

The Oscan Cippus Abellanus: A New Interpretation

Author(s): Ernst Pulgram

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## THE OSCAN *CIPPUS ABELLANUS*: A NEW INTERPRETATION.

The *Cippus Abellanus*, a limestone tablet ( $1.92 \times 0.51 \times 0.27$  m.), bears on both sides an inscription in the Oscan language. It is of about the middle of the second century B. C. and codifies an agreement between the ancient towns of Nola and Abella, now Nola and Castel d'Avella (the latter on an elevation near the modern Avella), about six miles distant from one another, northeast of Vesuvius, situated on either side of the modern road from Naples to Avellino. The stone was found in 1745 at Avella, where it had served as a doorstep, and is now deposited in the Episcopal Seminary of Nola.

The ordinance concerns the legal status of a sanctuary of Hercules, consisting of the temple and sacred precinct proper, and some land around it, located between the two villages and straddling (I shall explain this in detail) the boundary dividing the two townships from one another. This peculiar situation of the sanctuary, which both Nolans and Abellans visited and which stood on ground belonging to both towns, raised special questions of ownership, of responsibility for maintenance, and of division of income and of the temple treasure. It was therefore resolved, reasonably enough, to declare the sanctuary extra-territorial since by its nature and location it was neither divisible nor unilaterally ownable.

For various reasons, there have remained some uncertainties in the translation and understanding of the inscription. To begin with, the provisions, apart from being composed in an imperfectly known tongue, are not stated as clearly and unambiguously as a modern legal instrument would require, which is scarcely surprising in a document coming from two small country towns of a region but rudimentarily literate at the time. In addition, the damage done to the stone, causing the obliteration of several lines and ends of lines, further increases the difficulties of interpretation. But translations have been made, and they are, for the most part, good enough. The words, at least, seem to make sense. Yet when I attempted to illustrate graphically, by means of a drawing, the situation of the sanctuary and take account of the stipulations of the *Cippus*, I found that in a

number of passages crucial to the comprehension of the document as a whole, it was impossible to make topographic sense out of the verbal statement. By revising the translation and interpretation of a number of key words and passages, without of course doing violence to the text where the reading is firmly established, I arrived at a version which, I believe, does justice to both the wording and the real-estate problems involved.<sup>1</sup>

I shall now cite the text (after Vetter) and a Latin translation of the *Cippus*, followed by my own English translation and a brief commentary. The letters between slanted lines in the English translation refer to the sketch in Fig. 1.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since various editions are easily accessible I shall not compare in detail my translation with that of other students, nor shall I give a complete linguistic and philological exegesis of the text. I shall merely discuss the passages where my own contributions change earlier work in a significant manner and degree. The following are the most recent and most trustworthy sources: Carl D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (2nd ed., Boston, 1928); Vittore Pisani, *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* (Turin, 1953); Emil Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953); Gino Bottiglioni, *Manuale dei dialetti italici* (Bologna, 1954).

<sup>2</sup> In the transliteration of the original text I shall employ the customary typographic devices. Black face indicates that the inscription is in the native Oscan alphabet; letters or words in parentheses are supplied by the editor, filling gaps left by the scribe or the stonemason (the latter may have been illiterate or ignorant of the Oscan language) either erroneously or intentionally (abbreviations); letters or words in brackets are emendations by the editor where the stone is broken or has a damaged surface; uncertain readings are marked by a dot under the letter in question, except that doubtful reading of dots in the original (which indicate, sometimes, word division) is marked by a small horizontal bracket underneath the dot; ligatures of letters are transcribed by means of semi-circles above the letters; no orthographic aids (majuscules, punctuation, etc.) are provided except where the original has them; superfluous letters or words due to an obvious error of the scribe or stonemason are put inside broken parentheses; the number of letters missing within the original is indicated by figures (above dash lines).

Words and phrases in brackets in the English translation are my own additions, emendations, or explanations.

This particular inscription has, within the text, five unusually wide spaces (in Part A, line 23, in Part B, lines 11, 18, 22, and 28), representing something like paragraph boundaries. These I render by means of a double slanted line in the transliteration and the Latin translation, by numbered paragraphs in the English translation. One other para-

## I. TEXT AND LATIN TRANSLATION.

## A—obverse

**maíuf. vestirikíuf. mai(ieis) . st̄**  
*Maio Vestricio Mai (filio) ?*  
**prupukid . sverrunef . kvaístu**  
*designato ? quaesto-*  
**ref. abellanúf. ínm̄ . maiíuf**  
*ri Abellano et Maio*  
**lúvkíuf. mai(ieis) . pukalatúf**  
*Lucio Mai (filio) ?*  
**medikef. deketasiúf. nuvla**  
*medici decentario (?) Nolan-*  
**n[ú]i . ínm̄ . lígatús . abella[nús]**  
*no et legatis Abellanis*  
**ínm̄ . lígatús . núvlanús**  
*et legatis Nolanis*  
**pús . senateis . tanginúđ**  
*qui senatus sententia*  
**suveis . pútúrúspíd . lígat[ús]**  
*sui utriusque legati*  
**fufans . ekss . kúmbened .**  
*erant, ita conuenit:*  
**sakaraklúm . herekleis . [úp]**  
*Sacrarium Herculis, apud*  
**slaagid . púd . íst . ínm̄ . teer[úm]**  
*confinium quod est, et territorium*  
**púd . úp . eísúd . sakaraklúd . [íst]**  
*quod apud id sacrarium est,*  
**púd . anter . teremníss . eh<sup>5</sup>**  
*quod inter termina extrema (?)*  
**íst . paí . teremenniú . mú[ínfkad]**  
*est, quae termina communi*  
**tanginúđ . prúftúset . r[<sup>4</sup>—(<sup>3</sup>)]**  
*sententia probata sunt ?*  
**amnúđ . puz . ídk . sakāra[klúm]**  
*? , ut id sacrarium*  
**ínm̄ . ídk . terúm . múínk[úm]**  
*et id territorium commune*  
**múínkef. tereí . fusíd . [ínm̄]**  
*in communi territorio esset et*  
**eíseis . sakaraleis . í[ním]**  
*eius sacrarii et*  
**tereis . fruktatiuf . fr[<sup>8</sup>—]**

## B—converse

**ekkm . [svai —<sup>11</sup>—]**  
*Item [si alterutri]*  
**tríbarakav[úm hereset(?)]**  
*aedificare uolent*  
**límitú[m . ] pernum . [puf(?)]**  
*limitum tenus, ubi*  
**herekleis . físnú . mef[ú]**  
*Herculis fanum medium*  
**5 íst . ehtrad . feihúss . pú[s]**  
*est, extra muros, qui*  
**herekleis . físnam . amr**  
*Herculis fanum circum-*  
**etpertviam . pússtí<s>t**  
*dant, ad uiam qui stant,*  
**paí . íp . íst . púst . in slagím**  
*quae ibi est secundum confinium,*  
**senateis . suveis . tangi**  
*senatus sui sentent-*  
**10 núd . tríbarakavúm . lí**  
*ia aedificare li-*  
**kitúd . // ínm̄ . íúk . tríba**  
*ceto. // Et haec aedi-*  
**rakkiuf . pam . núvlanús**  
*ficatio, quam Nolanis*  
**tríbarakat . tuset . ínm̄**  
*aedificauerint, et*  
**úttiuf . núvlanúm . estud**  
*usus Nolanorum esto.*  
**15 ekkm . svaf . píđ . abellanús**  
*Item si quid Abellani*  
**tríbarakat . tuset . íúk . trí**  
*aedificauerint, ea aedi-*  
**barakkiuf . ínm̄ . úttiuf**  
*ficatio et usus*  
**abellanúm . estud . // avt**  
*Abellanorum esto. // Sed*  
**púst . feihúis . pús . físnām . am**  
*post muros, qui fanum circum-*  
**20 fret . eísei . tereí . nep . ábel**  
*dant, in eo territorio neque Abel-*  
**lanús . nep . núvlanús . píđum**

graph, beginning with a new line hence not otherwise marked, may be surmised (in part A, line 11). Adding the beginning of Parts A and B, one gets a total of eight paragraphs.

## A—obverse

*territorii fructuscapio* ?  
 [—(1̄).] *múfnkú . pútúrú*[mpíd]  
 ? *communis utrorumque*  
*[fus]íd . // avt . núvlanú*[s. 7̄]  
*esset . // Sed Nolani* ?  
 [— . *herekleís . fífnú* [3̄]  
 ? *Herculis fanum* ?  
 [—<sup>25</sup>] *píspíd . núvlan* [—<sup>o</sup>]  
 ? *quisquam Nolanorum* ?

(Of line 26 only traces visible;  
 then five, at the most ten lines  
 completely destroyed.)

## B—converse

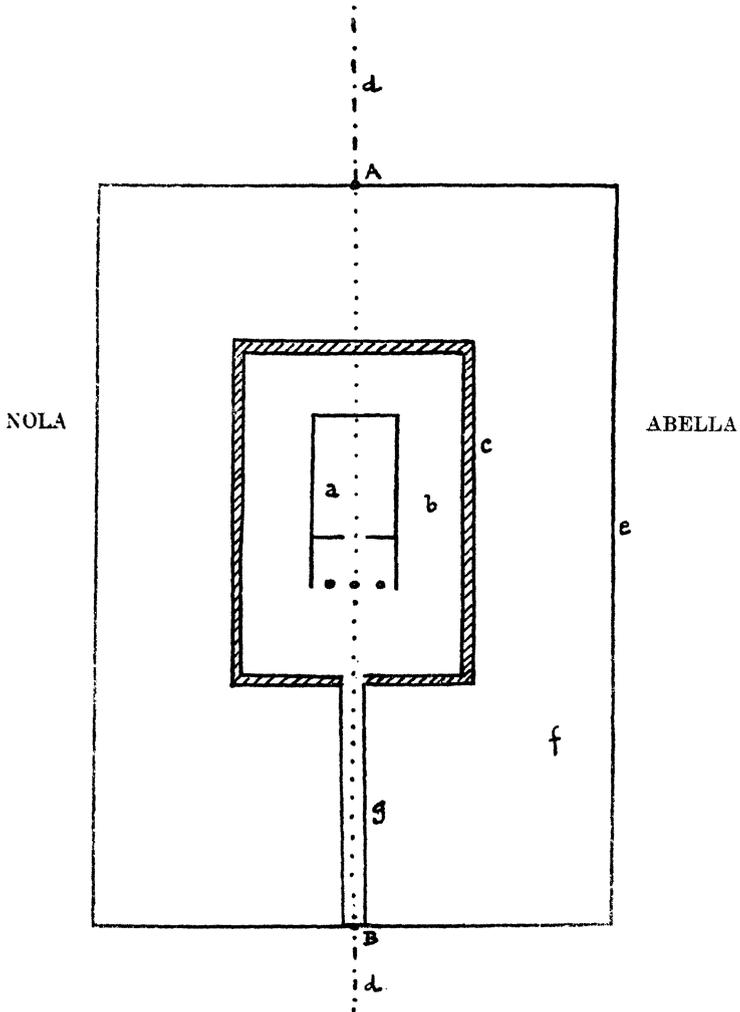
*lani neque Nolani quidquam*  
*trībarakat . tins . // avt . the*  
*aedificauerint . // Sed the-*  
*sāvrum . púd . e(f)seí . tereí . íst*  
*saorum , qui in eo territorio est ,*  
*pún . pátensíns . múfnkad . ta[n]*  
*cum aperirent , communi sent-*  
 25 *gínúd . pátensíns . fnfm . píđ . e[isef]*  
*entia aperirent , et quid in eo*  
*thesavref . púkkapíd . ee[stit]*  
*thesauro cumque caestat*  
*[a]ittfúm . altram . altr[ús]*  
*portionum alteram alteri*  
*[f]erríns . // avt . anter . slagfm*  
*auferrent . // Sed secundum confinium*  
*[a]bellanam . fnfm . núvlanam*  
*Abellanum et Nolanum ,*  
 30 *[s]úllad . víú . uruvú . íst . pedú X*  
*ubique via uruata est pedum X ,*  
*[e]ísaí . víaf . meíaf . teremn*  
*in ea via media termi-*  
*[n]íú . stafet .*  
*na stant .*

## II. ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

1: "Maius Vestricius, (son of) Maius ? , designated (?) ? quaestor of Abella, and Maius Lucius, (son of) Maius ? , meddix of Nola, and the deputies of Abella, and the deputies of Nola, who by the decision of their senate [i. e., of their respective senates] were deputies of either side, thus agreed [literally: To Maius Vestricius . . . it was thus suitable]:

2: The sanctuary of Hercules which lies by [i. e., amidst, athwart] the dividing line [separating the townships of Nola and Abella] /d/, and the land /f/ which lies by [i. e., amidst, inside] this sanctuary and which lies between [i. e., within] the external (?) boundaries /e/, which boundaries are approved by common decision, ? so that this sanctuary and this common land /b/ should lie within land /f/, and that the usufruct of this sanctuary and the usufruct of this land /f/ ? should be common of [i. e., belong to] both sides.

3: But the Nolans . . . the temple of Hercules . . . whatever Nolan . . .



- a físnú 'temple'  
 b terúm púst febhúss 'land inside walls'  
 c febhúss 'walls'  
 d slagi- 'township boundary'  
 e teremenniú '(external) boundaries'  
 f terúm múíníkúm 'common land'  
 g viú 'path'

Fig. 1.

4: Likewise, if either party shall wish to build up to the boundaries /e/ where the temple of Hercules /a/ stands in the center, [albeit] outside the walls /c/ which surround the temple of Hercules /a/ [and] which stand up to the path /g/, which there is according to [i. e., follows] the dividing line /d/, then let it be permitted to build [there] according to the decision of the senate of either concerned party.

5: And this building which the Nolans will have built shall also be [for] the use of the Nolans. Likewise, if the Abellans will have built anything, this building shall also be [for] the use of the Abellans.

6: But beyond [i. e., inside] the walls /c/ which surround the temple /a/, on that land /b/ let neither the Abellans nor the Nolans build anything.

7: But the treasure, which is on this land /b/, when they open it, let them open it by common decision, and whatever is contained in this treasure, let one side receive the other of the shares [i. e., let each side receive a share].

§ 8: But along the dividing line /d/, wherever the path /g/, ploughed, [i. e., the path bearing or continuing the plough-marked township boundary; or: . . . wherever the path /g/, the boundary . . .] is ten feet [wide], in the center of the path /g/ lie the township boundaries /d/.

### III. SYNOPSIS BY PARAGRAPHS.

§ 1: This is the praescript, listing the participants in the deliberations concerning the ordinance, and their offices and credentials.

§ 2: The temple and the land around it, that is, the sanctuary as a whole, bounded by the external boundaries /e/, is the joint property of both Nola and Abella, as is the income derived from it.

§ 3: (Destroyed)

§ 4: Permission may be granted by the senate of either Nola or Abella to build on the jointly owned land albeit only on the lot /f/ outside the walls /c/, and not on the plot /b/ inside the walls, which is reserved for the temple /a/.

§ 5: Proprietorship and the use of any building that is erected,

remain with that community, either Nola or Abella, which constructed the building.

§ 6: It is not permitted to either Nolans or Abellans to build on the land /b/ that lies immediately around the temple proper, inside the walls /c/.

§ 7: The treasure which is deposited on the inner lot /b/ (most likely inside the temple itself), may be opened only by common consent of the two parties, and having been opened must be divided equitably.

§ 8: Where the path /g/ leading to the opening in the walls /c/, the entrance into the sanctum /b/, coincides, upon the common land /f/, with the course of /d/, the boundary marker between the two townships, there the boundary shall lie in the middle of the path.

#### IV. COMMENT, EXPLICATION.

##### Part A—obverse.

*Lines 1-10* (§ 1): This paragraph is simple enough, apart from (for the present purpose irrelevant) difficulties concerning the names and the official titles of the participants.

*Line 11 and passim*: I translate consistently **sakaraklúm** as 'sanctuary' and **fiísnú** (*fanum*) as 'temple.' This distinction is essential since the provisions attaching to the sanctuary as a whole are different from those concerning the temple alone. I do think, however, that **fiísnú** includes not only the temple building itself but also the plot /b/ inside the walls /c/, forming something like a sacred precinct. (This usage agrees, incidentally, with the etymological meaning of *templum* as 'a section,' that is, a piece of land carved out and set aside for special, ritual purposes; cf. *τέμνω* 'I cut').

*Line 11*: I translate the (in any event supplied) word **úp** as 'amidst,' or here better 'athwart,' rather than as 'by, along.' Other occurrences of it, on the *Tabula Bantina* line 14 (*op toutad*) and line 23 (*op eizois*), while commonly rendered as 'apud populum' and 'apud eos,' can properly be translated as 'amidst (in the presence of) the people' and 'amidst (in the presence of) them.'

*Line 13:* For my translation of **úp eísúd sakaraklúd** as 'amidst (inside) the sanctuary' rather than 'by the sanctuary,' see the preceding note. I understand **úp**, then, as expressing a relation of inclusiveness, or local congruence, or insiderness, and not just nearness or vicinity. The Latin cognate is, of course, *ob* and not *apud*.

*Lines 11-23 (§ 2):* It is important to note here that the text provides, however awkwardly, that the extraterritorial or jointly owned common land around the temple, forming the **sakaraklúm** or sanctuary in its entirety, consist of two carefully separated portions: that between the external boundaries /e/ and the walls /c/, which corresponds to /f/ on the sketch, and that inside the walls, the temple lot or sacred precinct proper /b/. §§ 4 and 6 show that these two lots are destined for different, clearly circumscribed uses.

For none of the boundaries and pieces of land, however, do we have any indication of size, excepting possibly the width of the path /g/ in § 8. But this need not disturb us. The boundaries were surely marked somehow in situ, and since no professional lawyer, or even a good stylist, seems to have had a hand in drafting the ordinance, legal accuracy and unambiguity do not characterize this text.

Note also that the syntax of § 2 is not altogether clear: the relative clause **úp slaagid púd íst**, referring to **sakaraklúm**, is never concluded—except possibly (one may hope) at the end of line 16, where four to seven letters are missing. Filling this gap might also explain **amnúd**, at the beginning of line 17, by some translated as '*causa*' (preposition, 'owing to') but without being fitted into the context. The style of the inscription is a bit involved and lacking in elegance at various other places also.

*Line 24-?* (§ 3): This portion is destroyed. Since the number of missing lines is not certain, I prefer, like Vetter and unlike Buck, to resume with line 1 on the reverse side.

#### Part B—reverse.

*Line 7:* I read, with Vetter, **pussti<s>t** '*qui stant*,' and, also with Vetter, I translate **pert** as '*usque ad*' rather than '*trans*.' (See also **pernum** '*tenuis*' in line 3.) The walls, then, surround

the sacred precinct /b/ and extend on either side up to the path, where there is left an aperture permitting entrance. The path itself actually coincides with the line dividing the two townships. In other words, the boundary line /d/ traverses the entire sanctuary. (On the course and the nature of the boundary within the sanctuary see below.)

*Lines 1-11 (§ 4):* Note again the important distinction between land within and without the walls /c/.

*Line 19:* I translate **púst**, generally rendered as ‘*post*,’ as ‘beyond, inside.’ A location ‘beyond the walls,’ if one approaches the walls from the outside (as does this inscription, so to speak) is equivalent to ‘inside the walls.’

*Lines 18-22 (§ 5):* Now the repeatedly emphasized distinction between the plots /f/ and /b/ is finally implemented. On /f/, outside the walls of the sanctum /b/ and inside the outer boundaries /e/, both Nolans and Abellans may build, with permission of the respective senates; but on the lot /b/, which is more stringently protected against profanation owing to its vicinity to the temple itself, no one may build.

Unfortunately, no clue is given anywhere in the text as to what types of buildings are involved here, and what purposes they may have served. Since also the true dimensions of the areas and of the temple are nowhere stated, it is difficult if not impossible to guess even at the possible size of the structures. Nor has archaeological exploration concerned itself with discovering the site, and no remains of temple or buildings have been uncovered.

*Lines 22-28 (§ 6):* This section is simple enough, and editors largely agree on reading and translation.

*Line 28:* **anter slagím** is generally translated as ‘*inter confinium*’ or the like. It is difficult to picture just what ‘between the boundary’ could mean, or what it would represent at the site of the sanctuary. Buck translates the phrase as ‘between the boundaries of Nola and Abella.’ This is not helpful because, the territories of Nola and Abella being contiguous and the boundaries, at least along the stretch here involved, being continuous, nothing can lie between them. Moreover, by trans-

lating the singular **anter slagím** with the plural '*inter finis*,' one really alters the original without sufficient cause. And even though '*inter finis*' means 'between the boundaries,' that is, 'in the territory,' it can scarcely signify something like 'between the territories.' (See Buck's note on p. 229, comment on line 12.)

I therefore translate **anter** by 'within, along,' which gives sense to the passage, and is also linguistically defensible. True, **anter teremníss** (line 14 above) was properly rendered as 'between the boundaries' (cf. *inter finis*); and similarly on two of the so-called *eituns* inscriptions, the phrase **anter tiurrí íniver** (or **verú**) was correctly translated as '*inter turrim et portam*.'<sup>3</sup> Also on two other *eituns* inscriptions<sup>4</sup> **anter** can be translated as '*inter*' even though the noun following it is, grammatically, in the singular: **anter tiurrí X ín XI** 'between tower no. 10 and (tower) no. 11,' and **an[ter tr]íbu Ma. Kas-tríkíeis ín Mr. Spuriíeis L.** 'between the house of M. K. and (that) of M. S. son of L.' But it should be noted that in the last two examples **anter** goes, if not with an object in the grammatical plural, then at least with a plurality of objects according to meaning, whereas **slagím** on the *Cippus* is unmistakably a grammatical singular and a single item, namely, the boundary line separating the townships of Nola and Abella, with nothing to put 'in between.'

When we turn to the cognate Umbrian *ander-*, we find unfortunately no occurrence of it as a preposition. As part of a compound it is used several times in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* (VIa6, VIa7, Ib8, VIb41, IIa16). But it is significant that the translation and the understanding of all these passages are far from certain precisely because of the prefix *ander-* or **anter-**: editors operate with asterisked Latin compounds of *inter-* or simply leave lacunae with question marks. A reexamination of these words in Umbrian is also indicated.

*Line 30: uruvú*, a hapax legomenon in Oscan, is a crucial word in my interpretation. Buck glosses it as '*curua, flexa (?)*,' as do most others, unless, like Vetter, they do not translate it at all. My translation 'ploughed' relates the word to Latin *uruare* 'to plough' or 'to mark a boundary by means of a furrow,' and

<sup>3</sup> See Buck, nos. 14 and 15, pp. 242-3; Vetter, nos. 23 and 24, pp. 54-5.

<sup>4</sup> See Buck, nos. 16 and 17, p. 243; Vetter, nos. 26 and 25, pp. 55-6.

has to do with the well-known custom of defining the boundaries of towns through a ploughed furrow. See Festus 514, 22 (ed. Lindsay): *uruat: Ennius in Andromeda significat circumdat ab eo sulco qui fit in urbe condenda uruo aratri, quae fit forma simillima uncini curuatione buris et dentis, cui praefigitur uomer.* In addition to confirming the custom of marking boundaries by ploughing, Festus adds here a definition of *uruus* which connects this part of the plough with *buris* or *bura*, the curved part of the plough handles, described by Ernout-Meillet as '*mancheron de la charrue*,'<sup>5</sup> perhaps translatable as 'plough tail,' the piece below the handle gripped by the farmer. Since this piece is, as Festus says, curved, some translate **viú uruvú** as 'curved road' or the like. I prefer, instead, to take **uruvú** as a feminine verbal adjective related to *uruare* (**uruvú** 'ploughed' from \**uru-uos*, like Oscan *sipus* 'knowing' from \**sep-uos*, cf. Latin *sapere*; or like Oscan *facus* 'made' from \**fac-uos*, cf. Latin *facere*; or like Latin *mortuus* 'dead' from *m<sup>r</sup>t-uos*); but one could also conceive of it simply as a feminine noun meaning 'furrow.' That is to say, I emphasize in the etymology and translation of **uruvú** the fact that it has to do with the plough and ploughing, and in particular, like Latin *uruare*, the ploughing of a single furrow to define a land boundary, while I ignore the allusion by Festus, pursued by others, that it has to do with the notion of curve or, primarily or secondarily, with any specific curved part of the plough, be it the share, the beam, or the tail.<sup>6</sup>

And finally, all things considered, it is by no means impossible that **uruvú** means simply 'boundary,' and I have allowed for this, the simplest of all possibilities, in my translation. Certainly both etymology and context encourage this view.

<sup>5</sup> A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (3rd ed., Paris, 1951). In the 4th ed. (1959): "*dicitur pars aratri posterior decuruata*, Non. 80, 16."

<sup>6</sup> Derivatives of Latin *uruare* still exist in Sardinia, according to Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (3rd ed., Heidelberg, 1933), no. 9092: Campidanian *orbada*, North Sardinian *alvada*, both meaning 'plough-share.' Again one notes the emphasis on the more functional and more characteristic part of the plough, if not the whole plough, than on the handle bars. (It is strange that *alvada* is not listed in Max Leopold Wagner, *Dizionario etimologico sardo* [Heidelberg, 1957 ff.]; I cannot check on *orbada* because the work has not so far [November 1958] progressed beyond the third letter of the alphabet.)

*Lines 31-32*: I realize that **teremenniú** (and **teremniß**) had referred, on previous occurrences (Part A, lines 14 and 15), to the external boundaries /e/ of the sanctuary, whereas here the word denotes another boundary altogether, that between the townships, generally called **slagi-**. It would not really be odd to find several synonyms in use for the term boundary. (Also **liímitúm** occurs, Part B, line 3. And **uruvú**, too, as I just suggested, may be so classified.) Yet there may be another explanation which would allow, at least, for some synonyms to have specialized functions. And those linguists who hold that no two so-called synonyms are ever *wholly* synonymous may find themselves on familiar ground.

The particular piece of **slagi-** which is here termed **teremenniú** lies inside the sanctuary, on jointly owned ground, and most likely was not marked in the same way as the rest of /d/. Perhaps the etymology of **slagi-** can be used in determining the character of the line, and possibly Buck's suggestion (p. 75 § 114) concerning this difficult and intransparent word, comparing it with the Old Irish *slicht* 'track' or *slige* 'street,' has merit. If so, then **slagi-** contains, like French *route* 'road' from Latin *rupta* (*scil. uia*), the notion of digging or ploughing up the ground. But **teremenniú** is devoid of such a connotation and is therefore fittingly used for this special stretch of **slagi-** on neutralized ground.

But if **teremenniú** excludes the notion of ploughing, how can we combine this view with a text that says, in fact, that the **teremenniú** lie in the middle of a **viú uruvú**, a path that is ploughed, and ploughed, no doubt, for the very purpose of marking a boundary?

I should suggest that the word **uruvú** signifies specifically the mark left by a ploughshare. And since ancient ploughs, which merely stirred the earth but did not turn over a broad slice of soil, actually left but a narrow trace on the ground, a path could be so marked without becoming unusable. But **slagi-**, on the other hand, was a more powerfully marked boundary, a ditch—perhaps traditionally related to the mere symbolic track of the ploughshare circumscribing the territory of a town, but here deepened and strengthened, possibly because, as the present controversy shows, Nola and Abella had a history of boundary quarrels.

Whether the adjective **uruvú** could be applied to the track of the dividing line /d/ only so far as it coincided with the path, or to its entire course within the sanctuary between points A and B, or to the pieces on the territory /f/, it is impossible to say: the text gives no sure information.

There is even a possibility, as I indicated in my English translation, that the **viú uruvú** does not mean that the path is actually ploughed, but merely that it coincides with, or continues, the plough-marked boundary /d/. If it is true that the **slagi-** is considerably more than the traditional plough-trace, then it may seem odd that in this interpretation it is referred to merely as **uruvú**. But there is no need to worry about this because, as I said, the **slagi-** also has its origin in the traditional ploughed line, no matter how, for some reason, it is reinforced in the present instance.

My translation of the final section of the *Cippus Abellanus* establishes, then, the following situation. There was the traditional ploughed boundary line /d/, a deep furrow, or a ditch called **slagi-**, separating the townships of Nola and Abella from each other. The sanctuary of Hercules, circumscribed by the limits /e/, straddled it. We do not know whether the sanctuary was there first and the township boundary later run through it, or whether the sanctuary was so placed as to be bisected by the already existing boundary—but the result is, in any event, that the sanctuary came to be declared extraterritorial, or a joint possession of both towns, with responsibility and privilege equally divided. As a consequence, the boundary line /d/, to the extent that it lay within the limits /e/ of the sanctuary, was neutralized. What part of it, if any, was marked by a token scratch on the ground it is impossible to say, although the text seems to indicate that at least the piece coinciding with the path bore a plough-mark. (I have indicated this condition by drawing the portion of /d/ between points A and B as a dotted line on my sketch. I should not necessarily insist on the kind of symmetry my sketch shows, though it would not be unreasonable to presume such an arrangement, regardless of what existed first, the boundary or the sanctuary.) Nola and Abella, then, having surrendered proprietary claims, could not but forego the marking, within the sanctuary, of the township boundary by means of the **slagi-**, a ditch or furrow which was not only

unnecessary but would also have been defacing. There was, in any event, the path. If **uruvú**, once one has accepted it as meaning 'ploughed,' is understood literally, either for the extent of the path or throughout the sanctuary, then a line was actually drawn, however perfunctorily. But if **uruvú** means just 'boundary,' then the inscription says no more than that path and boundary coincided. Whatever one's preference on this detail (and I do not for the moment see how to convert preference into certainty), in essence my interpretation of the ordinance remains, I believe, acceptable.

ERNST PULGRAM.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.