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A NEW GRAFFITO FROM ARCHAIC MORGANTINA

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 105 (1995) 261–277

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I. Introduction

The last days of the 1990 field season at Morgantina (Enna) in east central Sicily produced a fortuitous stray find: a large sherd preserving part of the neck and rim of a black-slipped krater of Laconian type, typical of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (inv. no. 90-61: fig. 1 drawn by Cheryl Kremer [below, p. 262], pl. VII.1 by Christopher Williams). The fragment bears a graffito, which appears to be complete:

κυπαρας εμι

This find was lying on the surface in an area never systematically excavated, the flat eastern shoulder of the plateau where the sixth and fifth century B.C. settlement proper was located (fig. 2). The immediate area is pitted by clandestine excavations, and the krater rim was found near one such disturbance. No other fragments belonging to the vessel were recovered.

This fragment requires historical, cultural, and linguistic context to be properly understood. Morgantina was named, according to ancient sources, for the leader Morges and his people, the Morgetes, who emigrated from the mainland.¹ Ancient writers refer to the Sikels (or Siculi), a pre-Greek group occupying central and southeastern Sicily, as well as the Sicani in the west and the Elymi of the northwest. The cultural and linguistic identities of the groups, however, are difficult to disentangle, as is their priority in the island.² The three groups identified by ancient authors overlap, the evidence for their three languages is exiguous, and clear cultural distinctions are difficult to detect in the archaeological record. Joshua Whatmough observed that "The written history of Sicily begins with the Greeks", which must include the written record of the indigenous peoples of the island, who borrowed and adapted the Greek alphabet to record their own languages. On the other hand, written evidence in the form of inscriptions and archaeology both now challenge his view that "[the Sikels] do not emerge on the page of history before the middle of the fifth century-and then only for a short space..." (*The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* II [Cambridge, MA 1933] 437). There are some clear

* The authors presented preliminary versions of this article in two papers in a panel organized by Carla Antonaccio on Archaic Morgantina at the 1992 annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in New Orleans. Thanks are due to Malcolm Bell, Carol Dougherty, William Hendrix, Ross Holloway, Claire Lyons, John Kenfield, Ludwig Koenen, Jim O'Hara, John Penny, and Calvert Watkins. Support for the 1990 season at Morgantina was provided by the University of Virginia, Wesleyan University, Case Western Reserve University, and Princeton University.

¹ Sources: see A. Zamboni, "Il siculo", in *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica* VI, *Lingue ed dialetti*, ed. A. Prosdocimi (Rome 1978) 967, 977 ff. and 1050 ff. See also U. Schmoll, *Die vorgriechischen Sprachen Siziliens* (Wiesbaden 1958) 96-110.

² See Zamboni 1978 (n. 1) with bibliography, and cf. P. Guzzo, "Myths and archaeology in South Italy", in *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, ed. J.-P. Descoeudres (Oxford 1990) 131-41. A recent consideration of the Sikels: R. Holloway, "The Geography of the Southern Sicels", in *EUMOUSIA. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou* (Med. Arch. Suppl. 1), ed. J.-P. Descoeudres (Sydney 1990) 147-53.



Figure 1: Aidone Museum, inv. no. 90-61 (drawing by C. Kremer)

continuities in the record at Morgantina through the Iron Age to the Archaic period, particularly the use of chamber tombs, and the production of pottery in a local Subgeometric tradition. For our area of east central Sicily, we use "Sikel" to define a pre-Greek culture and population, elements of which continued to be distinguishable (though changed) after Greek colonization in the eighth and seventh centuries. We are not concerned here with establishing a territory of the Sikels, nor identifying a biologically distinct ethnic group, but tracing pre-Greek traits which may, or may not be, identified with ethnic Sikels.

The krater fragment under discussion was recovered in a sector of ancient Morgantina designated Area III by its Princeton University excavators, and called "la Cittadella" locally. This comprises the eastern continuation of the Serra Orlando ridge (Areas I, II, IV, V, and VI) where the Hellenistic settlement is located, separated from it by a steep escarpment. Cittadella is distinguished topographically by a conical rise called Farmhouse Hill (578 m.s.l.), and two plateaus which fall away to the east, designated the upper and lower platforms (fig. 2). Area III was the focus of occupation from the Iron Age to the mid-fifth century, and also saw third-century habitation, principally on the upper platform. Farmhouse Hill was occupied by a naiskos in the sixth century; others were located on the lower platform and in Contrada S. Francesco, on the eastern end of the Serra Orlando ridge. All these buildings were decorated with painted terracotta revetments, but the cult recipients are as yet unknown. The only clue is a graffito, HE-, on a cup discovered in the excavation of the Farmhouse Hill naiskos; the letters would fit Herakles, or Hera, but could refer to a votary or to trade, rather than a deity.³

³ J. Kenfield, "An East Greek Master Coroplast at Late Archaic Morgantina", *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Archaic Greek Architectural Terracottas*, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 265-74, esp. 273; but in personal communication to Claire Lyons, he has suggested that the ligature is a trademark. Cf. A. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases* (Warminster 1979), Type II B. Ligatures and single letters, as well as a few names,

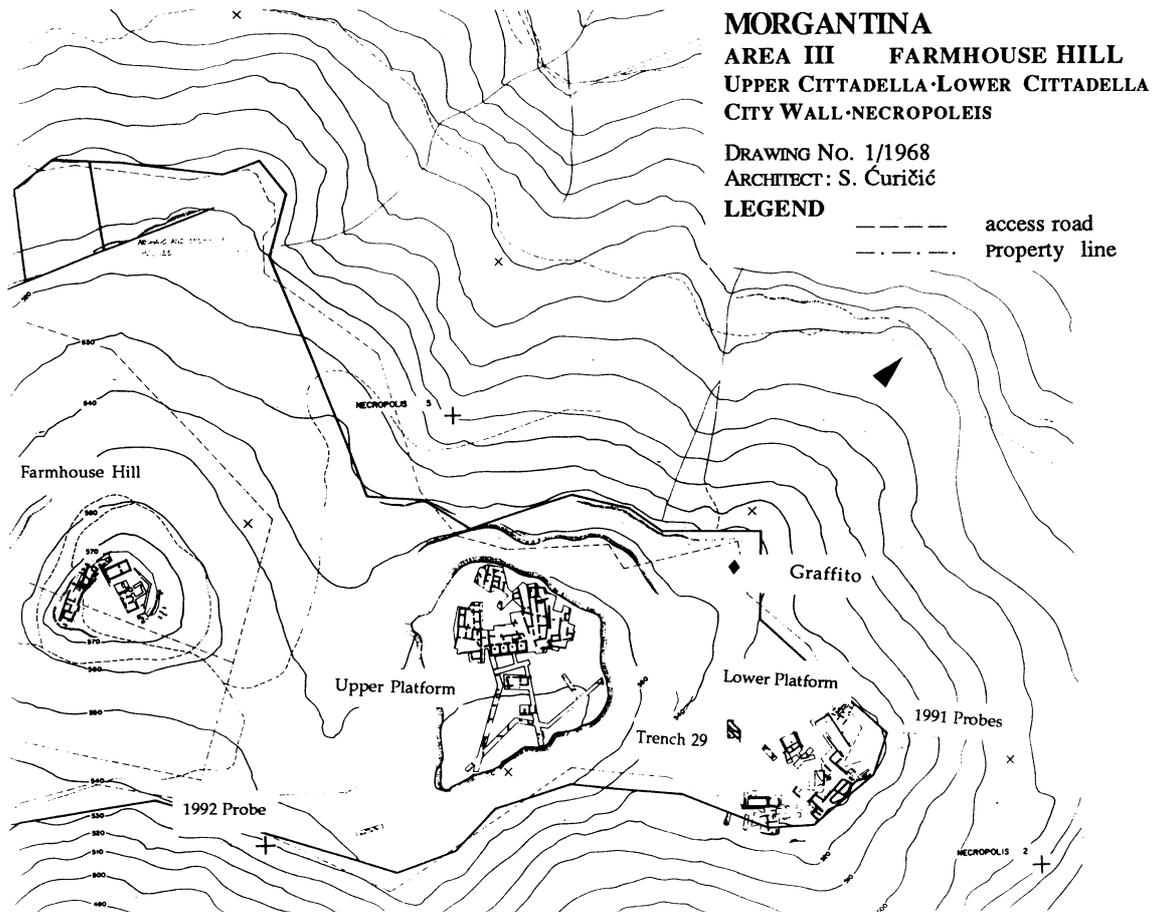


Figure 2: Map of Morgantina, Cittadella

Scattered occupation on the Serra Orlando ridge and the Cittadella dates to the Early Bronze Age (Castelluccio culture, 2nd millennium), and Cittadella was well-settled in the Iron Age (10th century). This dispersed habitation of semi-rectangular huts was scattered on the flanks of Farmhouse Hill and the two plateaus, the foundations cut into the bedrock and walls constructed of stone, wattle and daub (Robert Leighton's *Morgantina Studies IV: The Cittadella in the Iron Age* [Princeton 1993]). Every excavated hut shows signs of destruction by fire; the nucleated 6th and 5th century settlement of stone and mudbrick on the upper platform was founded directly on the Iron Age remains. The archaic settlement, which shows some signs of planning and is of a completely different character from the Iron Age habitation, is widely regarded as Greek. It is a matter of ongoing debate and research whether the presence of Greek pottery, architectural forms, and language are due entirely to the presence of Greeks, or if the indigenous Sikels were adopting Greek culture. It is unclear as well whether Greeks destroyed the Iron Age settlement, and how much of a hiatus exists between its end and the nucleated settlement. There are indications that Sikel huts were occupied on the margins of Area III until the last quarter of the 6th century. In fact, Greek and Sikel culture must have co-

are also found on funerary offerings; see C. Lyons, *Morgantina Studies V, The Archaic Necropolis* (Princeton, forthcoming) chapters 4 and 5 (and also below, V). The terracottas are the subject of a forthcoming study by John Kenfield, to be published in the series of *Morgantina Studies* (Princeton University Press).

existed throughout the history of the site. Greek objects, both imported and imitations, were offered in chamber tombs of indigenous design; large quantities of Greek pottery are found in the Farmhouse Hill naiskos and throughout the settlement, along with the local Siculo-Geometric. Greek-style architectural terracottas adorned not only the naiskoi, but a large well-built structure of four rooms which dominates the excavated settlement area on the upper platform.⁴ Triglyphs and metopes from a massive archaic Doric temple, and equally large fragments of Ionic style, probably from a monumental altar, have been recovered from Serra Orlando in secondary contexts, but their original locations are unknown (see B. Barletta, "The Archaic Monumental Architecture from Morgantina", *AJA* 97 [1993] 352). Finally, the Greek alphabet was used on several other graffiti known from the Cittadella site.

After the final destruction of the Cittadella settlement in the mid-fifth century, probably during the uprising led by the Sikel leader Douketios, Greeks and native elements continued to co-exist in the new settlement founded immediately on Serra Orlando, though this second city was thoroughly Greek in appearance. It flourished to the end of the third century, and featured stoas, a fountain house, and theater. But a recent find by the University of Virginia excavations in the agora of the later city produced a trace of indigenous identity: a kiln producing the matt-painted Sikel pottery, in a context which also produced imported Attic black glaze, including one example with a Doric graffiti rendered in Ionian script.⁵ This context could be interpreted to mean that Greeks by this point in Morgantina's history had not completely driven out or assimilated the Sikels.

Language is identified by Holloway as a correlate of ethnicity, but the use of language to prove an ethnic presence has been strongly challenged by Whitehouse and Wilkins.⁶ The new Laconian krater rim, which records an unusual non-Greek name in a graffiti using Greek letters and a Greek verb, provides an opportunity to explore the process of acculturation at Morgantina. We hope to show that the graffiti is part of a sophisticated appropriation of Greek culture, including some of the customs, the paraphernalia, and the wordplay of the symposium. Though we concede with Whitehouse and Wilkins that "there is no *necessary* equivalence between language and ethnic or political divisions" (1985 [n. 6], 93, emphasis ours)

⁴ Farmhouse Hill: H. Allen, *AJA* 74 (1970) 375-78 and pl. 94 fig. 24, pl. 95 figs. 22-6. On the upper platform, see E. Sjöqvist, *AJA* 62 (1958) 156 and pl. 28 figs. 3-5; R. Stillwell, *AJA* 63 (1959) 171 pl. 43 figs. 22-3; *idem* *AJA* 65 (1961) 280-1 and pl. 93 figs. 11,14, pl. 94 figs. 12-13; E. Sjöqvist, *AJA* 64 (1960) 133-4 and pl. 29 fig. 32 (Four-Room Bldg.). Lower Platform: R. Stillwell, *AJA* 67 (1963) 171 and pl. 36 fig. 19; E. Sjöqvist, *AJA* 68 (1964) 145 and pl. 46 figs. 18, 19. Area V (S. Francesco): E. Sjöqvist, *AJA* 66 (1962) 142 and pl. 35 figs. 30-31. See also J. Kenfield, "A Modelled Terracotta Frieze from Archaic Morgantina and its East Greek and Central Italian Affinities", *Deliciae Fictiles*, Proceedings of the First International Congress on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas (Stockholm 1993) 21-8, as well as his forthcoming *Morgantina Studies* volume. This structure's function is still unknown, and it has been variously considered a prytaneion, a sort of stoa though it has no colonnade, and a hestiatorion. Current researchers refer to it simply as the Four-Room Building.

⁵ M. Bell, *AJA* 92 (1988) 319-21, sherds, fig. 7 (inv. no. 84-191 a-d). On this sherd and the name it preserves, see below IV. On the kilns of Morgantina, see now N. Cuomo di Caprio, *Morgantina Studies III, Le fornaci* (Princeton 1992), covering Princeton's excavations.

⁶ "Magna Graecia Before the Greeks: Towards a Reconciliation of the Evidence", in *Papers in Italian Archaeology*, edd. C. Malone and S. Stoddart 4.2 (1985) 89-109; cf. *idem*, "Greeks and natives in south-east Italy: Approaches to the archaeological evidence", in *Centre and Periphery*, ed. T.C. Champion (London 1989) 102-23, esp. 121-23.

there is still much to be gained from consideration of language together with material culture and historical sources.

II. The Krater

The roughly rectangular fragment measures 18 cm. in length and 13 cm. in height. The height of the rim is 4.5 cm., whereas its thickness is 2 cm. The wall of the vase is approximately 1.6 cm. thick. The fragment preserves part of the vertical neck and collar rim of a stirrup krater, which originally was approximately 38 cm. in diameter. With this estimated diameter, the krater probably originally stood about 30 cm. in height, and so falls within the standard size for Laconian stirrup kraters.

All surfaces are covered with a dark grey-brown slip; at the breaks one can detect the dark, brownish red, semicoarse fabric of the clay. The upper surface of the rim is heavily worn and chipped, indicating use in antiquity. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish Laconian vases from West Greek imitations, especially in the absence of the foot, the underside of which is unslipped in true Laconian but slipped in the local imitation. The color of the clay can vary considerably from red to brown, and the slip from glossy black to matt red. Since no other fragments of this krater have been found, one has only the profile and fabric to aid in determining its origins. The clay of this piece is redder and the slip less black than other Laconian pieces excavated on the Cittadella. Also, it does not show the minute flaking or spalling of the surface which is so common among Laconian wares. On this basis one might conclude that it is of local, i.e. West Greek, manufacture. However, the fine potting indicated by the sharp, beak-like edge of the rim is close to examples fabricated in Laconia. Since clay color can vary considerably, especially in large shapes like kraters, we conclude that the fragment is from a vase imported from Laconia.

This fragment joins an extensive list of Laconian pottery excavated on the archaic Cittadella. From the chamber tombs carved into its slopes come eleven nearly intact stirrup kraters ranging in date from 550-500, along with two Laconian drinking cups, a mug and a stemless kylix. The habitation area has produced an equal number of fragmentary kraters, as well as single examples of several other shapes: a narrow-necked oinochoe, a trefoil-mouthed oinochoe, a hydria, and an aryballos (see J. Neils, "The *Krater Lakonikos* in Sicily", *AJA* [1993] 351). These are all entirely black-slipped, with the exception of some of the kraters, the outer rims of which are coated with a white slip and decorated with a simple hooked meander. To date no figurative Laconian pottery has been found at Morgantina, although it is not unknown in central Sicily.⁷

Two recent studies have illuminated the role of the Laconian krater in Sicily. C.M. Stibbe has demonstrated that more Laconian pottery is found in Sicily than in Laconia itself, or for that matter, than in any other part of the ancient Mediterranean (*Laconian Mixing Bowls* [Amsterdam 1989] 83, graphs 5a and 5b). Of this Laconian pottery in Sicily, two-thirds of the vases are kraters, or, to put it another way, Sicilian excavations account for one-third of all extant Laconian kraters. Stibbe's study has now been augmented by that of P. Pelagatti which

⁷ Cf. the recently excavated Laconian volute-krater from Grammichele; C.M. Bacci, "Un nuovo cratere laconico figurato da Terravecchia di Grammichele", *BdA* 73 (1988) 1-16.

shows how prevalent Laconian pottery was at the inland sites of central and southeastern Sicily ("Ceramica laconica in Sicilia e a Lipari", *BdA* 64, 1990, *Supplemento*: 123-220). While Stibbe's earlier study lists 131 kraters, Pelagatti has brought the total to well over 250, not counting the 140 fragments found at Megara Hyblaea which have not yet been published. This number contrasts markedly with the total number of Laconian kraters found in Southern Italy—a mere thirty. The imports begin in the latter half of the seventh century and continue into the fifth century, but the bulk of them occurs in the last quarter of the sixth and first quarter of the fifth century. On the basis of its profile, the Morgantina fragment can be dated to ca. 550. It compares well with a fragment from Amyklai (see Stibbe 1989 [above], F 28, fig. 61).

How does one account for the obvious popularity of Laconian stirrup kraters in Sicily in general, and in a Siculo-Greek town in the interior in particular? Three plausible explanations can be suggested: 1) use at the symposium, 2) funerary practices, and 3) market conditions. Using the evidence from Morgantina, these hypotheses will be examined in what follows.

(1) Symposium. Much has been written of late about the ideology of the Greek symposium (see below, section V). It is clear that in the Orientalizing Period the ritual of the banquet was imported to Italy, and it has been argued that it was in fact the "most conspicuous expression of the lifestyle of the aristocracy, be it Greek or Etruscan or Latin",⁸ or, one might add, Sikel. Excavations at both Greek cities along the coast and mixed towns of the interior of Sicily have produced not only Greek drinking vessels, but transport amphoras, indicating the importation of Greek wine. Morgantina is no exception, as Greek amphoras have been found in both the tombs and on the site, including fragments of a Laconian transport amphora. Hence, imported wine may have been as much a status symbol as the imported vases in which it was served (not unlike drinking tea from Chinese export porcelain). Many of the Attic painted vases found at Morgantina display Dionysiac imagery, and its most famous import, the red-figure volute-krater attributed to Euthymides, features a symposium on one side (see *AJA* 63 [1959] 172, pls. 43, 44, figs. 24-17). Thus, even though there is not a great deal of Attic painted pottery at the site, what there is features scenes of drinking or Dionysiac revels, and indicates an interest on the part of the ancient residents of the Cittadella in the Greek ritual of the symposium.

The archaeological contexts in which both the Attic vases and the Laconian kraters have been found also indicate that they performed a key role in civic life. The well-worn fragments of kraters have come to light within or in close proximity to the major buildings in the center of the archaic city. There were found in association with a large quantity of Attic black-glaze cups, some of which bear incised ligatures, perhaps abbreviations of personal names. This context might suggest a form of ritual dining either as part of civic duty or religious custom, as we find it in the Greek city states. Until the functions of these archaic buildings are determined, we cannot be sure of the exact role of the symposium at Morgantina, but it was clearly central to the life of the city.

⁸ A. Rathje, "The Adoption of the Homeric Banquet in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period", in *Symptica. A Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. O. Murray (Oxford 1990) 279.

(2) Funerary Practices. In Sicily the most common context for Laconian kraters is the grave. Occasionally these voluminous kraters were used as ossuaries, but more often they were simply grave goods along with an assemblage of smaller shapes. At Morgantina, for instance, the eleven Laconian kraters found in the chamber tombs were the largest vases among an array of other vessels, many of local manufacture.⁹ In this context it is interesting to note that fragments of two Laconian oinochoai were found at the habitation site, but none in the tombs; rather, they contained numerous locally made wine jugs. It would thus appear that the Morgantinoi substituted cheaper grave goods in place of the more expensive imports, just as the Etruscans outfitted their tombs with Greek ceramics in lieu of the metal vessels which the tomb paintings indicate were the accoutrements of daily life. The earthenware Laconian krater in the tombs may in turn be a substitute for the expensive *krater lakonikos*, its bronze prototype, the earliest example of which comes from Monte San Mauro near Caltagirone in central Sicily.¹⁰

(3) Market Conditions. Finally, there may have been a market preference for the all-black or nearly all-black kraters. With their sharply defined contours and semi-gloss slip, they resemble metal kraters.¹¹ The vast majority of Attic imports to Morgantina is black-glaze, and its most expensive import, the Euthymides krater, has a black body with decoration restricted to the neck. The locally made pottery is equally austere with simple, broadly brushed curvilinear motifs. Thus, there may have been a local preference for more restrained decoration in general, and black-slipped pottery in particular.

As for **graffiti**, it is not uncommon to find incised inscriptions on Laconian kraters. Two are known from Amyklai near Sparta, one each from Rhodes, Corinth, and Agrigento, and one of unknown provenance in a Sicilian private collection.¹² All of these, however, bear the inscription on the outer rim, rather than the neck. One from Gravisca has the inscription on the upper surface of the rim, because the rim itself is decorated.¹³ Another in the collection I. Mormino (Banco di Sicilia) is also inscribed on the upper rim; like the Morgantina rim, the name recorded is a woman's.¹⁴ A precedent for the location of the inscription on the neck, however, can be found on a Laconian krater from Tomb 17 at Morgantina. It bears a graffito incised before firing: a chi, a mu, and a third unidentified sign.¹⁵ Although it is technically

⁹ Stibbe 1989 (above, p. 265), 104 mentions an example from the Rocca Cronavacchio necropolis at the nearly Sikel site of Rossomano; see below n. 12 for another inscribed example.

¹⁰ Syracuse, Museo Nazionale 3123. See Stibbe 1989 (above, p. 265) 59 br. 1. See K. Hitzl, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters von den frühesten Anfängen bis zur Ausprägung des kanonischen Stils in der attischen schwarzfigurigen Vasenmalerei* (Frankfurt 1982) 24-42.

¹¹ On the resemblance of black glaze to tarnished silver and metal prototypes, see M. Vickers, "Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metalwork on Athenian Painted Pottery", *JHS* 105 (1985) 108-28; D. Gill and M. Vickers, "Reflected Glory: Pottery and Precious Metal in Classical Greece", *Jdl* 105 (1990) 1-30.

¹² Stibbe 1989 [above, p. 265], 119 G21 and 126 [Amyklai]; 113 (Rhodes); 107 F33 (Corinth); 116 G20 and 106 F20 (Sicily).

¹³ Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 72/23122: see Stibbe 1989 (above, p. 265), 104; the inscription is a dedication to Turan.

¹⁴ A. Villa, "Graffiti su vasi greci della fondazione «I. Mormino» a Palermo", *Kokalos* 25 (1979) 64-72: Τῶς Καλικράτεος Μεννάδος (Μενναρῶς) ἐμί. Cf. R. Arena, *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia, Iscrizioni di Sicilia I, Iscrizioni di Megara Iblea e Selinunte* (Milan 1989) 77-8 no. 74.

¹⁵ Aidone 69-497; Stibbe 1989 (above, p. 6) 110 F 67; Lyons, *Morgantina Studies* V, Chapter 4 no. 17-37.

possible for our graffito to have been incised after the krater broke, it seems unlikely given the nature of the inscription.

III. The Graffito

From the first, the apparent completeness of the graffito and oddities of the script led to doubts about its antiquity. Most of the letter forms can be paralleled, however, as can the name; the circumstances of the find also reassure us that the inscription is genuine.

The letter forms, especially the non-barred sigma, are shared both by Greek inscriptions from the mainland and western colonies, and by known Sikel inscriptions. The tailed rho also finds a home in this group. In Greek, they belong in the "red" family of epichoric alphabets as systematized by A. Kirchoff.¹⁶ Jeffery cites comparanda on stone of the fifth century from Euboa and colonies in the west (Rhegion and Zankle). The form of sigma is also found in Thessaly and Aigina.¹⁷ Significantly, Morgantina's inscription did not make use of a specifically Sikel alphabet derived from Greek, as was done at Adranó, Licodia Euboea, Sciri Sotano, and Catania.¹⁸

The Cittadella graffito uses a standard formula: a name in the genitive and verb ἐμί or εἰμί, "I belong to So-and-So." -ραc indicates a genitive of the α-declension, most likely a woman (see below, section IV), although linguistically a male owner remains remotely possible.¹⁹ The verb is obviously paralleled in Greek, and also used in Elymian inscriptions. It is unclear however, if the verb at Morgantina is Greek *per se*, borrowed from Greek into Sikel, or Sikel by way of Indoeuropean. C. Watkins takes the verb as Greek (letter of 13.12.91).²⁰ Morgantina's eclecticism is shown by use of this alphabet, the inhabitants' use of imported pottery from Attika, Lakonia, and perhaps Ionia, the production of terracottas with Ionian and

¹⁶ *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* (Gütersloh 1887); see map reproduced in M. Guarducci, *L'epigraphia greca dalle origini al tardo impero* (Rome 1987), pl. 1.

¹⁷ L. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford² 1990) 79 on Euboa (ε 4, μ 4, σ 3, ρ 3, υ 2); 88 on Euboian colonies (σ 3 at Rhegion and Zankle, with p. 248, cat. no. 11, a bronze vase rim from Rhegion, ca. 475-50, and nos. 12-14, pl. 49, clay pellets from Rhegion; Naples Museum, ca. 475-50 B.C.). Thessaly: p. 96, s 2, 3, mid-late 5th c.; Aigina, σ 3 and π 2, p. 109 and cat. no. 4, p. 122 and pl. 16, building record from the Aphaia sanctuary (*IG* IV.1580), ca. 550. See also M. Durante, "Il siculo e la sua documentazione", *Kokalos* 10-11 (1964-5) 417-443; M. Guarducci, "Gli alfabeti della Sicilia arcaica", *ibid.*, 465-80; M. Lejeune, "Rencontres de l'alphabet grec avec des langues barbares au cours du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.", in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*, Coll. de l'École Française de Rome 67, ed. G. Nenci (Pisa/Rome 1983) 731-51, esp. 743-7 and 739-42.

¹⁸ See A. Zamboni 1978 (n. 1) 957 and tables, p. 953, 955; Whatmough (above, p. 261), table between pp. 502 and 503, with some differences; he includes a sigma form similar to that in the Cittadella graffito, while Zamboni does not. See also Schmoll (above, n. 1) for discussion of these examples.

¹⁹ Compare, for example, the Boeotian and Northwestern Greek genitive on ᾱc of α-stems like Acarnanian Προκλείδαc (5th cent. B.C.E.); see H. Rix, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen* (Darmstadt 1976) 132; E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik I* (Munich⁵ 1977 [1953]) 560; cf. P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en Grec ancien* (Paris 1968 [1933]) 26-32 (-ᾱ, -ᾱc); cf. pp. 481-3 for suffixes -ερ-, -ποᾱ, -απο-).

²⁰ Whatmough (above, p. 261) 457, on Sikel glosses: "... the most striking feature which they present is the distinct resemblance, in both stem and termination, which many of them bear to well-known Latin words, and, to a less notable degree, to Greek words... There is also a further possibility that the resemblances may be due to borrowing, not from Latin (or Greek) into Sicel, but *vice versa*...., or that in some cases Sicel may be the debtor, and in others Latin." P. 458: "'Italic' words in Sicel, therefore, are probably genuinely Sicel and not borrowed" (cf. 490). See also Zamboni 1978, *passim*, and C. de Simone, "L'influenza linguistica greca nell'Italia antica: problemi generali", *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione* (above, n. 17) 755-84.

central Italian affinities. Even in the second city, the Doric dialect is rendered in an Ionian alphabet on imported Attic pottery in the agora graffito.²¹ Though there are few other graffiti known from Cittadella, or from Serra Orlando for that matter, other examples do witness varied linguistic and cultural influences (see below). So while the script can be paralleled, the significance of its use remains open. Greek material culture, and even a Greek custom (naming an object, or an object naming itself or claiming ownership) may be adopted by others: in this case, by the Sikels.

IV. The Name

Fortunately, the name Κυπαρα is closely paralleled, and occurs in the vicinity of Morgantina. Two examples have recently been published by L. Dubois:

1. Κύπρα, Κυύρα

The first is inscribed on terracotta loomweights from Terravecchia di Cuti, near Caltanissetta.²² The other occurs on a lead tablet probably from the area of Palermo; the inscription records the debt of one Archon and his children Kupura (Κυύρα) and Saiso to a goddess.²³ Though not an exact match, these local examples supplant a more ready parallel with Aphrodite's epithet, Κυπρία, an adjective derived from her native island Cyprus (Κύπρος).²⁴ Manganaro initially thought that the name on the lead tablet belonged to a local divinity, possibly a nymph, inscribed on a propitiary offering, though he later changed his opinion (Manganaro 1965-6 [n. 22], 165ff; cf. 1977 [n. 23], 1337). Dubois suggests, "La forme kupura... doit sûrement être la plus authentique: il s'agit d'un nom indigène" (Dubois 1989 [n. 23], 200). Guarducci read differently: Κυπαρα, not Κυπυρα, and now, the Morgantina example supports this reading, or the existence of Kupara as an alternate form.²⁵ Dubois also noted that Κυύρα is the subject of three other ancient references in Hesychius (2, 3), Stephanus Byzantius (4), and Strabo (5).

2. Κυύρα· ἡ ἐν Σικελία κρήνη Ἀρέθουσα (κ 4636).

3. Ἀρέθουσα· κρήνη ἐν Ἰθάκη, καὶ ἐν Σικελία, ἐν ἣ ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἡλιδι ῥέων ποταμὸς Ἀλφειδὸς ἀργύριον κομίζειν) νενόμισται (κ 7107).

²¹ See M. Bell, *Morgantina Studies I. The Terracottas* (Princeton 1982); Kenfield 1990 (above n. 3), and "Architectural Terracotta and Cultural Affinities at Archaic Morgantina", *AJA* 97 (1993) 351-2. I am grateful to Prof. Kenfield for sharing his work with me in advance of publication.

²² L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile. Contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire grec colonial*, Coll. E.F.R. (Rome 1989) 199 no. 175b: Inscribed terracotta loomweights from Terravecchia di Cuti, 15 km. north of Caltanissetta; 6th-5th c., now in the Gela Museum. See P. Orlandini, *Kokalos* 8 (1962) 110 pl. 34.2; M. Guarducci, *Kokalos* 10-11 (1964-5) 469 n. 12; P. Manganaro, "Per la storia dei culti in Sicilia", *PdP* 20 (1965-6) 163-78, 165-66; cf. also Manganaro's article cited in the next note, 1137 with pl. 59. Orlandini reads Κυπαρα: "nome femminile nella doppie forma" (p. 110). The alphabet is Rhodio-Cretan; Guarducci remarks that this alphabet belongs to the "red" group.

²³ Dubois 1989 (above, n. 22), 202 no. 177: Lead plaque in three pieces; 11.3 x 6.7 cm; h. 3 mm; ex coll. Virzì (not Birgi, as Dubois has it), now outside Italy: 450-400 B.C. Cf. G. Manganaro, "Tavolette di piombo iscritte della Sicilia greca", *ASNP* 7 (1977) 1329-49, 1329-1335, pl. 54-6, *SEG* XXVII, 657 (line 9).

²⁴ Cf. P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* (Oxford 1987) 279 s.v. Κύπρη, Κύπριος; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque II* (Paris 1970) 601 s.v. κύπρος.

²⁵ Two other personal names may be noted: Fraser-Matthews (above, n. 24) 279 s.v. Κυύραη (Μανίλια Κυύραη) from Chios in the 2nd c. A.D. Cf. W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen I* (Braunschweig 1884) 742 s.v. Κυύραη.

4. Ἀρέθουσα, πόλις Συρίας καὶ Θράκης καὶ Εὐβοίας καὶ κρήνη Cικελίας. αὕτη Κυπάρρα ἐλέγετο. ἔστι καὶ Ἰθάκης (*Ethn.* 116).
5. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς Κύπρας ἱερόν, Τυρρηγῶν ἴδρυμα καὶ κτίσμα· τὴν δ' Ἦραν ἐκεῖνοι Κύπραν καλοῦσιν· εἶτα Τρουεντίνος ποταμὸς καὶ πόλις ἐπώνυμος (5.4.2).

These references reintroduce the possibility that the Morgantina reference belongs to a divinity to whom the vessel has been dedicated (type [τῆ]c ἡέραc ἐμί, I. Delos 6.33.2, 550-500 B.C.): not to Greek Aphrodite, but to a deity Sikel in nature. In fact, in 1965, M. Durante examined the citation in Hesychius as evidence for the Sikel name for the fountain of Arethousa.²⁶ We find no other references for the equation of Κυπάρρα and Ἀρέθουσα besides those noted above, nor to an Etruscan divinity *Cupra*, despite Strabo's entry (4). Roscher lists *Cupra* (s.v.) as a goddess in Umbria and Picenum whom he equates with Bona Dea; he relates the name to a Sabine stem *cup* as in *Cyprius/Ciprius*, by Varro derived from *Ciprus* and explained as *bonus* (*De ling. Lat.* 5.159).²⁷ A sanctuary of this deity existed in Picene territory, at Cypra Maritima, now Civita di Marano near Grottamare, and another Picene site, near Masaccio, was called *Cupra montana*. A different sanctuary near Fossato, known from an inscription in Umbrian dialect, names *Cubrar Matrera*.²⁸

Language is not the only category where borrowing or influence takes place between two groups, and not the only area where indebtedness or origins are not easy to trace. Just as it is difficult to determine if the verb ἐμί used in Sikel inscriptions is borrowed from Greek, or is Sikel and resembles Greek because of shared Indoeuropean roots, common or shared features which exist in religion elude attempts to secure their origins. Securely identified pre-Greek, Sikel cults are few: the Palikoi at Palagonia and Adrano on Aetna are two examples (see Ciaceri [above, n. 26] 23-37, 58-64; for E. Manni, see n. 29). With Kupara, we may speculate that this is a Sikel water divinity or a nymph, coopted by the Greeks and identified with their Arethousa already located at multiple sites in Greece (the earliest reference to Arethousa is in Homer, *Od.* 13.408). Or perhaps the spring on Ortygia was first considered divine and

²⁶ "Il nome siculo della fonte Aretusa", *Bollettino del centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* 9 (1965) 7-15. Durante was unaware of Ciaceri's observation more than fifty years earlier relating the name Κυπάρρα to a vase form: E. Ciaceri, *Culti e miti nella storia di antica Sicilia* (Catania 1911) 249 and n. 3; J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque* (Paris² 1957) 130 n. 3; Manganaro 1965 (n. 22) 165 n. 3; A. Landi, *Antropologia siceliota. Struttura e funzione*. *SIKELIKA* 7 (Rome 1981) 64-5 s.v. Ἀρέθουσα (coins of the 5th-4th c.).

²⁷ An inscription from near Iguvium (Gubbio) is addressed to *Marti cyprio*, linked by W.H. Roscher to the Latin *Manes* (cf. Varro, *De ling. Lat.* 6.4; Fest. p. 146M; Paul. *epit. Festi* p. 125M): "Es war also jedenfalls eine Erd- und Totengöttin und in letzter Hinsicht hat man mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, daß ja auch die Lateiner ihre Totengötter Manes, Mania usw. als die Guten bezeichnen, da bekanntlich *mane = bonum* ist" (*Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* [Leipzig 1884-6] I with references); *RE* IV 1760-61 (Ch. Hülsen) s.v. *Cupra* (1) and (3) observes that Strabo 5.4.2, "...die Göttin ohne Grund für Etruskisch erklärt." The sanctuary was renewed by Hadrian in 127 (*CIL* IX 4294). Cf. Pape-Benseler (above, n. 25) s.v. κυπάρρα. J. O'Hara tells us that Servius in his commentary on *Aen.* 12.538 gives the Sabine *cupercus* for priest. See A. Walde, J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (Heidelberg³ 1938) 310 s.v. *cupencus*, A. Ernout, A. Meillet, J. André, *Dict. étym. de la langue Latine* (Paris 1979) s.v. *ciprus*.

²⁸ Roscher (above, n. 27) with further references on *Cupra* Dea or Mater; see also Ch. Hülsen in *RE* IV 1761 s.v. *Cupra* (3). C. Watkins (letter of 13.12.91) raised the possibility of "an 'anaptyctic' α in *kupara-* (from **kupra-*) and the Italic *dea Cupra*; but 6th-5th century is much earlier than anaptyxis in Latin (poculum>poculum) and probably in Oscan."

named for a nymph by the colonizing Corinthians, but referred to with a different name by the Sikels. We cannot tell if words like κύτταρος, κύπαρος result from Greek contact with Sikel, or if Κυπάρα is formed from contact with Greek, or if all are owed to the common Indoeuropean roots discussed above. E. Manni has discussed this question in detail, and with specific reference to Kypara/Arethousa: "Certamente qui la grecizzazione appare completa e forse fu tale, ma anche in questo caso l'elemento indigeno non è scomparso totalmente se i Greci ricordavano il nome «siculo» della loro ninfa."²⁹

Before pursuing the divine dimension further, we turn then to investigate the linguistic roots of our name. Zamboni suggested that the ancient name of the Cassibile river near Syracuse, Κακύπαρις, is related to κυπάρα and derived from *kak-, horn, and -ur-, "river, water". Referring to Hesychius' entry, he compares Latin *cupa*, "ditch", "hole".³⁰ An Indoeuropean root *q^{eu}-p-, "vault", from which derives Latin *cūpa*, "vat, barrel" and Greek κύπελλον, "drinking vessel, cup" is the key.³¹ The root meaning leads to the concepts of measuring or containing. The terminations -ρος, -ρο- are discussed by Chantraine: "Le suffixe -ρος fournit des dérivés de toutes sortes. Le sens du suffixe apparaît assez flou et mal défini, même dans les mots dont l'étymologie peut être établie." The meaning of κύπαρος, κυπάρα might be something like cup bearer or holder (Chantraine 1968 [n. 19], 226). It is interesting to note the version of the story in Strabo, 6.2.4 where it is said that a drinking vessel thrown into the Alpheios river at Olympia was discharged into the spring at Syracuse (καὶ γὰρ φιάλην τινὰ ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνόμισαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δεῦρο ἀνενεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν κρήνην). The word is not κύπελλον, but φιάλη, yet the link with Kypara is tantalizing.

Returning to Hesychius, we find the following under κύπαρος:

6. κυπάρους τὰ κοῖλα ἔλεγον ἀγγεῖα καὶ χωρητικά. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς τῶν σφηκῶν κατατρήσεις, καὶ τὰς τῶν αἰδοίων βαλάνους, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς κυπάρους λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ Θεόφρατος (*hist. plant.* 3.7.3) προάνθησιν τινὰ τῆς πεύκης καὶ τῆς πίτυος κύπαρον προσαγορεύει (κ 4746).

Hesychius also retains a different spelling: κύτταροι (on the relation of π, τ in Greek cf. Schwyzer I [above, n. 19] 290-1, 293-5):

²⁹ And "Ecco, pertanto, che tempo e πόλις—in parallelo—marciano verso una meta comune e che l'ellenizzazione degli «indigeni» comporta anche una «indigenizzazione»—sia pure parziale—degli Elleni. Questo almeno sarà avvenuto là dove la coesistenza era pacifica ..." E. Manni, "Culti greci e culti indigeni in sicilia problemi di metodo e spunti di ricerca", *Archivio storico siciliano* 6 (1980) 5-17, reprinted in *Σικελικά καὶ Ἱταλικά* I (Rome 1990) 393-405, esp. 398.

³⁰ Zamboni (above, n. 1) 951-1012, p. 974 and nn. 126-8, 131. Sikel κυπάνη, according to G. Alessio, is equivalent to Κυπάρα (Zamboni n. 128): *Fortune della grecità linguistica in Sicilia* I. *Il sostrato*, *ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΑ* 4 (Palermo 1970) 78 n. 315 and also 115: "...il nome del fiume Κακύπαρις sia un'ibrido col greco, pur presentano un elemento indigeno che compare nel nome della fonte Κυπάρα, che i Greci ribattezzarono Ἀρέθουσα." The location of Κύπη φρούριον (Steph. Byz.) is not known (K. Ziegler, *RE* XII.1 s.v. κύπη); Managanaro 1965 (above, n. 23) 165 n. 14-15; Durante 1965 (n. 26) 7-8 with further references (and cf. next note).

³¹ Walde-Hofmann (above, n. 27) 310-11 s.v. *cūpa*, Hesychius also says κύπη· τρώγη; see E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg/Paris² 1923) 536 s.v. κύπη. See also H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II (Heidelberg 1970) 51 s.v. κύπελλον.

7. κύτταροι· οὕτω τὰς τρήμας τῶν κηρίων ἔφη Ἀχαιοός (*TrGF* I, 20 fr. 50Sn.), τινὲς δὲ σφηκιάς· καὶ τὰ τῆς πύκκης καὶ πίτυος προανθοῦντα τροβίλια· καὶ πυθμένες καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων αἱ βάλανοι· καὶ τῶν βαλάνων τὰ ἀγγεῖα (κ 4639).

These entries stress containing, capacity, including pottery, the holes in honeycombs, and the nests of wasps. In Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1109-11,³² the chorus says:

οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς τειχίοις
 ξυμβεβυεμένοι πυκνόν, νεύοντες ἐς τὴν γῆν μόλις
 ὥσπερ οἱ σκώληκες ἐν τοῖς κύτταροις κινούμενοι.

Metaphor extends the word to the βάλανος τῶν αἰδοίων, glans of the penis, and from this to pottery, or vice versa. The *Suida* also has similar entries under κύτταρος:

8. κύτταρος τὸ πῶμα τῆς βαλάνου, ὅπου ἐγκάθεται ἡ βάλανος, ἡ τῆς βαλάνου πυελίς, ἢ τὸ προεξάνθημα τῆς ροιᾶς, ἢ ἡ ἐν τοῖς κηρίοις τῶν μελιττῶν πυελίς καὶ κατάτρησις ἢ τὸ ὑψηλότατον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· λέγουσι γὰρ κοῖλον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν, ὥσπερ τοῦ φῶυ τὴν λεπίδα, τὸ κοιλότατον καὶ μυχαίτατον.
9. κύτταρος αἱ τῶν κηρίων καὶ σφηκῶν κατατρήσεις. Θεόφρατος δὲ (*hist. plant.* 3.3.8) κυρίως λέγει κύτταρον τὴν προάνθησιν τῆς πίτυος, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὡς στάχυς μικρὸς ἐκ μεγάλων πυρῶν, ξηραίνόμενος δὲ θυλακοῦται καὶ ἀποπίπτει. οἷον οὖν ἀγγειῶδες φησι κύτταρον οὐρανοῦ. ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεεμοφοριαζούσαις (515f.): "πόσθιον τῷ σῶ προσόμοιον, στρεβλὸν ὥσπερ κύτταρον."

The *Suida* specifies that a κύτταρος is the cap or top of an acorn, not the acorn itself, stressing the idea of holding something (see Frisk 1970 [n. 31] 57 s.v. κύτταρος, "nicht sicher erklärt." Hesychius also tells us that κύταρον· ζωμήρυσις, soup ladle). The equivalent terms given, πυελίς or πῶμα, also mean cup or lid, returning to the vocabulary of ceramics. The term in the *Suida* also extends to the sky, which is compared to an eggshell and said to be like a pot in form.

These references in the ancient compilers and lexicographers indicate that the Morgantina graffito records a proper name, but raise the possibility that this name, in turn, echoes an ancient term for a type or shape of ceramic vessel, either a cup or basin. Hesychius' specifications of κοῖλα and χωρητικά would fit kraters, though we have been unable to find any ancient designation of a krater as κύπαρος. There is also a further connection with measure or capacity in Hesychius s.v. κύπρος (10):

10. κύπρος· μέτρον σιτηρὸν ἢ κεφάλαιον ἀριθμοῦ (κ 4655).

The same word appears in an inscription of the 4th c. from Gambreion in Mysia, a contract for improving a tract of land (Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 302.11 ff.; 326/5 B.C.):

³² The scholion summarizes the meaning in an already familiar way: κύτταροι δὲ αἱ τῶν κηρίων κοιλότητες. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πυελίς ἡ περικειμένη ταῖς βαλάνοις. ἄλλως· καὶ τῶν σφηκῶν τὰ κοῖλα καὶ τὰ τῆς πύκκης καὶ τὰ τῆς πίτυος προανθοῦντα τροβίλια καὶ ὁ πυθμῆν καὶ ἡ κατάτρησις· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς κηροῖς τρήματα ἢ τὰ κοῖλα ἄγγη καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων τοὺς βαλάνους.

11. ὁ δὲ περίβολός ἐστιν τῆς γῆς σπόρου κύπρων ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ οἰκόπεδα καὶ κῆπος.

This word may have a semitic root, different from the roots we have been investigating (see Frisk [above, n. 31] 51 s.v. κύπρος, Chantraine 1970 [n. 24] 601 s.v. κύπρος 1). Before considering more fully the implications of these links, we turn to the citations of Theophrastus in Hesychius (6) and the Suida (9) mentioning trees or plants. These seemingly unrelated glosses, which equate the term with the flowering or blooming of pine or fir trees (πίτυς, πέυκη), that is to pinecones (κτροβίλια), however, re-emphasize a shape. The Suida, again, extends the field to refer to both the fruit of the pomegranate, and grains of wheat. As before, other entries continue this strand of significance. In the Suida, we find the following:

12. κύπειρον εἶδος βοτάνης (κ 2736).

13. κυπριάζουσαι ἀνθοῦσαι (κ 2737).

Hesychius tells us further:

14. κύπερα· τὰ χοινία ἐκ κυπέρου πεπλεγμένα (κ 4644).

15. κύπειρον· ἄνθος ἵπποις ἐδώδημον (κ 4644).

16. κύπειρος· φυτόν, ὃ καὶ ἐρίσκηπτον (κ 4646).

It would seem that there are two roots, one from which Kypara is derived, the other possibly semitic which designates the fruit or flowers of plants, and to a type of plant from which rope is made, among other things.³³ The latter appears unrelated to our container.

V. Significance

Clearly, Κυπάρα on the Cittadella krater fragment is a non-Greek name and, in the genitive, indicates the owner or dedicand. The name itself may be theophoric and refer to a Sikel deity, or it may be derived from a vessel. As noted above, the practice of naming objects in writing is a habit of Greeks (and others) which is in use from the 8th c. B.C.E. when alphabetic Greek appears in the archaeological record. A well-known early example, an East Greek kotyle from Pithekoussai, declares that it is the cup, ποτήριον, of Nestor.³⁴ Many other examples, however, do not name an owner but do announce the shape of the vase or its qualities.³⁵ One may therefore wonder, whether the owner or dedicand was aware of the pun that resulted from the similarity of her name and the word for a vessel of such a shape.

³³ Cf. *Il.* 21.351, *Od.* 4.603 for κύπειρον as food for horses; *LSJ*⁹ s.v. κύπειρον calls it galingale, *cypurus longus*. See also Hesychius on πτωκάς κύπειρος as grass (π 4262). Cf. Frisk (above, n. 31) and Chantraine 1970 (n. 24) 600, both s.v. κύπειρον (linking it with Mycenaean *kuparo*).

³⁴ *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, ed. P.A. Hansen (Berlin 1983) I 242-3 # 454 and II (1989) 304 (addenda corrigenda ad # 454); R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (eds.), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1969) 1-2; F. Cordano, "L'uso della scrittura in Italia meridionale e Sicilia nei secoli VIII e VII a.C.", *Opus* 281-309, esp. 295 no. 21; and the recent discussion and bibliography in B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge 1991) 163-7; J. Lactacz, "Die Funktion des Symposions für die entstehende griechische Literatur", in *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen*, ed. W. Kullmann and M. Reichel (Tübingen 1990) 232-235 and 255.

³⁵ See M. Guarducci (above, n. 16) 365-67 with fig. 114 and pl. 10. Guarducci conveniently lists many examples of vases which announce their own shapes: *Epigraphia graeca* (Rome 1975) III 334-9 (especially naming *kylikes*, *poteria*, and *skyphoi*). See also M.L. Lazzarini, "I nomi dei vasi greci nelle iscrizioni di vasi stessi", *Arch. Class* 25-26 (1973-74) 341-375, and M. Burzachechi, "Oggetti parlanti nelle epigraphi greche", *Epigraphica* 24 (1962) 3-54 (cited by Villa [above, n. 14] 68 n. 11).

It is time to turn to the relationship of ethnic identity, material culture, and language. As Whitehouse and Wilkins have pointed out for the Messapians of southern Italy, ethnic groupings identified by ancient sources became the basis in archaeology for identifying territory, language, and material culture traits in a circular argument. They locate three fallacies, worth quoting in full:

- "(i) that the real existence of the languages (or dialects), even albeit at a later date, corroborates the reality of the local peoples.
- (ii) that the areas covered by the dialects confirm the boundaries and distinctions suggested by the literary sources.
- (iii) that affinities of a linguistic kind may be used to strengthen the case for an historical or archaeological link, in a direct one-to-one correspondence" (1985 [n. 6] 93).

Though Whitehouse and Wilkins are concerned with prehistoric Messapia, and this paper deals with historical central Sicily, the issues are similar. We base our discussion of the Sikel language, its architecture and ceramics, and the Sikels themselves, on such reasoning, yet we agree that a "direct one-to-one correspondence" between archaeology and language is problematic. We cannot agree, however, that "Trivially... the existence of an inscription strongly suggests the existence in the past of someone to inscribe it" but that the findspot can be dismissed because inscriptions "travel vast distances in the ancient world—either in trade or as personal possessions, or, in the case of largish stones, quite often as ballast for ships" (this is their point i). They also claim that the evidence for language does not suggest any clear distinctions between indigenous dialects or languages, and that for Sikel in particular we have "a situation which verges upon the ludicrous" (point ii, and based on the evidence of a single inscription). Yet, at the same time, they correctly observe that for peninsular Italy where the linguistic evidence (for Latin, Oscan, Umbrian and Etruscan) is much fuller, "the find-places of their texts, do not correspond in any obvious one-to-one way either with the categories suggested by the ancient historians, or with the archaeological evidence. Nor is there any reason why we should necessarily expect them to" (point iii). The situation is precisely the same in Sicily, where cultural and dialectical boundaries are hard to locate. About names in particular, they claim: "People do commonly borrow, retain, invent, modify and sometimes positively crucify names—often without any consciousness of process or indebtedness, often with deliberate intent. Naming is a totally capricious activity." We believe that there is much to be gained by considering linguistic evidence for Sikels, while at the same time admitting the cogency of Whitehouse and Wilkins' criticisms. We cannot, perhaps, find the direct correspondences between ethnicity, geography and culture that they argue against, but we cannot ignore the following: 1) the existence of a local ceramic tradition which continues alongside Greek imports and local imitations, 2) the retention of Sikel burial customs along with the adoption of Greek, or 3) the survival of non-Greek vocabulary and names. While we may not be able to recover the ethnicity of those who produced the graffiti found at Morgantina, the inscriptions still bear witness to the survival of alternate cultural traits into the fifth century B.C.E.

To support this view, we turn first to the customs of wine and its consumption. The Morgantina find is particularly eloquent, and part of a larger body of evidence pointing to the

use of wine in Sikel communities of the island's interior beginning in the 6th c.³⁶ Morgantina is particularly important for our knowledge of this phenomenon, since it provides evidence from both burial and settlement contexts. Though the settlement awaits publication, studies of the architectural terracottas and necropolis are complete, and that of imported pottery well underway.³⁷ The Four-Room Building in the settlement on the Cittadella's upper platform yielded much fine imported drinking pottery, including the Attic red-figure volute-krater attributed to the Pioneer vase painter Euthymides, mentioned above. John Kenfield, noting the Dionysiac themes of the architectural terracottas associated with this building (maenad antefixes), suggests its use for formal drinking parties. Much imported and locally-produced pottery from the settlement at large is suitable for drinking wine, and the tombs present a similar picture. Claire Lyons has drawn attention to the status attached to drinking wine and the possession and use of the ceramics associated with wine in her study of the archaic tombs (*Morgantina Studies* V [forthcoming], chs. 4 & 5). There are other names recorded on ceramics from the tombs, including Olmis or Thalmis on local imitations of B-2 type kylikes of the early 5th century. The name ΠΥΡ[Ι] is also attested in the necropolis, close to the name Pyria on the Attic stemless kylix from the agora mentioned above. Graffiti also occur on Attic ceramics from the tombs, but are confined to single letters or ligatures, including the HE- seen on sherds from the Farmhouse Hill naiskos. According to Lyons, all date to the end of the 6th c. or early 5th c.

It is important, however, to sound a note of caution here. In the preceding remarks we encountered drinking at the symposium and its connection with funeral customs. But it cannot be ruled out that our krater is primarily related to the latter (above, sect. II). Moreover, the presence of Greek symposion pottery (or imitations of it) does not prove that the Greek institution of the symposion, with the attendant social practices and forms, was practiced. In fact, evidence suggests that although Etruscan, Basilicatan, and Gallic elites all adopted wine-drinking into their social systems, they did not necessarily imitate symposia directly or completely.³⁸ Graffiti are important in this development: Lyons observes that at Archaic Morgantina, as at Montagna di Marzo and Ramacca nearby, graffiti appear on imported and Sikelioté cups more frequently than on other wares. Even though five of the examples from Morgantina

³⁶ This has been demonstrated by R. M. Albanese in an unpublished paper, "Importazioni greche nei centri interni della Sicilia in età arcaica: aspetti del 'acculturazione' ", and see section II.

³⁷ See above notes 3 and 4 and C. Lyons, "Hellenism and the Sikels: The Archaic Necropolis of Morgantina", *AJA* 89 (1985) 340; also *Morgantina Studies* V, *The Archaic Necropolis* (forthcoming). We are grateful to Claire Lyons for sharing unpublished work with us. The settlement will be published by C. Antonaccio, the imported pottery by J. Neils in the *Morgantina Studies* series (Princeton University Press).

³⁸ Etruscans: J. P. Small, "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry: Thoughts on Etruscan Banquets", in *Murlo and the Ancient Etruscans*, ed. R. de Puma and J.P. Small (Wisconsin 1994); M. Gras, "Vin et société à Rome et dans le Latium à l'époque archaïque", in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche* (Pisa/Rome 1983) 1067-75; P. Schmitt Pantel, "Banquet et cité grecque", *MEFRA* 97 (1985) I 135-58; M. Tagliente, "Elementi del banchetto in un centro arcaico della Basilicata (Chiaromonte)", *ibid.* 159-91; M. Dietler, "Greeks, Etruscans, and Thirsty Barbarians: Early Iron Age Interaction in the Rhône Basin of France", in *Centre and Periphery*, ed. T.C. Champion (London 1989) 127-141; and the papers in *Symptica*, ed. O. Murray (Oxford 1990). The presence of drinking vessels in Siceliote, imported, and local ceramics from the archaic and early Classical necropolis is discussed by C. Lyons, "Modalità di acculturazione à Mogantina: la necropoli siculo-greca" (unpublished ms.; we thank the author for access to this work).

are probably trademarks, they at least evidence an exchange network which demonstrates the importance of wine and wine drinking in these interior communities.³⁹

The remaining argument is more tentative: the Cittadella graffito may not merely claim ownership, but represent another adopted custom, related again to the symposion; the punning and wordplay, the complex doubling of references, recently discussed by F. Lissarague. "Banquet poetry delights in self-representation, and although it is not limited to the claims of conviviality, it does give them pride of place. The reflective play within the poems that tell of a symposion while being sung at a symposion is also found on the vases that show the drinkers at their own activity. The painters deliberately and imaginatively explore the potentials of this self-reflexive play" (F. Lissarague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, transl. by A. Szegedy-Maszak [Princeton 1990] 88). Discussing the imagery of a black-figure krater: "... a figure of Dionysus in black silhouette holds a rhyton and some branches. The god is doubly present among the drinkers, both as image and wine. The image is multiplied still further if we imagine the real krater in the middle of a group of guests. The painting of Dionysos is like a double *en abîme*, the beginning of an endless series of reflections" (*ibid.* 98; cf. also discussion of visual puns, 101 f.). We may include punning and graffiti in this system of reflexive representation.

Furthermore, puns and riddles figure prominently in literary accounts about the foundations of Greek colonies in the west. Carol Dougherty has discussed bilingual and etymological puns in Greek colonization literature. She notes, "the success of a riddle depends upon its ability to manipulate a given culture's classification system ... Riddles ... can also be extremely useful in cases of cross-cultural contact: they translate new and unfamiliar elements from one cultural system to another." She goes on to say: "Colonial legends, creative with language, motivate the essential connections between name and place and describe local objects in Greek terms ... By incorporating ambiguous puns, colonial legends can represent both local and Greek meanings; they privilege the Greek value, however, for it is the knowledge of Greek that solves the puzzle."⁴⁰ These observations are particularly interesting for the Morgantina graffito: understanding the pun depends on bilingualism, but the weight is carried not by Greek, so much as by Sikel, if Kypara is in fact a Sikel name. Turning the tables in this way, within an essentially Greek system of cultural representation involving the symposion and all its accoutrements, but with a Sikel punch line, may point us to a truer account of Sikel-Greek acculturation. The Sikels deliberately appropriate Greek culture, using it on their own terms.⁴¹

³⁹ The present authors are collaborating on a study of the corpus of graffiti from the Cittadella settlement.

⁴⁰ C. Dougherty, "Linguistic Colonialism in Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*", *GRBS* 32, (1991) 119-32, esp. 124 and 126; see also "When Rain Falls from the Clear Blue Sky. Riddles and Colonization Oracles", *CA* 11 (1992) 28-44.

⁴¹ Cf. Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989 (n. 6), though their prescriptive list of archaeological correlates of Greek and native presences is questionable. There is a large literature on such issues outside classical archaeology; see e.g. P. Rubertone, "Archaeology, colonialism and 17th-century Native America: towards an alternative interpretation", in *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, ed. E. Layton (London 1989) 32-45, e.g. p. 36: "By emphasizing the emulation of European artefact forms and technologies, Indian behaviour is depicted as being essentially imitative. This assessment precludes any consideration of Indian initiatives in regard to material culture, and by implication any pertaining to economic, social or political matters... Not only did European objects themselves change meaning as they were transferred from one culture to another, but the

Manni also reminds us: "Non è dunque greco tutto quello che ha un nome greco, così come non è cartaginese o romano tutto quello che ha un nome cartaginese o romano."⁴² It is interesting to note that the local terms may include the participation of women in the local version of drinking rituals, or at least the celebration of a female divinity besides Greek Aphrodite. This is not the only place that women are visible in the record, explicitly revealed by their names.⁴³

Finally, we can introduce another, nearly unnoticed graffito from archaic Morgantina to close our discussion. In an unpublished paper, C. Watkins noted a 6th c. stemless kylix in the Morgantina Museum with retrograde inscription reading ΠΙΒΕ (pl. VII.2). As he notes, "It is easy, though gratuitous, to imagine a sociolinguistic scenario for the inscription: A bilingual Sikel, literate in Greek, tries writing his own language, perhaps to impress ... or conversely a bilingual Greek tries writing a word in Sikel, perhaps to increase the sale value of his pot. Neither is a great intellectual feat. But the important thing is the documentation of how you said 'drink!' in this language of Sicily in the second half of the sixth century B.C. and long before."⁴⁴ This inscription, now published by M. Lejeune, expands the body of evidence for the complex blend of language, custom, and material culture within which the new graffito fits.⁴⁵

The newly discovered graffito from Morgantina, saved from the discards of a looter's trench, provides additional documentation for the Sikel language, the presence of Sikels and Greeks in inland Sicily, and the processes of cultural assimilation. It is clear that "hellenization" is a more complex matter than Greek prevailing over Barbarian. As further research on Morgantina and other sites appears, these processes will continue to be clarified.

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ways they functioned once within the context of Indian social interaction differed." On Greeks and Sikels in the sphere of ideology, cf. Manni 1990 (1980 [above n. 29]) and next note.

⁴² "La grecizzazione linguistica degli «indigeni»—un fatto compiuto col V secolo a.C.—può avere indotto gli stessi «indigeni» a dare nomi greci a molte delle loro divinità, particolarmente là dove il contatto coi Greci era più stretto, dove l'accantonamento etnico era meno forte; e la stessa cosa è sicuramente avvenute anche ad opera dei Greci stessi" (Manni 1990 [above n. 29] 396-7).

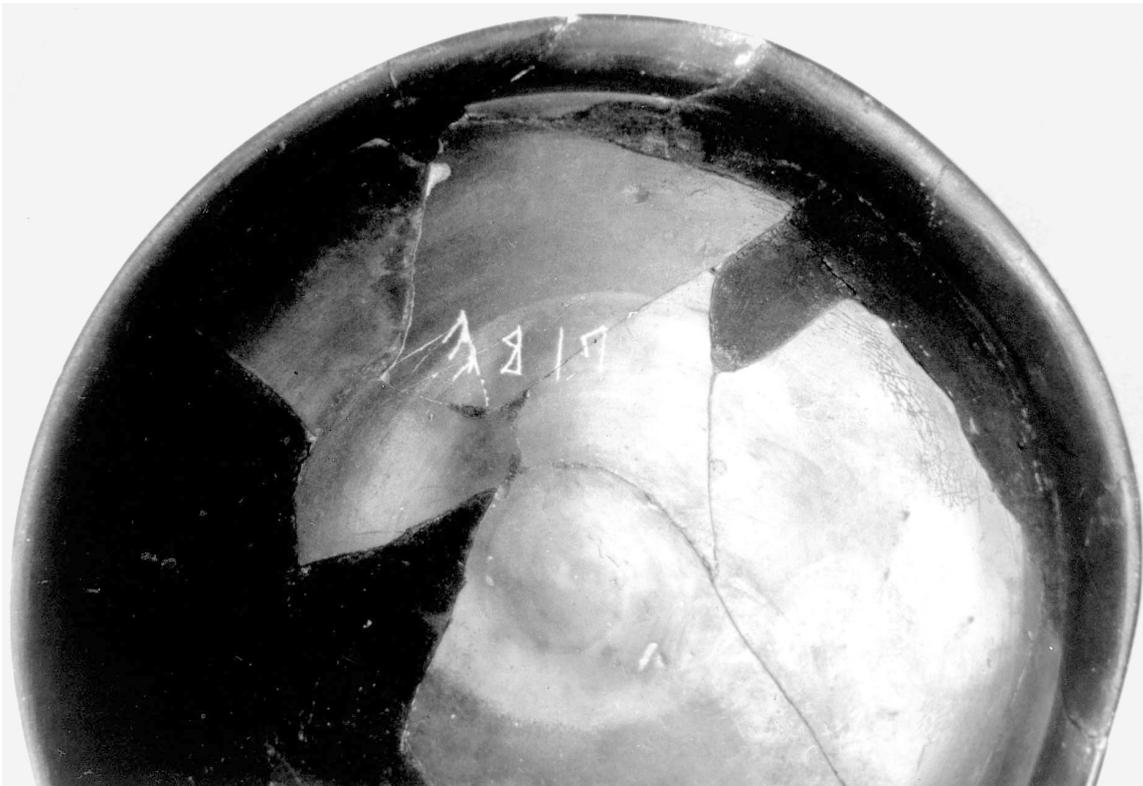
⁴³ Besides the names Κύπρα, Κυπύρα, and Κυπάρα (see above, p. 269). A lekythos from Selinus, dated to ca. 550/525: Arena (above, n. 14) 56-7 n. 57: Ἀριτοκλαία ἐμὶ τὰς καλὰς καλά. Villa mentions a kylix in the Mormino collection (Palermo, inv. no. 390) with the graffito Πράτασ, a Doric form for Πρότασ. As she says, "Si tratta quindi del genitivo di un nome femminile, che sottintende un ἔμῃ e indica l'apparetenza della kylix a «Prota»" (*ibid.*, 72, pl. 13 nos. 3, 4, 480-50 B.C.). There are numerous funerary inscriptions for women as well.

⁴⁴ Inv. no. 60-1738. Cf. C. Watkins, "Mediterranean tales, from Anatolia and points west (Sicily)", paper, Ninth East Coast Indo-European Conference, University of Pennsylvania, 14 June 1990. I thank Malcolm Bell for a copy of this paper, and Calvert Watkins for permission to quote him.

⁴⁵ "Notes de linguistique italique XL", *REL* 68 (1990 [1991]) 28-30, referring to the IE *pibe: "...e sicule seul qui se trouve exactement conserver la forme primitive, consonnes et voyelles." Thanks to Calvert Watkins for providing this reference and a copy of the paper.



1)



2)

Morgantina (Sicily): 1. Neck and rim of krater (VI/V BC); 2. Stemless kylix (VI BC)