his praenomen or gentilicium in a dedicatory inscription.¹¹⁵ The abbreviation of the gentilicium is particularly exceptional. This suggests that Luvkis Pokidiis was not directly involved in the setting up of the inscription, and therefore an eponymic date seems a likely explanation.

¹¹³ Lejeune (1990) 38.

¹¹⁴ Lejeune (1971) 673. He suggests a parallel with Latin *po-* or *post-* for the first element, and with Oscan *praefucus* (Lu 1) for the second element.

¹¹⁵ In this, South Oscan epigraphy differs from Central Oscan, where the abbreviation of the praenomen is more widespread (although not always used in dedicatory inscriptions).

5.1.3 *rego(m)*

The interpretation of the word *ρεγο* (line 4), often expanded to the genitive plural *rego(m)*, has given rise to wider arguments about the level of Hellenisation at Rossano. Lejeune states that the language, political institutions and religion of Rossano had been under ‘quasi-nulle influence grecque, alors qu’était largement hellénisée la civilisation matérielle et intellectuelle (écriture).’¹¹⁶ This view was motivated by the lack of Greek deities, particularly Apollo, in the apparent pantheon of Rossano – in contrast with, for example, the Agnone tablet which shows devotion to Herakles. Prosdocimi, on the other hand, saw more Greek influence than Lejeune: specifically in the terms *διομανας* (Lu 7), *δεκμας* (Lu 22) and *ρεγο(μ)*, all of which he believed to be calqued or borrowed from Greek deities and institutions.¹¹⁷

The term *rego-* appears to be a genitive plural, leading most editors to restore a final *-m*. There are two competing explanations of the term, both assuming a connection to Latin *rex* (gen. pl. **rēgōm*).¹¹⁸ Lejeune’s original suggestion was that it could stand for *regis reginaeque*, the king and queen in question being Jupiter and Mefitis; the substitution of the masculine plural for a masculine/feminine pair is paralleled in Latin.¹¹⁹ Prosdocimi, on the other hand, suggested that this could be a calque on the Spartan (and therefore Tarantine) expression *φανακε(ς)*, which is a name for the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) as a pair.¹²⁰ He further argued that, if Lejeune is correct, the idea of a divine couple would nevertheless be evidence of the influence of the Greek pantheon.¹²¹ Guzzo has also explored the possibility that it refers to real kings.¹²²

The only way to answer this question conclusively would be to find the statues to which the word refers. Given that the Dioscuri are mentioned nowhere else at Rossano, the translation ‘Jupiter and Mefitis’ seems the most plausible. However, Lejeune’s argument that

¹¹⁶ Lejeune (1990) 53.

¹¹⁷ Prosdocimi (1976) 831–833.

¹¹⁸ Untermann (2000) 632.

¹¹⁹ E.g. *reges* for *rex reginaeque* (Livy 1.39.2), *fratres* for *frater sororque* (Tac. Ann. 12. 4). Lejeune (1971) 674.

¹²⁰ Prosdocimi (1976) 831.

¹²¹ Ibid., 832.

¹²² Guzzo (1983).

there was almost no ongoing Greek influence on the Oscan-speakers of Rossano, apart from the effects of having a Hellenised material and literary culture, underestimates the extent of bilingualism and interaction. The appearance of Greek-language inscriptions at Rossano suggests that Lejeune over-emphasised the independence of Rossano from the Greek-speaking world. For example, Potentia 29 (Lejeune's RV-36) shows an Oscan personal name spelled with Greek morphology and a Greek vowel: $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\iota\omicron\sigma\ \delta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\iota\omicron\sigma$ (not $\lambda\omicron\phi$ - or $\lambda\omega\phi$ -).¹²³

5.1.4 Cost

Line 8 gives the cost of the dedication (either of the statues themselves, or of the whole dedication including the inscription). A literal transcription would be <NHIIHΔΠ>.¹²⁴ Del Tutto Palma notes that the space between the second and third <H> is slightly larger than between the first and second, and so that this might be two prices for two different objects.¹²⁵ Here, I accept the reading N HHHΔΠ – probably representing '350 N'. No other Oscan-language dedications carry an indication of cost, though many Greek inscriptions do. The numeral <II> on Lu 26 (the ceramic spool discussed above) is not understood, but perhaps indicates that it was the second of two offerings made to Hercules.¹²⁶ The letter <N> is probably an abbreviation for *nummi*, as in the Tabula Bantina, but it is not known whether this has been borrowed as a generic term for money/coins or as the name of a specific denomination. If it refers to Roman coins specifically, or coins based on a Roman type, then this is significant in understanding the level of influence of Rome in the area in the C2nd. The Latin *nummus* and the Umbrian *numer* are borrowed from Sicilian or South Italian Greek νόμος ('coin, money'), also found in the Tabula Heracleensis.¹²⁷ This inscription may therefore have borrowed the term directly from Greek.

¹²³ Lejeune (1990) 25.

¹²⁴ James Clackson has suggested that the cross bar of the first H is unclear, and therefore a better reading may be NIIIIHΔΠ (IIIIH = 400?). (Conversation with James Clackson, August 2012).

¹²⁵ For her text and translation: Del Tutto Palma (1990) 108–115.

¹²⁶ Crawford (2011b) 1310.

¹²⁷ Poccetti (2012) 67.

The letters that follow appear to be Greek acrophonic numerals – H for *hekaton* (100), P for *pente* (5), D for *dekaton* (10). Again, this is a significant difference in practice from the *Tabula Bantina*, which uses Roman numerals. In Lu 5, even the method of multiplication to get 50 follows the Greek practice – the symbol for five with a small version of the applicable power of ten (although normally this would be written with the delta attached to the top hasta of the pi rather than within the letter, < $\overline{\pi}$ >). Note that in the rest of the inscription, the sign for /h/ is <F>; in the acrophonic numerals it is <H> (elsewhere in the inscription = /ē/).

Acrophonic numerals are found in Greek inscriptions as early as the first half of the C6th.¹²⁸ In Attica after the early C4th BC, acrophonic numerals are primarily associated with giving the price of executing the inscription, usually set off by interpuncts, or in the Hellenistic period by blank spaces, as in Lu 5.¹²⁹ This usage of acrophonic numerals remained normal in Attica until the end of the C2nd BC.¹³⁰ Some examples may extend into the C1st AD, by which time there are alphabetic numerals (α =1, β =2, etc.) occurring in this context too. Therefore, the use of acrophonic numerals in Lu 5 reflects a Greek practice which was still current, if soon to be replaced.

We can speculate on what this amount might have represented in terms of buying power. The *Tabula Bantina*, also from Lucania in around the same period, assigns fines of two thousand and one thousand *nummi*, with the implication that this may be a substantial proportion of a man's property.¹³¹ The sum of 350 *nummi* would seem, therefore, to represent a significant outlay. The total price is probably that of the bronze statues, possibly including the cost of the inscription itself.

¹²⁸ Threatte (1980) 112.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 113.

¹³¹ *Tabula Bantina*: 12, 26. "The fine should be 2000 (or 1000) *nummi*, and if the magistrate wishes to fine more it is allowed as long as it is less than half of his property." On this basis, 2000 *nummi* does not sound like it represents a trifling amount.

5.2 Lu 13 (Potentia 40)

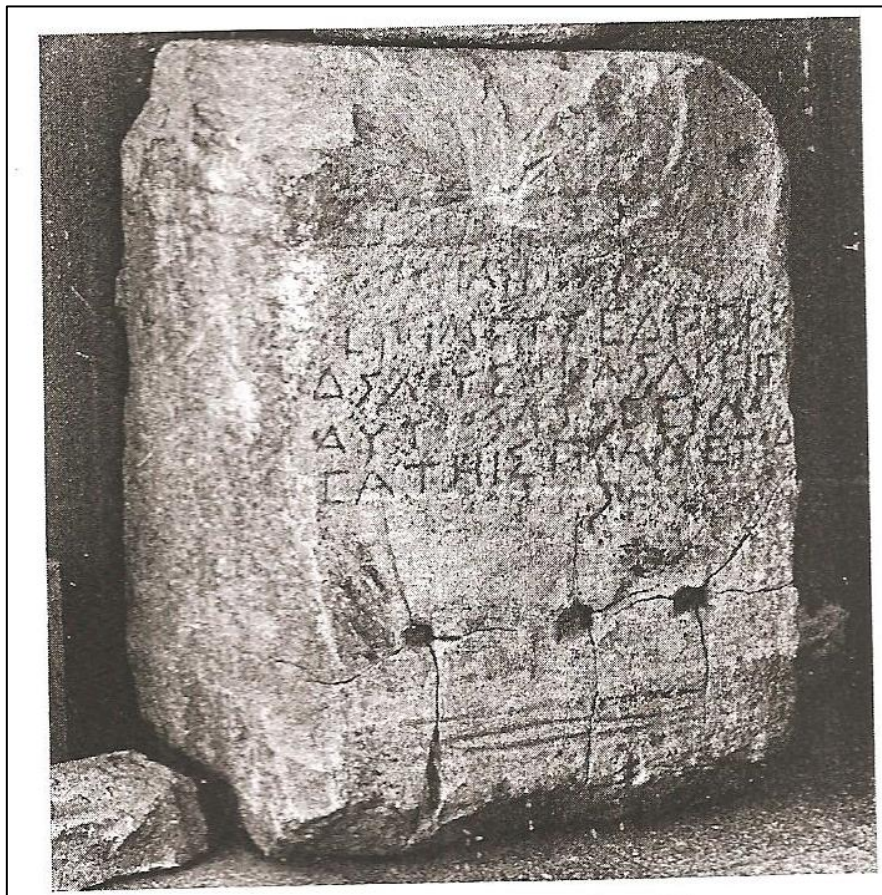


Figure 11: Lu 13 (Potentia 40). Photograph from Lejeune (1970) 283.

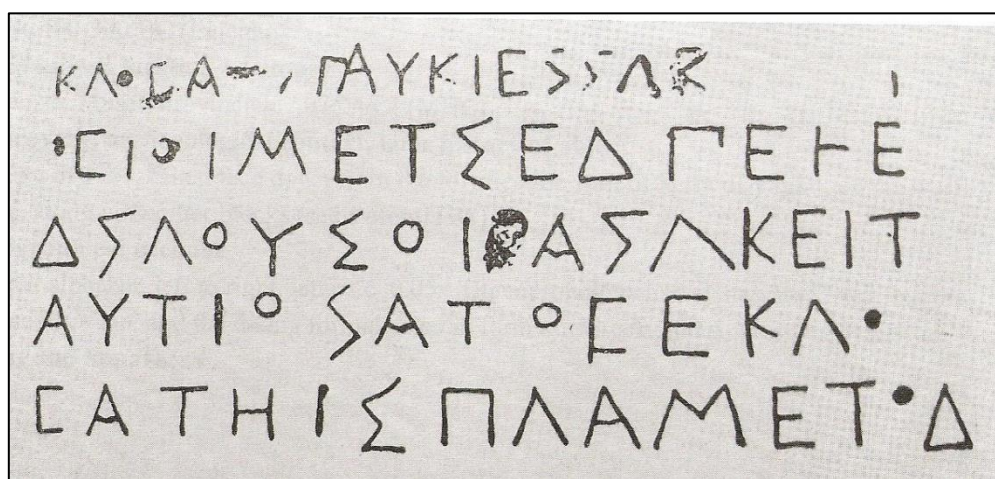


Figure 12: Drawing of Lu 13 (Potentia 40). From Crawford (2011b) 1424.

<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Translation</i>
<p>1. κλοφατσ γαυκιεσ φατ[οφ]οι δι οφοι μετσεδ πεθε- δ φλουσοι· αφαικειτ αυτι· φατοφε κλο- 5. φατηισ πλαμετοδ</p>	<p>Klovaz-NOM. Gaukies-NOM. Fatuus-DAT. belonging-to-Jove-DAT.SG. <i>metsted</i>-ADV. piously-ADV. <i>flousoi</i>-DAT? dedicated-3.SG.PERF. but. Fatuus-VOC. Klovaz-GEN. <i>plametod</i>-3.SG.IMP</p> <p>Klovaz Gaukies (this altar) to Jovian Fatuus justly, piously, for Florus, has dedicated. But O Fatuus, remember (the altar) of Klovaz.</p>

5.2.1 Epigraphy

The inscription is carved on the front surface of an altar found on the border of the countryside between Tricarico and Albano, in the area of Rocchetto or Piano della Civita.¹³² It is 0.75 high, 0.525 wide across the epigraphic field, and 0.435 deep. The forms of the letters are very unusual; there has been debate on which of the small circles are interpuncts and which stand for /o/.¹³³

While Ribezzo's reading preferred an interpunct in <φλουσοι· αφαικειτ> and <μετ. δ>, Vetter and Rix interpret the small circles as <O> in all cases.¹³⁴ While most of the forms with <O> are unproblematic – e.g. line 1 κλοφατσ, line 5 πλαμετοδ – this reading also gives us <φλουσοιο> and <ο φατοφε>. The second of these is of particular interest here, since it is the only example of the vocative used for the god's name in this corpus.

¹³² Vetter (1953) 120.

¹³³ Ribezzo (1924) 89–92; Vetter (1953) no. 183; Lejeune (1966) 177; Rix (1993); Crawford (2011b) 1424–1426.

¹³⁴ Ribezzo (1924) 90; Vetter (1953) no. 183; Rix (1993) 194.

5.2.2 Use of vocative

Lines 4-5 (αυτι. φατοφε κλοφατηισ πλαμετοδ) are very unusual. We appear to have the name of the dedicator again in the genitive, referring to something belonging to Klovaz – maybe the altar itself.¹³⁵ The final word πλαμετοδ appears to be an imperative in *-tōd. This strongly suggests that φατοφε is a vocative of the god's name, rather than a locative as suggested by Vetter, since the imperative implies a direct address to the deity.¹³⁶ The meaning is not affected by whether or not the sign before φατοφε is an <O> or an interpunct. However, if it is <O>, then we have a unique example of direct address with the vocative particle 'O' (cf. Latin ō, Greek ὦ, ὡ). The use of the vocative and the imperative may represent, uniquely, part of the dedication ritual which was spoken aloud but not normally recorded in the written inscription.

We know from other kinds of sources that O + imperative was used in Latin and Greek to address and invoke the gods.¹³⁷ In Greek, gods could be addressed directly by a vocative of their name, epithet, or a general term such as θεοί.¹³⁸ The use of the vocative of the god's name in dedicatory inscriptions is quite rare in the Greek-speaking world, though it is by no means unknown.¹³⁹ There are examples in Greek of honorifics standing alone in the vocative, e.g. CEG 268, 275, 334; there are also imperatives asking particular favours such as χάριν ἀντιδίδου, 'give a favour in return'.¹⁴⁰ These direct addresses are thought to have been intended to establish a direct relationship with the god, but also to conjure up the god's presence.¹⁴¹ This structure could also serve to re-enact the original rite of dedication when the inscription was read out by future viewers.¹⁴² These vocatives are strongly correlated with

¹³⁵ Rix (1993) 195.

¹³⁶ Lejeune (1966) 178; Rix (1993) 192. The locative would probably be written -ει (<*-ey>) – thanks to Nick Zair for this observation.

¹³⁷ "O Iuppiter", Ter. *Phormio* 816; "O di boni", Cic. *Brutus* 288; ὦ Ζεῦ, etc.

¹³⁸ Dickey (1996) 187.

¹³⁹ E.g. CEG 227, 235, 275, 334 (dative and vocative), 367, 375, 418.

¹⁴⁰ Day (2010) 150.

¹⁴¹ Depew (2000) 67.

¹⁴² Furley (2010) 154.

poetic inscriptions; they are very rare in prose.¹⁴³ Potentia 40 is unlikely to be poetry, but it is possible that it has taken some influence from Greek poetic dedicatory inscriptions. More likely, though, addressing the god in the vocative had always been part of the oral element of the dedicatory ritual.

Whether or not the small circles are interpreted as <O> or an interpunct also affects the word *φλουσοι* or *φλουσοιο*. If it is an interpunct, then the word is a dative, probably of another divine name (Florus), but possibly of a personal name (i.e. the dedication is made on behalf of another man).¹⁴⁴ However, this places an interpunct in a rather awkward place in the sense of the phrase; given that there are not interpuncts between every word, we might expect the few that there are to match with some break in the sense. If the word is *φλουσοιο*, then it would be a neuter plural, which Rix suggests means ‘first-fruits’ (i.e. naming the type of offering).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Day (2010) 140.

¹⁴⁴ Crawford (2011b) 1426; Rix (1993) 194.

¹⁴⁵ Rix (1993) 194; Crawford (2011b) 1426.

5.3 – Lu 29 (Potentia 21)



Figure 13: Lu 29 (Potentia 21). Photograph from Crawford (2011b) 1397.

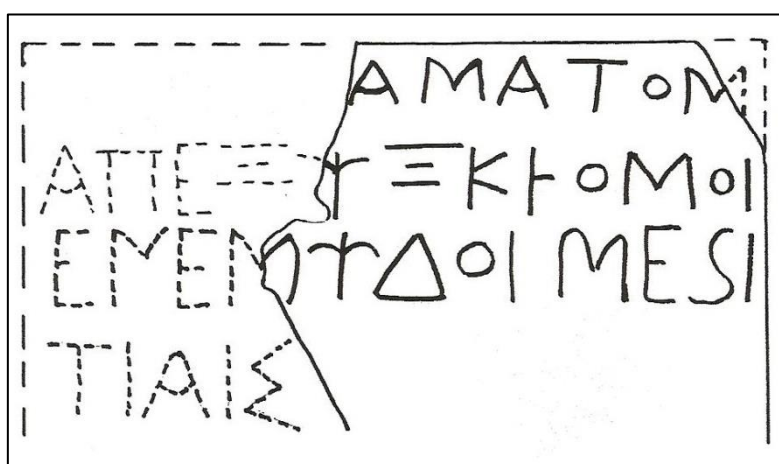


Figure 14: Drawing of Lu 29 (Potentia 21). From Lejeune (1990).

<p><i>Transcription</i></p> <p>[-?~]αματομ [-?~]υξ κχομοι [-?~]μψδοι μεφι [-?~] <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i></p>	<p><i>Lejeune edition (cf. drawing)</i></p> <p>[-?~]αματομ [-?~ απεξ]υξκ χομοι [ενε]μ υδοι μεφι- [τιαισ] <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i></p>	<p><i>Rix/Crawford editions</i></p> <p>[-?~ αf]αματομ [-?~]υξ κχομοι [-?~ νυ]μψδοι μεφι [τανοι] <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i></p>
<p><i>Translation (from Lejeune edition)</i></p> <p>?consecrated-PERF.PART.ACC.SG.MASC. hence-ADV. earth-DAT?.SG. and. water-DAT?.SG. belonging-to-Mefitis-DAT.PL.FEM.</p> <p>... has been ordered ... hence(forth) on the ground and in the water for the Mefitians.</p>	<p><i>Translation (from Rix/Crawford editions)</i></p> <p>?order-PERF.PART.ACC.SG.MASC. -ux-? ?grave-mound-? Numpsdos-DAT. belonging-to-Mefitis-DAT.</p> <p>... has been ordered ... ? for the ?grave-mound ... for the companion of Mefitis.</p>	

Lu 29 is written on a grey sandstone block, 0.54 high x 0.62 wide x 0.30 deep, broken on the left-hand side. It was found re-used as the base of a votive column. The date has been placed variously as 325-300 BC (Lejeune) and 250-200 BC (Crawford); there is little reason to see either of these dates as conclusive. This text is problematic, in part because of the difficulty in reading some of the letters, but mainly because of the lack of agreement in the scholarship about the word-division. For this reason, I have provided both Lejeune's edition and Rix's edition (followed by Crawford) above. The word division and interpretation of this text is relevant to Greek contact because of the sequence <κx> in line 2 (already discussed in Chapter 3).

There has been doubt as to whether the sequence <κx> belongs to one word. Lejeune states that 'la seule envisageable' solution was to put a word division between these two

letters, on the grounds that /kh/ is not a possible sequence in Oscan.¹⁴⁶ This then leaves -υξκ, which Lejeune interprets as *απεξυκ, cf. Latin ‘abhinc’, written in error *απεξυξκ.¹⁴⁷ The next word he identifies as hoμoi, cf. Latin *humi*, forming a phrase hoμoi [ενε]μ υδοι – ‘earth and water’.¹⁴⁸ One justification for this conjecture is that cults relating to water are well-documented in Italian archaeology, particularly in relation to Mefitis.¹⁴⁹ However, a number of problems have arisen with this interpretation.

Firstly, Lejeune’s text identifies the second character of line three as <υ> rather than <ψ>.¹⁵⁰ This would be a completely unique form of upsilon in the corpus.¹⁵¹ A consensus now seems to have been reached that this character is a psi, and it refers to the deity also found in Potentia 18 and Lu 28 (Potentia 20).¹⁵² Secondly, there is no longer opposition to the use of <κh> in one word. If <κh> is the beginning of the word, then we have a word κhoμoi, which Del Tutto Palma compares to Greek χῶμα or χεῦμα, ‘earthworks, burial mound’.¹⁵³ Crawford does not commit himself to a meaning for this word, though he does accept Del Tutto Palma’s word division.¹⁵⁴ If this new interpretation is correct, which seems likely, then we have an example here of lexical borrowing from Greek, in which the aspirate pronunciation is maintained by writing stop + <h> (see Chapter 3). The borrowing of the word may have gone along with the borrowing of a practice or object – for example, if a particular type of Greek-style earthworks began to be used in a dedicatory or funerary context at Rossano, for which there was no existing Oscan name.

¹⁴⁶ Lejeune (1990) 41.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Del Tutto Palma (1987) 368.

¹⁵⁰ Lejeune (1990) 19.

¹⁵¹ Del Tutto Palma (1991) 181.

¹⁵² Ibid., 184; Rix (2002) 129; Crawford (2011b) 1398.

¹⁵³ Del Tutto Palma (1987) 371.

¹⁵⁴ Crawford (2011b) 1398.

5.4 Lu 23 (Crimisa 1)

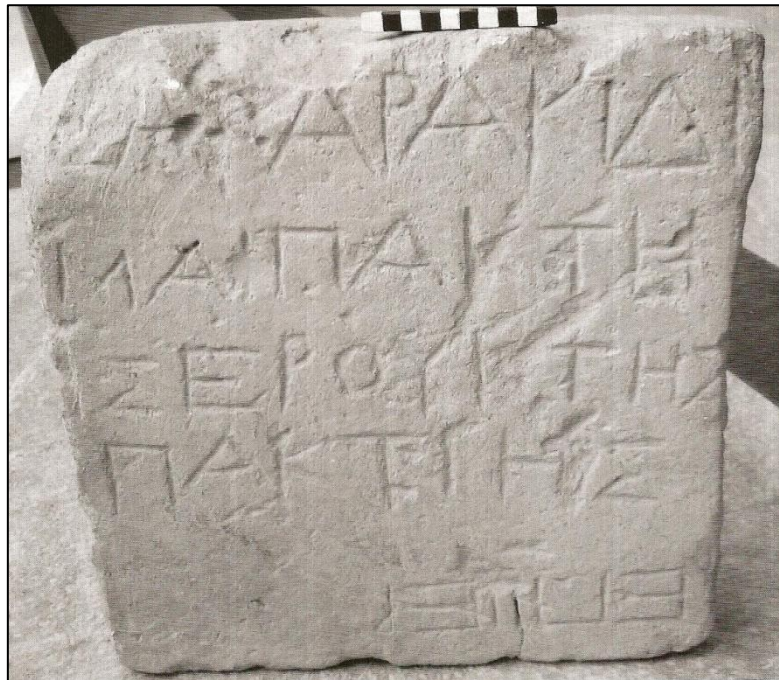


Figure 15: Lu 23 (Crimisa 1). Image from Crawford (2011b) 1468.

The inscription Lu 23 has been discussed a great deal in relation to the orthography of the personal names, which show some irregularity.¹⁵⁵ This may relate to a regional variant of the genitive rather than inaccuracy,¹⁵⁶ but there is not space to discuss these issues here in detail. This stone (dated to 300-200 BC) is of interest here because it seems to show two separate texts: an Oscan dedication, and the beginning of a Greek text reading $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho$, understood as $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho(\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ ‘in the priesthood (of X)’.¹⁵⁷ Because the Greek text is upside-down with respect to the Oscan, it is likely that the Greek text was started but then abandoned, and the stone was re-used for the Oscan text.¹⁵⁸ It is nevertheless tempting to think that there might be some connection between the two texts, since it is possible that the first word of the Oscan text, $\sigma\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\iota\mu\alpha\iota$, is a locative noun also meaning ‘in the priesthood’.¹⁵⁹ However,

¹⁵⁵ De Franciscis and Parlangeli (1960) 14–15; 23–24; Prosdocimi (1980) 612–613; Antonini (1981) 348; La Regina (2002) 65–67; Crawford (2011b) 1468–1469.

¹⁵⁶ Rix (1996) 246–247.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. the same dating formula elsewhere in Italy: IG XIV 2393 95, 149, 377, 480a, 487, 512, 519 (Taranto); SEG 46:1305 12 (Aquileia; mid-C2nd BC).

¹⁵⁸ Crawford (2011b) 1468.

¹⁵⁹ Poccetti (1988) 112–117.

there is still some debate about the word division here.¹⁶⁰ If these texts were written at the same site at around the same time, then they show the use of both Greek and Oscan for dedication texts; but it is difficult to know how much time passed between the writing of the two texts.

5.5 Lu 39 (Anxia 1)

Despite its length and the relative clarity of the letter-forms, this inscription is very ill-understood, and its genre is not known. In this section, I will explore whether it could be considered a dedicatory inscription and, if so, the extent of Greek influence on the text.

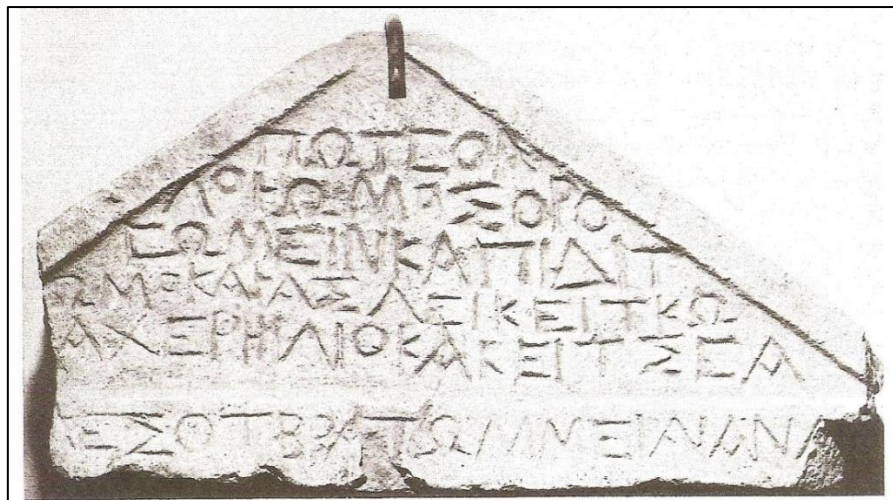


Figure 16: Lu 39 (Anxia 1). Image from Crawford (2011b) 1433.

Transcription

1. πωτ φολ-
λοηωμ. σορο-
φωμ ειν καπιδιτ-
ωμ. καηασ λεικειτ κω-
5. [-?]-αχερηι λιοκακειτ σφα-
[-?]-μ εσοτ βρατωμ μειαι ανα[-?]-

¹⁶⁰ Untermann (2000) 644.

<p><i>Reconstruction: Crawford (2011b)</i></p> <p>1. πωτ φολ- λοηωμ. σορο- φωμ ειν(ειμ) καπιδιτ- ωμ. καθασ λεικειτ κω- 5. [ρο μ]αχερηι λιο{κα}κειτ σφα- [ι τιω]μ εσοτ βρατωμ μειαι ανα[φακ-]</p>	<p><i>Reconstruction: Rix (2002)</i></p> <p>1. πωτ φολ- λοηωμ. σορο- φωμ ειν(ειμ) καπιδιτ- ωμ. καθασ λεικειτ κω- 5. μ αχερηι λιοκακειτ σφα- [ι τιω]μ εσοτ βρατωμ μεια{ια}να[σ]</p>
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The text is written on a damaged limestone pediment, originally of dimensions 0.37 high, 0.875 wide at the base (now damaged on both sides) and 0.1475 thick. Underneath the pediment there are traces of the panel beneath, which Crawford says preserves the tops of three heads.¹⁶¹ The form of the inscription is unlike any other dedicatory inscription, and if there are indeed traces of three heads then the object itself seems to fall squarely within our expectations of funerary inscriptions. However, there are several potential problems with this. Firstly, the text is much longer than any other surviving South Oscan funerary inscription. Secondly, depending on the interpretation and reconstruction of the text, it may not contain a personal name, something which features in all other funerary texts. Thirdly, one of the few clearly identifiable words is βρατωμ which, as we have seen above, is tied closely to Oscan dedicatory formulae.

We have very few South Oscan funerary inscriptions; the two clear examples we have include only the name of the deceased, either alone (Lu 41/Tegianum 1) or with a short message (Lu 40/Consilinum 2) (see Chapter 6: section 4). In Central Oscan, too, funerary inscriptions are short, mainly just name + patronymic, although some include a greeting (Cm 18/Cumae 18) or the age of the deceased (Si 7/Teanum Sidicinum 17).

For the inscription Lu 39 to contain a personal name, we would need to accept Crawford's reconstruction [μ]αχερηι, and accept this as a spelling of an Oscan personal name

¹⁶¹ Crawford (2011b) 1433.

(see discussion of *chi* in Chapter 3). It would also be helpful to be able to accept *κωπο* = ‘(grave)stone’, cf. **kúru** Sa 31 (Saepinum 2). It is not clear that there is space for Crawford’s reconstruction (Figure 17, 18). On the right-hand side there is one extra character compared to the line above – the reconstruction *[πο μ]αχερη* requires three. It is also not clear that Sa 31 is funerary, or that **kúru** was used to mean ‘gravestone’ in Oscan. In Sa 10, 11 and 12 (Teruentum 16, 15, 17) it is used to refer to stone basins; in Sa 31 (Saepinum 2), it refers to a small oval-shaped stone, which Crawford sees as funerary, but may not be.¹⁶² The word **qora** is used to refer to funerary monuments in South Picene,¹⁶³ so it remains a possibility that *κωπο* means ‘(grave)stone’ depending how closely the semantic field of this word corresponded in the two varieties.

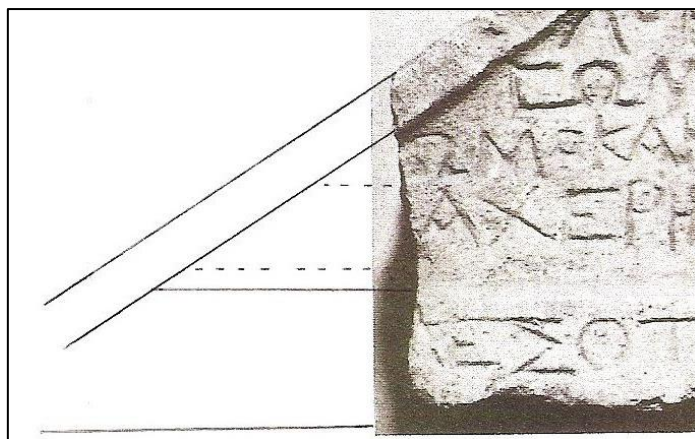


Figure 17: Lu 39 (Anxia 1) detail. Image from Crawford (2011b) 1433, plus author’s drawing.

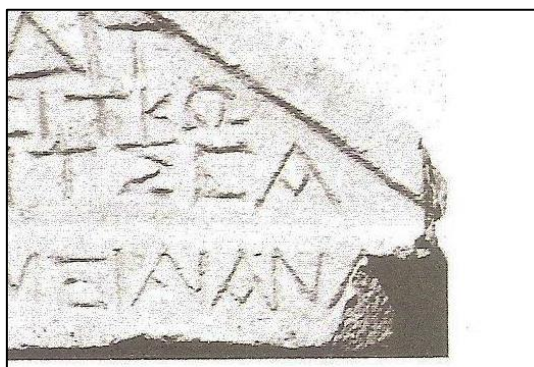


Figure 18: Lu 39 (Anxia 1) detail. Image from Crawford (2011b) 1433.

¹⁶² Ibid., 1132.

¹⁶³ Sp TE 7 (Interamnina Praetuttiorum 3); Sp AQ 2 (Aufinum 1); Sp CH 1 (Anxanum 1).

There also appears to be vocabulary in this inscription which ties it to the dedicatory formulae outlined above. The word $\beta\rho\alpha\tau\omega\mu$ corresponds to ‘grace’ found in the formula *brateis datas*, but in the accusative; this has led some scholars to believe that this inscription is dedicatory rather than funerary.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, Crawford reconstructs $\alpha\nu\alpha[\acute{\alpha}\kappa-]$ in line 6. This leads to a sense of ‘dedicate this grace to my (X)’. If $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\tau$ is a specialised verb of dedicating (see section 4.3, above), then it is strange to reconstruct it here - unless this is also a dedicatory inscription. However, the evidence of $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\tau$ and its variants is limited. We have only two (or possibly three) instances of this verb in a dedicatory context, and so we cannot say categorically that it was excluded from all other genres. It is therefore possible for this to be a funerary inscription which includes some language more reminiscent of dedicatory inscriptions.

VI Conclusions

We have seen in this chapter that there are a number of elements of dedications in South Oscan which show possible influence from Greek, on some occasions above the level of Greek influence in other areas further north. We have also seen that all of this ‘influence’ involves adaptation of Greek models; there is little that shows Oscan-speakers directly reproducing Greek dedicatory forms. We have already seen in Chapter 3 that some dedications have epigraphic characteristics that seem to be derived from borrowing. For example, the use of Greek characters such as chi and zeta, and the combination <kh>, show a continued awareness of Greek language and epigraphy. The use of Greek acrophonic numerals, and the adaptation of practices to record the costs of inscriptions and dedications, also suggest influence from the Greek-speaking world. The use of Greek and Oscan at the same sites and periods (e.g. at Rossano and Crimisa) reflects bilingualism in those areas.

But the interaction with Greek is not just epigraphic: it is also linguistic and cultural. In a number of instances, we have seen the borrowing or calquing of words, such as $\kappa\eta\mu\omicron\iota$ ‘mound’ and possibly $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\tau$ ‘dedicated’, that indicate not just Greek influence on the Oscan

¹⁶⁴ Conversation with Emmanuel Dupraz, June 2012.

lexicon, but also influence on religious practice. Even the formula *brateis datas*, which has parallels in Greek-influenced Gaulish, may indicate some particular aspect of religious behaviour that had been taken up along with the wording of the formula. The types of objects dedicated in Southern Italy could also be influenced by the Greek-speaking world, e.g. dedicated helmets. In some cases, the preferences of South Oscan writers – such as the higher proportion of divine names not in the dative, as compared to inscriptions in other alphabets – could be related to higher levels of influence from Greek usage, but may show a local tradition developed for other reasons, or a coincidental pattern in a small corpus.

This chapter has also shown the difficulties of dating the inscriptions in this corpus. Even at prolific sites such as Rossano di Vaglio, it is extremely difficult to see any change over time; many examples of possible contact phenomena are related to one or two inscriptions only. This might lead us to believe that borrowing and adaptation from Greek was done on an individual basis only. However, taken as a whole, the corpus of dedicatory inscriptions shows the level to which Greek language and epigraphy had impacted on the religious practice of Oscan-speakers. Considering that religious inscriptions are often quite conservative, the evidence from this genre suggests a sustained level of interaction between Oscan- and Greek-speakers, which may have been felt more profoundly in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily than in the areas further north.

Chapter 5: Curse Tablets

I Introduction

Pocchetti commented in 2000 that the number of Oscan curse tablets had doubled since Vetter published his *Handbuch* in 1953,¹ and since then new texts have continued to come to light. Even now, we are in possession of a number of pieces of lead that may be inscribed but have not yet been unrolled, so that the corpus is certain to continue to grow.² Unlike in Vetter's day, when all extant Oscan curse tablets had been found in Campania, many of the more recently discovered curses are from the South Oscan area, and are written in the adapted Greek alphabet. The eight South Oscan curse tablets now outnumber the six examples found written in the Central Oscan alphabet.

Unlike official dedications and legal texts, which are self-evidently written by the local elite, curse tablets may show the written language of a wider range of the population – though this assumption should be treated very carefully. These are also the texts that give us some of the most explicit links to Greek. Despite the relatively small number of texts, curse tablets also give us a huge amount of onomastic material – around 50% of all the names attested in South Oscan come from curses.³ All of these attributes mean that curses are of vital importance in any study of contact between Greek and Oscan.

II Curse Tablets in the Ancient World

2.1 Features of curse tablets

The definition of curse tablets most often quoted is that given by Jordan in 1985: '*Defixiones*, more commonly known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or

¹ Pocchetti (2000) 766.

² Pocchetti and Gualtieri (1990) 139–140; Crawford (2011b) 1334.

³ McDonald (2012a) 45.

welfare of persons or animals against their will'.⁴ By this definition, there are over 1000 curse tablets in total from around the ancient world, though if one includes examples written on materials other than lead the total rises to around 1500.⁵ The most ancient tablets are found in Sicily and Attica (C6th-5th), and are written in Greek.⁶ Later, the practice of writing curses on lead spread more widely, and from the second half of the C4th these kinds of inscriptions start to appear in languages other than Greek – including Oscan.⁷ We know, from the essential continuity of the form and the formulae, that Greek curse tablets were the direct model for Oscan curse tablets.⁸ We shall see further evidence for this later in the chapter.

Most of the earliest tablets written in Greek give only the name(s) of the target. Where a deity is mentioned, it is usually Hermes or Persephone.⁹ It is possible that the curse, or binding spell, was originally said aloud, and was only written alongside the names later.¹⁰ The characteristic verbs used in the earliest curse tablets in Sicily (καταγράφω, ἐγγράφω) differ from those used in Attica (καταδέω, καταδίδωμι), though the latter diffuse through the Greek world during the C4th BC.¹¹ Generally, the majority of Latin and Greek examples refer to 'binding' the victim, rather than to physical harm. The language of the texts can be divided into three basic types, which can be combined: performative, with a first-person verb ('I bind X'); declarative, with a third-person verb ('this curse binds X'); and wishes or commands, with an invocation to some kind of agent ('Hermes/Hekate/spirits, come and bind X').¹² In the third category, these requests can use the imperative, or they can use persuasive analogies intended to cause the victim to enter a certain state, for example asking that the victim become cold or useless like the lead tablet.¹³

⁴ Jordan (1985) 151; Ogden (1999) 3. Ogden points out that "by supernatural means" could be omitted from this definition, depending on how the ancients viewed these texts.

⁵ Gager (1992) 3.

⁶ Faraone (1991) 3.

⁷ Adams (2003) 139. Latin curse tablets begin to appear in the C2nd BC – the earliest seems to be Kropp 1.5.4/1, from Pompeii. The earliest Etruscan example also appears to be from the C2nd BC (ET Po 4.4).

⁸ Dickie (2001) 128.

⁹ Faraone (1991) 4.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Poccetti (2010) 673.

¹² Poccetti (2002) 14.

¹³ Kropp (2010) 367–368.

Some tablets show various strategies for obfuscation, probably as a way of increasing the magical potency of the text removing it from everyday, human language.¹⁴ This accords with the cross-cultural tendency to make ritual language (including ‘magical’ language) distinct from ordinary language by the use of marked forms.¹⁵ In curse tablets, the names of the targets can be scrambled, or the text can be written retrograde long after this direction of writing was no longer used in other contexts.¹⁶ Texts may also switch between directions, may change the order of syllables within a word, or may reverse the order of letters within each syllable (e.g. ναῖταμοχς for ἀντιμαχος).¹⁷ There are examples of this obfuscation which show the writer is using these strategies with a particular result in mind. For example, DTA 67 asks that the victim’s words be made cold and ἐπ’ἀριστερᾷ, ‘reversed’, like the words of the curse – so that the direction of writing is used as a representation of the ‘reversal’ of the activities of the victim.¹⁸ With a few exceptions, obfuscating ‘mystical’ words (sometimes referred to as *voces mysticae*) are not used until the Roman period.¹⁹

After being written and rolled up, the tablets were commonly deposited in graves, chthonic sanctuaries or wells.²⁰ It is possible that the association with graves was intended to invoke the spirits of people who had died before their proper time, though this is difficult to confirm because of the lack of evidence about the graves where curse tablets have been found.²¹ Earlier tablets from the Greek world may also come with lead or wax dolls, sometimes pierced with pins – figurines found at the Kerameikos in Athens (c. 400 BC) were shut in little coffins.²² In later examples, the lead of the tablet itself sometimes becomes the image of the

¹⁴ Adams (2003) 128.

¹⁵ Blom (2012) 124. I use the word “magical” in this chapter to refer to the language of curse tablets, on the understanding that the boundaries between religion, magic and medicine were blurred and complicated. However, the less value-laden term “ritual language” is not specific enough, and does not make clear enough that there are particular usages found in curse tablets but not in dedications, funerary inscriptions and other “ritual” texts.

¹⁶ Jordan and Curbera (1998) 33.

¹⁷ Poccetti (2002) 48.

¹⁸ Ibid., 41; Faraone and Kropp (2010) 382.

¹⁹ Gager (1992) 5.

²⁰ Jordan (1985) 152; Jordan and Curbera (1998) 31.

²¹ Jordan (1985) 152.

²² Gager (1992) 15.

target – hence the use of persuasive analogies, in which the writer wishes for the target to become as cold as lead.²³

Particular care needs to be taken with any linguistic evidence derived from curse tablets, particularly as concerns borrowing, interference and other contact phenomena. It may be tempting to see curse tablets as closer to everyday speech than formulaic official inscriptions, because they were written more spontaneously or perhaps by individuals of a lower social class or with lower literacy levels. For example, Lambert states that curse tablets ‘betray the *language and the concerns of common people*’ (original emphasis).²⁴ This has often been, and continues to be, an assumption in the scholarship on curse tablets.²⁵ However, there is not necessarily a closer than usual connection between the language of curse tablets and the spoken language of the non-elite.

Curse tablets are not less prone to being formulaic than official, religious or funerary inscriptions – their formulae may in some cases be less familiar or more flexible, but curse tablets were highly driven by tradition and convention, and were often copied from handbooks.²⁶ Their execution represents a large range of competencies, from very large, awkward letters, to apparently professional handwriting.²⁷ Comments by Plato also suggest that professionals were involved in the production of curse tablets from an early period.²⁸ The involvement of professional writers would contribute to the use of standard forms and the development of formulae. In fact, there is evidence that some curse tablets stuck to the written norms of their times reasonably closely.²⁹ Some Greek/Latin bilingual curse tablets seem to show a close adherence to the written norms of the time, though they show some

²³ Poccetti (2002) 22.

²⁴ Lambert (2004) 76.

²⁵ Gager (1992) v, “Unlike ancient literary texts, they are devoid of the distortions introduced by factors such as education, social class or status, and literary genres and traditions”; Poccetti (2010) 674, “Ils reflètent la langue parlée locale et les choix personnels des graveurs.”

²⁶ Arbabzadah (2012) 7; Clackson (2011) 37.

²⁷ In Roman Imperial times, professional scribes may have taken a larger role in production – Gager (1992) 4–5.

²⁸ Dickie (2001) 48–49.

²⁹ Arbabzadah (2012) 269.

evidence of less stigmatised non-standard linguistic features.³⁰ Where aspects of spoken language are represented in curse tablets, these may belong to any social class.³¹ Obfuscation is also likely to take the language of the text further away from contemporary spoken language rather than closer to it.

We will see in this chapter that South Oscan curse tablets show a great deal of influence from Greek. This is not evidence of a highly bilingual and code-mixing spoken language among the lower classes. Rather, this evidence relates to the practices and traditions of writing this genre. On the one hand, the writer of a curse may be motivated to keep a traditional Greek formula the same, as its effectiveness may be reduced if the formula is translated or changed. On the other hand, writers of curses may use code-switching or bigraphic writing to put the language of the text at one remove from everyday language.

2.2 Terminology

There are several terms for texts written on lead tablets which target individuals for some kind of punishment. Often, they are called *defixiones* or *katadesmoi* (sing. *defixio*; *katadesmos*). These terms are derived from the ‘verbs of binding’ in texts in Greek and Latin respectively, and the terms used in literary sources to refer to ‘binding spells’ (the term *κατάδεσμος* is found in Plato), though we do not know what term would have been given to the tablets themselves.³² The term *defixiones* is often extended to apply to examples in all languages.

However, there is some difficulty in using the term *defixio* for non-Latin texts, since it presupposes an inherent similarity between the Latin texts and those in other languages, not just in overall form but in content, presentation and intention. This may be misleading, since the Latin tradition shows a number of independent developments, such as *voces mysticae*, the

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Curbera and Jordan (2007) 1350.

³² E.g. Plato (*Republic* 2.364B; *Laws* 10.909A) refers to the sale of “binding” spells. Other references to curse tablets include: Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 28.4; Tacitus *Ann.* 2.69; Cicero *Brutus* 217. Graf (1995) 33; Graf (1999) 119; Ogden (1999) 5.

use of drawings, and more extensive curse formulae. It is therefore best not to use a Latin term to refer to the Oscan texts. Here, I use the general term ‘curse tablets’ for examples of these texts in all languages.³³

2.3 Cultural and linguistic contact in curse tablets

The use of curse tablets originated in Greek-speaking communities and spread into non-Greek-speaking communities through cultural contact. Almost all of the sites where Oscan curse tablets have been found are coastal cities of Lucania, Bruttium and Campania, especially sites such as Laos, Petelia and Cumae, where both Greek and Oscan are known to have been in use. There is considerable evidence of phenomena arising from language contact in the texts themselves. This has been noted already, particularly in the texts found at Laos.³⁴

Below is a complete list of the curse tablets in all languages found in Sicily (Table 1) and Italy (Table 2) from the 6th to 1st BC. This list includes all Greek and Latin examples found up to approximately 2008, all Etruscan examples found in Rix (1991), and all Sabellian examples included in Crawford (2011).³⁵ While the curse tablets of Sicily remain mainly in Greek for the whole period, the language of curse tablets in Italy changes as the practice of writing curses spreads northwards. The close connections between Greek, Oscan and Latin curse tablets in Italy are not often dwelt upon. For example, Gager mentions the use and influence of various languages other than Latin and Greek in curse texts,³⁶ but does not mention Oscan.³⁷

³³ Some tablets that seek the return of stolen goods, or revenge for theft, are known as “prayers for justice” or “judicial prayers” – Gager (1992) 175–178. These typically date to the Roman Imperial period, and so this separate category is not relevant to the Oscan examples.

³⁴ Poccetti (2010) 674.

³⁵ The following corpora were used: DT Audollent; Dubois S I; Dubois S II; Dubois GG I; Dubois GG II; SGD; NGCT; Kropp; *Imagines*; ET.

³⁶ E.g. Gager (1992) 14, 103.

³⁷ Dickie’s account of the spread of curse tablets into Italy does include Etruscan and Oscan examples, though his account is now somewhat out-of-date. See Dickie (2001) 128–129.

Table 1: Curse Tablets in Sicily

Inscription	Date	Location	Language
SGD 96	Late C6 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 95	Late C6 th ?	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 94	c. 500	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 66	c. 500?	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 93	c. 500	Akragas, Sicily	Greek
SGD 111	c. 500	Panormos, Sicily	Greek
Great Curse of Selinous (SGD 107)	Early C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek ³⁸
SGD 97	Early C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 98	Early C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 99	Early C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 100	Early C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
Dubois S II 32	Early C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 101	First half C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 107	475-450	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 108	475-450	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
Dubois S II 30	475-450	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
Dubois S II 33	c. 450	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
Dubois S II 34	c. 450	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
Dubois S II 35	c. 450	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 103	c. 450	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 84	c. 450	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 85	c. 450	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 87	c. 450	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 88	c. 450	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 90	c. 450	Gela, Sicily	Greek? ³⁹
SGD 91	c. 450	Gela, Sicily	Greek
SGD 105	Mid C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 104	Mid C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 64	C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 65	C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 67	C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 68	C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 69	C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 70	C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
SGD 86	Late C5 th	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 106	Late C5 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek

³⁸ Mixture of Greek and non-Greek names.³⁹ Found in the burial of a Campanian (i.e. non-Greek) man. See Poccetti (2004) for a new interpretation.

NGCT 57	C5 th /early C4 th	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 71	C5 th /4 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 72	C5 th /4 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 73	C5 th /4 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 80	C5 th /4 th	Sicily (Unknown)	Greek
NGCT 54	C4 th	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 55	C4 th	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 56	C4 th	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 58	C4 th ?	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 62	C4 th ?	Kamarina, Sicily?	Greek
Dubois S II 38	C4 th	Selinous, Sicily	Greek
NGCT 63	Early C3 rd	Akragas, Sicily	Greek ⁴⁰
NGCT 78	Late C3 rd	Lilybaion	Greek
SGD 89	C2 nd	Kamarina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 109	C2 nd	Lilybaion, Sicily	Greek
SGD 92	C2 nd /1 st	Phintias, Sicily	Greek / Latin ⁴¹
SGD 116	C1 st	Morgantina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 117	C1 st	Morgantina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 118	C1 st	Morgantina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 119	C1 st	Morgantina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 120	C1 st	Morgantina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 121	C1 st	Morgantina, Sicily	Greek
SGD 110	C1 st BC/1 st AD	Lilybaion, Sicily	Greek / Latin ⁴²

Table 2: Curse Tablets in Italy

Inscription	Date	Location	Language
DT Audollent 302	C5 th	Cumae	Greek
SGD 122	C5 th /4 th	Sicily or Italy	Greek
Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1)	350-300	Thurii Copia, Bruttium	Oscan (South)
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	330-320	Laos, Lucania	Oscan (South)
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Second half C4 th ?	Roccagloriosa, Lucania	Oscan (South)/(Greek)
NGCT 83	Late C4 th	Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Bruttium	Greek
Lu 63 (Laos 3)	c. 300	Laos, Lucania	Oscan (South)
Laos 4	c. 300	Laos, Lucania	Oscan (South)
Petelia 2	c. 300	Petelia, Bruttium	Oscan (South)/Greek

⁴⁰ This text may be a votive or a receipt rather than a curse. See Jordan (2000) 19.⁴¹ This text gives a list of men's names (nominative) in Latin plus the Greek verb καταγράφω.⁴² This text contains Latin-style names transcribed into the Greek alphabet, plus a Greek curse formula.

SGD 125	C4 th /3 rd	Taras, Apulia	Greek
SGD 126	C4 th /3 rd	Taras, Apulia	Greek
NGCT 82	C4 th /3 rd	Teuranus Ager (Tiriolo), Bruttium	Greek
Lu 44 (Crimisa 3)	300-250	Crimisa, Bruttium	Oscan (South)
Sa 36 (Bovianum 98)	300-200	Bovianum, Samnium	Oscan (Central)
Cp 36 (Capua 33)	300-200	Capua, Campania	Oscan (Central)
DT Audollent 212	C3 rd	Bruttium (Unknown)	Greek
SGD 123	C3 rd	Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Bruttium	Greek
SGD 124	C3 rd	Metapontum, Lucania	Greek
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Before 200	Teuranus Ager (Tiriolo), Bruttium	Oscan (South)
Cp 37 (Capua 34)	200-150	Capua, Campania	Oscan (Central)
Cm 14 (Cumae 8)	200-150	Cumae, Campania	Oscan (Central)
NGCT 81	Late C2 nd	Rhegion, Bruttium	Greek
Kropp 1.5.4/1	C2 nd	Pompeii, Campania	Latin
ET Po 4.4	C2 nd	Populonia, Etruria	Etruscan
Kropp 1.1.3/1	C2 nd /1 st	Caere, Etruria	Latin
Cm 13 (Cumae 9)	125-50 BC	Cumae, Campania	Oscan (Central)
Cm 15 (Cumae 10)	100-50 BC	Cumae, Campania	Oscan (Central)/Latin
Kropp 1.4.2/1 (DT Audollent 133)	First half C1 st	Mentana, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.2/2 (DT Audollent 134)	First half C1 st	Mentana, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.2/3 (DT Audollent 135)	First half C1 st	Mentana, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/3 (DT Audollent 139)	C1 st	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/8	C1 st	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/9	C1 st	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/10	C1 st	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/11	C1 st	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.4.4/12	C1 st	Rome, Latium	Latin
Kropp 1.7.2/1	C1 st	Ateste, Veneto	Latin
ET Vt 4.1	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.2	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.3	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.4	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan
ET Vt 4.6	Late?	Volaterrae, Etruria	Etruscan

Within Oscan, we can see that South Oscan curse tablets appear before Central Oscan. However, there is not necessarily clear continuity between South Oscan and Central Oscan texts, as we will see in the rest of this chapter. It seems likely that the production of curse tablets in different Oscan-speaking regions was the result of multiple points of transmission from different Greek-speakers, probably at different periods. This may have resulted in regional differences between Central Oscan and South Oscan curse tablets.

It has already been noted elsewhere that the earliest Latin curses come from Oscan-speaking areas, such as Cumae and Pompeii, and that Latin-speakers may have associated Oscan and related languages with magic.⁴³ For this reason, they continued to use Oscan linguistic features or to translate existing Oscan formulae when writing curses in Latin. For example, Poccetti compares the Latin expression (CIL I² 1012 = ILLRP 1144, Rome) *nec loqui nec sermonare possit* with the Oscan (Cp 36/Capua 33) **nep deikum nep fatium pútíad**.⁴⁴ It seems that the direction of influence is from Oscan to Latin, and that this is why some magical practices continued to be associated with Sabellian peoples.⁴⁵ It is plausible that this association of magic with the donor language also happened at other points of transmission, so that Oscan-speakers associated magic with the Greek language. This could lead to borrowing and translation of Greek features or formulae in Oscan curse texts.

However, this theory should be treated carefully: the occasional association of Oscan with magical language does not mean that all Latin curse tablets were derived from Oscan sources. The C1st examples from Rome, for example, are more likely to have arisen from contact with Greek than with Oscan. This seems to have been an epigraphic practice that was adopted directly from contact with Greek-speakers at different periods by a number of different communities writing South Oscan, Central Oscan, Latin and Etruscan. Making curse tablets was a shared practice across Italy by the C2nd BC, inspired by ongoing contact between a large variety of communities and languages.

⁴³ Adams (2003) 139.

⁴⁴ Poccetti (1993a) 80.

⁴⁵ Adams (2003) 139.

2.4 Oscan curse tablets

In total, there are 14 curse tablets written in Oscan, of which eight are from the South Oscan area and are written in the South Oscan alphabet. All are written between the C4th and C1st BC, and a considerable proportion show influence from Greek or Latin. The earlier South Oscan tablets show the most contact with Greek, while the latest Central Oscan tablets show contact with Latin. No curse tablets have been found written in North Oscan, Umbrian or South Picene.

The Oscan texts are written in ways familiar from Greek and Latin curse tablets, on thin sheets of lead or lead alloy, often then rolled up or pierced with nails. The Oscan practice of writing curse tablets sometimes included both a list of targets and an explicit curse formula (e.g. Petelia 2, Cp 36/Capua 33, Cm 13/Cumae 9). But very often Oscan curse inscriptions are limited to long lists of name components in either the nominative or the accusative.⁴⁶ Sometimes these lists contain a dozen or more names, hence the domination of curse tablets in our evidence for onomastics.⁴⁷ Some examples in South Oscan show both nominatives and accusatives, apparently in opposition to each other as subject and object of an elided verb (see section 2.2).

⁴⁶ For the nominative see e.g. Lu 63 (Laos 3), Laos 4, Sa 36 (Bovianum 98), Cm 14 (Cumae 8); for the accusative see e.g. Lu 46 (Laos 2).

⁴⁷ McDonald (2012a) 45.



Figure 1: Example of a curse tablet from this corpus: Lu 63 (Laos 3).

Author's photo, 12/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

The details of the findspots and archaeological contexts of the eight South Oscan curse tablets are given in Table 3. Only three of the eight are known to have been found in grave contexts. Of the others, Petelia 2 contains an explicit curse formula; Lu 45 (Buxentum 3), Lu 63 (Laos 3) and Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1) are assumed to be curse texts on the grounds of their physical appearance. This includes the nail-hole in Lu 63, which appears to have nailed the text to a wall, perhaps the wall of a tomb (see Figure 1).

Lu 45 is not associated with any grave, but may be associated with some cult or ceremonial context.⁴⁸ Lu 47 was also found in an area with monumental buildings, and the presence of other (not yet unrolled) tablets in the same area suggests this is not coincidental.⁴⁹ We can compare the Greek practice of depositing curse tablets in sacred contexts, especially those associated with chthonic deities, usually Demeter – e.g. the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous, which has a large number of curse tablets associated with it.⁵⁰ This association of curse tablets with a sanctuary is found also at Rhodes

⁴⁸ Poccetti and Gualtieri (1990) 145.

⁴⁹ Poccetti (1993b) 214.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

(C4th), Knidos (C2nd), Corinth (C2nd), and Morgantina (C2nd).⁵¹ The archaeological context of all of these South Oscan texts is therefore in keeping with their identification as curse tablets (Table 3).

Table 3: Archaeological contexts

Inscription	Context	Details
Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)	Roccagloriosa. Outside SE corner of portico, Complex A.	Found in dumped material (1977; text read 1986).
Lu 46 (Laos 2)	Laos. Tomb.	Chamber tomb. Burial of man, woman and horse with high-status grave goods (1963). ⁵²
Lu 63 (Laos 3)	Laos. None.	Acquired from collector (1890). Perhaps originally nailed to wall or wall of tomb? ⁵³
Laos 4	Laos. None.	Acquired from collector (1890).
Lu 47 (Thurii Copia 1)	Castiglione. Found on surface.	Near so-called 'theatre' (1970s).
Lu 44 (Crimisa 3) ⁵⁴	Crimisa. Tomb.	Near temple of Apollo Aleus (1970s).
Petelia 2	Strongoli. Found on surface.	Near necropolis areas of Fondo Castello and le Manche (2000).
Lu 43 (Teuranus Ager 1)	Tiriolo. Tomb.	Found rolled up (1881/2).

III Structure of the texts

3.1 Formulae

There are two South Oscan curse tablets that show apparent use of Greek formulae or phrases. In Lu 45, the list of names that forms the main body of the curse is preceded by a Greek phrase. However, this is not a Greek cursing formula: it is more likely to be a record of a

⁵¹ Jordan and Curbera (1998) 31.

⁵² Greco and Guzzo (1992).

⁵³ Crawford (2011b) 1348.

⁵⁴ A faked copy of Lu 44 also exists. It misreads the text of Lu 44 in several places, for example, understanding <ΛΛ> as <M>. Poccetti (1984) 82.

transaction of some kind, and the lead has then been re-used later for a curse. For more detail on this inscription, see section 4.1.

In Petelia 2, however, we see a clearer use of a Greek curse formula. The list of names, all of which show Oscan morphological endings, is followed by a curse formula that begins in Oscan but then code-switches into Greek. The Oscan half of the formula also appears to be a translation, or a close imitation, of an existing Greek model (see section 4.4). The motivations behind Petelia 2, therefore, would seem to be very similar to the motivations proposed for the use of translations of Oscan curse formulae in early Latin curse tablets. Despite the Oscan-style names of the intended targets, and the ability (or even preference) of the writer for writing in Oscan, a close connection is kept with the Greek models.

Petelia 2 is the only one of the South Oscan texts to include an explicit curse formula. All of the other seven curses consist only of lists of names or (in the case of Lu 45) a list of names accompanied by an unrelated text. This is in contrast with the Central Oscan curse tablets, in which four out of six include some formula or other details besides the names of the targets. Although lists of names with no curse formula often occur in Greek curse tablets from Italy and Sicily, those with an explicit curse formula or verb of binding are more common by the Hellenistic period.

The numbers of texts are small in each case, and the differences we see may simply be the result of random variation. However, it is worth exploring the possibility that there may have been different customs in writing curses in South Oscan and Central Oscan areas. If this is the case, it may be related in part to the time periods at which they are written, since overall curse tablets tend to contain lengthier and more complex formulae the later they are. However, the difference may not simply be the result of changing practices over time. This difference of practice may suggest that curse tablets were adopted separately in the South Oscan and Central Oscan areas, and perhaps that the adoption in Central Oscan took place at a slightly later period (perhaps C3rd or even early C2nd, rather than C4th) when longer curse formulae were becoming more common in Greek.

2.2 Nominative/accusative oppositions

Typically, either the nominative or accusative is used for lists of names in curse tablets. There are some examples where the writer uses both, for example starting in the accusative but then lapsing into the nominative – probably because the list is thought of as a list of names in their default case, and not part of the syntax of a sentence.⁵⁵

Three of the eight South Oscan curse tablets show both the nominative and accusative in their list of names. Rather than these being lists in which the writer eventually lapses into a different case, however, these inscriptions always begin with a nominative, and then alternate between nominative and accusative. In Lu 43, there is just one nominative and accusative.⁵⁶ In Lu 44 there are two of each; in Lu 47, there are probably three of each, depending on interpretation of the damaged sections.⁵⁷ This is normally taken, including by Crawford, as a structure NOM (VERB) ACC, where the nominative names the curser, the accusative names the victim, and the verb is not stated. However, this pattern is not found in Central Oscan or in Greek.⁵⁸ If this is the correct interpretation, then this would be a uniquely South Oscan development in the structure of curse texts. Poccetti suggests that the nominative/accusative opposition might not indicate the curser and the target, but some other distinction, for example different categories of target.⁵⁹ However, this is speculative, and the categories referred to are not recoverable. Even if Poccetti is correct, the nominative/accusative alternation seems to be a pattern unique to this area.

There are a number of reasons why NOM (VERB) ACC might not be the correct interpretation. Firstly, there is a tendency in curse tablets for the curser to avoid naming himself in writing, to avoid being cursed by accident or being found by the target of the curse if the tablet was discovered. Where there is a verb, it is most commonly a first-person verb

⁵⁵ Adams (2003) 682.

⁵⁶ Pisani (1952).

⁵⁷ Poccetti (1993b) 230. It is just possible that the damaged [-?]ioμ in line 2 of side B is a verb of cursing rather than an accusative name. However, Crawford (2011) 1462 reads [2-3]ioμ, so that this is more likely to be an accusative, perhaps [μα]ioμ.

⁵⁸ Poccetti (1993b) 229; Dickie (2001) 128.

⁵⁹ Poccetti (1984) 83; Poccetti (1993b) 229.

without a named subject. The exceptions are ‘prayers for justice’ and erotic attraction spells.⁶⁰ These do not seem to be the kinds of tablets we have here – both prayers for justice and attraction spells tend to give more detail about the target, the wrongs done, and the desired effect of the curse; they also tend to be of a later period (see, e.g., the large collection of prayers for justice at Bath).⁶¹

There are, however, earlier exceptions to the rule against naming the curser which are relevant here. In DTA 55 (Attica, late C4th BC), a name appears in the nominative at the beginning of the curse, centred above the rest of the text – apparently the name of the writer or commissioner of the curse.⁶² In SGD 91 (Gela, Sicily; c. 450 BC), the writer curses in the first-person singular (ἀπογράφω) on behalf of another man, Eunikos, who is mentioned by name several times.⁶³ Although these examples give more extensive detail than the three South Oscan texts, they give a precedent for the curser being named – in particular, in the second example, when the curse is written on his behalf. If Eunikos was not capable of writing his own curse, he could go to someone who would do it for him (possibly a professional – though in this case the friendship between the two men is mentioned). The South Oscan examples may be the result of a similar situation. It is also problematic that this NOM (VERB) ACC interpretation makes Lu 47 and Lu 44 read as multiple people cursing multiple targets. This is not a situation that has clear parallels in other texts.

At the moment, there is enough of a precedent for the curser being named that the NOM (VERB) ACC interpretation remains preferable to, for example, reading these as lists of targets in which the case of the name varies. Since there was not a complete taboo against the naming of the curser in a written text, then this may be what we see here. As with other aspects of the curse formulae, it is possible that the name of the curser was normally spoken aloud, but that it sometimes came to be written down as well. It seems likely, because of the complete lack of this NOM (VERB) ACC pattern elsewhere, that this was a regional development in South Oscan, or even just in Bruttium. If this is the case, it is evidence

⁶⁰ Ogden (1999) 18.

⁶¹ Ibid., 37.

⁶² Gager (1992) 158.

⁶³ Jordan (1985) 174; Ogden (1999) 58.

supporting the hypothesis that Central Oscan and South Oscan borrowed this practice from Greek-speakers at different periods, and from different models. The use of a NOM (VERB) ACC structure also shows that Oscan-speakers, even those in continued contact with written Greek models, adapted and altered the practices they borrowed.

3.3 Are Oscan curse tablets 'legal'?

It has been observed several times that Oscan curse tablets may relate to judicial processes, or more generally to a *polis*-type context in which personal and political competition were an important part of everyday life.⁶⁴ This may be a way in which Greek and Oscan curse tablets are similar, not just in language and form, but also in their social context. However, this connection is not uncomplicated, particularly in relation to the South Oscan examples.

Greek examples of curse tablets are often related to judicial processes. Judicial or legal curses are the second largest subgroup of Greek curse tablets, after those in which the context is not given; this kind of text is also found very early, with two examples from around 500 BC on Sicily.⁶⁵ All judicial curses seem to take place before the trial, and not afterwards, suggesting that commissioning a curse tablet was part of the preparation for a trial.⁶⁶ Crawford states that the corpus of Oscan curse tablets attests to a developed culture of legal writing, since four out of fourteen relate to legal procedure.⁶⁷ This would suggest that, as in Greek, lawsuits often provided the motivation for the curses that were written. Poccetti, arguing along these lines, also makes a wider point about the adoption of curse tablets into Oscan. He sees curse tablets as stemming from a certain type of organised society, which was specific to Greek *polis* states, so that the adoption of the curse tablet model assumes the adoption of a wider social and political model.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Lazzarini (1994) 169; Poccetti (2010) 675; Crawford (2011b) 1.

⁶⁵ Gager (1992) 117.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Crawford (2011b) 1.

⁶⁸ Poccetti et al. (1993) 190; Poccetti (2010) 675; also Lazzarini (1994) 169.

The references to court cases and legal procedure in Central Oscan curses are similar to those in Greek examples. For example, they seek to prevent the target from speaking (**nep fatíum nep deíkum putíans**, ‘may they not be able to say nor speak’ – Cp 36/Capua 33) or specifically curse the speech or tongue (**aginss urinss úlleis fakinss fang<v>am**, ‘(I curse) the actions, speeches of that man, deeds, tongue...’ – Cm 13/Cumae 9; *fancua(s) recta(s) sint*, ‘May their tongues be rigid (Oscan/Latin text)’ – Cm 15/Cumae 10). A similar Greek curse referring to the tongue has been found in Tiriolo (NGCT 82).⁶⁹ There are also echoes of legal language, such as the repeated use of **nep**, ‘not’ (Capua 33), the use of multiple synonyms (**fatíum**, **deíkum**, ‘say/speak’, in Cp 36), and the piling up of multiple similar items without conjunctions (**aginss, urinss úlleis, fakinss, fangvam, biass, biítam, aftíím, anamúm, aitatúm, amirikum**, ‘actions, speeches of that man, deeds, tongue, strengths, life, ability, spirit, age, wealth’ – Cm 13). Again, the Greek curse found at Tiriolo shows a very similar list of targeted attributes – ψυχάν, σῶμα (or στόμα), ἰσχύν, δύναμιν, ‘spirit, body (or mouth), strength, power’.⁷⁰ There is also imitation of the conditional structure used in legal texts: **svai: neip: dadid lamatir: akrid eiseis dunte[d]**, ‘if one should not give, may he be torn by his (Cerberus’) sharp bite’ (Cp 37/Capua 34). Cf. σφαι ειοκ νεip φακτιεδ..., ‘if he should not do these things...’ (Lu 62/Buxentum 1: B9); also see *lamatir* as a legal punishment (Tabula Bantina, line 21). Whether this relates clearly to the adoption of a *polis*-state political system, as Poccetti suggests, is less obvious.⁷¹

This kind of legal language appears in four out of six of the Central Oscan curse tablets. It also appears in Greek curse tablets from Southern Italy, including the example from Tiriolo, where a South Oscan curse tablet was also found. However, we do not have any clear evidence of legal context in the South Oscan curse tablets. There is a slight suggestion of such a context in the formula used in Petelia 2. The Oscan section of the curse formula, which reads πισπιτ ι(νι)μ σολλομ ησου, may be a translation of a common Greek curse formula including anyone acting on behalf of those already named in the curse (see 4.4). This could relate to a legal case, though this is not explicit. It is also possible that long lists of names found in South

⁶⁹ Lazzarini (1994) 164.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ We might also consider some aspects of these curses, such as alliterative lists and the phrase ‘strength (and) life’, to be derived from an Italic poetic tradition – Watkins (1995) 155, 220–221.

Oscan curses relate to lists of witnesses in a court case, since this is a context in which one would want to target a number of people simultaneously. However, we do not have enough context in any of the South Oscan examples to say what kind of conflict motivated them. This difference may or may not arise from a regional difference in how and when curse tablets were used. The South Oscan examples may not relate to legal procedure at all – for example, Lu 45 might relate to trade, since the same sheet of lead had previously been used to record a sale; commercial curses were also typical of Hellenistic Greece.⁷²

Although quite different from the Central Oscan examples, the South Oscan texts are not unusual in the context of the contemporary practice of curse tablets overall. The frequency of judicial curses in Classical and Hellenistic Greece should not lead us to forget that the most common sub-group of Greek curses at this period is still those where the context is not known at all. Around three-quarters of Greek curse tablets provide no context.⁷³ The lack of context in South Oscan curses is therefore not unusual, and may be the result of normal variation in the amount of detail provided at this period. The difference between the South Oscan and Central Oscan curse tablets is nevertheless striking, even though both are based on Greek models.

We can also consider other statements that have been made in the past about the motivations of those writing the South Oscan curse texts. Pugliese Carratelli states that it is ‘evidente’ that the curse tablet Lu 46 (Laos 2) is the work of an Italiote Greek who resented his subjugation to the new Lucanian conquerors.⁷⁴ As he sees it, the curse was targetting the new Oscan-speaking elite; this is supported by the fact that some of the names in the curse are also found in the coinage of Laos of this period. This claim has more recently been refuted by Crawford.⁷⁵ The overall likelihood is that these texts were not driven by dislike of the new Oscan-speaking elite as Pugliese Carratelli claimed, but that they were motivated by the same kinds of conflicts as motivated Greek-speakers around Sicily and Italy to write similar texts – often, but not always, relating to lawsuits and commerce.

⁷² Faraone (1991) 10; Ogden (1999) 33.

⁷³ Ogden (1999) 6.

⁷⁴ Pugliese Carratelli (1992) 18.

⁷⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1345.

IV Texts

4.1 Lu 45 (Buxentum 3)

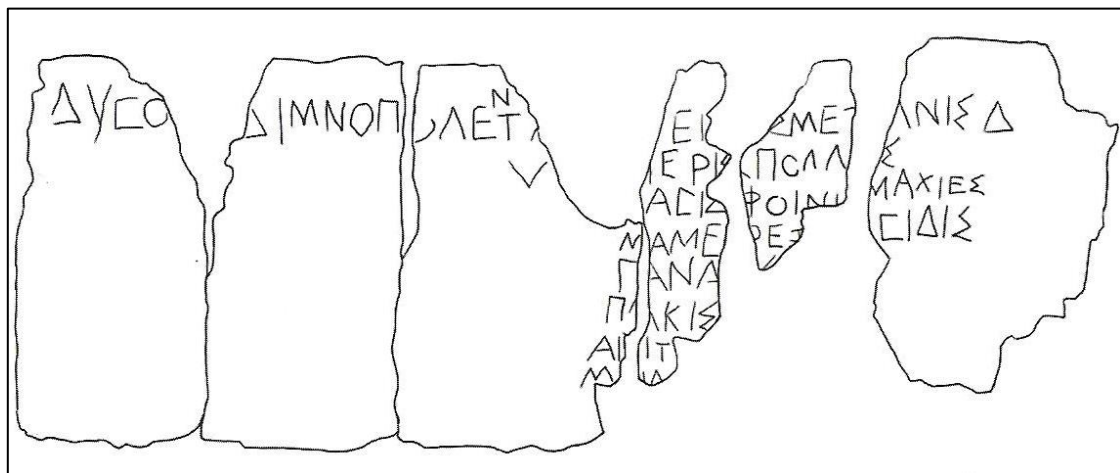


Figure 2: Lu 45 (Buxentum 3). From Crawford (2011b) 1333.

Transcription

δυφο [με]διμνο πολε'ν' τα[ι 3-4]ει[2-3]σ μετ[ισ 1]ανισ {δ}
 υ[ρις] ηερис πολλ[ιε]ς
 [γ]αφισ φοινι[κισ] μαχιεσ
 μαμερεξ [4-5]φιδισ
 γανα[τ]ς
 πακισ [-?-]
 αντ[-?-]
 μιν[-?-]

Translation

Two *medimnoi* are sold [for ??? *nomoi* (?) H]e[ren]s (?) Mett[is B]annis (?)
 O[vis] Heris, son of Pollis
 Gavis Phoinikis, son of Makkis
 Mamerex [-?]-vidis
 <E>gnats (?)
 Pakis [-?-]
 Ant[-?-]
 Min[-?-]

4.1.1 Role of first line

The first line of the Roccagloriosa inscription, unlike the list of personal names that follows, is written across the whole width of the tablet. The line is recognisably in Greek, and reads $\delta\upsilon\phi\omicron$ [με]διμνο πολεντα[ι], i.e. $\delta\upsilon\phi\omicron$ μεδιμνῶ πῶλῃνται meaning ‘two *medimnoi* (a measure of corn) are sold [for X amount]’.⁷⁶ Though he originally suggested that this could be a magical formula of some kind,⁷⁷ Poccetti later noted that the two texts appear to be by different hands. The unfinished Greek text is in fact the beginning of a record of a commercial transaction, which was then discarded.⁷⁸ The sheet of lead appears to have been re-used at a later time for a list of names, which is plausibly a curse text from the archaeological context. We do not know how much later the second text was written, or what relationship the writer of the curse may have had with the writer of the transaction.

While the curse text itself does not show code-switching, it is nevertheless a sign of the bilingual context at this site. Greek and Oscan were both in use at Roccagloriosa, as seen in the use of both Oscan and Greek in official texts – Oscan in a legal text (Lu 62/Buxentum 1) and Greek in the label ‘public’ on a bronze handle (Buxentum 2); see Chapter 6.

4.1.2 Greek-derived name elements

As already mentioned, curse tablets not only give us a large amount of onomastic information, but they also show more Greek-derived names than the other kinds of inscriptions in this corpus.⁷⁹ In Lu 45, one particular personal name has attracted attention – [γ]αφισ φοινι[κισ] μαχιεσ. This name shows two unusual features, which have raised questions about its structure.⁸⁰ Firstly, the name φοινι[-] is not part of the usual repertoire of Oscan

⁷⁶ The verb may be corrected, with the addition of <v>, from singular (πωλῆται) to plural (πωλῇνται, for πωλοῦνται). Note that the emendation in Crawford (2011b) 1334 to [με]διμνο(ι) is unnecessary, since the noun may be dual (μεδιμνω) rather than plural. Thanks to Torsten Meißner for this observation.

⁷⁷ Poccetti and Gualtieri (1990) 146.

⁷⁸ Poccetti (2010) 676.

⁷⁹ McDonald (2012a) 49–50.

⁸⁰ Campanile (1992a); Poccetti (2000) 757; Crawford (2011b) 1335.

names, and is derived from the Greek φοῖνιξ.⁸¹ Secondly, the name μαχιεσ is spelled with <χ> and possibly also shows an unusual genitive ending.

Campanile suggested that the second component of the name could be an ethnic, with the third element as an alternative name – so Gavis the Phoenician, known as Machies (perhaps a name of Semitic origin).⁸² This interpretation explains the unusual spelling of both, by making them essentially non-Oscan names, but this explanation is problematic. Firstly, Crawford has pointed out that φοῖνιξ (the ethnic for ‘Phoenician’) would not be long enough to fill the lacuna, which needs 2-3 letters,⁸³ though the letters are somewhat variable in size. The idea of μαχιεσ as an alternative name is also a difficulty, since this is not a phenomenon found anywhere else in our corpus. Crawford prefers to translate this as ‘Gaius Phoenicius Maccius’, a three-part name with praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen.

It is also possible to assume that this name has the same structure as other three-part Oscan names (and that the name immediately above it also has this structure). Thus, φοινι[κις] remains a gentilicium, as in Crawford’s interpretation, but μαχιεσ would be the genitive of the father’s name. Although the genitive would normally be *-ieis*, there is a recognised variant *-ies*, which may relate to social variation.⁸⁴ In this case, the name could be a non-standard spelling of **mais** (a very common praenomen⁸⁵) or **makis** (cf. **mak**, Surrentum 6; also the gentilicium **makkiis**, Campania Coin 1).

The use of phi may be an effort to maintain the spelling of the Greek name, even though the name is fully integrated into the Oscan gentilicium system. In the case of chi, there may be an effort here to connect the name to the Greek name element *-μαχος*. The use of chi also suggests familiarity with the Greek alphabet. The usage of these letters is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

⁸¹ This name is incorrectly spelled ποινι[κις] in *Sabellische Texte*.

⁸² Campanile (1992a) 370; Poccetti (2000) 757.

⁸³ Crawford (2011b) 1335.

⁸⁴ Rix (1996) 246.

⁸⁵ See for example Sa 58 (Aquinum 3), Aeclanum 14, Cp 39 (Capua 49); also the gentilicium **mahiis** in Sa 37 (Atina 1).

4.2 Lu 46 (Laos 2)

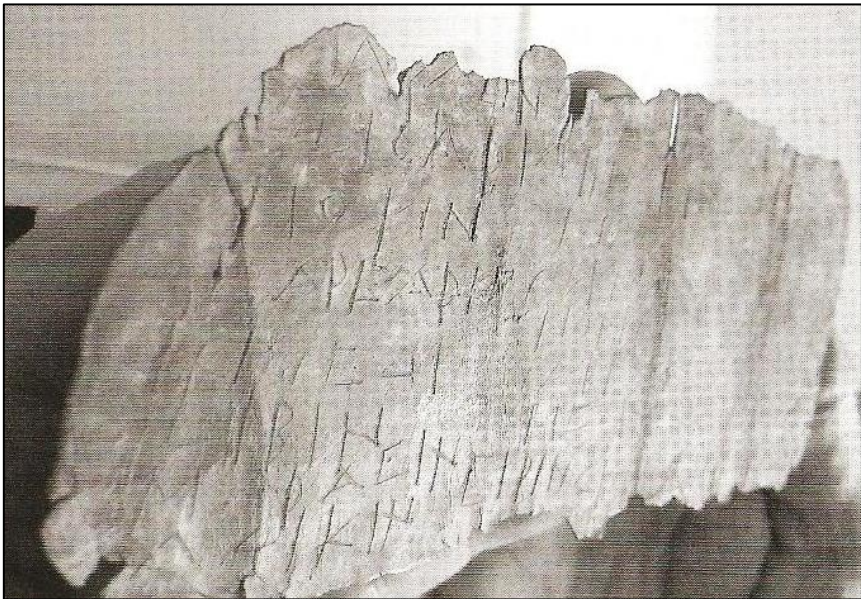


Figure 3: Lu 46 (Laos 2). From Crawford (2011b).

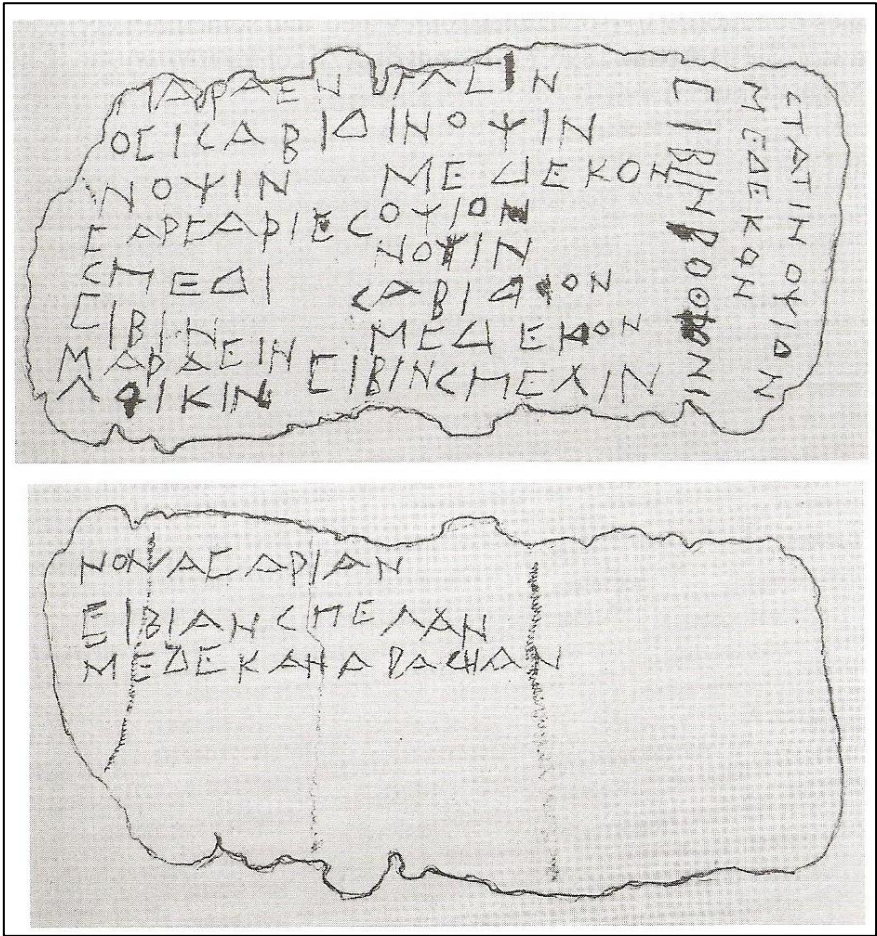


Figure 4: Lu 46 (Laos 2). From Crawford (2011b) 1344.

Transcription

Side A: μαραιν [vac] γαριν
 οφι(ν) σαβιδι(ν) νοψιν
 νοψιν [vac] μεδεκον
 φαρ(ιν) φαριε(ι)σ οψιον
 σπεδι(ν) [vac] νοψιν
 φιβιν [vac] σαβιδιον
 μαραιν [vac] μεδεκον
 λοικιν φιβιν σπελιν

RH margin: στατιν οψιον
 μεδεκον
 φιβιν βοθρονι[ον]

Side B: νοψ(ι)α(ν) φαριαν
 φιβιαν σπελ(ι)αν
 μεδεκαν αραδιαν

4.2.1 *Format*

The reading of this inscription is complicated by the fact that we do not know which name components are meant to go together. While the reading given by Rix in *ST* implies four columns of names, Crawford prefers to read more or less down the columns initially, and then across the tablet from φαρ(ιν) φαριε(ι)σ οψιον onwards.⁸⁶ There are particular problems with how the names in the right-hand margin fit with the names in the main columns of the text. Poccetti prefers a reading where some of the names have two components, and others only one (so that some of the praenomina or gentilicia function as idionyms), on the basis that this is a possibility in this kind of Greek/Italic bicultural environment.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Crawford (2011b) 1345.

⁸⁷ Poccetti et al. (1993) 163–164.

Crawford's reading causes a problem with one of the names, since this reading means that the name in the fourth line reads $\varphi\alpha\rho(\iota\nu) \varphi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon(\iota)\sigma \omicron\psi\iota\omicron\nu$,⁸⁸ with the genitive of the father's name apparently placed between the praenomen and the gentilicium.⁸⁹ While it was once thought that this was a relatively common feature of South Oscan texts, in imitation of the syntax of Greek names, it has been shown that in fact the inscriptions that were thought to show this syntax had been misread.⁹⁰ The only inscription which appears really to show this pattern is one from Messana.⁹¹ So, while this syntax is possible here, it would be exceptional. It would suggest that either the inscription was written in a context of very strong social pressure from Greek, which was beginning to affect the naming system used in the area (as at Messana), or that the writer had another exceptional reason for using this kind of syntax. However, in Oscan as a whole, curse tablets can take an unusual approach to naming cursed individuals, for example in the use of the mother's name in Cp 37 (Capua 34) (200-150 BC).⁹² Crawford suggests that the unusual order here reflects the fact that the writer wrote three praenomina ($\varphi\alpha\rho(\iota\nu)$, $\sigma\pi\epsilon\delta\iota(\nu)$, $\varphi\iota\beta\iota\nu$), the first with filiation, and then filled in the three gentilicia; he comments that this arrangement 'is not in any normal sense a case of praenomen + filiation + nomen'.⁹³ An alternative might be to see $\varphi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\sigma$ as nominative, where the distinction between nominative and accusative is not considered syntactically relevant and the names are simply in a default case.

Murano argues for a reading such that the inscription starts with the portion in the right-hand margin; she suggests that the letters of the first two columns get smaller towards

⁸⁸ Pugliese Carratelli suggests that $\varphi\alpha\rho\varphi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ is not a name, but a magical word or invocation of demons. This seems unlikely given the structure of the text and the date, since magical words appear mainly in Roman Imperial-era texts. See Pugliese Carratelli (1992) 18.

⁸⁹ Campanile (1992c) 373.

⁹⁰ La Regina (2002).

⁹¹ Ibid.; McDonald (2012a) 51–52; Clackson (2012b) 140.

⁹² This is unlikely to be linked to the later Greek practice of metronymic naming in Greek curse tablets, which begins only in the Imperial period, inspired by some Egyptian naming practices. The motivation behind the sporadic use of metronymics in earlier Greek (and Oscan) curse tablets is not clear, but may relate primarily to curses written by or targeted at women, where female networks were of increased importance – Curbera (1999) 195–197. Alternatively, it could be seen as a way of guaranteeing the correct identification of the victim, since paternity is less certain than maternity.

⁹³ Crawford (2011b) 1345.

the right-hand side because the margin section was already there.⁹⁴ Crawford disputes this, since the lettering of some of the horizontal lines which do not reach the right-hand margin section also grows smaller, suggesting simply that this was the tendency of this writer.⁹⁵

The obfuscation technique of scrambling names means that it is possible that the name components here have been written out of order. I have not given a translation here, because the possibility that the names have been deliberately scrambled means that any reading can only be based on guesswork; we do not really know which names are meant as praenomina and which as gentilicia.

4.2.2 Greek endings

The most notable feature of this inscription is the use of final -v for -μ in the accusative endings of the list of names, alongside some names where the final nasal is completely absent. The intention behind this can be read in a number of different ways.

Firstly, one could read this as a Greek text. The spelling -iv for -iov is not unusual as a variant in Greek of this period.⁹⁶ The idea that this text was written by a Greek-speaker, and intended as a Greek text cursing the new Oscan-speaking elite of Laos, was the interpretation of Pugliese Carratelli in the original publication of this text.⁹⁷ However, for this to be the case, the Oscan word μεδεκον would have to have been borrowed into the local variety of Greek.⁹⁸ This is possible, but is nevertheless a sign of language contact.⁹⁹ If the text is Greek, this would imply that the choice between <-iv> and <-iov> in this text is more or less random. Poccetti states that he sees consistency in the usage of <-iv> for names in *-yo- (mainly praenomina)

⁹⁴ Murano (2006) 350.

⁹⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1347.

⁹⁶ Pugliese Carratelli (1992) 17; Campanile (1992c) 372; Poccetti (2010) 674.

⁹⁷ Pugliese Carratelli (1992) 17.

⁹⁸ Poccetti et al. (1993) 182–183.

⁹⁹ The meaning of μεδεκον αραδιαν is also not clear. The most obvious solution is that this woman had some kind of familial relationship with the meddix – but since several men are named as a meddix, which one is this referring to? It is possible that αραδιαν is an adjective specifying the meddix's position, but this is not clear. It is possible that this was an official status that the woman held in her own right, but we do not hear of such a position elsewhere – Poccetti et al. (1993) 173.

and <-iov> for names in *-iyo- (mainly gentilicia) in this text, and that this differentiation suggests that the text is written in Oscan.¹⁰⁰ Seeing consistent usage here relies on being able to identify which names are praenomina and which gentilicia, which may be impossible given the layout and possible scrambling of the order of the names, though some of the names which occur are only attested as praenomina elsewhere (e.g. γαριν, ριβιν). Six of the names are written without a full morphological ending, which makes certainty even harder.

If we are to read this as an Oscan text, it would have to be because of the Oscan morphological ending on <φαριεσ>, though it is not clear whether this is meant as nominative (φαριεσ) or genitive (φαριεσ), and the use of the Oscan word μεδεκον ‘magistrate’. If Lu 46 is read as an Oscan text, this would suggest an environment where final nasals had been lost, probably with nasalisation of the preceding vowel. This could in turn lead to confusion among speakers about the correct orthography, with either <v> or <μ> being used to represent the nasalisation. Although we do not have an exact parallel to this in other texts, there is sporadic loss of final <-M> in other Oscan texts.¹⁰¹ This idea is also supported, in part, by the omission of the final <-v> in a number of the words in this inscription.¹⁰² The omission of final <-M> in Oscan texts was identified by Buck as a phenomenon found mainly in Pompeii in inscriptions after 200 BC.¹⁰³ However, omission of final <-M> is not limited to Pompeii or to the latest period of Oscan writing, since it is also found in He 3 (Anagnia 14) **esu(m)**, 300-275 BC; Lu 5 (Potentia 1) ρεγο(μ), 125-100 BC; and Petelia 2 ησου(μ) = **esú(m)**, c. 300 BC. In Laos 2, therefore, the spelling with final <-v> may indicate that final /-Vn/ and /-Vm/ have become indistinguishable as /-Ṽ/ in Oscan in this area. However, such an extensive use of this non-standard spelling may suggest that the writer was using final <-v> as a deliberate strategy.

It could be that the writer, making an association between magic and Greek-language texts, has borrowed Greek morphology onto an Oscan text. Alternatively, it could be the phonology of Greek that has been borrowed (i.e. the phonological rule that words cannot end

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 177.

¹⁰¹ Campanile (1992c) 372.

¹⁰² Note that there is also evidence of loss of final /-s/, /-m/ and /-n/ in post-Classical Greek - Poccetti (2000) 755.

¹⁰³ Po 1 (Pompeii 13) 200-100 BC; Po 34 (Pompeii 2) and Po 35 (Pompeii 3), 91-89 BC - Buck (1928) 71.

in /-m/). A third alternative is that this is a graphemic borrowing – the text has been made visually more Greek by replacing final <-μ> with <-v>, but without affecting the pronunciation of the text when read aloud. We might compare, for example, the Latin/Greek bilingual curse tablet from Barchín del Hoyo, in which a Latin text has Greek accusatives in <-v>: this has been understood as an orthographic borrowing, which did not affect the sound of the Latin, since at this period the <-M> indicated only nasalisation of the preceding vowel.¹⁰⁴ A further possibility is that the text is deliberately ambiguous, and intended as a mixed-language text. If this is intended as a mixed-language text, the lack of endings on some of the names could be a strategy which allows the names to be read in different languages depending on the reader.¹⁰⁵

4.2.3 *Bothronion*

The name βοθρονι[ov] has been read and interpreted in a number of different ways, some of which suggest that this is a name with a Greek word or name underlying it (perhaps βόθρος or βότρυς, cf. the Latin cognomen Botrus/Botrys).¹⁰⁶ The various arguments are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3 (2.6).

¹⁰⁴ Adams (2003) 56; Arbabzadah (2009) 193.

¹⁰⁵ Poccetti (2010) 674.

¹⁰⁶ Poccetti et al. (1993) 168; McDonald (2012a) 50.

4.3 Laos 4



Figure 5: Laos 4. Author's photo, 12/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



Figure 6: Laos 4. Author's photo, 12/04/12. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

Transcription (from Crawford 2011b)

[πα]κιοσ καλιοσ
 ρι[λ]λ[ιο]σ ασελλιοσ
 νυμψιοσ ποππαλαιοσ
 μινιοσ φαριοσ
 [τ]ετοσ φαριοσ
 vacat

This inscription consists of a list of two-part names of Oscan origin in the nominative, but with the Greek morphological ending -ιοσ, rather than the Oscan -ιες.¹⁰⁷ This is to be compared to Lu 46, above, as many of the same considerations apply. This could be a further example of Greek morphology being used to visually (or orally) make the curse text more Greek. In this example, however, the text could simply be taken as a Greek-language text – cf. the Oscan names with Greek names on a South Italian cuirass (SEG 29.1026) and a dedication from Rossano di Vaglio (Potentia 29).

Taken together, Lu 46 and Laos 4 show the writers of curse tablets at Laos making an atypical choice. At other sites, such as Cumae and Tiriolo, the morphology of the names varies depending on the origin of the names, and therefore perhaps on the L1 of the targets.¹⁰⁸ This does not seem to be the practice at Laos, which may suggest an unusually bilingual environment, in which choice of language was not limited to the same extent.¹⁰⁹ If the targets and the writer of the curse all spoke both Greek and Oscan, and they were used to seeing Oscan written in the Greek alphabet, then perhaps the dividing line between the written languages was less clear.

¹⁰⁷ Poccetti (2000) 762.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 767.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 768.

4.4 Petelia 2

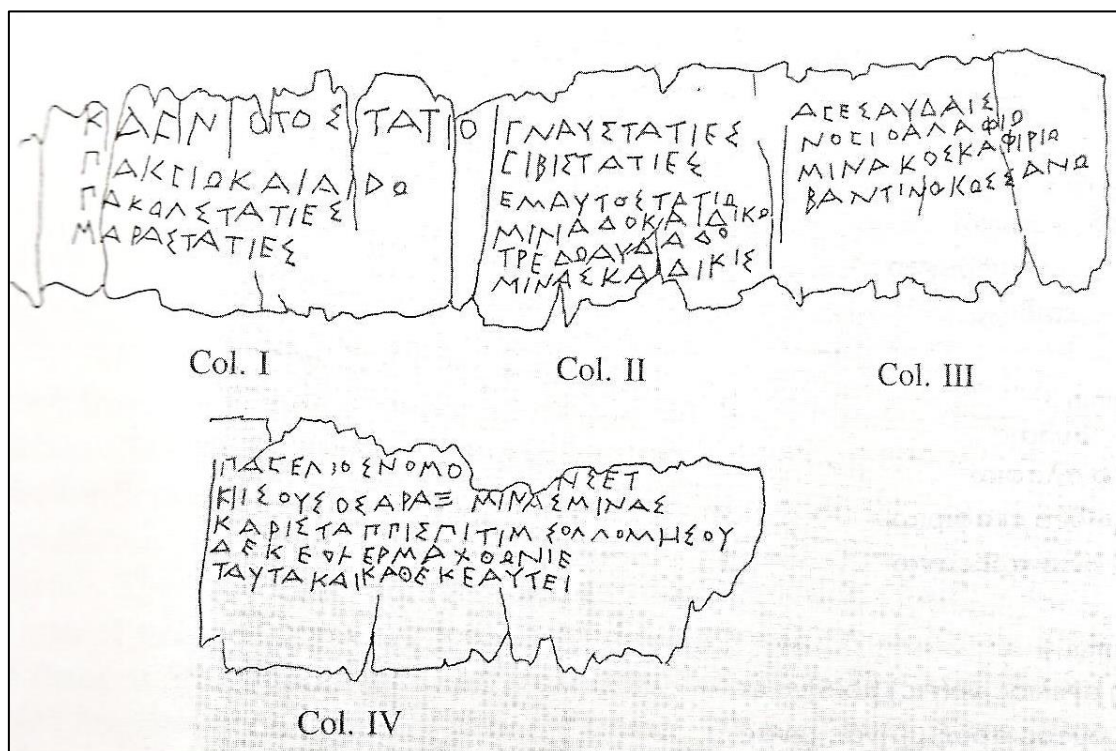


Figure 7: Petelia 2. From Crawford (2011b) 1475.

Transcription (from Crawford 2011b)

καφνοτο στατιο
 πακφιω και<δ>ι<κ>ω
 πακολ στατιες
 μαρα(σ) στατιες

γναυ(σ) στατιες
 φιβι(σ) στατιες
 εμαυτο στατιω
 μιναδο καιδικω
 τρε<β>ω αυδα<φ>ο
 μινας καιδικιος

αφεσ αυδαισ
 νοφιο αλαφιω
 μινα<δ>ο σκαφιριω
 βαντινω κωσσανω

π(?) αφελιος νο(φισ) μο[-5-]νσ ετ
 κησ ουσοσ αραξ μ[ι]νας μινασ
 καρισ ταπ(?) πισπιτ ι(νι)μ σολλομ ησου
 δεκεο ηερμα χθωνιε
 ταυτα και καθεκε αυτει

Translation

[List of names in nominative]

Oscan: whoever-NEUT.SING. and. all-MASC.GEN.PL. them-MASC.GEN.PL.

Greek: receive-IMP. Hermes-VOC. of-underworld-VOC.
 these-NEUT.ACC.PL. and. keep-IMP. here-ADV.

Kaunoto Statio, Paquio Kaidiko, Pakol Staties, Maras Staties, Gnaus Staties,
 Vibis Staties, Emauto Statio, Minado Kaidiko, Trebo Audauo, Minaz Kaidikis,
 Aues Audais, Nouio Alaphio, Minado Skaphirio, Bantino Kossano

P. Auelios, No. Mo[5]ns and Kes, Usus, Arax, Minaz, Minaz, Karis, ???

and whoever (is acting on behalf) of all of them,
 Hermes of the Underworld, receive these (names) and keep them here

4.4.1 Confusion of letters

There are a number of apparent mistakes in the spelling of the names in Petelia 2. These include *καϊαιδω* for *καϊ<δ>ι<κ>ω*, *τρεδω* for *τρε<β>ω*, *αυδαδο* for *αυδα<φ>ο*, and *μινακο* for *μιν<δ>ο* (which should perhaps be spelled *μιν<α>το* if related to the masculine form **minaz**). These do not seem to be mistakes made by someone unused to writing, since the confusion is not between letters of similar shapes (apart from alpha for delta in *καϊαιδω*), nor between sounds which might be phonetically similar (except perhaps delta for beta in *τρεδω*). Several of the names appear spelled both correctly and incorrectly. The mistakes only appear in the

name section of the inscription and not the final formula – the non-standard spellings found in the final formula are confusions of phonetically similar sounds, mainly aspirated and unaspirated stops. Incompetence in writing does not, therefore, seem to be the issue here. There are other signs that this text was not written by someone with very low levels of literacy: for example, the organisation of the text into columns is suggestive of slightly higher literacy than writing the names continuously across the page, since this combines the ability to write with an awareness of the visual effect of the finished text.¹¹⁰

The mistakes that are made do not seem to relate to a lack of knowledge of the Greek alphabet and Greek orthographic practice, therefore, but they also do not indicate lack of familiarity with the Oscan language. We might therefore put these spellings down to deliberate obfuscation of the names. Spellings such as $\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\delta\omega$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota<\delta>\iota<\kappa>\omega$ almost recall strategies such as the reversed order of letters within each syllable (e.g. $\nu\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\chi\varsigma$ for $\alpha\nu\tau\iota\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$),¹¹¹ though maybe executed imperfectly (as $\iota\delta\omega[\kappa]$ for $\delta\iota\kappa\omega$?). But if anything, the confusions are not frequent enough to suggest this kind of deliberate choice to change the names. It should be noted that the reading here is based only on the drawings and photographs by Lazzarini.¹¹² It is possible that further autopsy by other scholars might reveal more about the orthography.

A further point of interest is the use of phi in two of the names – $\nu\omicron\phi\iota\omicron$ $\alpha\lambda\alpha\phi\iota\omega$ and $\mu\iota\nu\alpha\delta\omicron$ $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\iota\rho\iota\omega$. While Crawford sees these as a use of phi for /f/, this is unlikely to be the case. It is more likely that phi has been used here to represent /p/ (see Chapter 3: 2.6).

4.4.2 Female names vs. Doric Greek genitive

The names ending in omicron and omega have been interpreted in two different ways. Lazzarini stated that these are Doric Greek genitive endings, and thus the list of names shows a mixture of Oscan morphology (in the nominative) and Greek morphology (in the

¹¹⁰ Gordon (1999) 255.

¹¹¹ Poccetti (2002) 48.

¹¹² Lazzarini (2004).

genitive).¹¹³ If this is the case, then both the list of names and the final formula show code-switching between Oscan and Greek. This suggestion has been followed by Poccetti,¹¹⁴ but disputed by Crawford.¹¹⁵

It is difficult to see why some of these names should be read as genitives. Where curse tablets have lists of names, they are consistently in the nominative or accusative, and sometimes both (as discussed earlier in this chapter). The use of a mixture of nominative and genitive names to list the intended victims of a curse is not found anywhere else. If the names in the genitive are meant to relate to the fathers or owners of the names in the nominative, this text would be absolutely exceptional in giving both praenomen and gentilicium in the genitive, rather than just the praenomen. The order of the names would also cause problems, since it would be difficult to make sense of the times when two or three names in the genitive are given in a row. It is much more likely that all of the names given are in the nominative, and the names ending in -ο and -ω are female names, with the omicron and omega representing the sound found in Oscan feminine names ending in -ú.

4.4.3 Final formula

The curse formula that follows the list of names reads as follows: πισπιτ ι(νι)μ σολλομ ησου δεκεο ηερμα χθωνιε ταυτα και καθεκε αυτει, where the doubled underlined section is in Greek.

The Greek section is a relatively common Greek formula, asking Hermes to receive something.¹¹⁶ There are several features which have been identified as Doric,¹¹⁷ such as vocative ηερμα ‘Hermes’, and αυτει for αυτου ‘just here’.¹¹⁸ There are a number of non-standard spellings. One of these is the use of omega for omicron (χθωνιε for χθόνιε); the same

¹¹³ Ibid., 676.

¹¹⁴ Poccetti (2010) 674.

¹¹⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1475.

¹¹⁶ Poccetti (2010) 674.

¹¹⁷ Lazzarini (2004) 679.

¹¹⁸ Found in West Greek and Boeotian - Buck (1955) 102.

interchangeability of ω/o is found throughout the list of names. The other non-standard spellings relate to aspirates: δεκεο for δέχου, and καθεκε for κάτεχε. The latter shows a metathesis of the aspiration. These spellings may reflect a lack of familiarity with Greek, perhaps an L2 speaker of Greek who could not reliably hear the difference between aspirated and non-aspirated stops. The form καθεκε may also show a false analogy being made with the stem in verbs such as ἀνέθηκε, which might have been a familiar written form from Greek dedicatory texts.

Crawford's translation of the whole curse formula is: 'Whoever also (is) of (=associated with) all of them, receive (them), Hermes of the Underworld, these things also keep here.'¹¹⁹ The syntax of the Oscan part of the phrase is not completely clear. Crawford assumes ησου = **esú(m)**, so that σολλομ ησου means 'of all of them'. This appears to be correct, and will be followed here. But the question remains how we should take the genitive standing alone in this context.

Many Greek curses put this kind of phrase at the end of a list of names, to make sure that no one who they might have forgotten would be spared. So, for example, SGD 106 (Selinous, late C5th) has three names in nominative, followed by καὶ ὅσστις ὑπὲρ τήνων μέλλει ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράσσειν – 'and anyone about to speak or act on their behalf'. Closer to the wording used in Petelia 2 are phrases such as καὶ τοῦ<ς> ὑπὲρ ετους (= αὐτοῦς) ἅπαντας, 'and those (acting) on behalf of all of them' (SGD 110, Selinous, C1st BC or C1st AD); or κάλλος ἢ ἔστι μετ' αὐτων, 'and any other who is with them' (NGCT 50, Lesbos, C4th/3rd). We can see that in these phrases, ὑπὲρ or μετὰ tends to be the preposition used, often with the genitive. In the case of ὑπὲρ, the meaning is not 'with' but 'on behalf of'. The Oscan phrase seems to be based on a Greek phrase similar to these.¹²⁰ In translating the phrase from Greek, the writer has kept the genitive case from the Greek; he has not translated ὑπὲρ or μετὰ with the Oscan preposition

¹¹⁹ Crawford (2011b) 1476.

¹²⁰ Thanks to Moreed Arbabzadah for this suggestion.

kúm, perhaps since this would have to take the ablative.¹²¹ To preserve the use of the genitive, the writer has missed out the preposition altogether.¹²²

While Crawford's translation suggests that the object of δεκεο is not expressed, and that ταυτα is the object of καθεκε, perhaps ταυτα can be taken as the object of both verbs. The word ταυτα may refer to the unnamed people in the Oscan part of the formula (the 'whoever'), but since it is plural it may instead refer to the names listed on the tablet. Therefore, I suggest the alternative translation of the curse formula: 'And whoever (is acting on behalf) of all of them, Hermes of the Underworld, receive these (names) and keep them here.' This keeps the meaning of the Oscan part of the formula relatively close to the meaning of the Greek phrases on which it appears to be based.

We might also consider what motivates the code-switch at this particular point. One way of looking at this may be to consider the theoretical interlocutor – where the formula becomes a request to Hermes, with an imperative and the vocative, the writer switches into Greek. This may be because Greek was the language associated with Hermes, and therefore was appropriate for speaking directly to Hermes. Similar ideas are found in later curse tablets, where nonsense words and *voces mysticae* are used as the appropriately mystical language for speaking to demons and chthonic gods. The code-switch may also be used because the formula was familiar to the writer in Greek, and he did not want to translate it away from the original language.¹²³

Overall, Petelia 2 shows some of the clearest influence from Greek of all of the South Oscan curse texts. The non-standard spellings in the Greek formula might suggest an L2 speaker of Greek not completely familiar with Greek spelling. The mistakes in the spelling of the names do not exactly suggest a writer unfamiliar with Oscan names, or one unfamiliar

¹²¹ Buck (1928) 207.

¹²² An alternative might be to see the genitive as meaning something like "belonging to them", i.e. their wives/husbands and children. Cf. DTA 55 (Attica, late C4th BC) which refers to the wives and children of the targets at the end of the formula.

¹²³ Cf. other tablets in Greek that address Hermes directly, and request that Hermes restrain the targets: DT 52 (Attica, C3rd/2nd BC), DTA 109 (Attica), DTA 87 (Attica, C4th BC).

with writing Greek, since these ‘mistakes’ are idiosyncratic. The use of phi might indicate a deliberate attempt to add Greek elements into the text. The final Greek formula, and the Oscan formula translated from Greek, may be part of the same effort to use the Greek language wherever possible. It is possible that the writer found the Greek formula in a handbook of some kind; whoever translated the Greek formula partly into Oscan must have had some knowledge of both languages, but we cannot know whether this was the writer of the curse or someone else, perhaps even a professional scribe who had written a handbook of formulae.

V Conclusions

The eight South Oscan curse texts give us some of our clearest evidence for Greek/Oscan contact between the 4th and 2nd BC. The practice of writing curse tablets was without question transmitted to Oscan-speakers from Greek-speakers (probably those of Sicily or Southern Italy, but possibly also those travelling from further afield). In the language of the texts known so far, a wide range of contact phenomena are in evidence: Greek/Oscan code-switching (Petelia 2), two texts in different languages being written on the same object around the same period (Lu 45), translations of Greek curse formulae into Oscan (Petelia 2), and Oscan names in Greek-language inscriptions (Lu 46 and Laos 4). The use of characters such as phi, theta and chi is also considerably higher in these texts than elsewhere in the corpus. This may relate to the social background of those mentioned, in that more Greek-derived names are used here than elsewhere. But since some of these names (μαχίεσ, βοθρονιον) are not easily identifiable as Greek names, the use of these characters may instead relate to a desire to use graphic borrowing from Greek in these texts.

While the overall practice of writing and depositing curses remained fundamentally unchanged – in the appearance of the tablets, the places where they were deposited, and the use of lists of names – we also get glimpses of ways in which South Oscan-speakers may have adapted the practice. The limited amount of information given in South Oscan curse tablets differentiates them from Central Oscan examples, suggesting that these regions borrowed the practice of writing curse tablets from Greek independently. The gap of a century or more

between the earliest South Oscan and the earliest Central Oscan curses may also help to explain the difference in practices – since Greek curse tablets became lengthier and more likely to use extended curse formulae throughout the Hellenistic period, the models available to the first writers of Oscan curses in Campania may have been rather different than those in Lucania and Bruttium. Overall, the use of curses in the languages of Italy shows continued contact with Greek across several centuries and a large number of sites, with multiple points of transmission of this epigraphic form.

Other developments in South Oscan curse tablets, such as the NOM (VERB) ACC structure, may be the result of independent regional development rather than direct adoption of an existing Greek model. In this case, three of eight of the South Oscan texts show a syntactic structure not found elsewhere. This is not just a matter of syntax, but also of beliefs, since the writers of these curses did not seem to fear retribution (divine or human) if their name was also written on the tablet. While there are some Greek precedents for this to a limited degree, it is likely that writers of curses in Oscan in Bruttium had developed a new way of writing curse texts.

The story of curse tablets in South Oscan therefore has two distinct threads. On the one hand, the desire to stay close to Greek models; on the other, the possibility of moving away from those models to create new, local traditions within this genre. There is clear evidence from this corpus that Oscan-speakers associated Greek with magic – this is the main motivation for the extent of the code-switching and borrowing from Greek. In magical texts, there is a desire to use the right kind of language for the situation, because the right language (both in terms of the formulae and the linguistic variety) has the power to make the curse stronger and more effective.

On the other hand, not all writers felt compelled to keep close to the Greek models. Perhaps they were not able to import Greek features into their texts, or perhaps they had other reasons not to do so. For example, while Petelia 2 addresses Hermes, other Oscan writers may have chosen to harness the power of their own local chthonic deities, or to address dead Oscan-speakers – in these situations, they may have seen the Oscan language as

more appropriate than Greek. Certain writers might also not have seen a problem in naming themselves, or the people for whom they were writing the curse. In this way, practices could change and regional norms could arise within South Oscan.

Chapter 6: Further Genres and Texts

I Introduction

As we have already seen, there is evidence of continuing interaction and contact with Greek throughout the South Oscan corpus. Chapter 3 discussed the impact on the epigraphy of South Oscan as a whole, while Chapters 4 and 5 have shown the effect of contact phenomena on dedications and curse tablets, the two genres which are best represented in this corpus. We have seen that there is a difference between these two genres in the amount of Greek borrowing, code-switching and other kinds of interference. These differences do not appear to relate primarily to regional differences, or varying levels of competence or literacy in different groups of writers, but to the demands of the genres themselves. For some writers of curse tablets, maintaining a visual or linguistic link with the Greek practice of curse tablets was part of writing effective magical texts. This was not a consideration for writers of dedicatory texts, in which contact with Greek resulted in changes in practice in the South Oscan area without much direct borrowing from Greek.

There are, of course, many other genres in this corpus, some of which are represented by only a handful of inscriptions. While the number of inscriptions available for some of these genres is very limited, we can nevertheless view the language of these texts against the background of the patterns we have already seen emerging in dedicatory and curse texts. The remaining inscriptions include a small number of legal texts, official inscriptions (including coin legends) and funerary inscriptions. There are also a number of very short inscriptions in the form of tile and brick stamps, graffiti and dipinti. In this chapter, I will explore the evidence for Oscan/Greek contact in these genres.

II Legal Texts

The recent discovery of two very fragmentary, but recognisably legal, texts in the South Oscan area – Lu 62 (Buxentum 2) at Roccagloriosa, and Ps 20 (Blanda 1) at Tortora – now allows us greater insight than ever before into the development of Oscan and Sabellian legal language. These texts, taken alongside other legal texts written in Italic languages, suggest a long tradition of legal writing with the possibility of considerable continuity in the use of particular lexical items and syntactic structures. Like the rest of the South Oscan corpus, the tradition of written law is unlikely to have been completely isolated, and may have taken inspiration from the legal texts of the Greek world. The fact that both of these two new texts, as well as the Tabula Bantina (the lengthiest and most complete Oscan legal text), were found in Lucania means that the study of Sabellian legal language is dominated by texts from the South Oscan area.

In this section, I will examine certain aspects of Oscan and Sabellian legal language. Contact with Greek is an important issue across this corpus – but in practice, the evidence that we have of South Oscan legal language does not show pronounced Greek influence except in a few small aspects, some of which (such as the <γγ> spelling in Lu 62; see Chapter 3) have already been dealt with elsewhere. There may have been borrowing from Greek and/or Latin, not only of words and syntactic structures but also of the idea of written law, the forms that written law took, and the role of law in the community. Unfortunately, the limited level of available evidence makes these kinds of aspects difficult to examine in detail.

2.1 Greek and the laws of Italy

It is not novel to suggest that the peoples of Italy got the idea of written law, including its form and contents, from Greece: the Romans themselves had various stories to this effect. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (A.R. 10.51.5) describes embassies to Athens and to the Greek cities of Italy to study law codes.¹ Livy refers to a story that Numa Pompilius, one of the

¹ Courtney (1999) 13.

early kings of Rome, was taught law by Pythagoras, which he rejects both on the grounds that they lived a century apart and that they would have had no shared language (Livy 1.18). But in fact, bilingualism was widespread in Italy, and there may be a grain of truth in the idea of contact with Greek as a catalyst for written law, even if famous lawgivers never actually met face-to-face. Some modern scholars admit that there may have been early Greek influence on Latin law, while maintaining that its later development, both in terms of content and style, was autonomous.² However, we know that the Roman elite continued to be informed by laws from the Greek-speaking world – Cicero, for example, refers to the work of the lawgivers Zaleucus and Charondas (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.14-15) and Solon (*De Leg.* 2.59, 2.64).³

Less attention has been given to how the language of Greek law may have affected the texts of the other peoples of ancient Italy. But if we allow the possibility of Greek influence on Latin law, then it would be strange to deny its presence in the legal texts of other languages, particularly those which were in closer geographical contact than Latin with Greek cities. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, contact with Greek was a part of everyday life for many Oscan-speakers – but with different effects on different kinds of texts. It is not just linguistic features which can be borrowed, but also the habit of writing certain genres. It is possible that Greek provided the inspiration for the earliest Sabellian legal texts, or that it continued to inform the writing of Oscan and Sabellian laws as their tradition developed.⁴ However, the evidence is often very difficult to interpret with certainty.

² Powell (2011) 464, 471; Courtney (1999) 8, 13.

³ Powell (2005) 123.

⁴ McDonald and Zair (2012) 40–43.

2.2 Sources

Table 1: Legal texts from Lucania and Bruttium

Rix Number	Crawford Number	Date	Findspot	Text Type
Lu 62	Buxentum 1	300-200	Roccagloriosa	Legal. Bronze tablet (fragment)
Ps 20	Blanda 1	c. 500	Tortora	Legal. Stone cippus
Lu 1 (TB)	Bantia 1	100-91	Bantia	Legal. Bronze tablet

For a long time the Tabula Bantina (Lu 1/Bantia 1), a legal text written on a bronze tablet discovered in the late C18th, was the only example of secular law in any Italic language other than Latin. It is dated to c. 100-91 BC, just before the Social War between Rome and its allies.⁵ At this period, Latin influence was already strong in many parts of Italy, and much of the Oscan-speaking population was probably bilingual in Latin.⁶ For this reason, the Tabula Bantina has been discussed in the past as a translation of the laws of a small Latin-speaking town into Oscan.⁷ The Tabula Bantina is often brought into debates on Latin/Oscan bilingualism, for which it provides a great deal of evidence. Scholars have discussed in detail, for example, the borrowing and calquing of a large number of Latin legal expressions.⁸

The discovery of Lu 62 and Ps 20 shows us an earlier stage of the legal tradition at a period when Latin influence would have been less pronounced. The fullest treatment of these texts in the context of a developing tradition of legal language is by Poccetti.⁹ While he seeks to unravel the ‘tradizione autenticamente italica’ that is obscured by the profound Latin influence on the Tabula Bantina,¹⁰ he focuses on searching for possible elements inherited from proto-Italic and early convergence between Latin and Sabellian legal language.¹¹ Although there is clearly a high level of Latin influence on the text, scholars have begun to

⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1437.

⁶ Adams (2003) 116.

⁷ Crawford (1996) 271; Bispham (2007) 147.

⁸ Adams (2003) 138; Campanile (1976); Porzio Gernia (1970); Crawford (1996) 286 on the term *castrid*; Bispham (2007) 147–150; Decorte (2012).

⁹ Poccetti (2009a).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 185, 230.

suggest that the Tabula Bantina needs to be revisited from the perspective of the Oscan-language tradition.¹² Dupraz, for example, comments that similarities between the Tabula Bantina and Latin legal texts may show evidence of a shared legal *koine* developed across the Italic languages, rather than borrowings from Latin to Oscan.¹³

The possible impact of Greek on Oscan legal writing is very hard to interpret, in part because the Greek legal material from Italy is extremely limited. What texts there are come mainly from Sicily rather than the colonies on the southern coast of Italy, where the bulk of Greek/Oscan contact took place. Other texts produced by these communities have been found at Olympia, rather than in Italy itself. Many of the legalistic texts from Sicily itself are private contracts rather than official decrees or laws proper. Much of the evidence is very fragmentary, making accurate assessments of the syntax impossible.

The reasons for the paucity of evidence in Sicily and Southern Italy, despite the apparently early date of the area's legendary first law-givers, are not clear. It is possible that the epigraphic record represents a real difference of epigraphic habit – either laws were primarily oral rather than written, or were written on wooden boards or other less durable materials. We might compare the use of non-durable linen (the Zagreb mummy) to write a longer version of a prescribed ritual in Etruscan, with only a shorter version on a durable tile (the Capua tile), and a similar redaction of a longer text in the Iguvine Tables.¹⁴ We know from other sources that a considerable part of the practice of Greek law and decision-making remained primarily oral after the advent of writing, particularly in some areas.¹⁵ It has often been noted that early Latin laws, such as the Twelve Tables, were drafted in such a way that they could be remembered and recited orally;¹⁶ and indeed Cicero confirms that this was the case, at least during his own childhood (Cic. *De Leg.* 2.59). In fact, despite the amount of

¹² Ibid., 166; Del Tutto Palma (2006) 530.

¹³ Dupraz (2012b) 4, 90 n.95.

¹⁴ Rix (1985) 21.

¹⁵ Thomas (1992) 145–147.

¹⁶ Courtney (1999) 14.

written evidence available, Latin law maintained a high degree of orality throughout the Republic, and many regulations involved the speaking of the correct form of words.¹⁷

The sources used in this chapter include not only ‘laws’ proper (meaning statutes passed by a popular or elected assembly), but other kinds of legal texts: decrees, regulations, edicts, treaties, contracts, testaments, and so on. There has also been no systematic attempt to separate ‘secular’ from ‘sacred’ law. While this separation is often attempted, even if only conventionally, by editors of Greek and Latin texts, ‘sacred laws’ are now recognised to be an artificial modern construct, albeit sometimes a useful one.¹⁸ In Greek legal texts, the opening word θεός or θεοί is found on texts with all kinds of content. Similarly, *sacer esto* ‘he is to be cursed’ is found in Latin texts as a penalty for crimes against humans as well as gods.¹⁹ In Latin, the term *carmen* can refer to both ritual and legal texts.²⁰ It is not clear, therefore, that either Greek or Roman law underwent the ‘secularisation’ often ascribed to it, even in recent work. For example, I would disagree that Lu 62 and the Tabula Bantina show a more advanced, secularised community organisation, while Oscan legal texts relating to cult sites and ritual are simply about fixing traditions and making manifest local identity.²¹ It seems clear, at the very least, that a text such as the Tabula Bantina was also a statement of local identity. With no evidence to the contrary, it is best to assume that Oscan (and other Sabellian) legal texts were not clearly divided between secular and religious. It is likely that, as in Greek- and Latin-speaking communities of a similar period, these were overlapping categories.

2.3 *Forms and appearance of legal texts*

We have already seen in Chapter 5 that the practice of writing curse tablets, and the form that these inscriptions took, was transmitted from Greek-speakers to South Oscan-speakers in around the C4th BC. We might suspect that the practice of writing legal texts also

¹⁷ De Meo (1983) 75.

¹⁸ Lupu (2005) 4; Tellegen-Couperus (2012) 1–4.

¹⁹ Ter Beek (2012) 27.

²⁰ Courtney (1999) 9.

²¹ Poccetti (2009a) 173.

came into South Oscan from Greek, and if this was the case then the form as well as the language of the inscriptions might bear this out.

The clearest example of this is the Tortora stele (Ps 20), c. 500 BC, written in an Italic language of the Sabellian branch (see 2.5). The form of the stone has features in common with others across the Mediterranean, as already mentioned in Chapter 2. Inscriptions like this, inscribed on several sides so that they have to stand in a central position in a space, seem to have come to Italy from the Greek world.²² Some of the earliest Greek inscribed laws, other than those in Crete, are tall, thin and tapering, much like marker stones – and this is probably part of their original function.²³ The cippus of Chios (LSAG 343.41), for example, is similar in form, as are two cippi of Cleon on the Argolid, both of which show some religious statutes – all of these are from approximately the mid-6th BC.²⁴ This kind of cippus is much rarer in the Italian tradition, although there are a few similar examples, such as the cippus of the Lapis Niger in the Roman forum – this even shows the change of direction caused by false boustrophedon that we find on Ps 20 – and a South Picene cippus from Cures (Sp RI 1/Cures 1).²⁵

This kind of similarity of form makes us suspect a Greek model for Ps 20,²⁶ as well as perhaps for the Lapis Niger and other early Roman legal texts, but the Tortora text itself is very difficult to interpret (see below). Unfortunately, by the time of the first extant Oscan legal text, the practice of writing legal texts on four-sided stones had been abandoned. The usual Oscan practice appears to have been to write legal texts of all kinds on bronze tablets, as was common at Rome. This practice is also found in the Greek world, but there is no clear reason to believe that the practice must have been inspired by Greek examples.

²² Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 25.

²³ Thomas (1994) 40.

²⁴ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁶ Crawford suggests specifically Ionian contacts as providing the models, despite the use of Achaean script in the Tortora text – Crawford (2011a).

2.4 Commands and prohibitions

The need to express prescriptions (both positive commands and negative prohibitions) is common to all legal writing. However, even within one language, there may be a variety of ways to express the same prescription. Some of the theoretically possible forms for issuing a command – such as, in Greek and Italic, the second-person (present) imperative – tend to be rejected in favour of other possible forms. This selection of forms is part of the development of a ‘legalese’ style of language.²⁷

2.4.1 Latin and Greek commands and prohibitions

In Greek legal texts, imperative infinitives and imperatives in *-tōd are the most commonly used verb forms for commands.²⁸ In general, the infinitive is more frequent in early inscriptions, and the imperative in *-tōd (imperative II) in later inscriptions (including Greek translations of Latin *leges*), but the imperative and the infinitive often appear side-by-side in the same inscription.²⁹ While the two forms are essentially synonymous, there is some evidence that the infinitive was the unmarked form, and was preferred for negation and for more impersonal prescriptions, though the distribution is different across different dialects.³⁰ Where infinitives are used in Greek legal texts, they can stand alone as jussive infinitives, or can be part of an extended indirect speech introduced by a verb such as ‘decided’ or ‘proposed’.

There are some dialectal differences in the syntax of commands in Greek. In Elean, the optative with the particle κα is the usual form; the optative also appears in other dialects, such as Arcadian and Cypriot, but without the particle.³¹ The subjunctive, without κα, is used for a command in an Elean inscription of the late C3rd-2nd BC (GDI 1172).³² The jussive optative

²⁷ Powell (2005) 121–122.

²⁸ García Ramón (2001) 341; Lupu (2005) 5.

²⁹ Buck (1955) 140.

³⁰ García Ramón (2001) 345.

³¹ Buck (1955) 138.

³² Ibid.

can stand alongside jussive infinitives and the imperative with no clear distinction in meaning. Although each community had its norms, these norms were fairly flexible, and imperatives, infinitives and optatives could be seen as interchangeable options available to the writer. Other variants include the occasional use of the future indicative.³³ The present indicative is characteristic of prescriptions in calendars or comparable sacrificial regulations.³⁴

Latin also has a range of methods for expressing commands in a legal context. Unlike in Greek, the syntax tends to be contingent on the type of legal text. So, *senatus consulta* present their prescriptions in indirect speech, usually with the imperfect subjunctive, because they follow a perfect indicative verb, *censuere* ‘they (the senate) decided’. *Senatus consulta* also commonly use the expression *uolo* (or *nolo*) + perfect infinitive, where *uolo* appears in the imperfect subjunctive as the main verb of the indirect speech following *censuere*. The use of the perfect infinitive is aspectual rather than conveying tense.³⁵ Both imperfect subjunctives and *uolo* (or *nolo*) + perfect infinitive can be seen in the first few lines of the *SC de Bacchanalibus*. This use of indirect speech reflects the fact that *senatus consulta* were, in theory, advice given by the senate rather than laws passed by the people, though the distinction had in practice been lost by the late Republic.³⁶

In contrast, *leges* (statute laws³⁷) tend to use the imperative in *-tōd, and do not have a verb of deciding at the beginning. This is true of the earliest laws known to us, including the Twelve Tables, and continues throughout the increasingly verbose laws of the Republican era. Despite the increasing elaboration of Latin legal language, short phrases with imperative in *-tōd remain an unchanged part of the legal register – e.g. *dare damnas esto*.³⁸ This is also true of other kinds of legal documents: for example, in wills, the formula *Titus heres esto* had to be

³³ Lupu (2005) 6, n.16.

³⁴ Ibid., 6, n.17.

³⁵ De Meo (1983) 100; Clackson and Horrocks (2007) 150.

³⁶ Powell (2011) 475.

³⁷ Ibid., 469.

³⁸ Ibid., 474.

used; other wordings such as *Titium heredem esse uolo*, and so on, were regarded as invalid.³⁹ Note that in later texts, and in the modernised spelling of the Twelve Tables, the final -d is lost; also, unlike in Greek, the Latin imperative II has only one tense (it is often referred to as the ‘future imperative’).⁴⁰

This standardisation of the syntax of *senatus consulta* and *leges*, and the relatively consistent differentiation of the two, pre-dates our earliest written evidence – all of the texts available to us, including the very early reconstructed texts such as the Twelve Tables, show these syntactic patterns. In fact, although it is not possible to confirm this guess, it is possible that the Lapis Niger (C7th–6th, Roman Forum) and the Corcolle Altar (c. 500, Corcolle) are both texts with legal prescriptions, perhaps relating to a religious site. These suggestions have been made on the basis of the possible use of the imperative in *-tōd.⁴¹ In particular, the end of the final line of the Corcolle altar (C4) has been seen as an imperative in *-tōd at the end of a clause.⁴² The form without an ending in B3 has been suggested as an imperative from *orare*.⁴³ However, neither of these texts definitely contains an imperative. The Lapis Niger also contains the verb *esed*, which may represent a future *erit* or an imperfect subjunctive *eset*, either of which could also be used to express a prescription.

Although the imperfect subjunctive (plus infinitive) and the imperative in *-tōd are the two main possibilities for Latin prescriptions, a variety of forms can be used. For example, the final section of the *SC de Bacchanalibus*, which contains instructions to the community as to how they should set up the text (inscribed in error after the text of the *senatus consultum* itself) shows the use of *utei* + second-person plural present subjunctive verbs; cf. the use of the subjunctive in CIL 1.584.41 *id uti facere liceat*, and the use of present subjunctive *uelit* in, for example, CIL I² 591.⁴⁴ Also compare the use of second-person plural (and first-person plural) verbs in the *Ad Tiburtes*, c. 159 BC (ILLRP 512), informing a community about a senatorial

³⁹ Ibid., 478.

⁴⁰ Szemerényi (1996) 247–248.

⁴¹ Morandi (1978) 90; Prosdocimi (1979) 208.

⁴² Vine (1991) 221.

⁴³ Ibid., 227.

⁴⁴ Courtney (1999) 10; Poccetti (2009a) 196.

decision relating to them. This is not, strictly speaking, the syntax of the drafted legal text, but it is still an aspect of the language of officialdom. Despite the most normal usage in *leges* being the singular of the imperative in *-tōd, Cicero (*De Legibus*) tends to use the plural, thinking perhaps of all the inhabitants of a community.⁴⁵ There is also occasional use of the future indicative in legal contexts with the force of a command, e.g. in the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum*, 123-122 BC, Line 9.

The *lex/senatus consultum* syntactic divide is also not absolute. It is possible for *leges* to use indirect constructions rather than the imperative, including *oportet*, *necesse est*, and *nefas est*. These kinds of indirect constructions can be found in the *Lex Iulia Municipalis* (Tabulae Heracleenses), 45 BC.⁴⁶ It is also possible to find examples of the imperative II in edicts and *senatus consulta*. For example, the imperative II is used in the *SC Orphitianum* of AD 178, as quoted by Ulpian.⁴⁷

The Latin and Greek examples above show the Mediterranean cultural background against which Oscan legal language developed. Evidence from both Rome and Greek-speaking communities shows how a single speech community, such as Rome, can develop a ‘legalese’ style of language that is syntactically quite consistent, even where there are other possible ways of expressing the same idea. In the Greek-speaking world, we also have helpful comparative evidence of how different communities speaking the same language can prefer different ways of expressing commands, each developing their own legal language. With the limited level of Oscan material available, these comparisons can show the kinds of patterns of usage that might have existed – including regional variation and increased standardisation over time.

⁴⁵ Powell (2005) 127.

⁴⁶ Poccetti (2009a) 182.

⁴⁷ Daube (1956) 91.

2.4.2 Oscan commands and prohibitions

The Tabula Bantina gives us our best evidence for the syntax of commands in Oscan legal language. As already mentioned, the Tabula Bantina (Lu 1, Bantia, c. 90 BC; Latin alphabet) is a rich source of borrowings from Latin into Oscan legal language. However, it does not follow Latin in all aspects, and the syntax of commands is an important point in which the legal language of Bantia differs systematically from that of Rome. The verbs of the Tabula Bantina follow a clear pattern, where the positive commands are in the imperative II and the prohibitions (introduced by *ni* ‘not’ or *nep* ‘not + and = and not’, cf. Latin *neque*) are in the perfect subjunctive.

This pattern of positive imperative II and negative perfect subjunctives in legal commands is not found in Latin or Umbrian.⁴⁸ In Latin examples, the variation between imperative and subjunctive is not dependent on whether the prescription is negative or positive.⁴⁹ Because of the near-perfect regularity of the commands in the Tabula Bantina, this is commonly seen as a way in which Oscan as a whole diverged from Italic usage, though this assumes that the Tabula Bantina is representative of Oscan legal texts.⁵⁰ However, there is no reason why this should be the case, since it represents the legal language of only one community. It is also a very late text, and its regularity may be the result of late standardisation of Oscan legal language.

⁴⁸ Umbrian uses the imperative II in both positive and negative prescriptions.

⁴⁹ It is primarily in legal (or mock-legal) texts that the imperative II appears in the negative in Latin; elsewhere, phrases such as *noli/nolite* + infinitive or *oportet ne* + present subjunctive are used as the unmarked negative equivalent of the positive imperative in *-tōd. See Poccetti (2009a) 185.

⁵⁰ Poccetti (2009a) 185, 195.

Lu 1 (Bantia 1), Tabula Bantina, Bantia (Lucania), c. 90 BC. Latin alphabet.

1. ...licitud...	(IMP II)
5. deiuatud.	(IMP II)
8. ni hipid.	(not + PERF SUBJ)
9-10. factud... nep fefacid.	(IMP II... and not + PERF SUBJ)
12. estud.	(IMP II)
13. licitud.	(IMP II)
14. ni hipid.	(not + PERF SUBJ)
15. actud	(IMP II)
17. ni hipid.	(not + PERF SUBJ)
18. licitud... licitud.	(IMP II... IMP II)
19. censamur	(IMP PASS) ⁵¹
21. lamatir...	(PRES SUBJ PASS?)
22-23. ... amiricatud... estud.	(IMP II... IMP II)
25. nep pruhapid.	(and not + PERF SUBJ)
26. estud.	(IMP II)
26-27. licitud... licitud.	(IMP II... IMP II)
28. [ni pis] fuid... nep... fuid...	([not anyone] PERF SUBJ... and not... PERF SUBJ)
29. ni fuid	(not + PERF SUBJ)
30. estud.	(IMP II)
34. ni fuid...	(not + PERF SUBJ)
36. licitud.	(IMP II)
38. estud.	(IMP II)
A5. licitud.	(IMP II)
A9. spentud.	(IMP II)

⁵¹ Buck (1928) 155.

One form may be problematic. If *lamatir* (21) is a present subjunctive passive,⁵² then it is exceptional in this text, not least because it seems to be coordinated with normal imperatives (*amiricatud... estud*, 22-23). If the interpretation in Untermann is correct, it could show the use of an alternative form for a command, but one not typically used in legal contexts, as in the use of the present subjunctive at the end of the SC de Bacchanalibus. An alternative interpretation is that this is a perfect subjunctive, with the perfect marker *-tt-*.⁵³ This is the interpretation preferred by Poccetti, on the basis that perfect subjunctives can be used in Oscan for (positive) commands, notably in forms such as **sakrafir** in the **iúvila** texts of Capua.⁵⁴ However, **sakrafir** is now more usually considered to be a present passive infinitive (from a proto-Sabellian form **-fīē*, cf. Umbrian *-f(e)i*, ultimately from a Proto-Indo-European instrumental ending **-d^hiēh₁*), which weakens Poccetti's argument.⁵⁵ It would also be very unusual to have a perfect subjunctive coordinated with a string of imperative II forms; therefore this form remains controversial.

To decide whether or not the Tabula Bantina represents the syntax of commands used across South Oscan, or across Oscan as a whole, we need to turn to the evidence of other texts. The Roccagloriosa text (Lu 62; Figure 1, 2) is fragmentary, and does not give us any complete sentences, so that accurately reconstructing the syntax of the commands is not straightforward. The text shows verbs of three kinds: imperative II, perfect subjunctive, and future (mainly future perfect). We will assume here that the future verbs belong to the protasis and not to the main verbs of the commands. The remaining verbs fall into a clear pattern:

⁵² Meiser (1992) 303; Untermann (2000) 426.

⁵³ von Planta (1892) 308, 367; Buck (1928) 172, 177; Vetter (1953) 409.

⁵⁴ Poccetti (2009a) 196.

⁵⁵ García Ramón (1993) 117–119; Untermann (2000) 646. García Ramón demonstrates how an infinitive may derive from an instrumental using a parallel from Vedic: the PIE dative ending **-d^hiōi* underlies the Proto-Aryan infinitive **-d^hiāi*.

Lu 62 (Buxentum 2), Roccagloriosa (Lucania), c. 300 BC. South Oscan alphabet.

A2. ξστουδ	(IMP II)
A7. [-?]-ουδ ακτουδ	(IMP II? + IMP II)
A11. ηαφειτουδ	(IMP II)
B2. (h)ιπειδ αυτ ουπιδ	(PERF SUBJ) or (PERF SUBJ)
B8. ιουφετουδ	(IMP II)
B9. σφαι ειοκ νειπ φακτιεδ	if these things (NOM/ACC NEUT PL) not (?PERF SUBJ?)
B13. [-?]-τουδ	(IMP II?)

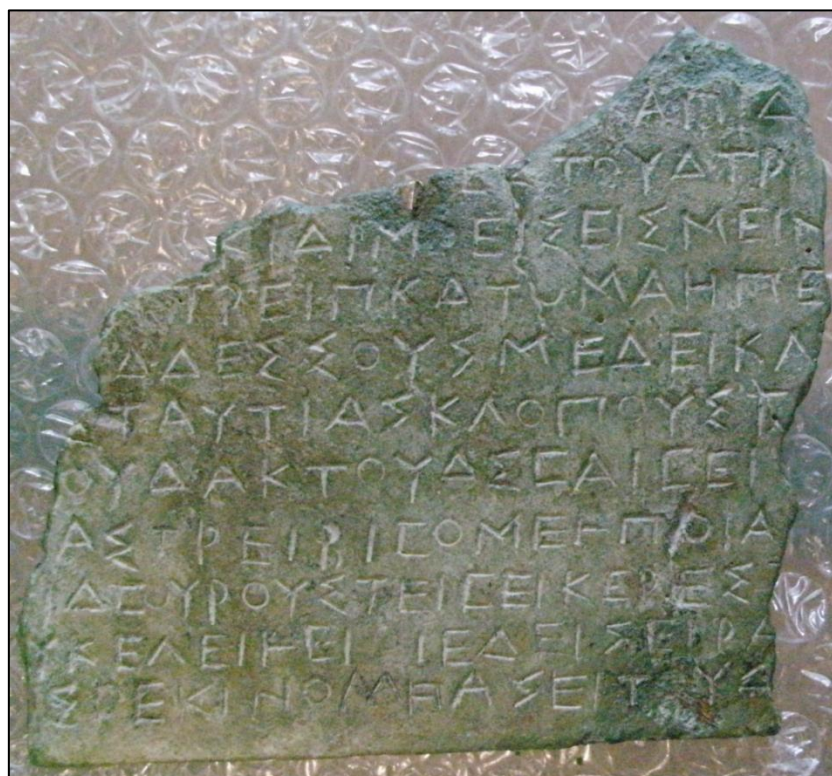


Figure 1: Lu 62 (Buxentum 2), Side A. Author's photo, 11/04/2012. Soprintendenza di Salerno.

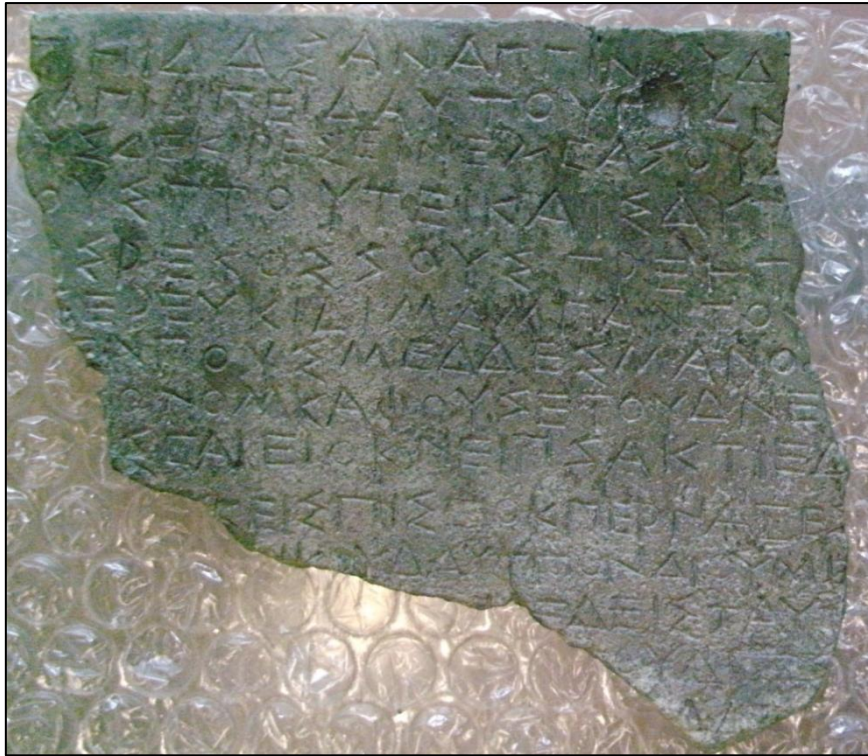


Figure 2: Lu 62 (Buxentum 2), Side B. Author's photo, 11/04/2012. Soprintendenza di Salerno.

The majority of the commands appear to be in the imperative. Note that the verbs in A2 and B13 are not completely visible (see Figure 1, 2). The first word of A7 may not be a verb at all, but could be another imperative coordinating with ακτουδ. In A2, <ε> and <σ> are not completely clear on the bronze; however, the reading εστουδ was proposed by Poccetti and has been accepted since by Rix and Crawford.⁵⁶

The only verb in the text with a clear negative (B9) may use the perfect subjunctive, which prompts comparisons to the Tabula Bantina, where negative commands are in the perfect subjunctive. However, this cannot be interpreted as a parallel to the usage of the Tabula Bantina for two reasons. Firstly, it is not at all clear that this is a perfect subjunctive. Poccetti justifies this formation as a perfect from **d^heh₁-*, with *-t-* as a perfect-tense marker,⁵⁷ though without any clear parallels for this formation. Although he suggests that it could possibly be a present tense from a verb with a present-tense root *fǎ-k-t(i)-*, he states that the perfect subjunctive form would also require less correction – perhaps modification to

⁵⁶ Tocco (2000); Poccetti and Gualtieri (2001) 211; Rix (2002) 125; Crawford (2011b) 1329.

⁵⁷ Poccetti and Gualtieri (2001) 253.

ἄκτι{ε}δ – than a present, which should be ἄκτιαιδ or ἄκτιαειδ.⁵⁸ However, we already have the Oscan perfect subjunctive *fefacid* in the Tabula Bantina; while it is possible that there are two different formations of the perfect subjunctive, the difficulty in explaining the form means this is unlikely. The tense and mood intended here therefore remain unclear. It is possible that there is an error in the spelling, or even perhaps a blending of more than one form, so that the form is difficult to interpret.⁵⁹

Secondly, and more importantly, this verb probably belongs to the protasis of the conditional because of the ‘if’ that almost immediately precedes it, and therefore it is not an example of a negative command. If it were not part of the conditional clause, then we would have to assume an ellipsis of the verb in the protasis, so that the meaning would be something like ‘if (he does) these things, he should not...’ However, there is a lack of comparanda for this kind of brevity in Oscan legal texts; it is much more natural to take ἄκτιεδ as the verb with the ‘if’ clause. Therefore, although the pattern of subjunctives and imperatives is at first sight reminiscent of the Tabula Bantina, we cannot absolutely confirm that Lu 62 follows the same pattern based on whether the verbs are negative or positive. Equally, we cannot deny that the same syntax as the Tabula Bantina may be used here.

Although the Tabula Bantina and the Roccagloriosa bronze are two of the longest legal inscriptions in Oscan, and the only two that seem to deal with secular, procedural law, there are other Oscan texts of a legal nature. These may shed further light on the possible syntax of commands in legalistic language. The Agnone Tablet, for example, mainly describes the altars that exist, in the present tense; but it also contains some verbs that could be interpreted as prescriptions.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ See perhaps as a comparandum the blending of the imperative and present subjunctive in the verb forms of the Latin Lex Lucerina; also explained as derived from morphological borrowing from Oscan – Wallace (1988) 213; Adams (2003) 120 n.43.

Sa 1 (Teruentum 34), Agnone (Samnium) c. 200-150 BC. Central Oscan alphabet.

A17-19. **saahtúm. tefúrúm. alttreí. pútereípíd. akeneí.**
 sacred-NOM. burnt-offering-NOM. other-LOC. each-LOC. year-LOC.
saka(ra)híter.
 sacrifice-PRES.SUBJ.PASS.

A20-21. **fiuusasiaís. az. húrúm. sakarater.**
 Floralia-DAT. next-to grove-ACC. sacrifice-PRES.INDIC.PASS.

Translation

A17-19: A sacred burnt-offering every other year is to be sacrificed.

A20-21: For the Floralia, next to the grove, there is (to be) a sacrifice.

It seems that this text uses two different verbs, though the subject matter is much the same – a description or prescription of the sacrifices that take place at the site. The use of the present indicative in line 23 suggests a purely descriptive tone; but the use of the present subjunctive in line 21 suggests that this may be a command (cf. *lamatir*, Lu 1, above). It is possible, though, that these are different spellings of the same verb form (with vowel hiatus marked by <H> in **saka(ra)híter** but with the *í* elided in **sakarater**). If this is the case, the text is still an important example of the use of the present tense for prescriptions.

The use of the present subjunctive for commands in a religious/legal context is also found in a Marrucinian inscription from the north, which it is worth quoting in full.

MV 1 (Teate Marrucinatorum 2), Rapino (Marrucini) 250-225 BC? Latin alphabet.

1. *aisos pacris totai*
 maroucai lixs
 assignas ferenter.
 aiiatas toutai.
5. *maroucai. ioues.*
 patres ocres tarin-
 cr<e>s iouias. agine
 iafc esuc agine asum
 babu polfenis feret
10. *regen[ei] pioi cer<ei>. iouia<i>.*
 pacrsi. eituam amf.}aten-
 s uenalinam. ni ta[g]a. nipsis. ped-
 i. suam

Translation (adapted from Crawford 2011b)

(May) the gods (be) favourable. For the Maroucan people, a lex. The portions of flesh are brought (PRES INDIC PASS), judged propitious for the Maroucan people by the pronouncement of Jupiter of the Tarincrine Mount and of Jouia. At their pronouncement the babu Polenis brings (PRES INDIC) these to burn to Regens Pius, Ceres Iouia. May it be favourable (PRES SUBJ). They have taken (?) (PERF INDIC) the money from the sale (of leftovers). Let no one take (?) (PRES SUBJ) except insofar as (?) someone takes his own.

As well as the use of the present subjunctive for wishes (*pacrsi*, ‘may it be favourable’), we also appear to have the present subjunctive used in a prohibition – *ni ta[g]a nipis*, ‘let no one take’.⁶⁰ The other prescriptions in this text seem to be in the present indicative – describing the rite that happens, rather than prescribing its nature exactly, as we saw in the Agnone Tablet (A20-21). Note that this text is explicitly described as a *lixs* ‘law’.

A further legalistic text available in Oscan is the treaty between Nola and Abella, also dealing with religious matters to some extent. This text is formed as an agreement, with a verb of deciding in the indicative plus subjunctives; and it is therefore much more similar to a Latin *senatus consultum*.

Cippus Abellanus, Cm 1 (Abella 1). Abella/Nola (Campania), C2nd BC. Central Oscan alphabet.

A10. ekss. kúmbened.	(PERF INDIC)
A19. fusíd	(IMPERF SUBJ)
A23. [fus]íd	(IMPERF SUBJ)
B10-11. líkítud	(IMP II)
B14. estud	(IMP II)
B18. estud	(IMP II)
B20-22. nep... nep... tríbarakat{.}tíns	(PERF SUBJ)
B25. patensíns	(IMPERF SUBJ)
B28. [f]erríns	(IMPERF SUBJ)
B30. íst	(PRES INDIC)
B32. staíet	(PRES INDIC)

⁶⁰ Untermann (2000) 729.

This text presents its prescriptions in a variety of different ways. It begins with an indicative verb of deciding: **ekss. kúmbened. ... puz** ‘thus it was agreed... that...’. The following two verbs in the imperfect subjunctive are the commands – in this, the text appears similar to, for example, a Latin *senatus consultum*, though without comparable Oscan examples it would be difficult to confirm that this is due to Latin influence rather than having been developed independently in Oscan. In fact, the introductory formula **ekss. kúmbened. puz** has more in common with the Greek (τῇ βουλῇ) ἔδοξε, which is also impersonal, than the third-person plural Latin formula, *ita (exdeicendum) censuere*.⁶¹

The text then moves out of indirect speech and states the commands in the imperative.⁶² In lines B20-22, there is a prohibition in the perfect subjunctive: **nep. abellanús. nep. núvlanús. pídum trfbarakattíns**, ‘neither the Abellans nor the Nolans are to build anything’. The text therefore shows a pattern like the Tabula Bantina and (perhaps) the Roccagloriosa Tablet, so that positives are in the imperative and negatives in the perfect subjunctive.⁶³ The indirect speech then recommences, so that the next two verbs are in the imperfect subjunctive again.

The final two verbs, however, seem to express their prescriptions (that the surrounding road must be ten feet wide, and that the boundary markers stand at the mid-point of the road) in the present indicative. We have seen this kind of usage in the Agnone Tablet and MV 1 above, both of which also deal with religious matters. The use of the present describes the current situation and implicitly orders that it should continue without change, cf. the use of the present tense in Greek texts dictating the religious calendar.

Finally, a text on bronze associated with Velletri, VM2.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Poccetti (2009a) 183.

⁶² Dupraz (2012b) 97.

⁶³ Poccetti states (incorrectly) that the imperative II is absent from this text, and that there is therefore a consistent contrast being made between positive commands in the subjunctive and a prohibition in the perfect subjunctive – Poccetti (2009a) 195.

⁶⁴ The text is usually associated with Velletri, but its place of manufacture is not known – Crawford (2011b) 340.

VM 2 (Velitrae 1). Velletri (Latium), c. 275. Latin alphabet

deue: declune: statom: sepi: atahus: pis: uelestrom [^{vac}]

façia: esaristrom: se: bim: asif: uesclis: uinu: arpatitu

sepi: toticu: couehriu: sepu: ferom: pihom: estu [^{vac}]

ec: se: cosuties: ma: ca: tafanies: medix: sistiatiens [^{vac}]

Translation (adapted from Crawford 2011b)

Decided (PERF PASS PART) for the goddess Decluna. If anyone shall have taken who may make a ???, it should be a (case of) piaculum; he is to provide (IMP II) an ox, roasted portions, with vessels and wine. If anyone (shall have taken) with the approval of the public assembly, the removal (?) is to be (IMP II) not irreligious. Eg(nats) Cosuties, son of Se., and Ma(ras?) Tafanies, son of Ga(vis), meddices, decided (PERF INDIC).

This text features two explicit commands, both in the imperative II. The text is framed with two verbs of deciding, *statom* (perfect participle passive) and *sistiatiens* (perfect indicative); despite the use of these verbs of deciding, the rest of the text is not in indirect speech.



Figure 3: Map showing the extant major Oscan legal texts, plus the Tortora text.

In Oscan as a whole, therefore, we seem to have a variety of verb forms used to express commands in a legal context. We have two sacred legal texts from the North and Central Oscan-speaking area (Sa 1, MV1), which show the use of the present subjunctive for commands among other forms, and two (apparently) secular legal texts from the South Oscan area (Tabula Bantina and Lu 62), which both show the use of imperative II for commands, one of which also shows the perfect subjunctive for prohibitions. In addition we have one treaty, relating to religious matters, from the Central Oscan area (Cm 1), which uses the indirect speech method (PERF INDIC: IMPERF SUBJ) of expressing prescriptions, interspersed with some use of the positive imperative/negative perfect subjunctive system, and a further religious law associated with Latium (VM 2) that uses the imperative II (see Figure 3 for locations). Should we view this variation as genre-based, regional or neither?

We could suggest, for example, that sacred laws tended to use the present subjunctive, while secular laws dealing with procedure used the imperative II/perfect subjunctive. This difference could relate, perhaps, to the source of the authority – divine sanction vs. the assembly or senate, as in Latin. Alternatively, there could have been a

different generalisation of the form of commands in different areas, such that the South Oscan area in Lucania developed different norms than communities further north, with some Campanian texts such as the Cippus Abellanus showing a mixture of syntactic styles. We have already seen in previous chapters that the South Oscan area shows evidence of regionalisms in style – for example, in the development of a specialised verb of dedication, and in the development of the NOM (VERB) ACC format in curse texts. It is therefore plausible that regionalism might exist here as well.

If there was this kind of genre or regional variation, then it seems to operate in terms of preferences, rather than absolutes: the possible use of the present subjunctive (or perfect subjunctive) for the positive command *lamatir* in the Tabula Bantina, and the use of several different syntactic systems in the Cippus Abellanus, suggest that there was not complete rigidity of style in Oscan legal commands.

2.5 The Tortora cippus

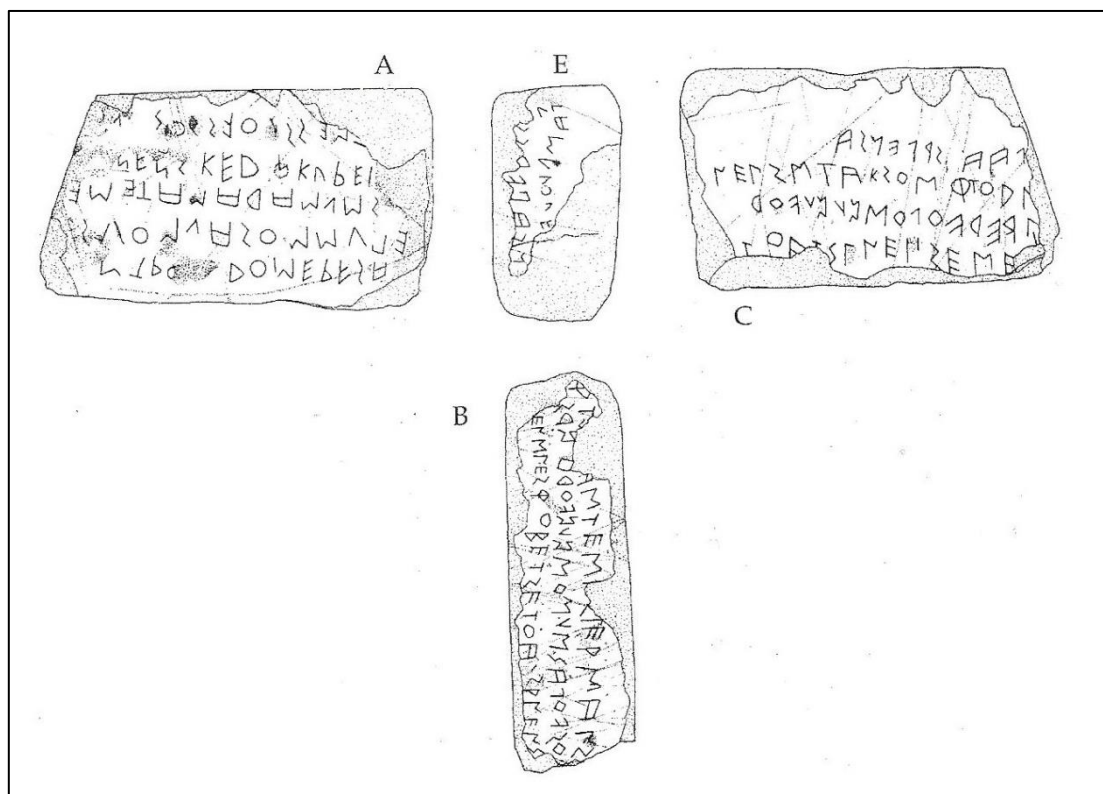


Figure 4: Ps 20 (Blanda 1). Drawing from Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001).

The Tortora cippus (Figure 4) was found in June 1991, in the frazione S. Brancato of Tortora, re-used in the wall of a modern building, beside a road skirting a late archaic necropolis (about 150m to the east).⁶⁵ It is now generally agreed to be a legal text,⁶⁶ although Colonna took it to be a funerary inscription.⁶⁷ This text is not in Oscan, but may be in a related dialect; it comes from ancient Lucania, in an area that was later Oscan-speaking, and there is some archaeological evidence that there was continuity between the cultures of these two speech communities.⁶⁸ The cippus pre-dates almost all of our evidence for Latin legal texts. If it showed outside influence on the language used at all, we would expect it to be from Greek, from which its alphabet and epigraphic form (a stone stele, inscribed on three of four sides and the top) had been borrowed relatively recently. The language and epigraphy of the text is therefore not South Oscan, but a short discussion of the legal language of this text is included here since it is a Sabellian inscription from the South Oscan area, and is indicative of early Greek/Sabellian interaction in the area.

The text is written in an adapted Achaean Greek script, with letters c. 0.035-0.045, except on side E where they are 0.02-0.03. The alphabet is that of the Achaean colonies of Italy (Sybaris, Croton, Metapontum, Poseidonia), characterised by the use of *san* for /s/ and the three-stroke *iota*.⁶⁹ The sign for /f/ is a ‘*mezza farfalla stilizzata*’, which is quite unusual – although it also appears in South Picene, its value there is /w/ (see Chapter 3: 2.2). The use of boustrophedon and the shape of the letters, as well as the use of the Achaean rather than the Ionic alphabet suggests a date of the end of the 6th c. to the beginning of the 5th c., putting it among the oldest of all the extant Italic inscriptions. The use of *qoppa*, which began to be lost from Greek alphabets in the middle of the 6th c., suggests a similar date, unless we suppose a very long tradition of retaining this letter after its loss from Greek.

⁶⁵ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 12.

⁶⁶ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001); Crawford (2011b) 1339.

⁶⁷ Colonna (2001) 244–245.

⁶⁸ Poccetti (2009a) 173.

⁶⁹ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 30.

Underlined below are the words of the text discussed in this section. Not all the lines of the text are included here.

Tortora Stele, Ps 20 (Blanda 1). Tortora (Lucania), c. 500 BC. Achaeian Greek alphabet (adapted).⁷⁰

A2. [-? -] fεfi^[vac] κεδ υκυρ εγ [φο]
 A4. [υ] ε πυσμοι αυγου [^[vac]] ι[-? -]
 B2. [-? -] οι φολαισυμοσ φυφοδ. [^[vac]] φρι^[vac]
 B3. qτο[το] αστ εσμι τερμανι[ιν -? -]
 C1. [^[vac]] τοφτια νε πιεσ ε[-? -]
 C2. [-? -] σρεδ φολοσ φυφοδ^{vacat}
 C3. νε πισ τακιοσqτοδ υ[ε -? -]

There are two possible instances of the imperative in *-tōd in this text, though both are controversial. In B2-3, the final portion of the line is ofρι-, or φρι- if Crawford is right that the circle is an interpunct marking the end of a clause.⁷¹ It is probable that this word carries on onto the next line, particularly since the sequence /kt/, found at the beginning of the next line is not usually allowed word-initially in Italic.⁷² The lacuna after <qτο> makes it very difficult to know where this word might end. It is tempting to see another imperative in *-tōd here, assuming syncope of the thematic vowel, as in Oscan *actud* < **ag-e-tōd*. On the basis of this assumption, Lazzarini and Poccetti have made a number of suggestions as to the etymology. The original form could be **ofri(?)k-e-tōd* or **ofri(?)g-e-tōd*; we might see a preverb **op-* here, making the reconstructed form **op-fri(?)k/g-e-tōd*.⁷³ Possible parallels in Umbrian are *frehtef*, *frehtu* (both of unknown meaning and etymology) and *frif* ‘fruits, crops’. The latter comes from **b^hreuHg-*, like Latin *fruges*, *fruor*, so we would have to assume a common change in

⁷⁰ Reading by Crawford. Crawford (2011b) 1337.

⁷¹ Ibid., 1338.

⁷² Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 139.

⁷³ Ibid., 144.

Umbrian and the language of this inscription of $\bar{u} > i$.⁷⁴ Alternatively, Lazzarini and Poccetti suggest that there could be another letter, such as a nasal, lost at the end of the line B2.⁷⁵ This gives a further possible root $*b^hreg-$, Latin *frango* ‘break’ (with a nasal infix).⁷⁶

However, the temptation to see this as an imperative in $*-t\bar{o}d$ may not be correct. Crawford supplies $-q\tau o[\tau o]$, on the basis that the size of the lacuna suggests that two letters are needed.⁷⁷ Since the next word is $\alpha\sigma\tau$, a perfectly good word, it seems that the word used here is not an imperative II. This is not an entirely conclusive argument, since the text has numerous small *vacats*. However, it does throw a certain amount of doubt on identifying this as an imperative.

In C3, the correct word division seems to be $\nu\epsilon\ \pi\iota\sigma\ \tau\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\sigma\tau\omicron\delta$ – that is, a negative prescription using the imperative II. If this is the case, then it goes against the pattern we find in Oscan, where we never find negative + imperative II, and instead matches the usage in Latin. However, the identification of the verb in this line is very doubtful, and so the syntax of commands in this variety of Italic remains extremely speculative.

The verb in C3 has been identified as an imperative in $*-t\bar{o}d$, though the meaning and formation of the word remain unclear. Again, Lazzarini and Poccetti, and others, have made some suggestions for possible interpretations. This form would show syncope of the thematic vowel, and a suffix $-ske/o-$, found in various other Indo-European languages with various meanings.⁷⁸ There are two possibilities for the uncertain third letter: $\langle\iota\rangle$ or $\langle\kappa\rangle$ (Crawford prefers $\langle\kappa\rangle$).⁷⁹ In the first case, the verb could be from a root $*teh_2-$ ‘steal’, cf. the Duenos vase *ne med malos tatod*.⁸⁰ With a kappa, Lazzarini and Poccetti suggest that it could be derived from the same root, with a $-k-$ affix, or it could be from the root $*teh_2k-$, found in Greek $\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$,

⁷⁴ Ibid., 145.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 144.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 148.

⁷⁷ Crawford (2011b) 1337.

⁷⁸ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 174.

⁷⁹ Crawford (2011b).

⁸⁰ Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001) 175–176.

‘mould, liquefy, destroy’.⁸¹ Another suggested connection is to the root **teh₂g-* ‘touch’, Latin *tango*; this assumes that the kappa could represent /g/, given that no gamma appears in the inscription.⁸² A further possibility put forward by Lazzarini and Poccetti is that there could be haplology of an /s/, and what might have been intended was *νεπισ <σ>τα.ιοσφοτοδ*, which opens up the new possibility of the root **steh₂-* ‘stand, put, set up’.⁸³

Martzloff has offered a further suggested interpretation, based on the word division *νεπισ (σ)τακιο(ι) (ο)σφοτοδ* (assuming a haplology) with a verb *<*obesketōd*, cf. Latin *obescet*.⁸⁴ In terms of semantics, all of these suggestions are plausible enough, given that prohibitions against touching or destroying monuments, or setting up monuments if not authorised, are common themes of sacred laws. However, no convincing etymology or clear explanation of the derivation of this word has yet been put forward. As such, it remains very problematic to identify any particular syntax of commands in this inscription.

2.6 Conclusions on legal texts

We have seen in this chapter that phenomena deriving from contact with Greek are less common in South Oscan legal texts than in some other genres of the same geographical area. The late date of the Tabula Bantina, and the political situation in which it arose, mean that Latin influence is a much more important feature in this text. However, the older tradition of South Oscan legal texts represented by Lu 62, and the possible existence of a ‘Pre-Samnite’ legal text in this area (Ps 20), leave open the possibility that Greek may have been an influence on the earlier stages of the development of Sabellian law. This influence may have been very slight – contact with Greek-speakers could have acted as an initial catalyst for the writing of law – or interaction between the legal systems may have been more ongoing. At the current state of the evidence, the role of contact with Greek can only be raised as a possibility.

⁸¹ Ibid., 176.

⁸² Ibid., 177.

⁸³ Ibid., 178–179.

⁸⁴ Martzloff (2007) 183.

There is no strong evidence of Oscan-speakers deliberately selecting Greek loanwords or Greek ‘extra’ characters for use in legal texts. Again, the evidence is slight. It is possible that the double-gamma spelling mentioned in Chapter 3 represents such a choice in Lu 62, but it is equally likely to be the result of confusion with the Greek spelling (indicative of biliteracy but not deliberate borrowing from Greek). Even where such words were clearly available (e.g. the use of the abbreviation δη(μόσιον) at Roccagloriosa at the same date as a law using *toutico-*, discussed below), they were excluded from the legal genre. This feeds into our overall picture of how linguistic and graphic borrowing from Greek was viewed in the South Oscan area. As we have already seen, it is likely that borrowing from Greek was felt to be appropriate to, or admissible in, certain genres rather than others. Legal texts were perhaps linked strongly to local identity and tradition, making words of Oscan origin more appropriate. As the power and prestige of Rome grew, however, Latin influence over Oscan legal language was permitted and perhaps even viewed positively.

III Official Texts

3.1 *Official and public texts*

This genre includes texts which were commissioned by magistrates or a public body of some kind. The majority of these have been dealt with already as dedicatory texts. A table of the texts which we can consider to be ‘official’ is below (Table 2). This excludes legal texts, dealt with directly above in section 2, and coin legends, which are discussed separately. Texts not already discussed in Chapter 4 are highlighted. A number of these official inscriptions show evidence of contact with Greek, and so are worthy of discussion here.

Table 2: South Oscan official inscriptions

Rix Number	Crawford Number	Date	Findspot	Text Type
Lu 14	Paestum 1	c. 300	Paestum	Dedication. Stone stele
---	Buxentum 2	300-200	Roccagloriosa	Label on bronze handle
Lu 2	Atina Lucana 1	c. 150	Atina Lucana	Official. Stone block
Lu 3	Cosilinum 1	c. 300	Cosilinum	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 4	Numistro 1	300-275	Muro Lucano	Official. Stone block
Lu 5	Potentia 1	125-100	Rossano di Vaglio	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 12	Potentia 2	200-100	Rossano di Vaglio	Official? Bronze tablet
Lu 8	Potentia 3	200-100	Rossano di Vaglio	Dedication. Stone column
Lu 10	Potentia 4	200-100	Rossano di Vaglio	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 11	Potentia 5	200-100	Rossano di Vaglio	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 6	Potentia 9	200-175	Rossano di Vaglio	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 7	Potentia 10	200-175	Rossano di Vaglio	Dedication. Stone block
---	Potentia 39	400-300	Rossano di Vaglio	Official. Stone block
Lu 13	Potentia 40	250-200	Tricarico	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 38	Bantia 2	c. 100	Bantia	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 23	Crimisa 1	300-200	Crimisa	Dedication. Stone block
Lu 24	Crimisa 2	300-200	Crimisa	Dedication. Stone block
Me 1	Messana 4	c. 250	Messana	Dedication. Stone block
Me 2	Messana 5	c. 250	Messana	Dedication. Stone block

3.1.1 Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1)

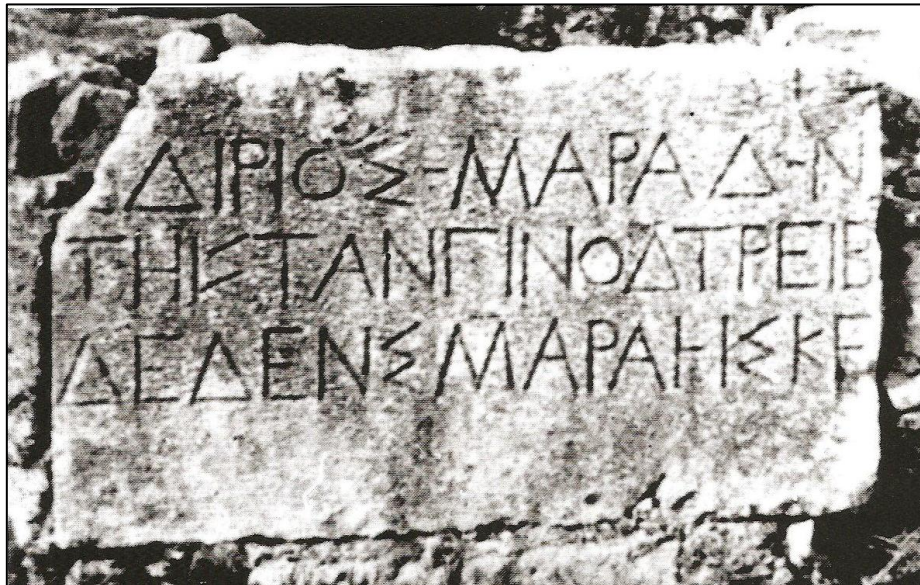


Figure 5: Lu 2 (Atina Lucana 1). Photo from Crawford (2011b) 1353. Now lost.

Transcription (after Crawford)

[-?]-σ διριοσ. μαραδ(ηιο). ν[-?]-

[-?- σενα]τηιοσ τανγινოდ τρειβ[ωμ εκακ]

[ωποσανναμ] δεδενοσ μαραηιοσ κε[πιεσ πρωφαττεδ]

Translation (after Crawford)

]S Dirios-NOM.PL. Maras-GEN.SG. N[
senate-GEN.SG. decision-ABL.SG. building-ACC.SG. this-ACC.SG.
[be-constructed-GDV.ACC.SG.] give-3.PL.PERF. Marahis-NOM. Kapiis-NOM.
[approve-3.SG.PERF.]

[-?]-s Dirios, sons of Maras, N[-?-],
by decree of the senate let the contract for [this] building
[to be constructed], Marahis Ke[piis] passed (it) as completed].

This inscription was discovered in 1951 built into the top of a well, and then was lost in building works about a decade after it was discovered.⁸⁵ The inscription is clearly incomplete, but opinions differ on whether there is a block missing on both sides,⁸⁶ only on the left,⁸⁷ or only on the right.⁸⁸ Lejeune characterised it as a dedication text, perhaps because of the word *δεδενσ* ‘they gave’.⁸⁹ In fact this verb is also found commonly in building inscriptions with no stated religious/dedicatory connection, and so it is not classed as a dedication here.

It was suggested by Lejeune that the name at the beginning of the first line (*σ. διριος*) could be a singular gentilicium with an ending borrowed from Greek; he further suggested that the rest of the line could read *μαραδ ν[ατος]*, ‘born of Maras (ablative)’.⁹⁰ The second part of this suggestion was rejected, on the grounds that ablative + *natus* never appears as a filiation in either Sabellian or Latin,⁹¹ and Lejeune suggested instead *μαραδ(εισ) ν[ατος]*, so that the filiation read ‘born of Maras (genitive)’.⁹² This too has been rejected.⁹³ But the possibility of a Greek morphological ending on *διριος* has not been completely dismissed: if this is the case, then part of the missing text would have to contain another personal name in the nominative, because the verb *δεδενσ* is plural.⁹⁴

The alternative to a Greek ending is that *διριος* is plural, and that there are at least two praenomina before it. All that can be seen in the photograph before *διριος* is part of a bottom hasta of a letter <σ>. This could be either a one-letter abbreviation for a praenomen, or the final letter of a praenomen spelled out in full. If there was another block to the left of this inscription, both of these possibilities would work. If the inscription is complete on the left-hand side, this causes a problem, since there would not be space for another praenomen

⁸⁵ Campanile (1992b) 207.

⁸⁶ Antonini (1981) 342.

⁸⁷ Rix (2002) 126.

⁸⁸ Campanile (1992b) 208–209.

⁸⁹ Lejeune (1970) 287.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*; Lejeune (1976) 55.

⁹¹ Campanile (1992b) 212; Crawford (2011b) 1354.

⁹² Lejeune (1976) 342.

⁹³ Antonini (1981) 342; Crawford (2011b) 1354.

⁹⁴ Crawford (2011b) 1354.

abbreviation before <σ>.⁹⁵ Campanile suggests that in fact the inscription should read σ. δ. ιριος, so that there are two abbreviated praenomina visible (he compares the gentilicium ιριος to forms such as **heriieis** (Cm 14/Cumae 8) and **heri.** (tSa 13, 36/Bovianum 9)).⁹⁶

Without the ability to examine the stone, this question is likely to remain unresolved, and the possibility of Greek influence cannot be excluded. However, since the verb is plural and there is no other obvious Greek morphological influence on the stone, it seems most likely that διριος is a plural gentilicium, and that there was another stone to the left which contained the two (or more) praenomina.

3.1.2 Lu 12 (*Potentia* 2)

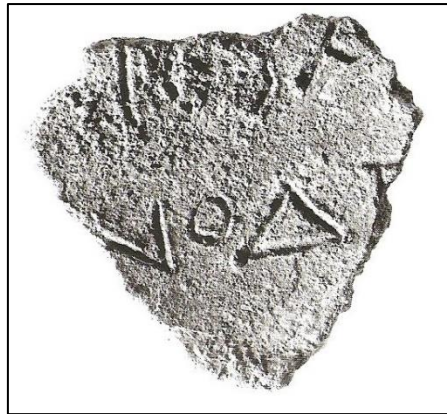


Figure 6: *Potentia* 2 (Lu 12). Photo from Crawford (2011b) 1366.

This small fragment (0.03 high by 0.033 wide by 0.002 thick) of a bronze tablet was found during excavations during 1971, near the findspot of Lu 5 (*Potentia* 1) (for which see Chapter 4). The first line is agreed to read [-?] πρoφa[τεδ -?], referring to the approval of a project of some kind. Lejeune read the second line as containing the word [τανυι]voδ.⁹⁷ This is a reasonable assumption if we are to place this text in the context of official or legal language of some kind.

⁹⁵ Campanile (1992b) 208–209.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 209–211.

⁹⁷ Lejeune (1990) 17.

However, Crawford reads [-?-] vo(μoo) ΔΠ[-?-], and states: ‘the small o leads us to take vo as an abbreviation; it would also be odd to have a decree (of the senate) after the passing of the work as completed; the last letter could in theory be γ, ε or Ϝ’.⁹⁸ He therefore translates the second line as ‘15 (or 16-19) *nummi*’. Neither of Crawford’s objections to Lejeune’s reading seems particularly definitive. A number of inscriptions, including Lu 5 (Potentia 1), have small omicron in some instances, without any particular significance; and it would not seem unusual to discuss a project being approved and then a decree of the senate if there were some change of topic between the two lines. However, if Crawford’s interpretation is correct, then it provides another example (alongside Lu 5/Potentia 1) of the use of Greek numerals at Rossano di Vaglio in the C2nd BC.

3.1.3 Potentia 39



Figure 7: Potentia 39 (reproduction). Author’s photo, 16/05/12.

⁹⁸ Crawford (2011b) 1366.

<p><i>Transcription</i></p> <p>ἐπὶ τῆς νυμμε- λου ἀρχῆς</p>	<p><i>Translation</i></p> <p>In the magistracy of Nummelos</p>
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At this point, we turn to official inscriptions written in Greek by Greek/Oscan bilingual communities. The first of these is Potentia 39, found at the site of Serra di Vaglio (near Rossano di Vaglio). The inscription is written in Greek, and is dated to the C4th BC. It is thought to have dated the fortification wall which was constructed around that time.⁹⁹

This inscription initially prompted a great deal of debate. Early discussion was often centred on the use of Ionic rather than Doric Greek.¹⁰⁰ This choice was felt by some to be unusual: the use of Ionic Greek seemed to exclude influence from nearby Tarantum and Metapontum, which were both still producing Doric inscriptions during the C4th, and suggested influence from Naples, where the term ἀρχή was also used.¹⁰¹ The dating formula used here was also considered to be unusual, since the usual Greek would be ἐπὶ + GEN + ἄρχοντος, where GEN is the genitive of the magistrate's name. The formula appeared to be a result of influence from Oscan. It was even suggested by Guzzo that Nummelos had erected a bilingual inscription, of which the Oscan half did not survive.¹⁰² Of course, we can understand this inscription as translating an Oscan expression without a corresponding Oscan inscription ever having existed.

Lejeune initially compared the formula to an inscription on a bronze helmet (Lu 37/Metapontum 1), dated to 400-375 BC, which reads σπ μεδικικαι πο. Since this appears to be another formula reading 'in the magistracy of X' (where <πο> is an abbreviation of a personal name), Lejeune concluded that either the Greek could be calqued from the Oscan or vice versa.¹⁰³ The later discovery of another text dating a wall at Muro Lucano (Lu 4/Numistro 1)

⁹⁹ Manni Piraino (1968) 452.

¹⁰⁰ Lejeune (1967) 210 n.50 gives a summary of these arguments.

¹⁰¹ Manni Piraino (1968) 454, 456 n.105.

¹⁰² Guzzo (1984) 202.

¹⁰³ Lejeune (1967) 210.

seemed to reveal a comparable formula – *μαῖς ἀρριες σουφεν μεδδικεν* – used in an exactly parallel context to Potentia 39. Though the exact wording of Potentia 39 was closer to the helmet Lu 37, Lejeune nevertheless felt that the Muro Lucano inscription showed that the Greek of Potentia 39 was a calque of an Oscan formula rather than vice versa.¹⁰⁴ This conclusion has been followed in later work, with Crawford stating most recently that the inscription is ‘Greek in morphology and syntax, Oscan in idiom’.¹⁰⁵

The view that this Greek dating formula is calqued from a similar Oscan formula is doubtless correct. In most Greek-speaking areas, this formula is not found at all until the 2nd–3rd AD.¹⁰⁶ However, the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς or ἐπὶ τῆς + GEN + ἀρχῆς (or similar expressions) are commonly used on the island of Delos from the 4th BC.¹⁰⁷ This is not used as the dating formula for the inscriptions, which is still usually ἐπὶ + GEN + ἄρχοντος; rather, the expression is used repeatedly in the main text of a large number of inscriptions. This connection with Delos is a suggestive one. There were considerable numbers of Italian traders on Delos from at least 167 BC, when the island was set up as a trading colony.¹⁰⁸ There is possible inscriptional evidence of Italians on Delos as early as 250 BC, though the evidence from 250–140 is considerably more modest than that after 140 BC.¹⁰⁹ There was some suggestion in past scholarship that these Italians included Oscan-speakers, on the basis of onomastics and the use of double spelling of long vowels in some inscriptions, though this view has now been rejected.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Lejeune (1985) 55.

¹⁰⁵ Crawford (2011b) 50. However, the relationship between the three similar formulae is complicated, and may show multiple calques between the two languages. For example, Poccetti considers the use of *συπ* to show that dating formula on the helmet (Lu 37) was calqued from a Greek phrase using ἐπὶ similar to that in Potentia 39, while Lu 4 shows the original Oscan phrase – Poccetti (2010) 667.

¹⁰⁶ For example: IG II² 2193: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Γαΐου Κυΐντου Ἰμέρτου Μαραθωνίου (c. 200 AD, Attica); IG IX.1 18: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντέρωτος τοῦ Ἀντέρωτος (198–209 AD, Phokis); IG IX.1 8: ἐπὶ [τῆς] ἀρχῆς Μ(άρκου) Οὐλπ[ίου] Δαμασίππο[υ] (late 2nd/early 3rd, Phokis).

¹⁰⁷ Among other examples, see: ID 104(24) (345/4 BC); ID 296 (shortly after 244 BC); ID 298 (240 BC); ID 310 (250–166 BC); ID 313 (235–234? BC); ID 320 (229 BC); ID 98 (377–373 BC); ID 354 (218 BC); ID 443 (178 BC).

¹⁰⁸ Adams (2003) 642–643.

¹⁰⁹ Baslez (1996); Compatangelo-Soussignan (2006) 169.

¹¹⁰ See Adams (2003) 661–662 for references and more detailed discussion.

The inscription from Serra di Vaglio considerably pre-dates the evidence of Italiote Greeks and Italic-style names at Delos, which mainly dates from the C2nd BC onwards.¹¹¹ Nor does there seem to be much doubt (on the basis of the Muro Lucano inscription) that the formula of Potentia 39 represents a calque from Oscan rather than the use of a widespread Greek formula. But it is possible that the man who composed the inscription was familiar with the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς from contact with Delos, and that this suggested itself to him as a natural enough Greek equivalent to the Oscan συπ μεδικιαί + GEN or NOM + σουφεν μεδδικεν. The usage of this phrase as a dating formula rather than in the body of the text represents an innovation, but one which may have taken place because of someone using his knowledge of similar phrases in Greek epigraphy. If we allow for wider networks of contacts, particularly among local elites and traders, it becomes less mysterious that this inscription does not use the variety of Greek of the nearest Greek city.

The choice to use Greek in this kind of inscription may be an unusual one – with only a few comparable inscriptions, it is difficult to say what the preferred language for building inscriptions would have been. There are, however, comparanda at other sites in the region. At Petelia, an inscription dated to the C3rd or 2nd BC (IG XIV 637) commemorates the building of a *stoa*; the two magistrates mentioned both appear to have Oscan-style names. The formula of the inscription is also comparable to the formula of Potentia 39 in its use of ἐπὶ + MAGISTRACY + GEN.¹¹² The choice of language in these inscriptions does not appear to reflect the L1 of the magistrate, if we can judge this correctly from the Oscan-style names. These inscriptions may be a reflection of a bilingual community in which Greek was felt to have greater prestige – the Serra di Vaglio site was a Greek foundation, though completely reorganised in the C5th, and so may have contained Greek-speakers.¹¹³ However, the choice of Greek may simply reflect a personal decision by the magistrate: he may have had close connections to Greek-speaking areas, or may have wanted to signal his own personal membership of the Hellenised local elite.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Étienne (2002) 6.

¹¹² The full text of the inscription reads: ἐπὶ γυμνασιάρχῳ[ν] [μι]νάτου κριτίου μινά[του μ]ατίλα μάρκου κριτ[τίου] μινάτου ἢ στο<α> ἀνε[σκευ]άσθη ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων. (IG XIV 637).

¹¹³ Isayev (2007) 228.

¹¹⁴ Poccetti (2010) 666.

3.1.4 Buxentum 2

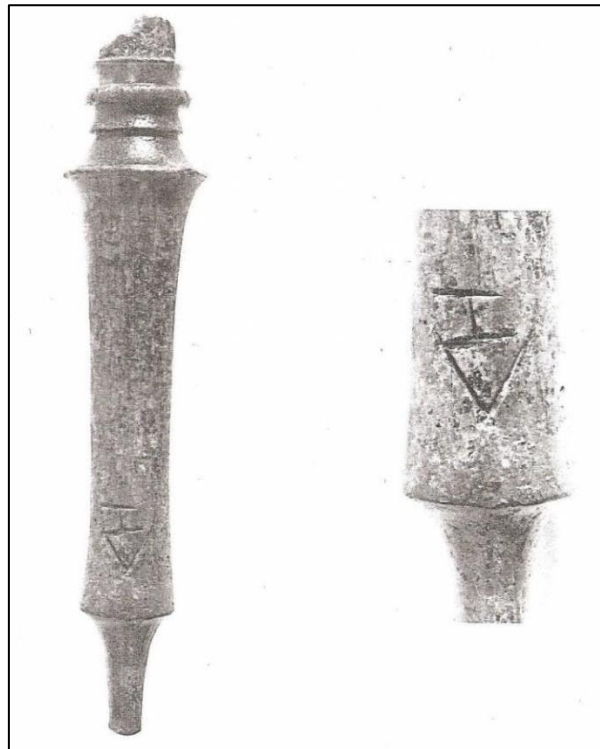


Figure 8: Buxentum 2. Image from Gualtieri and Fracchia (1990).

Buxentum 2 is the bronze handle of a caduceus (staff), inscribed with the letters <ΔΗ>, understood to correspond to the Greek word δη(μόσιον) and to mark the object as ‘public’.¹¹⁵ Along with the ceremonial nature of the ceramics found, this inscription has been used to confirm that the large buildings found at the Roccagloriosa site were of a public nature.¹¹⁶ The existence of this Greek inscription at the same location as the Oscan-language bronze law Lu 62 (discussed above), at approximately the same period, has raised some discussion of how this community understood the term ‘public’, which will be summarised briefly here.

In Oscan, the noun *touta-* (< **teutā*) means ‘people, citizenry’.¹¹⁷ It appears in Umbrian, South Picene and Marrucinian (MV1), but within Oscan itself this noun appears only in South Oscan (Tabula Bantina; Me 1, 2). It also seems to appear in Ps 20, Line C1 (τοφτια). The derived adjective *toutico-* appears all over the Oscan-speaking area, including the Tabula Bantina and

¹¹⁵ Gualtieri and Fracchia (1990) 317; Fracchia and Gualtieri (2009) 129.

¹¹⁶ Gualtieri (2000a) 54; Fracchia and Gualtieri (2009) 126–130.

¹¹⁷ Untermann (2000) 779.

Lu 62. It is also found in the ‘pre-Samnite’ Ps 1 (Nerulum 1) as τουτικεμ (with post-position – εν).

It has been suggested that the adjective *toutico-* is used in two slightly different ways in Oscan, as the result of a shift in meaning caused by contact with Latin.¹¹⁸ In many Oscan official texts, where it often modifies **meddís** (e.g. Cm 10/Herculaneum 1; Sa 5/Teruentum 11), it means ‘of the people, of this state’. It is also used to mark objects such as tiles (e.g. tPo 42/Teruentum 1). In the Tabula Bantina, it has been proposed that the meaning ‘public, as opposed to private’ would be the result of a loan-shift based on Latin *publicus* (*touta-* : *toutico-* :: *populus* : *publicus*).¹¹⁹

On the other hand, Poccetti has suggested that the idea of ‘public’ in Oscan, particularly in South Oscan, may in fact have been as a result of contact with Greece, citing the use of the Greek word δη(μόσιον) on this handle; objects stamped with the legend δη(μόσιον) are also found in Bruttium.¹²⁰ For example, a Greek-language tile stamp from Petelia (Pocc. 201) uses the same abbreviation.¹²¹ He also cites the use of τωφο in Me 1 (C3rd) as a synonym for Greek δημος (used in the phrase τωφο μαμερτινο).¹²² He sees this loan-shift, by which *touto-* came to be seen as an equivalent of δημος, as taking place primarily in the south, in the most extensively bilingual areas.¹²³

The use of Greek word δη(μόσιον) at Roccagloriosa suggests that the Greek word as well as the Oscan word was available to the speakers of the community at Roccagloriosa. We have other evidence for bilingualism at Roccagloriosa in the form of a code-switching curse tablet (Lu 45/Buxentum 3). The word δη(μόσιον) marks the object as public property, contrasting with private property – again, this is a feature of the semantic range of the Greek word, but not the original semantic field of the Oscan word according to Poccetti. The use of

¹¹⁸ Porzio Gernia (1970) 125; Untermann (2000) 783.

¹¹⁹ Porzio Gernia (1970) 125.

¹²⁰ Poccetti and Gualtieri (2001) 239; Poccetti (1988) 121.

¹²¹ See also the use of the same abbreviation at Pithecusae, where it seems to be used by magistrates with Oscan-style names – Crawford (2011b) 1527.

¹²² Poccetti and Gualtieri (2001) 240.

¹²³ Ibid.

Greek in this context may also show that the idea of ‘public’ objects and buildings had come to the community from their knowledge of Greek cities.¹²⁴ The Greek word δη(μόσιον) does not appear, however, in Lu 62, which uses τουτεικαισ (Line B4) to mean ‘public’.¹²⁵ Poccetti suggests that the use of τουτεικαισ in Lu 62 also means ‘public, rather than private’ because the word that follows it is αυτ – this suggests that a contrast is being made between two adjectives.¹²⁶

The change in semantics here seems fairly banal, and could have taken place in Oscan independently of both Latin and Greek. There may therefore be a reason other than the words’ semantics for whether the Greek or Oscan word is used. Given that, as we have seen, the level of visible Greek influence on South Oscan legal texts is low, it is possible that the use of an Oscan term was felt to be most appropriate to a legal context. Greek, as we have seen, could be acceptable in public and official contexts. We could therefore make a contrast between the language used in law and that used in other public contexts.

3.1.5 Conclusions on official texts

With such small numbers of texts, we must of course be cautious about making too many generalisations. Nevertheless, it seems that, in contrast to legal texts, official and public texts of other kinds could be written in Greek. The contrast between Potentia 39 and Lu 4 shows that the personal choice of individuals could affect the language of the inscription – these texts occur in parallel circumstances, used to date fortification walls, but one uses Greek and the other Oscan. This may relate to the relative prestige of the two languages at the different sites, different self-identification by the two communities, or the preferences of the men who commissioned the inscriptions. The use of Greek in a public context could also co-exist with the use of Oscan, as at Roccagloriosa. We might also note the use of Greek for official purposes at other sites – for example, we find an inscription commemorating the building of a *stoa* in Greek at Petelia (IG XIV 637), though the magistrates mentioned have

¹²⁴ Fracchia and Gualtieri (2009) 133.

¹²⁵ The same word is also reconstructed in Line B11.

¹²⁶ Poccetti and Gualtieri (2001) 239.

Oscan-style names. As in previous chapters, we have seen that the use of Greek in official inscriptions does not always involve straightforward borrowing – the apparent calque of an Oscan formula in *Potentia* 39 shows how Greek could be adapted to a local idiom.

3.2 *Coin legends*

As a subset of ‘official’ inscriptions, it is worth discussing coin legends. Coins were produced on behalf of Oscan-speaking communities by Greek craftsmen, probably in workshops that were also producing coins for Greek-speaking communities, and many of the legends were written in Greek. The denominations, forms and designs of the coins of Oscan-speaking cities were based heavily on Greek models. There is little space here to discuss the significance of the various designs, typologies and weights, but these can help us to understand the legends in context.¹²⁷ We have also explored the possibility in Chapter 3 that a great deal of experimentation took place in coin legends. It is likely, for example, that the origins of the South Oscan alphabet, or at least its special characters (e.g. for /f/), can be traced back to the earliest coins produced for Oscan-speaking communities. The production of coins was therefore a forum for written evidence of language contact.

It is reasonable to see coin issues as an expression of local or regional identity to some extent.¹²⁸ Some of the cities of Italy had their own coins struck as a sign of political autonomy. Many of the coin series date to the Hannibalic War: after the battle of Cannae in 216 BC, many of the towns of Lucania and Bruttium were allied to Hannibal and had particular motives to stress their independence from Rome.¹²⁹ At the same period *Petelia* was apparently given permission from Rome to reopen its own independent mint as a reward for its loyalty.¹³⁰ The coin legends, by naming the people, the town or their magistrates, indicated a local identity. The designs chosen could reference other aspects of identity, such as links to a mother city. Although aspects of the production and design of coins for Oscan-speaking regions were in

¹²⁷ In general, the most detailed information about the coin issues of this region can be found in Rutter (2001) 108–197.

¹²⁸ Isayev (2007) 22.

¹²⁹ For example, the coinage of the *Volcei*. Rutter (2001) 122.

¹³⁰ Caltabiano (1977) 11.

the hands of primarily Greek-speaking craftsmen, we can assume that the magistrates or officials who commissioned the coins could express preferences as to the designs and legends. The use of Greek legends can, therefore, be seen as one way in which these communities identified themselves to others.¹³¹

There are some exceptions to this. For example, one bronze series of the coinage of the Lucani (those labelled λυκιανων in Greek) appears to show an external rather than internal viewpoint of the Oscan-speaking Lucani. These coins bear a wolf-head design which is exclusive to the Lucanian coinage – the symbol seems to relate to the Greek legend λυκιανων, and implies that this was understood as ‘people of the wolf’ (Greek λύκος), a pun which would not work in Oscan.¹³² The only form of this ethnic found in Greek literature is Λευκανοί, which would suggest instead a connection to Greek λευκός ‘white’.¹³³ Cappelletti suggests that, in the context of a conflict with Rome, a decision was made to stress the Lucani’s connection to Magna Graecia, particularly to Metapontum where there was a temple of Apollo Lykos.¹³⁴ Crawford has pointed out that, since the wolf was also the symbol of Rome, this was something of a strange choice.¹³⁵

The other coin series of the Lucani (labelled either λυκιανων in Greek or λουκανοι in Oscan) are completely identical to the coinage of the Brettii.¹³⁶ This suggests that all of these series were made on behalf of the Lucani who had fought for Hannibal and had followed him to Bruttium in 207 BC, either by Brettii (Oscan-speakers) or by Greek-speakers.¹³⁷ While there may have been Lucanian input into the design of these coins, they may have been produced by others to pay Lucanian mercenaries rather than being a self-projection of regional identity. Only one coin series – the Punic half-shekels inscribed λουκα, produced by Oscan-speakers at Metapontum – are likely to have been produced by Lucanian Oscan-speakers themselves.¹³⁸ A

¹³¹ Crawford (2011b) 6.

¹³² Rutter (2001) 129; Cappelletti (2005) 12.

¹³³ Cappelletti (2005) 12.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹³⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1320.

¹³⁶ Cappelletti (2005) 11.

¹³⁷ Crawford (2011b) 49.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 48.

similar example may be found in the Saunitai 1 coinage – these show a javelin on the reverse, again a pun which works in Greek rather than Oscan (σαυνίον – ‘javelin’).¹³⁹

A table summarising the coin issues associated with various South Oscan-speaking communities is given below (Table 3), following the issues published in the *Imagines Italicae* corpus. Each Crawford number includes all of the coinage produced by a particular community; in some cases, this can be subdivided into a number of separate coin issues. The numbers of the separate issues in *Historia Nummorum (Italy)* are also given where available. All dates are as given by Crawford.

Table 3: Coin issues

Crawford Number	Date	Type	Legends
Lucani 1 HN 1449-1458	207-204	(a) Silver half-shekels (Metapontum type) (b and c) Struck bronze coinage	(a) λουκα (b) λουκανομ (c) λυκιανων
Laos 1 HN 2289-2309	350-300	Struck bronze coinage	λαινων σπελ ου υσ στα οψι μι βε κο μο φι βι ευθυμο(σ/υ) ιερ(ων(οσ))
Volcei 1 HN 1341-1345	216-209	Cast and struck bronze coinage	φελεχα, φελεχ, φε
Saunitai 1 HN 446	325-275	Silver obols	σαυνιταν (right-to-left)
Pitanatai Peripoloi 1 HN 445	c. 350	Silver obols	πιταναταν περιπολων
Orlanoi 1 HN 2674	215-204	Struck bronze coinage	ορλανων τρεβιου ραιου
Orsantinoi 1 HN 2654-2656	215-204	Struck bronze coinage	ορσαντινων

¹³⁹ Cappelletti (2005) 17.

Grumentum 1 <i>HN 783-784</i> ¹⁴⁰	215-209	Bronze coinage	γρυ
Brettii 1 <i>HN 1940-2012</i>	216-204	Gold coinage Silver coinage Struck bronze coinage	βρεττιων
Breig 1 <i>HN 2678-2679</i>	c. 250-200	Struck bronze coinage	(a) τραεσ βρειγ κ α (b) κ α βρειγ βα
Consentia 1 <i>HN 2071-2074</i>	325-300	Struck bronze coinage	κωσ
Petelia 1 <i>HN 2453-2467</i>	215-early C2 nd	Struck bronze coinage	πετηλινων, πε αυ τρ τρ αυ ζ τρι μαικ τρ τρι
Caulonia 1	300-200	Struck bronze coinage	No legend
Hyporum 1 <i>HN 2269</i>	c. 300	Struck bronze coinage	υπωρ μ υ
Taesia 1	250-200	Struck bronze coinage	τ α
Nuceria 1 <i>HN 2437-2448</i>	c. 300, 216-204	Struck bronze coinage	(a) νουκρινων (b) νουκρι στατιου (c) ηρ νουκρι
Vibo 1 <i>HN 2243-2261</i>	350-275	Struck bronze coinage	ειπωνιων, φειπ, φει διοσ ολυμπιου πανδινα σωτειρα νικα νυμ (= Oscan νυμψιος?) ¹⁴¹
Messana 1	c. 225	Struck bronze coinage	(a) μαμερτινων, μαμ (b) μαμερτινων, μαμερτινουμ

¹⁴⁰ Crawford assigns these to Grumentum, but Rutter disagrees and assigns them to Grumo Appula, in Apulia - Rutter (2001) 88.

¹⁴¹ Crawford (2011b) 1495.

3.2.1 Use of Greek language

As can be seen from the table, the majority of coin issues in this region use the Greek language, including for ethnics and personal names of Oscan origin. Only one community also uses Oscan morphology – the town of Messana. At Messana, the ethnic is written in Greek throughout, except in one series, where the legend on two issues is in Oscan.¹⁴² The coins of the Lucani (probably produced on their behalf) also use both Greek- and Oscan-language legends. Note, however, that many of the legends are abbreviated, so that the intended language of the text is not clear. This is in keeping with practices in coin production generally, because of lack of space, but also has the advantage of ambiguity.

Alongside the ethnics on the coins, various other names and words appear. Many of these are reduced to monograms or short abbreviations, making it difficult to identify the origin of these names. Some appear to correspond to Oscan-style names (such as $\sigma\tau\alpha\ \omicron\psi\iota$ in Laos 1); others where two initials appear ($\mu\ \upsilon$ in Hyporum 1; $\kappa\ \alpha$ in Breig 1) may also correspond to two-part Oscan names. The Laos 1 coinage gives us the only names that are clearly of Greek origin. It is worth noting that in the Laos 1 coinage, Greek names can occur alongside Oscan names, so that $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron(\sigma/\upsilon)$ sometimes occurs with $\sigma\pi\epsilon\lambda$.¹⁴³ There may be some other Greek names among the very abbreviated name forms on other coins – e.g. the zeta on Petelia 1. The coinage of Vibo 1, unlike the other cities, also has subsidiary legends that include names of Greek deities and epithets of deities. It is possible that an Oscan name also appears on this coinage ($\nu\upsilon\mu$ = Oscan $\nu\upsilon\mu\psi\iota\omicron\sigma$?), but the legend is unclear.¹⁴⁴

3.2.2 Connections to Greek cities

In the case of both Saunitai 1 and Pitanatai 1, Crawford suggests that the Doric dialect indicates a very small issue by a group of mercenaries in the orbit of Tarantum or Heraclea;

¹⁴² Ibid., 1511.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 1343.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 1495.

the fact that the writing is right-to-left may be an error, or may indicate that these mercenaries came from an area where the Central Oscan alphabet was in use.¹⁴⁵

The use of various weights and designs in these coin issues can also, to some extent, give us a sense of the connections between these communities and the cities of Magna Graecia. For example, there are clear relationships between the coin types of Lucani¹⁴⁶ and Orsantinoi¹⁴⁷ and the coins produced at Metapontum. Similarly, the earlier issue of Nuceria (c. 300 BC) is similar to the issues of Rhegium.¹⁴⁸ The coinage of Vibo shows typological similarities to issues of Syracuse, Locri, Terina and Hipponium.¹⁴⁹ At Laos, the coinage shows links to Poseidonia/Paestum and Sybaris.¹⁵⁰ How far these similarities in weight and typology reflect ongoing social and economic interaction between these communities is unclear. But even a brief reflection on the coinage found in this region shows the multiplicity of connections to a range of Greek-speaking areas, rather than Oscan-speaking Lucania and Bruttium being in the sphere of influence of a single important city such as Tarentum.

3.2.3 *Conclusions on coin legends*

The overall picture we get from coin legends is one of very close adherence to Greek models and the continued use of Greek language. This is in part from necessity, since the coins were being produced by Greek-speaking craftsmen. It may be too that even where independent mints were set up, ‘the Greekness of the institution of coinage brought with it the Greekness of the language used to identify it’.¹⁵¹ But the use of Greek in coin legends also reflects the extent of the bilingual environment in many of these areas. There are also suggestions that preferences varied from area to area – while some coins include the names of Greek deities in addition to the Greek ethnic names, the coinage of other areas shows the use of Oscan morphology in some coin issues.

¹⁴⁵ Rutter (2001) 60; Crawford (2011b) 1448–1449.

¹⁴⁶ Rutter (2001) 129.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 196.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 184.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 175.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 176.

¹⁵¹ Crawford (2011b) 4; also Guzzo (1984) 228.

IV Funerary Texts

There are very few funerary inscriptions in this corpus. Out of the three extant funerary inscriptions, only two are securely identified as funerary. Both of these texts are among the latest in the South Oscan corpus, and both may show considerable influence from contemporary Latin funerary texts. It is possible that this situation is down to lack of excavation in necropoleis, particularly since all three of the texts given here were found out of context, re-used in modern structures. However, there are areas where necropoleis and graves have been excavated, notably in Laos and Paestum, where inscribed funerary monuments have not come to light.

All this suggests that Southern Italy did not have a strong tradition of inscribed funerary monuments until the era when Latin funerary texts were produced. This is not particularly surprising, since there is a low level of funerary texts in the Oscan corpus as a whole (Table 4).¹⁵² Though burial practices varied somewhat across the Oscan-speaking area, including within communities,¹⁵³ few graves are associated with inscribed markers. In Samnium, the normal practice seems to have been to mark a man's grave with a spear and a woman's with a spindle, though many tombs in Lucania and Bruttium are without any markers.¹⁵⁴ Of the two confirmed funerary texts in the South Oscan corpus, one is now lost and the other was found built into the wall of a modern structure, so we do not know what kind of graves they marked.

¹⁵² Crawford (2011b) 15.

¹⁵³ A variety of burial and cremation methods existed in the Oscan-speaking areas during this period. Generally speaking, the most common method was inhumation in a contracted or supine position with the head propped up, in trench graves lined with stones or tiles. Inhumation in chamber tombs is also common; at some sites tombs are elaborately painted with scenes of chariot races, gladiators and warriors (particularly Capua, Cumae, Abella, Allifae, and Paestum). There is evidence of large-scale cremations becoming the practice for a few prominent individuals during the C4th at Lucanian sites such as Roccagloriosa. The grave goods of the elite typically contain full banqueting sets alongside a few weapons or pieces of armour. For more detail, see Davies (1977) 13–14; Gualtieri and Becker (1982); Fracchia (2004) 73.

¹⁵⁴ Salmon (1967) 63; Davies (1977) 14.

Most of the known inscribed funerary monuments are from the North Oscan area, at a date when Latin practices may have been a strong influence (mainly post-200 BC). Few contain more than just personal names, though there are some lengthier exceptions, such as Pg 10 (Corfinium 11), Pg 9 (Corfinium 6) and Pg 11 (Sulmo 13). Some individuals are given a profession, such as nurse (Pg 53/Corfinium 10) or priestess (e.g. Pg 14/Corfinium 7, Pg 13/Sulmo 7). Po 51 (Teanum Sidicinum 24) gives the age of the deceased (though this seems to read *CXII*, '112 years').¹⁵⁵ There are some funerary texts from the Central Oscan area, but the identification of these is often uncertain. The earliest are texts on stone from Capua, and consist only of personal names, with or without filiation. Note that South Picene had a tradition of funerary epigraphy: the majority of the South Picene inscriptions are funerary stelai, mainly from around 500 BC. The texts identified as funerary in the South Oscan corpus are given in Table 5.

Table 4: Locations and dates of Oscan funerary texts

Location	Dates	Number of texts	Alphabet
Teate Marrucinorum	c. 150-100	5	North
Superaequum	c. 150	1	North
Corfinium	c. 150-50	30	North
Sulmo	c. 200-50	19	North
Capua ¹⁵⁶	c. 330-250	9	Central
Cumae	c. 200-100	4-5	Central
Teanum Sidicinum	c. 200-100	8	Central
Pompeii ¹⁵⁷	300-130?	3?	Central
Saepinum	c. 150-90	1?	Central
Aufidena	c. 100	1	Central
Frentani	c. 125-100	1?	Central
Histonium	pre-300	1?	Central
Cosilinum	c. 100	1	South
Tegianum	100-90	1	South
Anxia	300-250	1?	South

¹⁵⁵ See Crawford (2011) 559 for various possibilities for reading the age. Since very few tombstones in Oscan mention the age of the deceased, it seems plausible that the commemorated woman was very elderly.

¹⁵⁶ Capua 36-44. This does not include *iúvila* inscriptions, which are better understood as texts marking future and past rituals and feasts - Crawford (2011) 27-28.

¹⁵⁷ Crawford (2011) 15: Pompei 41, 42, 97.

Table 5: South Oscan funerary inscriptions

Rix Number	Crawford Number	Date	Findspot	Text Type
Lu 40	Cosilinum 2	c. 100	Cosilinum	Stone stele
Lu 41	Tegianum 1	100-90	Teggiano	Stone aedicula
Lu 39	Anxia 1	300-250	Anzi	Stone pediment. Dedication?

4.1 Lu 39 (Anxia 1)

The oldest of the possible South Oscan funerary texts is Anxia 1. This text has already been dealt with in some detail in Chapter 4 (section 5.5), since it is not completely clear whether this is a funerary or a dedicatory text, and the text is not well-understood. The main problem in identifying this as a funerary text is the lack of a recognisable personal name – though this depends on the reconstruction of the missing text.

4.2 Lu 40 (Cosilinum 2)

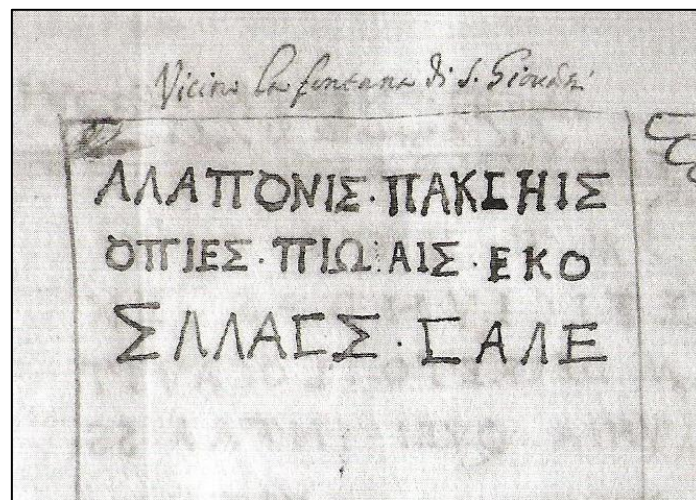


Figure 9: Lu 40 (Cosilinum 2). Image from Crawford (2011b) 1356.

Transcription

[-?- σκ]αλαπονισ. πακφηισ

[^{vac}] οπιεσ. πιω[.] αισ(ωισ). εκο[^{vac}] σαλαφσ. φαλε

vacat

This inscription was discovered and copied by L. Mandelli (died 1672), and is now lost.¹⁵⁸ The reading used here is that of La Regina, who observed that the stone was probably broken at the left-hand side, and possibly also on the right.¹⁵⁹ Crawford follows this reading, but states that the inscription is probably complete on the right.¹⁶⁰ On this view, the personal name is missing its praenomen and the beginning of the gentilicium, but the rest of the inscription is complete.

The final line of the inscription shows a greeting formula. Greetings are found in other Oscan-language funerary texts, such as MV 7 (Teate Marrucinorum 3) (*salaus*) and Cm 18 (Cumae 13) (**salavs**). MV 6 (Teate Marrucinorum 4) uses the same two greetings as here (*salas vali*). It is possible that the second greeting is intended to be from the deceased to the reader, as often happens in similar Greek texts.¹⁶¹ There are examples of χαῖρε in Greek funerary stelai in Italy and Sicily around this period, and it is generally a common usage in Hellenistic Greek funerary texts.¹⁶² This kind of greeting also appears in a Latin-influenced Gallo-Greek inscription (Gaulish written in a Greek-derived alphabet) – the Latin word *ouαλητε* (= *valete*) is used in a Gallo-Greek funerary inscription of the second half of the C2nd BC.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ See Crawford (2011b) 1356–1357.

¹⁵⁹ La Regina (2002) 60.

¹⁶⁰ Crawford (2011b) 1356.

¹⁶¹ McLean (2002) 269.

¹⁶² E.g. Dubois (2002), no. 61 (c. 200 BC), no. 62 (C2nd), both from Metapontum. McLean (2002) 269.

¹⁶³ Bats (2011) 223; Mullen (2013) 184.

Lazzeroni takes σαλας as translated from the Greek χαῖρε, but also points out the use of Latin *salve* in the same context.¹⁶⁴ We probably cannot pin down whether the formula in this inscription is inspired directly by Greek, Latin or Oscan models in this instance. Rather, it was part of a development of funerary texts and monuments that was taking place across Italy, and indeed across the Mediterranean, during this period.

The second line of the text is less easy to understand. The final word εκο appears to be feminine nominative singular of ‘this’, with πω as an adjective.¹⁶⁵ If αιο is an abbreviation of αιο(ωιο) or αιο(ιο),¹⁶⁶ then this would mean ‘to the gods’.¹⁶⁷ Hence Crawford’s translation – ‘(may) this (stone) (be) auspicious to the gods’.¹⁶⁸ It might be possible to connect this to the Latin formula *dis manibus* and its various Greek translations.¹⁶⁹ However, the closest equivalent is the Paelignian funerary inscription Pg 12 (Sulmo 6) (*et. aisis. sato* – ‘(it) is sacred also to the gods’), which suggests the sharing of funerary formulae across a wide area.

¹⁶⁴ Lazzeroni (1972) 13–14.

¹⁶⁵ Crawford (2011b) 1357.

¹⁶⁶ Untermann (2000) 68–69 lists this as an o-stem noun, following Rix (1967); Meiser (1987) 111; but Lejeune (1972a) explains it as a u-stem; see Lejeune (1972a) 135; Rix (1967) for more detail.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *aisos* Fr 12 (Histonium 9), MV 1 (Teate Marrucinorum 2); *aisis* Pg 12 (Sulmo 6); **aisu{s}is** Cp 37 (Capua 34).

¹⁶⁸ Crawford (2011b) 1357.

¹⁶⁹ McLean (2002) 268.

4.3 Lu 41 (Tegianum 1)

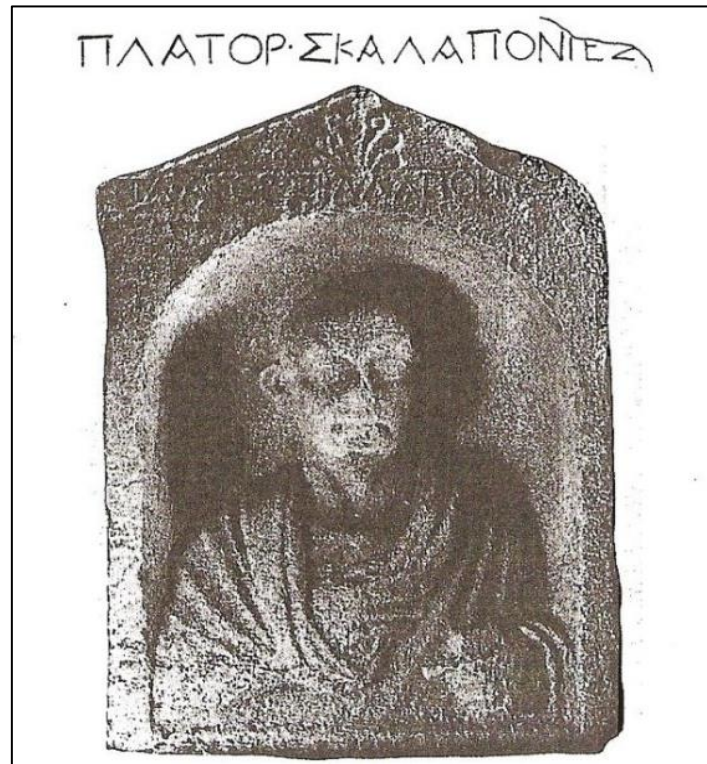


Figure 10: Lu 41 (Tegianum 1). Image from La Regina (2002).

This inscription is built into the back wall of the cathedral in Teggiano. The name on the inscription was previously read as *πλατορ σι. αλαπονιες*, with various debates about the order of the names, the Latin equivalent of the unusual gentilicium and the full form of the abbreviated *σι*.¹⁷⁰ However, the inscription has now been reread from new photographs and autopsy, and the accepted reading is *πλατορ σκαλαπονιες*.¹⁷¹

This is among the oldest examples of funerary monuments of this *naiskos* type – the form appears around the end of the C2nd or beginning of the C1st BC.¹⁷² In general, Lucania shows early evidence of the adoption of the *naiskos* form of individual tombs (see Figures 11, 12 and 13).¹⁷³ This was a Hellenistic model, adapted and produced locally, by which local elites represented themselves using the cultural language of the Hellenistic western

¹⁷⁰ Bracco (1974) no. 241; Sironen (1991); Campanile (1992b) 219.

¹⁷¹ La Regina (2002) 60; Crawford (2011b) 1359; McDonald (2012a) 51–52.

¹⁷² Gualtieri (2003) 148.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 207.

Mediterranean.¹⁷⁴ Another stele from Teggiano with a very similar portrait and a Latin inscription (*Samius C. f. Aniensi*) is probably almost contemporary with Lu 41 (*Inscriptiones Italiae* 3 254, Figure 13).¹⁷⁵

The use of this form with an Oscan-language inscription shows an individual reaction to the multiplicity of influences on the population of Lucania during the C2nd. While other contemporaries used this form of monument and Latin-language inscriptions, Lu 41 is written in the South Oscan alphabet. This seems more likely to be a choice based on the desired effect of the monument than the result of not being able to find a mason who could write Latin, since the inscription consists only of a name and Latin was already being used in Lucania at this period.

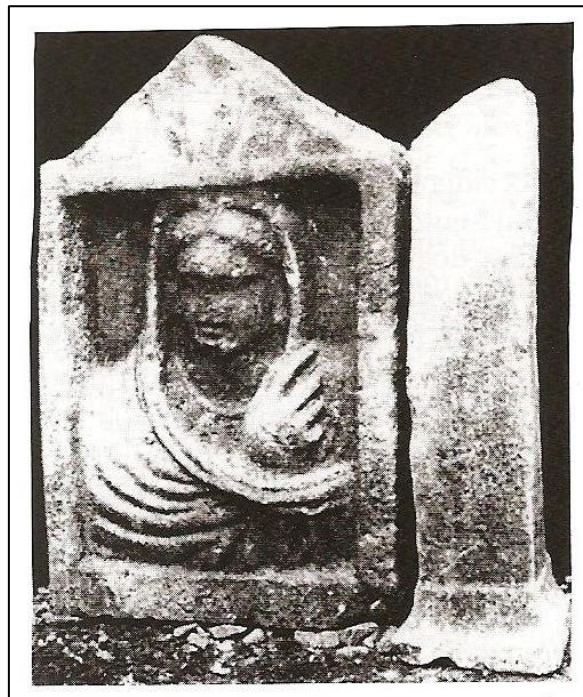


Figure 11: An uninscribed funerary stele from Roccagloriosa, second half of C1st BC.

Image from Gualtieri (2003).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 208–209.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 148.

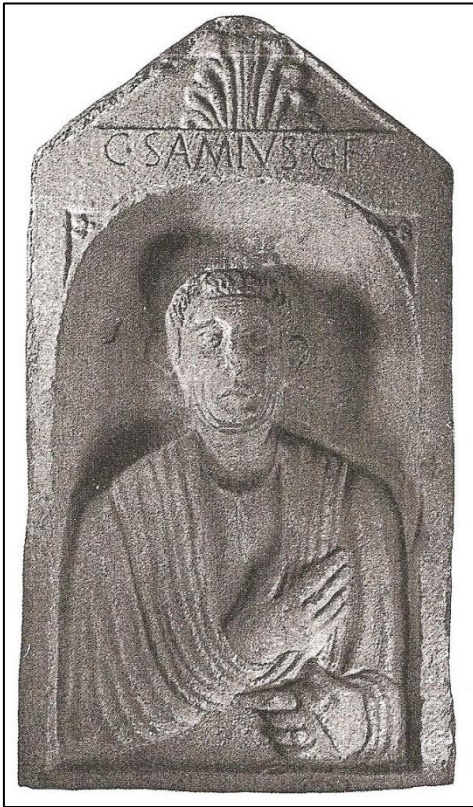


Figure 12: *Inscriptiones Italiae* 3 253, Teggiano.

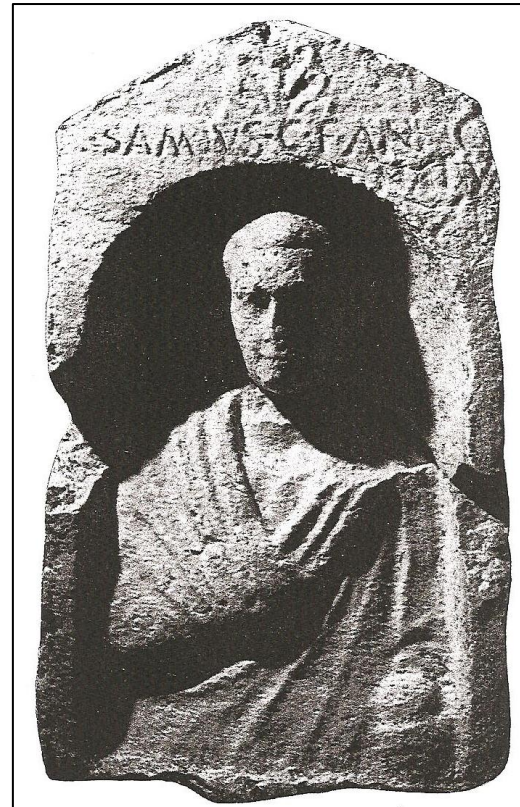


Figure 13: *Inscriptiones Italiae* 3 254, Teggiano.

The name Plator is found elsewhere as an individual name, for example in an Oscan (or Greek) inscription from Campania (Teannum Sidicinum 25). It is found as a Greek name elsewhere in Italy, especially in Tarantum, but is thought to be of Messapic origin.¹⁷⁶ In this case, the name perhaps found its way into the South Oscan naming system, and was absorbed as a praenomen. Another possibility is that the inscription refers to a freedman, who has kept his original name as a praenomen: a possible *collibertus* is mentioned in a Latin inscription in Paestum (A. Scalponius Paq. l. Quir., CIL X 497).

It should be noted that, with the new reading in Lu 40, it now seems that the two South Oscan funerary inscriptions refer to two contemporary or near-contemporary members of the same family, or *colliberti*.¹⁷⁷ If this is the case, then we may have identified a small group of individuals who, perhaps because of contacts with other areas, were early adopters of

¹⁷⁶ La Regina (2002) 59.

¹⁷⁷ Gualtieri (2003) 148.

funerary epigraphy. Furthermore, they adopted it in a unique way, by using South Oscan instead of Latin. It is likely that this was meant to express local ties and perhaps connections to a prominent local family. Because the alphabet is recognisably Greek in origin, it may also express wider connections across the Hellenistic world – particularly in Lu 41, since anyone literate in Greek would be able to read the name without knowledge of the Oscan language.

V Tile stamps, graffiti and dipinti

Tile stamps, other makers' stamps and marks, dipinti and graffiti often contain only very short texts; taken in isolation, they can tell us only a limited amount about language contact in the South Oscan corpus. However, when considered alongside the other genres of inscriptions already discussed, they can add some additional detail to our view of Greek/Oscan bilingualism, and in particular the domains in which Greek was used in these communities.

5.1 Tile stamps

In general, tile stamps are a feature of public buildings in Oscan- and Greek-speaking Italy.¹⁷⁸ As such, they fit to some extent within the category of 'official' texts, though they are often very short and abbreviated (see Table 6). Some of the stamps are clearly related to the use of the tile in an official or public building, such as those giving an ethnic (tLu 13/Tauriani 1; tMe 1/Messana 2) or Luc/Bret/Sic 2 which labels the tile as δειφιν(ο) 'of the goddess'. The stamp on tLu 9 (Vibo 3) 'φερεκο' appears to mean 'of the *vereia*' – whatever institution the *vereia* is, it seems to be a public body of some kind.¹⁷⁹ The abbreviation φε on many of the tiles could also refer to the *vereia*, but it could also be an abbreviation for Venus or a praenomen.¹⁸⁰ Other tiles, labelled with the genitive of a masculine personal name, seem to refer to the maker rather than a magistrate.

¹⁷⁸ Crawford (2003) 27.

¹⁷⁹ Crawford (2011b) 25–26.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 26.

Table 6: South Oscan tile and brick stamps

Inscription number	Findspot	Date	Text
Luc/Bret/Sic 2	None	200-100	δειφιν(ο) 'of the goddess'
tMe 3 (Luc/Bret/Sic 5)	None	150-100	φε κυ
tLu 15 (Velia 1)	Velia?	c. 200-100	[-?- p]úmpunis
Numistro 2	Baragiano	200-100	aboliies αβολιιε[σ]
tLu 10 (Potentia 42)	Tricarico	400-100	φε καρ
Potentia 43	Tricarico		[-?-]h(eíre)n(s) [-?-]
tLu 1 (Potentia 44)	Tricarico	c. 225	τρεβισ αρροντιεσ or τρεβισ. αρροντιεσ
Thurii Copia 2	Castiglione	Before 205	φε
Caulonia 3	Monasterace	300-200	φε
Caulonia 4	Monasterace	300-200	φε
Caulonia 5	Monasterace	c. 400?	τσ
tLu 11 (Nuceria 2)	Piano della Tirena	Before 200	φε. του
tLu 9 (Vibo 3)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	φερεκο 'of the vereia'
Vibo 4	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	π. μαρ(ασ) βαρabiεσ 'P. and Mar. Barabiis'
tLu 3-5 (Vibo 5)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	κοττειηισ
tLu 8 (Vibo 6)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	μαιηισ
tLu 7 (Vibo 7)	Vibo Valentia	300-275	τουρειεισ
tLu 6 (Vibo 8)	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	ορτιηισ
tLu 13 (Tauriani 1)	Various	c. 100	ταυριανουμ
tMe 1 (= tLu 14) (Messana 2)	Messana	Before 200	μαμερτινουμ
Messana 3	Messana	250-150	μαμερτινων
tMe 2 (Messana 8)	Messana	Before 200	λ. πααπ[-?-]

Tile and brick stamps are a helpful indicator of the amount of interaction between speakers of different languages and users of different alphabets in the region. Tile stamps are one of the few genres for which we have Central Oscan alphabet inscriptions in Lucania, suggesting a familiarity with the Oscan alphabet among some craftsmen working in the area, however temporarily they were there. Greek-language tile stamps exist in this region alongside Oscan-language ones.

Several sites produce tile stamps in both Oscan and Greek. In particular, Vibo gives us a number of tile stamps with Oscan morphology, but also several examples of Oscan-style names with Greek morphology (not included in the main South Oscan corpus by Crawford, but included in his appendix).¹⁸¹ Tile stamps can be difficult to date, and it is not completely clear whether these Greek texts were produced at the same period as the Oscan ones. However, it suggests that Vibo may have been home to craftsmen speaking both languages, at least at some periods. Similarly, the language used at Messana varies between Greek and Oscan, including in the tiles marked with an ethnic (μαμερτινων vs. μαμερτινουμ) made during approximately the same period.

We might contrast these examples with those at Petelia. At Petelia, there are no tile stamps in Oscan, but there is one in Greek which mentions the names of two magistrates, both of whom have Oscan-style two-part names written with Greek morphology.¹⁸² Alongside the coinage of Petelia (written with Greek morphology), the use of Greek for an official inscription (IG XIV 637) and the Petelia 2 curse tablet which code-switches between Oscan and Greek, this gives the impression of a site at which Greek was perhaps of higher prestige. In contrast, the tile stamps from the area around Rossano (for example, from Tricarico) show a mixture of South Oscan and Central Oscan alphabets, but no Greek. The difference between Vibo and Potentia – both originally Greek colonies, and both in Bruttium – may even show differences in language use within quite a small area, though we should be wary of letting too much rest on a very small amount of evidence.

For completeness, I also list here the other kinds of stamps found on ceramics in the South Oscan corpus (Table 7). These inscriptions are very brief, and seem to indicate the name of the maker in abbreviated form.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 1530–1531. These stamps read (1) περκενος (= Capiabli 131), (2) ποπ(λιου) (= tLu 2), (3) ποντιου (= IG XIV 2402.2), (4) σπελλου (= Capiabli 134). It is not clear why (2) is considered to have Greek morphology, since the text is abbreviated.

¹⁸² Poccetti (1979) no. 201. δη(μοσια) επι λευκιου ορ(ιου) και νουιου ελε(φιου).

Table 7: Other stamps and makers' marks

Inscription number	Type	Findspot	Date	Text
Lucania 2	Amphora stamp	Serra Lustrante	c. 200	<i>trbl. fice(t)</i>
Teuranus Ager 3	Vase stamp	Tiriolo	Before 200	τ π
Teuranus Ager 4	Vase stamp	Tiriolo	Before 200	κερ

5.2 Graffiti, dipinti and makers' signatures

It can be difficult to distinguish between graffiti/dipinti by owners and those by makers with complete confidence, and these texts are listed together here (Table 8). Some are more likely to be written by the maker – for example, the fact that the writer of Luc/Bret/Sic 4 gives his profession as ‘αργε(τασις)’ suggests that he is the manufacturer of the silver cantharus (a drinking cup with large handles). From the placement of the name, πλασσο (Lu 42/Paestum 3) is likely to be the artist who painted the tomb. The inscription in relief on the lead weight Tauriani 2 is also likely to indicate the maker rather than the owner, since it was done during production, but the inscription could have been commissioned by the owner.

Table 8: Graffiti, dipinti and makers' signatures

Inscription number	Type	Findspot	Date	Text
Luc/Bret/Sicilia 4	Silver cantharus	None	c. 75	με(τις) δα(τις) αργε(τασις) 'Metis Datiis, silversmith'
Lu 42 (Paestum 3)	Dipinto on plaster	Paestum	370-360	πλασσο
Metapontum 2	Ceramic loomweight	Metapontum	c. 300	φε κτ
Heraclea 1	Ceramic plate (fragment)	Heraclea	None	pakis
Lu 61 (Heraclea 2)	Coarse-ware jug	Montegiordano	Before c. 275	ν οψ
Teuranus Ager 2	Fragment of vase	Tiriolo	c. 250	κερ
Vibo 9	Graffito on lump of lead	Vibo Valentia	Before 200	υπλ
Tauriani 2	In relief on lead weight	Tauriana	200-100	μαρασ

There is little to comment on in regards to possible Greek influence on these short texts. However, we might note the association of Greek and artists in this region. Paestum 3 (Figures 14, 15) is painted on a tomb from the Oscan-speaking era of the site (as judged by the typology of the painting). The name $\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma$, however, is morphologically Greek rather than Oscan; the use of an individual name rather than a two-part name also indicates a Greek name.



Figure 14: Tomb 1/1972, Necropoli del Gaudio, Paestum. Author's photo, 23/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum.



Figure 15: Lu 42 (Paestum 3). Author's photo, 23/04/12.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum.

Of course, we cannot be certain of the background of the artist of Tomb 1/1972 from his name alone. Nevertheless, the fact that the artist appears to have written his signature in Greek, even when painting the tomb of a (probably) Oscan-speaking elite man, may be significant. In fact, as can be seen from the table above, artists' or craftsmen's signatures written with Oscan morphology on luxury items are very rare. It may be that high-quality luxury goods were associated with Greek-speaking areas. Either these items were still made only in Greek-speaking areas, or artists signing their work took care to choose a 'Greek' professional name to fit with the purchaser's expectations of quality goods.¹⁸³ These texts, although very brief, may still therefore have something to tell us about the domains in which Greek and Oscan were used.

VI Conclusions

By looking at a range of texts of different genres, we can begin to flesh out our understanding of the interaction between Oscan and Greek across this region. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the language of legal texts may seem to have little direct

¹⁸³ Compare, perhaps, the fact that craftsmen at La Graufesenque used Latin rather than Gaulish names on tiles intended for the wider market. Adams (2003) 705–706.

influence from Greek, but Greek and Oscan legal writing nevertheless have their origin in a shared Mediterranean tradition. The earliest text from Southern Italy (the Tortora stele, Ps 20) may show the closest connection to Greek models, particularly in its physical form. With the later crystallisation of Oscan legal practices, and increasing Latin influence up to the Social War, legal texts show less evidence of ongoing interaction with Greek models, even in communities which were clearly bilingual.

It would be tempting to see legal texts as symptomatic of an aversion to using Greek in public life in Oscan-speaking towns, but in fact other kinds of official texts show far more influence from Greek. Even at inland sites like Serra di Vaglio, it seems that the Greek language could be used by magistrates in an official capacity to mark the date of public works, though this seems to have been down to the personal preferences of the magistrate. Other objects displaying official authority could also be written in Greek, including coin legends and tile stamps. Although many coin issues were produced by Greek-speaking workshops, and therefore circumstances might have dictated the language used, it seems that even when coins were produced locally the Greek language continued to be associated with currency. What began as a necessity seems to have become a tradition. Similarly, sites in this region produce tile and brick stamps in both Oscan and Greek.

It is also possible that art and luxury goods were associated with Greek artisans, and so were usually signed in Greek. Of course, we must be very careful not to assume the first language or preferred written language of the writer from his name. But as with coins, it would make sense if a type of object that was originally associated with the Hellenistic world, and particularly with Hellenised elites, continued to be associated with the Greek language long after Oscan-speakers were producing the same kinds of objects.

The few funerary inscriptions that survive to us were produced very late; by this stage in the history of the region, it is difficult to separate out Greek influences from Roman influences. However, the use of greetings and use of the *naiskos* form of monument with a portrait of the deceased both show participation in wider 'Hellenistic' cultural networks. The ambiguity of the language in a funerary monument which contains only a name should not be

underestimated – by choosing a Hellenistic-style monument with his name written in the adapted Greek alphabet, Plator Skalaponies was making his monument legible to speakers of both Greek and Oscan. The ambiguity of many of the other short texts in this corpus should also be taken into account. In some cases, it is difficult for us to know whether particular coin legends, tile stamps and craftsmen's signatures were intended as Greek or Oscan – in fact, it may have been advantageous that these inscriptions could be read in either language.

Though these texts, when taken individually, may seem to show us little about language contact between Greek and Oscan, in fact they are extremely useful to our overall impressions of the corpus. Even short texts, such as coins and tile stamps, show the use of Greek in Oscan-speaking or bilingual contexts, and the absorption of people with Italic names into Greek-speaking communities. Moreover, something that many of the texts included in this chapter have in common is that they are concerned with self-presentation. In general, we see that many members of these elites were happy to present themselves and their communities as bilingual, and in many cases seem to be signalling their membership of wider Hellenistic networks through their use of writing.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

I Oscan/Greek Contact: Summarising the Evidence

1.1 Reverting ‘more and more to barbarity’

A guidebook still on sale (as of April 2012) at the entrance to the Poseidonia/Paestum site describes the interaction of Greek- and Oscan-speakers on the first page of its introduction:

This prosperity [i.e. of Poseidonia], attested to even today by the grandeur of the ruins of the city monuments, soon aroused the cupidity of the fierce Lucanians, an Italic people of Oscian-Sabellian [sic] stock eager to hurl themselves down from their native mountains upon the opulent Greek cities on the coast. Poseidonia was one of the first to be assailed... From that moment its unfortunate inhabitants reverted more and more to barbarity; they were even forbidden to speak Greek, and they only gathered together once a year to recall with tears their ancient greatness, and to call each other by their old names.¹

This is recognisably a paraphrase of the passage of Aristoxenus of Tarentum (Athenaeus, *Deipno.* 14.632) mentioned in Chapter 2. Interesting as such passages are about ancient attitudes to language change in ancient Italy, they barely scratch the surface of what we are now able to say about Oscan and Greek. By examining the corpus of inscriptions at a number of different levels, and in relation to contextual information from history and archaeology, we can get a detailed picture of the decisions taken by the writers of these texts.

Although history and archaeology have now challenged the ideas of the Lucanian ‘invasion’ and the model of ‘Hellenisation’ of native peoples, the main synoptic works on Greek/Oscan language contact date from a time when these models were much more

¹ Sestieri (1968) 5–6.

accepted.² Recent work, mostly published in the last five years, has sought to add to our understanding of ancient *Trümmersprachen*, particularly as regards language contact.³ It would not be going too far to say that ‘historical sociolinguistics of language contact’ is in the process of becoming a field of study in its own right; frameworks are now being developed which can be used across linguistic and regional boundaries. Recurring themes in this branch of historical sociolinguistics include the importance of individual and local micro-level responses to the development of wider Mediterranean networks, alongside wider regional understandings of language maintenance and death informed by modern linguistic theory.⁴ More recent work on Oscan has started to apply modern sociolinguistic theory, historical sociolinguistic frameworks, and a more up-to-date interpretation of the history of the region,⁵ but no one has yet addressed the whole South Oscan corpus using these methods. The overarching view provided by this thesis is needed to bring our view of contact linguistics in Southern Italy into line with the latest developments in scholarship.

1.2 Genre variation

This thesis has shown that genre has to be taken into consideration in any exploration of language contact; and that this is especially important in a limited epigraphic corpus. We can summarise the findings of this thesis in the form of a table of features (Table 1). Where the type of contact phenomenon is clear, this has been indicated. Where features may or may not be contact-induced (e.g. the verb *αναφακετ* in dedications) or the intention behind the feature is not understood (e.g. the use of final *-v* in the Lu 46 curse tablet), the feature is listed in the last column, ‘Other possible contact-induced phenomena’. This table is, of course, a simplification of what has been discussed here. However, it is helpful for a number of reasons. Firstly, it gives a more detailed overview than previous work on contact-induced phenomena in this corpus. Secondly, it presents a clear picture of the way in which evidence for contact with Greek varies with the genre of the inscription.

² Lazzeroni (1972); Lazzeroni (1974); Prosdocimi (1976); Lejeune (1970); Lejeune (1990).

³ Poccetti (2010); Papaconstantinou (2010); Ruiz Darasse and Luján Martínez (2011); Clackson (2012a); Mullen (2013).

⁴ Clackson (2012a) 36–37; Mullen (2013) 22.

⁵ Poccetti (2010); Clackson (2012b).

Table 1: Summary of findings

Genre	Greek language used (at site where Oscan also used)	Oscan/Greek code-switch	Lexical borrowing	Orthographic or epigraphic influence from Greek	Other possible contact-induced phenomena
Dedications	cuirass (SEG 29.1026), p.118 Potentia 29 (ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΔΕΚΚΙΟΣ), p.140 Lu 23 (upside-down Greek text), p.149		κχομοι (Lu 29), p.146	Greek numerals (Lu 5), p.140-141 ? [μ]αχερηι (Lu 39), p.150	αναφακετ (Lu 18, 13, 14), p.125f genitive of god's name at end of inscription (Lu 6, 7, Me 5), p.129f βρατεισ δατασ (Lu 14, 15, 16, 64), p.131f
Curses	Laos 4, p.183 Teuranus Ager curse (NGCT 82), p.172 Metapontum curse (SGD 124), p.163	Petelia 2, p.185 Lu 45 (re-used), p.174		βοθρονι- (Lu 46), p.87, 182 φοινι[-], μαχιεσ (Lu 45), p.88, 96, 175-176 αλαφιω, σκαφιριω (Petelia 2), p.88, 187	NOM (VERB) ACC structure (Lu 43, 44, 47), p.169f Use of -v accusative (Lu 46), p.180-182
Legal				-γγ- (Lu 62), p.98	
Official	Potentia 39, p.227 Buxentum 2, p.231 Petelia stoa (IG XIV 637), p.234			Greek numerals? (Lu 12), p.226	
Coins	Majority of coin issues , p.234-237				

Genre	Greek language used (at site where Oscan also used)	Oscan/Greek code- switch	Lexical borrowing	Orthographic or epigraphic influence from Greek	Other possible contact-induced phenomena
Funerary					Use of greetings? (Lu 40), p.243- 244
Stamps	Messana 3, p.249 Petelia stamp (Pocc. 201), p.232, 250 Vibo stamps, p.250				
Graffiti/ dipinti	Paestum 3, p.252				

The most common effect mentioned here is the use of Greek-language inscriptions at Oscan-speaking sites, and Greek inscriptions containing Oscan-type names. This occurs across all genres, apart from funerary texts, for which in any case our evidence base is very small. The use of both Greek and Oscan at a number of these sites, across a range of genres, shows the extent of bilingualism in this region. There is no clear evidence of the use of Greek by Oscan-speaking communities to write their own laws – in fact, the lack of influence from Greek in the small number of extant legal text is very marked. This may indicate something about the epigraphic habit of these communities, but also reflects the state of our evidence, since the most complete text we have (the Tabula Bantina) was written at a time when influence from Latin was extensive.

Other than the general use of the Greek language across a range of genres, we tend to see borrowing and interference from Greek clustering around curses and dedications. Many of the features listed under ‘dedications’ are not fully explained, and depend on the

interpretation of the inscription. In particular, it is not clear that any of the features in the 'other possible features' column are definitely contact-induced – all seem to represent new developments in the region, which may have been affected by the bilingual environment. Curse tablets seem to be where the evidence of Greek/Oscan contact is strongest. In a number of cases, this may have been part of a deliberate effort by the writer to increase the potency of the text.

This table does not show the important role of Greek models in the physical forms used in South Oscan epigraphy. The weights and typologies of coin issues are the most obvious examples of direct continuity between Greek models and Oscan imitators. But Greek models are also a factor in the forms taken by curse tablets and funerary monuments (for example, the *naiskos* form), and possibly also legal texts. The types of inscriptions written in the South Oscan region show that these communities were part of a wider Hellenistic world, taking part in an epigraphic habit which was not homogeneous, but shared some common features.

It is very difficult to detect whether there was any change over time in the intensity of Greek/Oscan contact. In large part, this is because of the problems of dating many of the inscriptions, discussed particularly in Chapters 3 and 4. From the C4th to the C2nd, the contact situation appears to be stable, with both Oscan and Greek maintaining high ethnolinguistic vitality. The clearest changes are seen in the C2nd onwards, as Roman influence becomes more pronounced – see, for example, the Tabula Bantina. Some changes in orthography (such as the use of for /f/) may also take place in the C2nd (see Chapter 3).

1.3 Regional variation

Figure 1: Map of features listed in Table 1 (coin issues and inscriptions with no clear provenance are not included). Colours correspond to column colours in table.⁶

Data from *Antiquity à-la-carte*.



⁶ Key to map: Rossano di Vaglio and Serra di Vaglio, 10 examples of Greek/Oscan contact phenomena (2 Greek language; 1 lexical borrowing; 2 orthographic/epigraphic influence; 5 other); Tricarico, 1 example (1 other); Anxia, 1 example (1 orthographic/epigraphic influence); Paestum, 3 examples (1 Greek language; 2 other); Consilinum, 1 example (1 other); Metapontum, 1 example (1 Greek language); Roccagloriosa, 4 examples (1 Greek language, 1 code-switching, 2 orthographic/epigraphic); Laos, 3 examples (1 Greek language, 1 orthographic/epigraphic, 1 other); Thurii Copia, 1 example (1 other); Crimisa, 2 examples (1 Greek language, 1 other); Petelia, 4 examples (2 Greek language, 1 code-switch, 1 orthographic/epigraphic); Teuranus Ager, 2 examples (1 Greek language, 1 other); Vibo, 1 example (1 Greek language); Messana, 2 examples (1 Greek language, 1 other).

If we were to guess at a geographical element affecting the level of visible Greek influence on Oscan inscriptions in this region, we might reasonably expect certain patterns. One possibility would be that coastal sites, or those closer to Greek cities, would be more affected. This appears not to be the case: there are identifiable contact-induced phenomena at both inland and coastal sites, and not all coastal sites show any clear evidence of influence or borrowing from Greek (see Figure 1). Another hypothesis would be that cities that started as Greek foundations or had large Greek-speaking populations would show more linguistic evidence of contact with Greek. Again, this pattern has not emerged – non-Greek sites like Rossano di Vaglio are well-represented.

In fact, there seem to be two main factors in the amount of evidence for Greek contact at any particular Oscan-speaking site: the larger the number of inscriptions, the greater the evidence; and an over-representation of certain kinds of inscriptions results in more evidence of Greek contact. Sites with only one or two extant Oscan (or ‘Pre-Samnite’) inscriptions – Velia, Heraclea, Tortora, Numistro – do not show any clear epigraphic or linguistic evidence of contact with Greek, while the site with the most inscriptions – Rossano di Vaglio – shows the most. Sites with only a few inscriptions, but where these inscriptions include curse tablets – Laos, Roccagloriosa, Petelia – are likely to show a greater number of contact-induced features. Any geographic patterns seem, then, to be a matter of the availability of certain kinds of evidence.

While there may have been different norms and different attitudes to Greek across different regions and sites, it would be very difficult to make any generalisations. We have seen occasionally in this corpus that individuals commissioning or writing inscriptions made different decisions while apparently being in similar circumstances, whether performing a curse or commemorating the building of a wall. Though we may be able to speak of general tendencies within the region, it is hard to be more specific about local peculiarities. This may be an area where greater integration with archaeological data – far more than can be achieved in this thesis – could shed additional light on our interpretation of the epigraphic evidence.

There are a few hints of usages that were specific to one area, though new evidence could always change this. The curse tablets showing the NOM (VERB) ACC structure are all found in Bruttium rather than Lucania, which could be significant (see Chapter 5: 3.2). There is also the possibility that Messina shows some differences in the use of characters like psi and xi (see Chapter 3: 3.4). Some phonological variation within this region, such as the palatalisation represented by the use of <Z> at Bantia, has already been proposed.⁷ The development of inherited *dy-* to *y-* found in the spelling *ιουφνι* in Lu 14 (Paestum 1) may indicate that Oscan in Paestum showed phonological similarities to that in Campania.⁸ However, all of these conclusions are based on very small numbers of inscriptions, and cannot be taken as definitive evidence of local variation.

II Ancient Language Contact

As well as presenting the South Oscan material, this thesis aimed to develop models that could be useful for interpreting evidence of other language contact situations in the ancient world. The study of ancient language contact has been a huge area of growth in the past decade. Works by Adams on contact between Latin and other languages, in particular, provided a starting point for many scholars.⁹ There are now many monographs, theses and edited volumes dealing with ancient language contact, some focusing on particular regions,¹⁰ and others covering a wide range of material.¹¹ It would be impossible to draw out comparisons to all the areas that could be discussed. However, some reference to comparable situations of language contact in the ancient world will provide context for the work contained in this thesis.

⁷ Rix (1996) 250.

⁸ Crawford (2011b) 50.

⁹ Adams (2003); Adams (2007).

¹⁰ Papaconstantinou (2010); Steele (2010); Tribulato (2012a); Mullen (2013).

¹¹ Adams, Janse, and Swain (2002); Biville, Decourt, and Rougemont (2008); Ruiz Darasse and Luján Martínez (2011); Mullen and James (2012).

2.1 Greek/Oscan elsewhere – Campania and Samnium

The Oscan and Greek inscriptions of Campania and Samnium have not received close treatment in this thesis. This is primarily because they have been considered in other scholarship to a much greater extent than the South Oscan material (see Chapter 2 for references), though the analysis of this material has not always used up-to-date frameworks for investigating language contact. Campania and Samnium were clearly in contact with Greek culture. Greek cultural items such as theatres, pottery and Greek-inspired architectural forms are found all over the Oscan-speaking area.¹² This includes inland areas of Samnium such as the large sanctuary at Pietrabbondante.¹³ In Campania, Oscan-speaking settlements such as Pompeii, Cumae and Capua were interspersed with Greek-speaking cities like Naples. From onomastic evidence at Naples, it appears that the city had a considerable Oscan-speaking minority (or, at least, a significant number of people using Oscan-style two-part names).¹⁴

In some ways, the evidence for Oscan/Greek contact is similar in the Central Oscan area to the South Oscan area. We see evidence, for example, of artists and craftsmen being associated with Greek. For example, a potter at Teanum Sidicinum around 300 BC wrote his signature in both Oscan and Greek, but seems only to have used the Greek alphabet whatever language he was writing in.¹⁵ A mixture of different alphabets were used in amphora stamps at Cumae around 100 BC (Cumae 24), and the Greek alphabet is sometimes used for stamps there as early as 300 BC (Cumae 22, 23). At Pompeii, a bi-alphabetic graffito (by the owner or the maker) has been found, which reads **δίύ**/διοφαντος (Po 90/Pompei 90; Figure 2). All of these small inscriptions speak of the possibility of population movement, bilingualism and biliteracy – perhaps especially so among craftsmen and artists.

¹² Mitens (1993); Denoyelle and Iozzo (2009) 31.

¹³ For a plan of the site, see Crawford (2011b) 45.

¹⁴ Crawford lists 23 names of Oscan origin in inscriptions from Naples. Ibid., 1526; see also Leiwo (1995).

¹⁵ We find **πλατωρ ουψε** ‘Plator made (this)’ on black slip plate (Teanum Sidicinum 25), and also **πλατωρ εποι[η]σε** on a bowl also from Teanum Sidicinum. Crawford suggests that he may have come to Teanum from Apulia, because of the association of the name Plator with Messapic – Crawford (2011b) 4; see also Zair (2013) 220.



Figure 2: Oscan inscription on Po 90. Photo by James Clackson.

The adoption of certain elements of Greek culture in this region is found in the many identifiable loanwords from Greek.¹⁶ These include architectural forms, such as **perissty[lúm]** (Cm 3/Abella 3), from Greek περίστυλον ‘peristyle’. Weights and measures are also represented, for example: **ka[d]íks** (= κάδιξι) and **kúíníks** (= χοϊνίξι), on the *mensa ponderaria* at Pompeii (Po 19/Pompei 27) and **LIT** (for λίτρα) on a weight (Fr 9/Frentiae 1). Oscan in general also shares in the convergence in religious vocabulary across the languages of Italy (including Latin and Etruscan), and some of this vocabulary is ultimately derived from Greek (e.g. **appelluneís, herekleís**).¹⁷ We find more evidence of loanwords in Campania and Samnium than in the south: this may be because of the larger number of longer texts.

The most obvious difference between the Central and South Oscan regions is, of course, the alphabet. Campania and Samnium typically use the Central (or Native) Oscan alphabet, which is the result of different kinds of contact with Etruscan and Greek at an earlier period than the creation of the South Oscan alphabet. Some knowledge of the Greek alphabet does appear to be involved in the development of the Central Oscan alphabet, for example in the use of letters for voiced stops which were absent in Etruscan; but the Greek alphabet and Greek orthography do not seem to be ongoing influences on the writing system to the same extent as in the south. At an earlier period, we find much more experimentation with various Greek alphabets in Campania than in Lucania and Bruttium, so that we find the

¹⁶ Lazzeroni (1972); Prosdociami (1976); Sironen (1982); Sironen (1987).

¹⁷ Clackson and Horrocks (2007) 45.

Achaean (Salernum 1, 2, 3; all 500-450 BC), Euboean (Cm 37/Picentia 2; 425-400) and Ionic (Ps 10/Minturnae 1, before 400; Cm 31/Picentia 3, c. 300) alphabets used to write Italic texts. The main parallels for early use of the alphabet in the south are the Tortora cippus (Ps 20; 500 BC) and an inscribed coarse-ware olla (Ps 1; 500-450), both of which use the Achaean alphabet. These texts appear to be more or less sporadic one-offs from around the C5th BC. This fits in with the picture (Chapter 3) of both the Central and South Oscan alphabets having their origins in early experimentation with writing systems in Campania, particularly in Naples; it also shows that there is not one single point of transfer for the Greek alphabet in Italy, but ongoing experimentation and contact.

There is less evidence of code-switching and mixed-language texts in Campania and Samnium than in the South. One bi-version graffito, Po 90, has been mentioned above. There may also be a dedicatory text on a black slip bowl which uses both the Greek (or South Oscan?) and Central Oscan alphabets, but this is very abbreviated and the interpretation is not clear (Cam/Luc/Bret/Sic 1).¹⁸ As we have seen, curse tablets are the texts which are most associated with code-switching in the South Oscan area. In the Central area, curses tend to be longer, include more contextual material, do not use the NOM (VERB) ACC construction and do not make use of the Greek language. Though curse tablets are still a practice derived from Greek models, the Central Oscan region was perhaps more influenced by later developments in Greek curses, which tend to be longer and more detailed.

In coin legends, the predominant language is Greek, as in the south (Hurietes 1; Nola 1; Larinum 1; Teanum Apulum 1; Campania coinage 2; Capua 1; Cumae 1; Allifae 1). But a mixture of alphabets is used on some coin issues – for example, on the coinage of Campania (Campania Coinage 1), 265-240 BC, which bears the legends νεοπολιτων and **akruuium makkis** – perhaps because of the use of a second-hand die from Naples.¹⁹ Cubulteria 1 similarly shows Oscan legends, but with Greek-letter die marks. We have also seen in Chapter 3 how some coin issues, such as the coinage of Phistelia (Phistelia 1) were a place of experimentation with different alphabets and new letter forms.

¹⁸ Crawford (2011b) 363.

¹⁹ Ibid., 380.

As in the south, we do not find bi-version funerary inscriptions. However, at Capua we find the use of Greek on a funerary stele, which reads: [πα]κκίος αρ[ρ]ίος νουίου (Capua 44; c. 250 BC). This text therefore shows Greek morphology on an otherwise Oscan name. The monument on which this text appears is identical in design – grey volcanic tufa stele, with a cavity at the bottom for a container for ashes – to another monument (Cp 1/Capua 43; also c. 250 BC), which bears a name in the Central Oscan alphabet: **pak(is). pumik(iis) pak(ieís)**.

We therefore see plenty of evidence of contact, and interaction between Greek and Oscan-speakers, in the Central Oscan region. In some places, such as Naples and Cumae, contact may have been more intense than others. But while the coastal cities of Campania might show some of the clearest evidence, sites further inland which were not Greek foundations, such as Teanum Sidicinum, are not excluded from the picture. In general, there is less evidence of language contact in Samnium than in Campania; but the Fr 9 weight and the adaptations of Greek models of architecture and religion at sites like Pietrabbondante show that Samnium nevertheless had cultural connections to the Greek world.

2.2 Greek/Oscan elsewhere – the Greek world

Although Oscan inscriptions are found only in Italy, there is evidence of Oscan-speakers elsewhere in the Greek world. It can, of course, be difficult to identify Oscan-speakers if they are writing texts exclusively in Greek – onomastics is the usual source of information, but this is not reliable. We may suspect that a person speaks Oscan if their name is a two-part name of Oscan origin, or if they are marked by an ethnic indicating that they are Lucanian, Brettian, Italian, etc. However, these markers do not always appear together. All six ‘Lucanians’ attested in Athens, as well as a Lucanian and two Brettians attested on Rhodes, have Greek-style names – what we can deduce about their L1 is not clear.²⁰ Similarly, the use of an Oscan-style name in a Greek-speaking area may indicate a family of Italian origin, but not necessarily that the individual could speak Oscan. The use of Oscan-style names elsewhere

²⁰ Ibid., 1525.

in the Mediterranean can at least give an idea of the spread of Oscan naming practices beyond the areas where Oscan epigraphy was used.

A list of relevant inscriptions, up until the Social War, is given by Crawford.²¹ We find Oscan names in Sicily (particularly Messana, Entella and Lipara), and also in the Greek cities of Italy such as Locri, Rhegium, Cumae, and especially at Naples and Pithecusae. There are also a significant number of amphora stamps in Greek which contain Oscan-style names which do not have any context. It is not surprising that there would be ongoing contact and population movement around Italy in this way, but it is helpful to highlight this fact. There are also several inscriptions relating to people identified as Italian, with Oscan-style names, found on Delos, Delphi and Rhodes.²² The evidence for Oscan-speakers on Delos from at least the C2nd BC has already been discussed in Chapter 6.

Contact did not take place only in Oscan-speaking areas and the evidence for it is not just found in Oscan-language texts. We can contrast the apparently domain-based attitude to Greek in the South Oscan corpus to the decisions made by Oscan-speakers in areas where Greek was very dominant. These situations seem to be characterised mainly by rapid language shift for economic and social benefit, probably in spoken as well as written language in many cases.

2.3 Latin/Oscan contact

It is worth giving some brief attention, too, to another ancient language contact situation – Latin/Oscan contact. This has been dealt with in much more detail than any other language contact situation affecting Oscan, both in general and on a local level at sites such as Pompeii.²³

²¹ Ibid., 1525–1534.

²² To give just a few examples: μινατος μινατου (h)ηιος, ID 442B, 443B (Delos); [-?-] βιβίου λευκανοσ, FD III. 4. 134 (Delphi); νουιος λευκανοσ and μαπα βρεττια, Bresson (2002) 149 (Rhodes).

²³ Campanile (1976); Coleman (1986); Eska (1987); Cooley (2002); Adams (2003) 111–159; Clackson and Horrocks (2007) 37–49, 57–65; Willi (2009); Langslow (2012); McDonald (2012b).

In Greek/Oscan contact situations we can see the interaction of two languages of relatively equal status, at least in predominantly Oscan-speaking areas. While Greek may be associated with certain domains, and is even used as a prestigious lingua franca, Oscan does not seem to be under particular pressure for several hundred years. In contrast, Latin grew in prestige very quickly, even while Oscan was still in use. Already in the C2nd BC, we see many loanwords from Latin, especially loans of official and political terms (**senateís**, many attestations), names of magistracies (e.g. **keenzstur** (Fr 1, Sa 4); **κενσορτατη** (Lu 5); **kvaísstur** (many attestations); **aídíl** (Po 11, Po 16)) and so on.²⁴ The syntax and phraseology of official inscriptions also show considerable influence from Latin from the C2nd.²⁵ Already in 180 BC, we have evidence of Cumae currying favour with Rome by asking permission to use Latin for their official business (Livy 40.43.1).²⁶ By the time of the Tabula Bantina, written c. 90 BC in Lucania but in the Latin alphabet, it seems that Latin was overwhelmingly the model for official and legal writing in Oscan.²⁷ We also find clear evidence of Oscan and Latin being used side-by-side in everyday situations, such as the inscription by two female workers at a tile factory in Pietrabbondante (Sa 35/Teruentum 35).²⁸

The ultimate result of Latin/Oscan contact was a shift to Latin, and the death of Oscan.²⁹ After the Social War, Latin would have seemed to have more socio-economic advantages than ever before. Roman citizenship, in particular, would probably have been seen as something to aspire to because of the legal protection it afforded. By the C1st BC, native languages and alphabets were no longer the best medium for elites to display wealth and power.³⁰ The epigraphic evidence of Oscan probably ends soon after the Social War; it is likely that spoken Oscan died out some time in the early Imperial period.³¹

²⁴ Dupraz (2010) 456; Langslow (2012) 298; McDonald (2012b) 10–12.

²⁵ Poccetti (1982) 239; Adams (2003) 137; Crawford (2011b) 2; McDonald (2012b) 51.

²⁶ Adams (2003) 113.

²⁷ Crawford (1996); Crawford (2011b) 2.

²⁸ Clackson (2012a) 41–42.

²⁹ Wallace (2008) 96.

³⁰ Lomas (2008) 129.

³¹ Willi (2009) 592; McDonald (2012b) 54–55.

It has been suggested that some of the latest attestations of Oscan epigraphy show the language being used as a self-conscious marker of ethnic or political identity.³² If this is the case, then it seems to have been contact and interaction with Latin which made the Oscan language a marker of identity where it had not been previously.³³ The last substantial texts written in Oscan date from around the Social War (91-88 BC), when many Oscan-speakers were likely to have been bilingual in Latin, but were also in conflict with Rome. These inscriptions include the *eituns* inscriptions of Pompeii (Po 34-39/Pompei 2-7), the Oscan Social War coinage (Italia 1), and the Tabula Bantina (Lu 1/Bantia 1). Though these texts show the influence of contact with Latin in various ways – the clear Latin influence in content and formulation of the Tabula Bantina; the bilingual Latin/Oscan issues of Social War coinage – the use of Oscan can be seen as a statement of solidarity during a time of war with Rome.³⁴

However, it is possible to overstate this, and we should be cautious of being too influenced by the importance of language to many ethnic groups in the modern world.³⁵ For example, the Social War coinage (Italia 1; 90-89 BC) includes some Latin-only series, and it is possible that the Oscan-language issues were intended for circulation in areas where Oscan was still widely spoken, and not as a political statement in themselves.³⁶ The iconography of the coins (a wolf being trampled by a bull) was probably a more significant choice than the language used. A document such as the Tabula Bantina could be seen as one town's attempt to negotiate a local identity during a time of considerable social change, rather than an anti-Roman statement.³⁷ Any pride in speaking and writing Oscan did not, however, last long after the Roman victory. Despite some suggestions of inscriptions being recopied in the C1st AD (particularly Po 3/Pompei 24), there is no strong evidence for Latin-speakers in previously Oscan-speaking areas having a particular attachment to the Oscan language during the Imperial period.³⁸

³² Willi (2009) 594; Lomas (2008) 124.

³³ Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 89; Lomas (2008) 124–125.

³⁴ Willi (2009) 594.

³⁵ Clackson (forthcoming) Chapter 3.

³⁶ Ibid. Chapter 3.

³⁷ Bispham (2007) 145–147.

³⁸ McDonald (2012b) 52–53.

2.4 Greek/Gaulish and Latin/Gaulish contact

Although Latin/Oscan contact seems to be of a different nature to Greek/Oscan contact, it is possible to find other ancient language contact situations which mirror both quite closely. In this section, I will draw on just one of these comparable situations – Gaulish in contact with Latin and Greek. Work on contact between Greek and Gaulish, in particular, has increased in the past few years, and shows the potential to provide a similar case of (relatively) stable bilingualism and contact between Greek and a local language in the Western Mediterranean.³⁹

Inscriptions in Gaulish written in Greek characters (known as Gallo-Greek) are largely dated to the C2nd-1st BC, though the earliest examples are from the C3rd BC.⁴⁰ The adaptation of the Greek alphabet to write the local language therefore seems to have occurred somewhat later than in both the Central and South Oscan areas, despite the permanent presence of Greeks in Southern Gaul from around 600 BC. The use of both Greek and Gaulish seems to have been relatively stable, with Greek apparently being associated with certain domains, as we find in South Oscan. For example, Greek was a language of commerce, because of its status as a *lingua franca* – this is seen, for example, in the use of Greek in commercial letters on lead.⁴¹ Though we have very little evidence of commercial documents in Oscan-speaking Southern Italy, we might compare the apparent commercial use of Greek on a piece of lead later re-used as a curse tablet at Roccagloriosa (see Chapter 5).

The association of Greek with craftsmen, especially of high-quality goods, also appears to operate in Southern Gaul, but somewhat differently to Italy. Greek inscriptions are, in general, much less common in Southern Gaul than in Italy, but the small corpus of Greek that exists is dominated by artists' signatures on high-quality products such as mirrors, glass vessels, rings and vases.⁴² This evidence is primarily from the Roman Imperial period, and is not therefore directly comparable to what we find in Southern Italy. Coinage behaves quite

³⁹ Mullen (2011); Mullen (2013).

⁴⁰ Mullen (2013) 38; Eska (2008) 165.

⁴¹ Bats (2011) 201.

⁴² Mullen (2013) 273.

differently in Gaul to Italy. The spread of coinage in Gaul occurs rather later than in Italy, and is related to Roman domination (from the C2nd BC) rather than contact with Greek-speakers, though there is limited evidence of some earlier imitations of the coinage of Massalia.⁴³

There are notable points of similarity between curse tablets in Gaul and Italy. Several examples show Latin and Greek mixed with Gaulish.⁴⁴ As in South Oscan, these texts do not represent a spoken mixed language, but an attempt to increase the potency of the text.⁴⁵ This shows a similar adoption of the curse-tablet format from Greek models as in Italy; in both areas, the use of curse tablets was derived from contact with Greek-speakers, and the development of local practices in these bilingual areas included the tendency to mix languages and scripts. We have already noted in Chapter 4 that there is a Gaulish dedication formula – *dedebratoudekanten* – which may have arisen in a similar environment to *brateis datas* in Oscan. The similarity between the Gaulish and Oscan formulae suggests that these areas were not just both subject to Greek influence, but were in fact joined into wider networks that stretched across the Hellenistic world.⁴⁶

As in Oscan, the Gaulish language's period of contact with Greek was followed by a much more intense period of contact with Latin. After the Roman conquest of the region, there was a rapid disappearance of Gaulish written in Greek script – Gaulish was written for a time in Latin script before the area shifted to using only the Latin language in epigraphy.⁴⁷ However, spoken Gaulish probably survived for rather longer than Oscan, until some time during the first millennium AD.⁴⁸

There is not space here to bring out all the potential points of interest. The intention has been to indicate how the two regions might be compared rather than to attempt a full coverage of the material. A more in-depth comparison might reveal more about how their

⁴³ Ibid., 110.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 64.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 205.

⁴⁷ Clackson (2012a) 42.

⁴⁸ Eska (2008) 165.

similarities and differences could help us to establish widely-applicable models of ancient language contact.

III Models of Ancient Language Contact

One of the challenges facing ancient sociolinguistics at present is the need to create models which explain the effects of language contact on written texts. Ideally, these would be applicable across a wide range of situations, and could be used diagnostically, to reconstruct the social situation from a very limited corpus of texts. Mullen has recently proposed several possible models, based on Gaulish/Greek/Latin contact in Southern Gaul, that may be of use here (summarised in Table 2, below).⁴⁹ Mullen admits that her models are the first of their kind, and may need refining in light of other in-depth studies of ancient language contact situations.⁵⁰ Several comments can be made on the basis of this thesis, in the hope of furthering the development of this framework.

The presence or absence of bi-version texts (in which the same or nearly the same information is conveyed in two different languages within the same text) is not as clearly diagnostic as Mullen's model implies. The presence of bi-version texts is dependent on the epigraphic habit of the communities involved, not just the nature of the contact between the languages. For example, many bi-version texts are funerary, with the deliberate use of different languages designed to express a mixed identity.⁵¹ The lack of funerary epigraphy in Oscan-speaking communities makes this text type much less likely, without being a sign that contact was less intense. South Oscan displays a range of language contact phenomena, including code-switching, borrowing and interference. The lack of bi-version texts does not indicate, therefore, that South Oscan (or indeed Central Oscan, especially in Campania) belongs under the 'one language' section of the model. There is more evidence of Greek influence on Oscan than Oscan influence on Greek, though some Greek texts (e.g. Potentia 39; some coin legends; Laos 2) may show lexical borrowing or borrowing of idioms from Oscan

⁴⁹ Mullen (2013) 305–306.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

(e.g. the dating formula in Potentia 39). This places Oscan in general somewhere between even and uneven linguistic vitality – and it is easy to imagine that Greek may have had clearer prestige status in some communities than in others.

Table 2: Models of language contact, after Mullen (2012, 2013).⁵²

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Types of bilingual texts	No bi-version.	No bi-version.	No bi-version.	Bi-version common.	Fewer bi-version texts.
	No texts displaying bilingual phenomena.	Few texts displaying bilingual phenomena, perhaps including lexical borrowing.	Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving lexical borrowing, perhaps tag-switching.	Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Bi-directional influence.	Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Linguistic features of the higher vitality group are mostly found in the lower.

⁵² Mullen (2012) 16; Mullen (2013) 93.

It is important to take into account the types of texts produced, and the types of texts which survive, since these may potentially have a huge impact on where we place a community within this model. For example, I hope to have shown that Laos does not necessarily show more intense contact between Oscan and Greek than Rossano di Vaglio based on the epigraphic evidence. Rather, the sites are of different types (habitation vs. large sanctuary), and as a result the texts from these sites belong to different genres that had different norms. We are therefore in danger of seeing regional or local variation in epigraphic practice, where in fact the difference is one of domain or genre.

The specialisation of Greek into certain domains (magic, coinage, luxury goods) is an important consideration, which should be included in the model. It may be that the apparently higher ethnolinguistic vitality of Greek is in fact an indication of the use of Greek in a number of specialised domains, and the prestige of Greek-made goods, rather than low ethnolinguistic vitality in Oscan-speaking communities. Indeed, we can see from the South Oscan situation that the prestige of Greek in some domains does not mean that Greek was prestigious in *all* domains, nor that a language shift was in progress. In fact, the association of Greek with particular domains could be a feature of a relatively stable, language maintenance situation.⁵³ I would propose, provisionally, an addition to this model to help us take account of domain in ancient bilingual situations (Table 3). Investigations of further language contact situations, placed at different points on this spectrum, may of course lead to further changes and refinements.

⁵³ For the possibility of similar evidence in late antique Gaul (Gaulish/Latin) and Pietrabbondante (Oscan/Latin), see Clackson (2012a) 45.

Table 3: Models of language contact, after Mullen (2012, 2013), with addition of ‘domain’.

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Types of bilingual texts	No bi-version. No texts displaying bilingual phenomena.	No bi-version. Few texts displaying bilingual phenomena, perhaps including lexical borrowing.	No bi-version. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving lexical borrowing, perhaps tag-switching.	Bi-version may be common. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Bi-directional influence.	Fewer bi-version texts. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Linguistic features of the higher vitality group are mostly found in the lower.
Domains	One language used in all domains.	One language used in all domains.	One primary language used in all domains. Borrowing may be limited to certain domains.	Languages may be specialised to different domains.	Languages may be specialised to different domains. Higher vitality language may be used in majority of domains, or show signs of taking over domains of lower vitality language.

IV Future Directions

In this thesis, I have argued for the benefits of considering a corpus from all viewpoints to get the fullest possible picture of language contact situations. This has involved taking evidence from epigraphy, archaeology, history and linguistics (ancient and modern). The South Oscan corpus, and the archaeology of the regions of Lucania, Bruttium and the city of Messina, will continue to change. There will always be new discoveries, whether they are inscriptions, uninscribed objects, habitations, sanctuaries or necropoleis, and these discoveries will expand our understanding of contact between different peoples and languages in the region. As our knowledge continues to be expanded and refined, the recent effort of many scholars to bring together information from different fields should be maintained and built upon. This should be a much easier task because of the publication of corpora like *Imagines Italicae*; but it is also hoped that this thesis provides a starting point for historians and archaeologists of Southern Italy who are interested in language contact.

The study of how language contact affected Oscan is far from complete. While this thesis has put together a full picture of the South Oscan corpus, and set it in the context of the whole Oscan-speaking area to some extent, there is more work to be done on other regions. Oscan-speaking Campania has attracted attention in the past, though the summary earlier in this chapter shows that work still needs to be done to fit all Oscan/Greek and Oscan/Latin contact into our still-developing models of ancient language contact. Further consideration may also help to clarify how far there were regional variations in epigraphic practice between Central and South Oscan, and whether there were distinct reactions to Greek influence in different areas and at different periods.

This thesis has also been an in-depth study of one small corpus, within a much larger context of epigraphy across Italy and across the Mediterranean. As more and more studies of language contact in various regions are published, there will be huge opportunities for pan-Mediterranean considerations of the material. Pre-Roman Italy itself is characterised by the interaction of many different languages, displaying a range of different situations and outcomes, many of which have not been studied as fully as they could be. A more complete

study of language contact in ancient Italy, from Greek colonisation to the early Roman Empire, would build on this work on Southern Italy, and would help to put the findings of this thesis into a wider context.

While there is always more to be done, this thesis has made a significant step in developing our understanding of Greek/Oscan contact in particular, and ancient language contact more generally. It has shown the ways in which the epigraphy and language of a *Trümmersprache* can be exploited, and the value of considering texts as part of genre groups as well as individually. Through this kind of investigation, we can begin to build up a picture of when and where the use of Greek was considered appropriate; individual inscriptions then become the result of decisions taken within this framework of norms. These results are likely to be applicable to other ancient language contact situations, and the models built up and refined here may be useful to specialists of other languages and regions. From a close investigation of its epigraphy and language, we can set South Oscan in its wider context – as the surviving epigraphic evidence of communities who were part of cultural networks connecting the whole Mediterranean.

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