

**ON ETRUSCO-AEGEAN QUESTIONS. I:
HERODOTUS' HISTORY AS A MAIN
SOURCE ON ETRUSCAN ORIGINS**

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It is the purpose of these notes to bring to a synthesis phases of proto-history in and around the Aegean and Tyrrhenian seas which current literature views as hardly related. Stress is placed in turn throughout this literature on Etruscan, Minoan, Mycenaean, Phoenician, Aegean, etc., problems as if each one problem were self-standing, which is rather plainly not the case. This affirmation is not intended to imply that the authors in this literature are uninformed of the comprehensive nature of the issues they face in one or the other corner of the map. No one interested in etruscology is today unaware of the fact, for example, that an "etruscoid" language was written and spoken in the island of Lemnos in the Northern Aegean Sea before the Athenian conquest some five centuries before the current era. The nature of the bond thus standing between the shores of Lemnos and the strands of the Arno has, however, remained thus far so obscure that authors specialized in etruscology implicitly assume that their conclusions concerning doings in Italian Tuscany will not suffer if they largely ignore what went on in an around Aegean Lemnos. However entered, this assumption is demonstrably unfortunate on account of its making light of a bond of first, not last, importance.

My interest in Etrusco-Aegean questions is of course not professional. I am known in science, perhaps, as author of works on biogeography and botany, not an historian or the like. Because of this, I am not supposed—in the light of the standards now current—to know anything at all of the subjects with which I am presently to deal. Of course, I cannot have open quarrel with standards of the kind, but I may observe that a study of the biogeography of, e. g., Hominidae inevitably leads to considerations on the prehistory, proto-history, finally history of *Homo sapiens*. One may “specialize” in the biogeography of Hominidae and the “prehistory” of *Homo sapiens* as entirely distinct aspects of knowledge only at the price of ignoring the rudiment that time and space are basic considerations for either and both. To be explicit: Biogeographic and historic method, respectively, have a great deal in common, whether the student of dispersal and history, protohistory, prehistory, etc., is individually aware of it or not hardly matters. It is not what man is pleased to believe but intrinsic fittingness which determines the level that knowledge—any form of knowledge, in fact—may ultimately attain.

The Mediterranean region offers unique interest from the standpoint of biogeography because three different worlds come into contact within its ranges, there also determining a fourth. The three worlds that there meet are—an easy guess indeed—Asia, Africa and the Americas, and their confluence determines a fourth world, Europe, which even when self-standing in appearance yet never fails to exhibit links connecting it abroad. In history and related sciences, the panorama is not quite as vast, for America is out of the picture. However, Africa, Asia and Europe do intimately team around the Mediterranean shores, and then from the ages when man first rose to better than simian status. It is sure that *Equus caballus* and *Culsu* are in Mediterranean range not exactly the same stuff, but no one may understand the former better than the latter, and the other way around, who does not know that time and space are of the essence of the “transmigrations” of both.

When canvassing the doings of man in Mediterranean range as a byproduct of my interest in the distribution of

plants and animals, I felt challenged by the origins and migrations of a “nation” usually identified as “Pelagian”. The subject was manifestly “mysterious”, and of vast scope and significance. I hardly need say that, intending to get at least a few bearings on a subject of the kind, I turned first of all to the pages of the Greek historian Herodotus who, as I happened to recall from a much earlier day, had written about “Pelagians”. I would never think of giving to the press these notes had I not speedily learned that Herodotus is today rather less well understood than advisable by reason of the inherent quality of his reports on “Pelagians” and much else. This being the case, I will in the first part of these notes analyse the Herodotan understanding of “Pelagians” as a preliminary toward more general conclusions. It is my distinct feeling that, whatever he may eventually conclude, a student of Etrusco-Aegean questions had better *exactly* know what Herodotus did say right at the start.

John Linton Myres—trustworthy authority by common consent among students of classical Greek language and history—wrote in a signed article: *Pelagians*, contributed to The Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition, (Handy Volume), Vol. XXI, p. 65. 1911,⁽¹⁾ as follows: “Herodotus... describes actual Pelagians surviving and mutually intelligible (a) at Placie and Scylace on the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, and (b) near Creston on the Strymon; in the latter area they have “Tyrrhenian” “neighbours”. A recent edition of Herodotus issued in Italy (*Bassi, D.*; *Erodoto, Il Primo Libro delle Storie*, fn. to p. 61-62. 1956), though admitting that “Creston” might be a misspelling of “Croton” (not, however, Croton in Southern Italy), places Creston: “Nella penisola Calcidica sul golfo Termaico”, which wholly agrees with Myres’ understanding. Tyrrhenian is understood by Bassi probably to mean “dwel-

(1) It should be idle to praise this monumental work which had among its acknowledged contributors Myres, Sayce, Hogarth, etc. Proper bibliography is given in its pages even for unsigned entries covering mythology, historical events, etc. Implicit reference to it will be had throughout these notes unless alterations are advised by better knowledge following 1911.

ling in towers" which, as we are to learn, is suggestive whether fully correct or less than so.

Pallottino, who at this date is virtually the final authority in everything of etruscology, understands the matter otherwise. In a work widely circulated in different languages ⁽¹⁾, pp. 53-54, he shows himself together with the rest of modern critics as "either definitely skeptical or extremely cautious" concerning Greek tradition. He sees as "equally baseless historically for the most part the whole series of traditions concerning the Pelasgians"; and he submits that Hellanicus' identification of the Etruscans with the Pelasgians is: "Largely a learned hypothesis based on toponymic similarities and due to the mania (sic) for looking everywhere in the world around Greece for traces of the Pelasgians". Indeed, Pallottino holds Hellanicus to be proved wrong; "By the fact that other writers did speak of a Pelasgian occupation of Etruria, but earlier than, or, in any case distinct from that of the Tyrrhenians, and that geographers vaguely refer to a land of the Pelasgians somewhere in Italy close to the land of the Etruscans". Making pointed reference to two lesser works of his own, 1940 and 1948-1949, he concludes admitting: "The possibility that ancient tradition, recorded by Herodotus himself (1,57), as to the presence in Italy (at Cortona?) and in the Aegean (Hellas) of Pelasgians speaking the same tongue, can... be based upon observed affinities between the pre-Hellenic ethnic substrata of the two areas in question". In a chapter following of his *opus magnum* (p. 75), Pallottino states, however, that: "We cannot overlook the unanimous testimonies given by historical tradition: they all speak of a far-reaching domination of the sea on the part of the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans", citing here in support the author of the "Homeric" hymn to Dionysus, for whom the god was ravished by Tyrrhenian pirates whom Dionysus eventually turned into dolphins. He thus continues: "Under the name of Pelasgians, they were also held responsible for the stealing of Hera's statue on the

(1) I have before me, and will constantly refer to, the 1956 reimpression in English ("Pelican Brooks") of Pallottino, M.: *The Etruscans*.

isle of Samos (Athenaeus, XV, 12), for the rape of Brauron's wives in Attica and the conquest and sack of Athens (Plutarch, *de mul. virt.*, 8; *Aetia gr.*, 21; Eustathius, *Comm. Dion.*, 591; Philochorus, 5)". To complete, at least in part, the record I should mention (this time on my own) that the Brauron affair is twice spoken of by Herodotus (4,145; 6,138) who credits it to Lemnian Pelasgians; and that Pausanias (ii,21,3) claims that the temple of Athena Salpinx (Athena the Trumpeteer) ⁽¹⁾ in Argos was erected by a Pelasgian Tyrrhene.

In consideration of the evidence here but summarily outlined pointing to a sharp difference of opinion concerning *Herodotus: 1,57*, wherein Creston is mentioned, Myers and Bassi placing Creston in Thrace, Pallottino in Italy, possibly Cortona; in view of the manifestly unsettled position of Pallottino in regard of the credibility of Greek tradition insofar

(1) Tradition credits to Tyrrhenians the invention of the trumpet, and both Etruscans and Phrygians were accomplished musicians. Von Vacano, O. W. (*Die Etrusker*, p. 92, 1955) cites Silius (Italicus, in *Punica*) VII, 483; VIII, 488; for the statement that the use of the trumpet in war spread through Italy from Populonia. The fact that the Romans bodily took from the Etruscans the word: *subulo* is quite as meaningful as that it was Marsyas, a Phrygian god or silene, who felt equal to the task of challenging Apollo—as the myth claimed—to a musical contest. Judge of the trial was still another Phrygian, Midas, the king, who having pronounced Marsyas the winner (according to one version of the myth, at least) was rewarded for his pains by Apollo with his ears becoming asinine. Fact, plausible tradition, outright myth whatever the version, do rhyme to the same, that is, they uniformly credit "Pelasgians", whether Tyrrhenians of Italy (i.e., Etruscans) or the Aegean (Phrygians, etc.), with notable skill in musical matters. This is one more of the links between the two peoples.

as Pelasgians and Tyrrhenes (1); in reference to the obvious importance of establishing so far as possible a coherent understanding of Pelasgians, Tyrrhenes, Lemnians both toward Etruscan and Aegean protohistorical and historical problems; it seems to me to be eminently desirable to discuss in these notes first of all whatever Herodotus states of Tyrrhenes, Pelasgians, and Lemnians. The choice of Herodotus as key-author is of course in no question: Herodotus is the first genuine historian on whom we can rely, and it is from him, as we shall see, that we are informed that the island of Lemnos was conquered by the Athenians under Miltiades. That even shortly before the Athenian conquest the inhabitants of Lemnos did speak an etruscoid language is by now established beyond peradventure of doubt. About 75 years ago a stele was discovered in Lemnos (see for a figure, Bloch, R.: Les Etrusques, p. 18, Fig. 2. 1956) of which Pallottino himself writes (op. cit., p. 59): "In spite of objections to the contrary... a close relationship unites Etruscan with the dialect spoken at Lemnos before the Athenian conquest of the island at the hand of Miltiades in the second half of the sixth century B.C." The importance of this monument bears here underlining, for it means that what Herodotus imparts concerning Lemnians, Pelasgians, and Tyrrhenians is quite possibly as material as the document itself. The one integrates and explains the other.

(1) Pallottino opens his "The Etruscans" with the following sentence: "When dealing with the legends of antiquity on the foundation of Rome, Theodore Mommsen, the father of historical philology, wrote, 'History must first make a clean sweep of these fables which, though purporting to be history, are nothing more than somewhat simple improvisations'". As the reader is soon to learn, Aeneas may be a wholly legendary figure; and the whole of the Aeneid of Vergil a tissue of loose fabrications yet it is quite possible, as a hard historical fact, that when reaching Sicily right around 1200 B. C. a farer from Pelasgian Troad would find there another Pelasgian ready to receive him. No one who knows how to crack a nut open will throw it away before having cracked it open. The "simple improvisations" which Mommsen did advise to sweep off are like nuts. Some may be fallow, but most are certainly not. Of course: They must be cracked open before being eaten.

The review to be conducted in these notes of the texts which in Herodotus' history bear upon Tyrrhenians, Pelasgians, and Lemnians will be all the clearer to a reader not intimately informed of the question if a brief informative statement is offered here in connection with, to quote Pallottino, "The Problem of Etruscan Origins".

These origins stand as subject to three different theories, as follows: i) *Autochthony* —According to this theory, the Etruscans evolved their *ethnos* on Italian soil from a starting point not to be sought outside of Italy in origin; ii) *Northern Provenance* —Ancient Etruscans did immigrate into Italy from the north, whether Central or Eastern Europe; iii) *Oriental Provenance* —The Etruscans came to Italy from the east, most likely from Lydia. Of these three viewpoints the second is today largely discredited. Concerning the first and last, a state of affair has arisen which Bloch (op. cit., p. 13) aptly summarizes, in my understanding. The French etruscologist remarks that Pallottino and Altheim agree in works recently published (1947 and 1950), that the problem of Etruscan origins has been misstated. In their opinion, the core of the issue is not to be sought in the *origin* but in the *development* of the Etruscan *ethnos*, which is evidently much mixed. Bloch writes as follows: "L'étude de cette formation semble exclure, pour M. Pallottino, l'idée traditionnelle d'une migration orientale, tandis que M. Altheim, qui admet l'existence d'éléments orientaux, croit cependant à l'italianité de l'ensemble du peuple. La fait etrusque est un fait italique, le peuple etrusque s'est formé en Italie, il y a vécu, il y a déroulé son destin, c'est donc là qu'il convient de suivre son histoire sans faire appel à des récits légendaires, qui demeurent incontrôlables et s'avèrent inutiles". Summing up, Bloch affirms his own position thus: "Convient-il pour autant, de conclure comme on nous le propose, à l'irréalité du récit traditionnel d'Herodote? Nous ne le croyons pas, et dans cet aspect négatif la thèse que l'on nous présente devient peu acceptable". In words of the plainest: Bloch believes, in this with Pallottino and Altheim, that the Etruscan problem is one of development *in Italy* but, in this against Pallottino and Altheim, he holds that the Italian development of the Etruscan *ethnos* cannot be properly under-

stood without making reference to Etruscan origins *outside of Italy*, that is, implicitly in the Near East.

As seen by a biogeographer — and I have stated already that in point of method biogeography and history do not bear being separated— Bloch's position is the correct one *in principle*. Development follows origins, and is after all largely determined by origins. My understanding of proper methodology is also in the present case not theoretical at all. *The plain fact is that a common bond of language does bind Etruscans and Lemnians, the shores of the Tyrrhenian and of the Aegean seas, and this plain fact cannot be bypassed in the name of devotion to "development" and its study. This fact is primordial in the sense of origins, and quite independent from whatever the Etruscans happened to "develop" in Italy. Either we can properly place it in regard alike of Etruria and Lemnos, or we may as well admit that the problem is to yield no more sense in the former than in the latter, whether by origins or by development.*

I do wiew of course what I have just stated as common-sense, but it will surely be objected that by endorsing Bloch's position, *even only in principle!*, I but discredit myself in the opinion of a majority of living etruscologists who, in the wake of Pallottino and Altheim, insist today against Bloch on Italian *development* against Aegean *origins*. In plain words, it will be expected that I am openly to rally to "Oriental theory" at the end at least of these notes; and since I am not a specialist in etruscology, it will be suspected meantime that I am not informed of the obvious flimsiness of the tradition of Etruscan origins from Lydia broadcast by Herodotus. Is it not so that Mommsen did strongly condemn those who believe in trash of the kind; and is it not so that Pallottino, sometimes when not always, is of the same mind as Mommsen?

To set at rest without delay the qualms of the reader, I will right here state that I do as a matter of fact believe in no theory, which will be amply clear in the progress of these notes. Moreover I am, of course, alive to the obvious fact that the tradition, or legend, reported by Herodotus concerning the Lydian origins of the Etruscans is —*as such*— right incredible. So goes the tale which certain Lydians told Herodotus,

and he reports (1,94): Dice, knucklebones, ball and "every other plaything, saving draughts" were invented by the Lydians, according to claim, at the same time when they sent a colony to "Tyrrhenia". Belaboured by a mighty famine which lasted eighteen years, the Lydians tried at first to beguile their hunger by eating and playing in alternate days. In the end, however, the situation became so bad that king Atys, son of Manes, decided that all his Lydian subjects should be divided into two lots, one to remain in the land, the other to emigrate. The king's son, Tyrrhenus, took command of the half to emigrate, led it to Smyrna to embark, and after having passed many nations he guided it to the land of the Italian "Ombriici" and to a new home. There they changed their name, ceased to be Lydians, and from their leader's name eponymously called themselves Tyrrhenians.

That, not unlike many other of the same ilk, this tale is largely mythical needs not be said. It is evident, for example, that Herodotus did not hear it from one of his contemporaries, the Lydian historian Xanthus, who has Torrhebus in the place of Tyrrhenus or Tyrsenus, and makes him the eponymous hero of a Lydian district. (1) Moreover, Greek legend also has it that the invention of dice, backgammon, discus-throwing, weights and measures, lighthouses, finally the alphabet is to be credited to Palamedes, son of Nauplius, king of Euboea. As inventor of the alphabet, Palamedes does indeed enter into competition with Cadmus and Cecrops. If there is anything true at all in Herodotus' account this is that certain emi-

(1) I see no reason to take issue with those who deny that Tyrrhenians (or Tyrrhenes) took their name from the city of Tyrrha deeming this derivation unproved, etc. Personal and toponymical names in T-r, T-r-q and the like do teem in the southeastern Aegean sector, witness Lycian deities as Tr-zzube, Tr-qquiz, Tr-qqa; a nation like Tr-mile (Herodotus Termilae; see 1,173; VII, 92); a king like Tarquimuwa ruling between Lycia and Cilicia (see Contenau, G., *La Civilisation des Hittites*, p. 27, map p. 189. 1948); etc. It is of course not only the designation Tyrrhenians but also the name of cities (Tarquinia) and persons (Tarquinius) which stand in question, and uniformly go back for their origins to the same corner of the map. Arguments about Tyrrha alone are rather too little.

grants, who were not Greek, left the Aegean region to go to Italy in ancient times, that is, long before 1000 B.C., so centuries before Greeks of the classical age settled in Sicily and Southern Italy. To this extent, the legend picked up by Herodotus cannot be false, because (see Pallottino, op. cit., p. 77) when those Greek reached Italy they found, mostly to their own sorrow, that they had preceded in those waters by bold navigators and pirates of a kind which closely reminded them of the Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians of the Aegean ranges. Moreover, certain of the details which go with the Herodotan legend are after all correct. It is true, as Herodotus says, that coinage is basically a Lydian invention; it is true that "Lydian" maiden did indulge in peculiar pre-nuptial customs possibly in view of securing a dowry which, being also not unknown in Etruria, scandalized their more conservative neighbours (see, e. g., Plautus, *Cistellaria*, ii.3.563; see further Strabo, xi. 14); (1) it is true that "Lydian" migrations to Italy were

(1) Pallottino (op. cit., p. 216) believes that the statements of Plautus, Strabo, Athenaeus, etc., charging unmarried Etruscan womanhood with licentiousness are libelous, and largely based upon the fact reported, e. g., by Aristotle that the Etruscans took their food in the company of their women lying under the same mantle. I wonder. Herodotus minces no words, to begin with; licentiousness was essential part of many rites in which Pelasgians took large part as diffusers and celebrants; the original Roman ideal of proper feminine behaviour did not quite agree with the Etruscan one, whatever the aspect; piracy with concomitant rape looms large in the "Tyrrhenian-Pelasgian" background; the Samians were lenient on matters of intercourse before marriage excusing it with the example set by Zeus and Hera (Schol. on Iliad XVI. 26); downright grossly obscene were rites which Pelasgians taught to "Greeks" (see, e.g. Herodotus II, 47 ff.); etc. Under the circumstance, it rather not strange that the Etruscans of Italy would be no more straightlaced than their "Pelasgo-Carian" kinsmen of, e.g., Lemnos. Characteristically for the Etruscan background: Pallottino sees (op. cit., p. 201): "A notable persistence of formal patterns, techniques, and tradition belonging to the earlier Mediterranean and orientalizing phase; direct and very close relations with the artistic experiences of the eastern Greek world, i. e., of the coastal and inland centres of Aeolis and Ionia in western Asia Minor; these relations were close enough for many decades (from the middle of the sixth to

not in the nature of occasional raids, witness the perpetuation on Italian soil of a language otherwise bound with the Aegean region, and of a religion which was in very essential by far too richly developed and involved to represent but casual syncretism of "Italiote" myths and cults. To this very extent—and much could be added which I expect to bring to book when times comes—Bloch is not without justification in his stressing the account of Herodotus as not easily to be dismissed wholesale. Indeed, believers, in the "autochthony" of the Etruscans have a rather hard row to hoe—quotations do not seem necessary—when reckoning with the massive evidence which demonstrates that, wrong in every detail perhaps, Herodotus is right in the ultimate fundamental of the Etruscans being of "Aegean" origin. It seems unfortunate that an author who like Bloch is master of certain aspects of the problem should finally postulate (op. cit., p. 25) the arrival in Italy: "Vers le début du VII siècle, d' un noyau de navigateurs asiatiques" in order thus to account for the Etruscans in the peninsula. A critical reader of the literature finds it without difficulty to be repleted with a mixture of obvious error and truth, which is the reason why in the end the literature is confuse and confusing. We have facts aplenty, but do we know enough to synthesize them to a fuller purpose? I wonder, and of course I do subscribe to no theory.

the beginning of the fifth century) for the figurative arts of Etruria to follow much the same patterns as those of the eastern Greek world, so as to create what in fact has come to be known as Ionic-Etruscan art". I am rather sure that when faring to Aeolis, Ionia, etc., in quest of "artistic experiences" the Etruscan navigators and traders of the sixth century did not go there to seek out what could be "Greek" and "Ionian" (they could find it quite as easily in Corinth, Aegina, Athens, etc., for a shorter voyage). They went back to their old "Pelasgian" cradle well knowing what they liked and they were doing. "Ionic-Etruscan" is the art of which Pallottino speaks to the very extent that what in it is "Ionian" is shot through and through with "Pelasgian". The bee best knows its hive, and what Pallottino here reports is doubtless evidence of the strongest for the Etruscans repeating their origin precisely from the islands and shores of the Aegean. See the main text in continuation.

Enough has been brought with this to the attention of the reader, whether a professed etruscologist or not, to authorize the conclusion that time is not to be wasted if we agree candidly and fully once more to review what Herodotus imparts concerning Tyrrhenians, Pelasgians, and Lemnians. For the purpose I will refer to and quote from Herodotus' translation into English by Powell, J. E., released in 1949 by the presses of Oxford, giving the customary reference by chapters and sections, and after it the indication of volume and page. ⁽¹⁾

To Tyrrhenians outside of the Aegean sector Herodotus gives but a few statements which, though interesting, are not immediately material to these notes. Of the two key-references in this sector, one I have mentioned already when summarizing the purported doings of the Lydian Atys and his son. The other I will presently quote in full. Lemnos and the Lemnians are mentioned by him several times, particularly in regard of the Persian Wars are as such not of our concern, and I do not expect to consider. The customary indices to Herodotus' history (see, e. g., those by Powell) cannot of course be relied upon in critical work because—in sense, legitimately—they list under one and the very same name a “nation” at very different moments in its history. To illustrate: Powell indexes for Lemnos (including Lemnians; op. cit., 2: p. 750) six entries. Of them a quite notable one (VIII, 73/2: p. 597) refers to Lemnians in the Peloponnese assimilated to Paroreatae. By this reference—which has capital importance

(1) Rather curiously, Powell locates in one of his maps Creston in Italy, referring to this same city in the index (op. cit., 2:737) thus: “Creston...? Cortona, city in Umbria”. In this, he shares the understanding of Pallottino, but why so—in view of his own translation, next to be quoted—I would not know.

for the whole of Greek history and language, ⁽¹⁾ and as such will be found discussed in the progress of these notes—the six references by Powell come to refer to there very distinct subjects, that is: i) Proto-historical *Lemnians* of Lemnos, immediately involving also the Lemnian Minyae; ii) Historical *Lemnians* of Lemnos, whether still Pelasgian or already “ionized” following the Athenian conquest; iii) *Lemnians* of the Peloponnese, i. e., Paroreatae and, likely, Caucones. The risk of trusting an index, and going hopelessly wrong next thereafter is thus clear; and that the index of Herodotus has indeed been trusted in the worst possible sense is obvious to him who critically investigates the claim, widely held throughout the literature, that the “Phoenician” Cadmus invented, or at least brought to Greece the “alphabet”, understanding as such the alphabet, ancestral to ours, which is commonly called “phoenician”.

The issue with proper Herodotan exegesis here implicitly raised is so fundamental in regard of the whole of these notes (see also the misinterpretation made of Creston as Cortona, p. 40) that immediately opening a parenthesis in reference to the “Phoenicia” which sired Cadmus seems to be quite necessary. In a most-revealing passage (II, 42 ff. 1: p. 130), Herodotus states that intending to set his mind at rest about what Egyptians and Greeks, respectively understood as the god Hercules, he undertook to voyage to Tyre in Phoenicia there to question the priests of a famed temple to that god. These priests told him, among other, that: “The temple of the god was establi-

(1) The passage in question is often found grossly misinterpreted to mean, for example, that the Achaeans were autochthonous of the Peloponnese. How this interpretation might be thought of as possible in view of another of the passages of Herodotus (1, 145; 1: p. 75) explicitly affirming that, in order to possess themselves of the district of the Northern Peloponnese classically known as Achaea, the invading Achaeans had to expel the Ionians ab antiquo on the spot is wholly beyond me. Whatever the case, well known scholars have affirmed it with pointed reference to Herodotus, VIII, 73, only next to present a thoroughly garbled account of Achaeans, Ionians, etc.

shed at the founding of Tyre and the years that they (the Phoenicians) have dwelt in Tyre are two thousand and three hundred". The date thus given, 2750 B. C., has been proved by archaeological data (Contenau, G.: *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, p. 34, 1949) to be correct. Elsewhere, Herodotus gives (II, 145/1: p. 178) chronological references for Cadmus and the War of Troy (1) which assign to Cadmus a date about 1500 B. C., and to the War of Troy about 1250 B. C. The latter date is quite satisfactory (see, e. g., Blegen, C. W. *et al.*: *Troy*. Vol. iv. 1958; Mylonas, G.E.: *Archaeology* 13(1): 84, 1960), and it is likely that the former may also be accepted as valid. The discovery and development of syllabic and alphabetic writing is still clouded, but anticipating on notes to come I might not unreasonably state that the Cypro-Minoan script (a forerunner of Linear B, so called; see Chadwick, J.: *The Decipherment of Linear B*, p. 20, 1958) was in use around 1500 B. C., and that semitic alphabets eventually leading to one now in use had their active start between 1600 and 1250 B. C. along a line: Sinai—Lakish—Byblos (Ahiram). The Phoenician thalassocracy did not develop until after the ruin of the Aegean one, that is, later than 1100—1000 B. C., becoming preponderant only after the latter date, which explains why, to the exception of Cyprus which clung to its own particular script, alphabets of semitic origin did not become current in the Aegean before 800 B. C. There is good reason to believe that Herodotus was well informed of the alphabet which himself used (see, e. g., mention of *san* and *sigma* (1, 138/1: p. 72)) and I still employ with little modification to jot down these notes. It must accordingly be possible that when mentioning (v, 59/2: p. 378) "Cadmean letters" which he had seen chased upon "cauldrons" in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes in Boeotia, and saying that those letters most resembled "Ionian" letters, Herodotus could, and did not refer to anything like the alphabets more or less directly imported from Phoenicia into Greece and its islands after 1000 B. C. What those

(1) Powell prints the passage in question in italics as if interpolated. If so, the interpolator was rather well informed, no less so than Herodotus.

"cauldrons" and those "letters" could be is readily evident from the specimens displayed, and rather too facily "deciphered", by Hrozny (*Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure de l'Inde et de la Crète*, pp. 290, 291, 296, figs. 61, 62, 69, 1947). With scripts of the sort (more than one is implied by what Hrozny shows (1) we are surely not far from the "Minyan" signs recently reported from Lerna near Mycenae, and found by Caskey (*Archaeology* 13(2): 133, 1960) to exhibit a dozen characters identical with those of "Linear A". In plain words, we face in all this a three-cornered play among Cyprus, Crete and Thebes *via* Mycenae in which signs appear of Linear A, Linear B, and surely also of one of the other "Cypriote" syllabic script. Cadmus—whose name, in spite of an alleged Tyrian origin is certainly not semitic—could on no ground whatever have introduced into Greece an alphabet to compare with the one become current only after 1000 B. C. "Phoenician", then, Cadmus was certainly not to a degree to compare with, e. g., Merbalus (Marbaal) of Aradus (Herodotus, VII, 97/2: p. 507), one of the authentically Phoenician captains of Xerxes great fleet fated to perish at Salamis. Phoenicia did not become a maritime power, to repeat, until the "Mycenean" thalassocracy was itself destroyed; and so inadequate once was her marine that when Tethmosis II wished to bring lumber from the Lebanon into Egypt sometimes around 1450 B. C. he had to contract the services oversea of "Cretan" ships. At the other hand, we find that relationship is established between Cyprus and the coast much later to become Phoenicia in the political sense before 2000 B. C. (Contenau; *op. cit.*, p. 35); and that an "Aegean" colony including Cypriotes was important at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) simultaneously with the settlement of the town by Hurrites around 1750 B. C. (*op. cit.*, p. 55). Concluding, what Herodotus calls "Phoenicians" in reference to times and events anterior to 1000 B. C. is a motley lot of traders, navigators, pirates, conquerors, etc., representing a mixture of everything and anything of mankind swarming within a

(1) According to Webster, T.B.L. (From Mycenae to Homer, p. 133, 1959), the dedications seen by Herodotus were forged. Quite likely they were, but it remains to be seen what "letters" did Cadmus bring to Greece, and what "alphabet" did Palamedes invent, if anything.

triangle: Lycia — Cilicia — Southern Syria including of course Cyprus. The nations and peoples of this triangle were allied in every sense with the Cretans, and active with them all along the sector of land and sea comprised between Crete and Thasos. This state of affairs ruled until Cretan power came to its demise sometimes around 1600 B. C. (see Immerwahr, *Archaeology* 13(1): 6. 1960) to be replaced by a Mycenaean maritime empire which waxed strong after the final burning of Knossos in 1400 B. C. Cadmus was accordingly not a Phoenician in the historical meaning of the term, nor did ever bring to the Thebes an alphabet of semitic origin. What he did bring to Boeotia, if anything, was a syllabary of "Cypriote" type, and it becomes quite understandable that other semi-mythical figures like Cecrops and Palamedes, are said to have invented "writing". They "invented" it, most likely, in the sense that all they began to keep graphic accounts in a style heretofore unknown to the dwellers of the region among Attica, Euboea, and Boeotia.

I will return later on the subject here briefly outlined, but to close this parenthesis in the spirit in which it was opened I will right here conclude as follows: i) No one may at all hope to understand Herodotus who proves unable or unwilling to reconstruct the world in which he lived, and of which he heard. Herodotus is a source of utmost importance for the whole of "Hellenic" *protohistory* and history, and whatever he states is —at bottom, when not on the surface in every case— worthy of trust. As an historian, he is left behind, doubtless, by Thucydides whose masterful introduction to the events of the Peloponnesian War is, to say the least, impressive even today, but as a chronicler he hardly finds his match anywhere; ii) Those who refer to Herodotus as authority for the "alphabet" having been introduced from "Phoenicia" to "Greece" at the hand of Cadmus mistake the shell for the nut, and it is likely that they have not read Herodotus' history beyond the index; iii) When critically interpreted, Herodotus' history dovetails almost to perfection with the latest data from archaeology. So generally does the Greek tradition when interpreted likewise. Quotations do not seem desirable only to prove that authors who discredit this history and tradition at some page in their

work flatly contradict themselves on the score of its significance and value at some other page in the same work.

Herodotan references material to the Etrusco-Pelasgian-Lemnian question are given here only in essentials leaving it to the reader to know them in the original if he should so desire. No comments are offered on each reference because they will be discussed apart and together at the end. The references in question stand as follows:

i) (I, 56-58/1: p. 25) —"And enquiring (Croesus) found that the Lacedaemonians were the most eminent of the Dorian race, and the Athenians of the Ionian. For these were the principal races, whereof the one was in old time Pelasgian, and the other Greek; and the one hath never departed from its home but the other hath wandered exceeding far... But what tongue Pelasgians spake I am not able to say with certainty howbeit, if one may infer from those that still remain of the Pelasgians who established the city of Creston above the Tyrrhenians (who once were neighbours to the people now called Dorians, at the time when they inhabited the land which now is called Thessalotis,) and also of the Pelasgians who established Splacia and Scylace in the Hellespont (having been fellow countrymen of the Athenians and of all the other cities that were Pelasgians and have changed their name) —if, I say, one may infer from these, the Pelasgians were speakers of a barbarian tongue. Therefore, if all the Pelasgians were like these, then the Athenians, who are a Pelasgian race, learned a new tongue at the time that they changed into Greeks... The Greek people, as it seemeth to me, hath used the same tongue always, since ever it began... and from a small beginning it hath waxen into a great multitude, because many barbarian nations were added thereunto, and among them, as I think, the Pelasgians".

ii) (I, 146/1: p. 75) —(Herodotan statement resumed): The Ionians are a mixture of different nations: Abantes from Euboea "who have no part even the name of Ionians", Minyae from Orchomenus mixed with Abantes, Cadmeans, Dryopes, Phocians, "Arcadians" who are Pelasgian, "Epidaurians" who are "Dorians", and many other kinds.

iii) (II, 47 ff./1: p. 133) —(statements in part resumed): The name of almost all gods came to Greece from Egypt. The cult of Dionysus did not originate independently in Egypt and Greece but was introduced to the latter from the former; Melampus learned it from Cadmus and those who came with him from "Phoenicia" to the country now called Boeotia. The Greek gods whose names are not known to the Egyptians were originally introduced by the Pelasgians to the exception of Poseidon which is Libyan in origin. Hermes is of Egyptian origin, but one of its phallic variants is Pelasgic in inception, for the Pelasgians taught the Athenians how to make it, and the Athenians next instructed the rest of the Greeks. "The Pelasgians became neighbours of the Athenians in their land, when they were already coming to be numbered among the Greeks; wherefore they themselves also began to be deemed Greeks. And that man knoweth what I mean unto whom the rites of the Cabiri have been revealed, which the Samothracians perform, having received them from the the Pelasgians; for these Pelasgians who had been neighbours of the Athenians dwelt formerly in Samothrace. And formerly the Pelasgians in all their sacrifices prayed unto The Gods; (this I know because I (Herodotus) heard it in Dodona); but they gave none of them any name or surname; for they had not yet heard thereof... But when a long time afterwards they learned from Egypt the names of all gods except Dionysus, whose name they learned much later, they consulted the oracle at Dodona... asking if they should receive the names which came from the barbarians, the oracle answered that they should use them. And so from that time forward, when they sacrificed, they used the names of the gods. And the Greeks received them afterwards from the Pelasgians. But how each of the gods was born or whether they had all been from everlasting, and what manner of form they have, they knew not, in a manner of speaking, until yesterday or the day before. For I deem that Hesiod and Homer were four hundreds years earlier than me, and no more; and these are they that made for the Greeks a genealogy of the gods, and gave them their surnames, and divided the offices and arts among them, and described their forms... Now the former things are said by the priestess at Dodona, but the latter (concerning Homer and

Hesiod) by me". Thesprotia which is now part of Greece was formerly Pelasgia. In Greek, Isis is Demeter.

iv) (II, 171/1: p. 190) "And concerning the rite of Demeter, which the Greeks call thesmophoria, I will also hold my tongue, save for so much as may with reverence be said thereof. It was the daughters of Danaüs that brought the rite out of Egypt and taught the Pelasgian women; but afterwards, when all the inhabitants of the Peloponnese were driven out by the Dorians, the rite was utterly lost; and the Arcadians, who remained in the Peloponnese and were not driven out, alone preserved it".

v) (IV, 145/1: p. 328) "The grandchildren of the mariners of Argo were driven out of Lemnos by the Pelasgians who ravished the Athenian women from Brauron".

vi) (V, 26/2: p. 363) "To be ruler of the sea coast... he (Darius) appointed Otanes... Having obtained ships from the Lesbians, he (Otanes) took Lemnos and Imbros, which at that time were both still inhabited by Pelasgians. Now the Lemnians and Imbrians fought well; but for all their resisting they were brought low at last".

vii) (VI, 136-140/2: p. 465) —(statements in part resumed). Long before 470 B. C. (date of the Athenian conquest of the Hellepontian towns), the Athenians allowed Pelasgians to dwell in the land below the Hymettus as a reward for the latter having built the wall around the Acropolis (the so called "Pelasgian Wall" or "Pelasgicum)". Whatever the reason, the Athenians eventually decided to get rid of the Pelasgians and caused them to depart. They went to Lemnos and other places, but being familiar with Athenian ways, those who had settled in the former islands armed regular warships, and descended upon the coasts of Attica seizing Athenian women attending the festival of Artemis in the village of Brauron. These women begot children to the Lemnians, who were instructed by their mothers in "Attic" tongue and "Athenian" ways. This led to brawls with the children of pure Pelasgian stock, and wishing to do away with it the Pelasgians massacred both their Athenian women and their offsprings. This atrocious deed became proverbial, and its perpetrators were

punished by the gods with barrenness in humans and animals. Having consulted the oracle, the Pelasgians were told to make atonement to the Athenians according to whatever penalty the latter might exact. The Athenians demanded that Lemnos itself be surrendered in the best of conditions, but the Pelasgians mockingly replied that they would comply only then, when a ship from Athens would reach Lemnos the same day of sailing in the teeth of a north wind. The conditions could not be met because of obvious geographic reasons, Lemnos lying to the northeast of Athens, but "exceeding many years after when the Chersonesus in the Hellespont had fallen to the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon reached Lemnos on the same day in a ship from Elaeus in the Chersonesus when the seasonal winds were blowing, and commanded the Pelasgians to depart out of the island, putting them in mind of the prophecy which the Pelasgians had never expected to be fulfilled upon them". The men of one of Lemnos' main towns, Hephaestia, obeyed, but the men of Myrina, the remaining main town, refused. Miltiades then put siege to it and eventually conquered the whole of the island.

viii) (VII, 94-95/2: p. 505-506) "The Ionians furnished (to the fleet of Xerxes) an hundred ships, and were armed as the Greeks. Now according to the Greeks the Ionians were called Pelasgians so long as they dwelt in the Peloponnese, in that part which is now called Achaia, and before Danaüs and Xuthus came to Peloponnese. . . And the *men of the isles* furnished seventeen ships, and they were armed as Greeks. They also are a Pelasgian people, but afterwards it fell out that were called Ionians in the same manner as the Ionians of the twelve cities who came from Athens (sic). And the Aeolians furnished threescore ships, and they were armed as Greeks; and the Greeks say that of old they were called Pelasgi".

ix) (VIII, 44/2: p. 585) "The Athenians, in the days when the Pelasgians possessed what is now called Greece, were Pelasgians and were named Cranai. But in the days of king Cecrops they were called also Cecropidae; and when Erechtheus received the kingdom, they began to be named Athenians; and when Ion the son of Xuthus became ruler of the Athenian host, they were called after him Ionians".

Perused by a reader who is not familiar with the background of places, events, and men which Herodotus himself takes for granted, these and like passages easily make little sense. They are accordingly dismissed as, perhaps, inaccurate, supposedly because of one or the other copist's fault or, as already, and next again to be discussed entirely discredited as false. Of one of these passages (see. p. 50), it will be said by ninety readers out of a hundred that only a gross mistake, whatever the cause, can account for Herodotus' listing of "Lemnians" among the nations of the Peloponnese, for is it not certain that Lemnos is an island in the Northern Aegean?

In reality, reading Herodotus with proper appreciation of a few rudiments —of some of them I have spoken already— yields perfectly clear sense throughout. These rudiments are, as a matter of fact, very simple though by combining among themselves they return details which it proves virtually impossible to communicate to an uninformed student much as one may try. *In plain words, he but loses his time with Herodotus who has no perception of Herodotus' own times and what preceded them.* Many authors, I am sure, are precisely in this case who misunderstand the Greek historian. Very much specialized in one particular field of history, archaeology, etc., etc., they end by losing their grasp on the generalities of the science, and while returning work which is technically perfect they at times but grope in everything that is above technicism.

The rudiments of general, and European, history which need be known in order better to understand Herodotus are: i) In times earlier than 2000 B. C., the Aegean Islands and continental Greece were more or less loosely held by human stock of "mediterranean" type allied eastward with peoples of Asia Minor, Syro-Phoenicia, etc. In Greek tradition, this stock is identified, directly or by implication, as Proto-Carian ("Lelegian"), "Carian", "Pelasgian", finally "Tyrrhenian". There are strong indication that these early "Greeks" spoke languages of "asianic" type, allied to "luwite" and the like (e.g.

lycian, carian, phrygian, etc.) (1) ii) Around 2000 B. C., therefore more or less simultaneously with the Hittite invasion of Asia Minor, Greece was overrun by tribes from the northwest, possibly closely allied with Illyrians and Thracians. These tribes did speak an Indo-European language forerunner of the koiné currently identified as classical Greek, and by mingling with the natives already at the spot they started their "hellenization" in language when not immediately in culture; iii) Around 1350 B. C. (that is, according to the legend some three generations before the Trojan War) Greece was again invaded by tribes from the northwest of the same language and origin as the earliest immigrants. This is the so called

(1) This is implicitly admitted by Pallottino (op. cit., p. 235 ff.) who mentions: "The obvious, though not very close, similarities between Etruscan and certain Indo-European, Caucasian, and asianic languages", only the language of Lemnos being recognized just now as linked most closely to Etruscan. The Roman etruscologist next stresses the importance of the historical factor in linguistic studies because; "To neglect such historical factor is equivalent to depriving oneself of an essential tool in the study of a language and the understanding of its texts". As most material in this direction he pointedly mentions: "The Greek, Latin, and Italic worlds with probable affinities with Etruscan documents". I am afraid that this is rather too little really to dispose of the issues presented by the Etruscan language. Of very prime importance are here "historical factors" which interest as one the whole of Asia east of a boundary: Caucasus—Persian Gulf, of the Aegean region, of Italy; and when closely scrutinized, the "Greek world" alone, as the reader of these notes may easily suspect, is a formidable hodge-podge, rather not only the "Greek world" of Pericles and the like. It may be that the discovery of a bilingual inscription in Italy is to make it easy for us to read Etruscan as if Latin or Greek, but meantime even the best among the revised "theories of autochthonous origins" for the Etruscans fall vastly short of meeting the essential requirements of genuinely constructive enquiry. The "Problem of Etruscan Origins" is Asianic in the first place, Aegean in the second place, Italic only in the third place. See notes on the subject particularly in the second instalment of these notes.

Achaean invasion (1); iv) Around 1100 B. C. a third wave came in of invaders allied with the Achaeans and Proto-Greeks, as we might identify them (i.e., the "Greeks" of the 2000 B. C. invasion). This is the *Dorian invasion*.

The first invasion did implant early forms of Greek speech, and it is to it that the "Mycaeneans" owed their language, which has proved to be archaic "hellenic". (2) The second invasion but extended and deepened in this respect the effects of the first. The third invasion, or Dorian, finally caused the usage of old, "asianic" tongues to drop out virtually altogether in Crete and the southern Aegean Islands.

(1) An Achaean invasion is not recognized by the majority of modern authors against the opinion of older ones, but so only with striking results. To illustrate: Achaean is an adjective that quite frequently recurs in the pages of the Homeric poems, witness the Iliad, but one would look for it in vain the subject-index of "From Mycenae to Homer"; 1959, by T. B. L. Webster. As one would anticipate who is aware of the importance of the subject, mention of Achaean does after all crop up in the pages of the text cited, and then not irrelevantly, as when for instance we are told (op. cit., p. 105) that: "Euchenor of Corinth went to Troy to avoid 'the painful fine of the Achaeans'". Naturally, the subject-index of the work mentioned is also unaware of the existence of Pelasgians though it happens to display Carians. One would view this all as the result of casual oversight if it were not for Webster's opinion (op. cit., p. 136), that the causes of the breakdown of "Mycaenean" civilization: "Do not concern us, and the discussion about the Dorian invasion and the identification of the Peoples of the Sea can be left firmly on one side". Admitting that the author of a particular book has the perfect right of ruling out a particular subject whether important or not, still I would not agree when the subject ruled out is basic, and even more pervasive. Without for this implying that my own knowledge of specialized matters in the premises amounts to even only a tiny fraction of what Webster, etc., possess, I do not feel inclined to let the Achaean end of the tale go unmentioned, and I expect to say something about it in greater detail in the second part of these notes.

(2) By deciphering "Linear B" Michael Ventris established to fact beyond doubt. Linguistically his findings are most important, historically even more far reaching.

The development of the "Greek" *ethnos* is accordingly complex, and it presupposes the gradual "hellenization" of a large amount of "Carians", "Tyrrhenians", "Pelasgians", etc. In this respect, it is interesting that Northwestern Greece, the cradle of the "pure Greeks", remained throughout classical times much behind the rest of "Hellas" in every cultural field.

Considering that, unlike Achaeans and Dorians, Ionians do not figure among the original invaders of Greece, it seems clear that the Ionians could only originate from a "melting-pot" active on Greek soil in which "Hellenes" and "Pelasgians" jointly had a hand. A glance at the position and extent of the Arcadian dialect (see Fig. 1A) is enough to reveal that the speakers of this dialect or its forms were sorely hemmed in by Achaeans ("North-West Greeks") and Dorian after 1350/1100 B. C. The arrogant assumption of "racial" purity and nobility on the part of the Dorians, the military character of Spartan life and organization, the impossibility of different "Hellenic" groups the agree beyond the range of loose confederacies, etc., are transparently clear in their ultimate *raison d'être* if referred to such rudiments as I have just ventured to bring before the reader. That the "Hellenes" would not identify themselves as such until comparatively late in their history is reasonable considering how long they endured as "Pelasgians", "Achaeans", "Dorians", "Ionians", "Argives", etc., in speech and even more in spirit.

Today we have archaeological data on hand vastly beyond Herodotus' own range, and so we can dispose of questions, and pierce riddles which he could not even hope to tackle. However, Herodotus had sources of information readily accessible which we do not have, and it is transparent to a discriminate reader of his work that these sources were reliable in every fundamental even if distorted in certain details. Purely to illustrate: Herodotus—who as a man from Halicarnassus—was himself a member of the Dorian "race" relates (VI, 53/2: p. 429) that: "If one rehearse their male line upwards from Danaë the daughter of Acrisius, the Dorian kings will be found true-born Egyptians". This affirmation was not invented by Herodotus, therefore somebody did relay it to him whom he

believed. This affirmation is of course preposterous to the extent that it brings together at one stroke originally Epirote barbarians and Egyptian breed of the most exclusive. In reality, and Herodotus does explain, in his own way, as late comers and none too advanced in cultural matters, the "Dorian kings" were only too glad to claim for themselves the nobility belonging to the Arcadian, Argive, etc., chiefs and kings whom they had displaced. These same chiefs and kings had earlier made for themselves pedigrees going back to heroes and semi-heroes of the Knossian age (i.g., earlier than 1500 B. C.), which but means that a king of Sparta *via* a hero of the Mycenaean epoch would claim, as if naturally, for himself, the distinction of being "true-born Egyptian"! Only a very naïve reader could here charge Herodotus with naïveness, even more, inaccuracy or misinformation.

The "Hellenic" language does break down into main dialects traditionally identified as Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian. While there is little question concerning the substantial unity ⁽¹⁾ of the first two, the third happens to be subdivided by different authors (e.g., Chadwick, op. cit., p. 11, Fig. 2) into different lesser pales (by Chadwick: North-West Greek, Boeotian Thessalian, Aeolic proper). There is question to what extent the "Hellenic" language was divided into dialectal branches before the Proto-Greek, Achaean, and Dorian invasions, but it seems clear that, perhaps unlike *ab antiquo*, the different dialects were further differentiated in the process of "hellenization" of "Tyrrhenians", "Pelasgians", and the like. To

(1) Substantial must be underscored, for in detail things were not quite the same all over. For example: Herodotus affirms (1,142 1: p. 73 ff.) that even only among the Ionians of the Eastern Aegean four different dialects were spoken, thus by cities and islands: i) Miletus, Myus, Priene (all in Caria); ii) Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomene, Phocaea (all in Lydia); iii) Samos; iv) Chios and Erythrae (on the continent, immediately facing Chios). Inasmuch as Herodotus also tells us (1,146 1: p. 75), the oncoming Ionians murdered the Carians and took their women it seems rather probable that the dialectal differences above are the byproduct of Ionian speech (itself of course by no means unitarian) having been further influenced into local variants by the languages and dialects already at the spot, whether Carian, Lydian, etc.

illustrate: In Aeolic, and particularly in Aeolic as spoken in Thessaly, the name of the god Apollo (in the *koiné*, Apóllon or Apéllon) becomes *Áploun*. Hrozný may well be right who derives (op. cit., p. 179) Apollo from the assyro-babylonian "god of the gate" *Abullu*, because certain of the attributes of Apollo in classic cult (*domatites*, *prostaterius*, *agyeus*) clearly fit a "god of the gate", or the like. Moreover, as *agyeus* Apollo was figured as a stone pillar with painted head set up before the door of houses than which nothing could be clearer, it so happens that, as we shall see, the stretch of land and sea between the Hellespont and Thessaly-Boeotia was home to "Tyrrhenians" who spoke an "etruscoid" language. This same range was inhabited by "Aeolic" Greeks; and the question is doubtlessly legitimate whether it is sheer coincidence that Apollo is *Aplu* or *Apulu* in Etruscan.

Together with Ionian and Arcadian, Aeolic forms the so called "Achaean" dialects in contrast to Doric. Challengingly enough, Arcadian speech is closest to Cypriote (Fig. 1B), a bond altogether impossible to establish after the Dorian conquest but easily to be understood in function of a "Mycenaean" past common to Arcadia and to Cyprus. In plain words, Arcadians and Cypriotes were "hellenized" more or less simultaneously (or Cyprus was itself largely settled by Peloponnesians already "hellenized") against the background of a Proto-Greek language (i.e., of an "hellenic" tongue of 2000 B. C. vintage) largely common before 1200 B. C. to the whole of the "Mycenaean" world (this world did not include the "Knossian" (i.e., Cretan, *sensu stricto*) world).

Since it cannot by my intention to give a lecture in Greek history, only to underscore a minimum of generalities toward a better understanding of what Herodotus states in the passages I have quoted (see p. 55 ff.), I will cut preliminaries short and begin the discussion of those passages, beginning with the first, as follows:

It is evident that, whatever we may think, for whom the Athenians rate as the paragon of the Greeks, Herodotus thinks otherwise than we do. He deliberately restricts the meaning of the adjective: Greek (Hellenic) to the Dorians, assigning the Athenians to a racially distinct category of eventually "hel-

lenized" Pelasgians. This is not sheer byproduct of Dorian pride (Herodotus is not always kind to Athenians and Ionians), but a decision logically based on the fact that, as issued from the "cradle of the Greeks" last, the Dorians had indeed claim to being the "purest" among them, a distinction which their rather isolated dialect would concur to underscore. By contrast, the Athenians had grown on the spot, as it were, from the "hellenisation" of Attic Pelasgians mixed with whatever stray "mycenaean" stock might be around. Luckily to the great advantage of our information, Herodotus seldom fails to stress the factor of "hellenisation" in the development of an eventually more or less (rather less than more) unitarian "Hellas"; and it must plain that, for good or bad, the Dorians at least insofar as the Spartans in Herodotus' own times had demanded less "hellenisation" to become "Greek" than had the Athenians.

I am at a loss to understand how Pallottino, Powell, etc., could get out of the text to which they so pointedly refer (namely, Herodotus "(1,57)"; cf. Pallottino, op. cit., p. 54) the notion that Creston (whatever the spelling) can be assimilated to Cortona of Italy. What I read out of it myself, is neither more nor less than what did read Myres (1911) and Bassi (1956), and the Greek text commends as normal. Quite as impossible it is for me to admit that Herodotus' definite localization of "Tyrrhenians" *near Thessaliotis* refers to anything of Italy, and that Herodotus' report is a "tradition". (1) On the score, the text and internal evidence do perfectly dovetail against Pallottino, Powell, etc. Text and internal evidence, to begin with, also indicate that Herodotus does bring in Tyrrhenians when stressing the linguistic bonds of Crestonians, Placians, and Scylacians as if by a normal association of ideas, implying thus that all shared in a common tongue. A map showing (Fig. 2) the cities and regions stressed by Herodotus has the islands of Lemnos implicitly highlighted as the core

(1) In the pertinent bibliography, Pallottino does list (op. cit. p. 72) himself in *Studi Etruschi* XX, 1948-9, pp. 11 ff., as author of an article "Erodoto autoctonista?". The whole sounds droll to me.

of a "Pelasgian" speaking region of the Northern Aegean. Since it is *certain* that the Lemnians spoke an etruscoid language, and it should be difficult indeed to assign to the Tyrrhenians of Thessaly any other, ⁽¹⁾ it seems foregone that *Herodotus, 1,57* is a reference of capital importance. In ultimate fact it does not conflict with the other reference, *Herodotus, 1,94 ff.*, which assigns to the Etruscans an origin immediately out of Lydia. The map is eloquent (Fig. 2) in the sense of its outlining a Pelasgian (=Tyrrhenian) cradle in the Central to Northern Aegean Sea, its shores and islands. If Pallottino, Powell, etc., do at one hand rule Creston out of this cradle into Italy, still Pallottino is himself wholly satisfied that Pelasgian=Tyrrhenian inhabited the range in question, and outside of it. Nothing could be clearer, this time jointly and finally by Pallottino and Herodotus, both.

The weary argument, what should we finally understand as Pelasgians ends of course right here. In a definite geographic and linguistic sense are to be understood as Pelasgians the inhabitants of the islands and shores of the Aegean Sea generally north of a boundary: Smyrna—Athens. Originally, they were not Greek-speaking and only became such by a long process of "hellenisation" which, begun on the Greek mainland, gradually moved eastward over and across the Aegean Sea eventually to culminate with the conquest of Alexander the Great. The "hellenisation" of Pelasgian Attica is shrouded in the mist of legends centering around figures such as Cecrops and Erechtheus (*Herodotus, VIII, 44/2: p. 585*), but the one of Lemnos, for example, is a definite historical fact. Before, and in the process of being absorbed into the body of "Hellenism", the Pelasgians did contribute massively to the life and culture of the Greek mainland, its islands and, particularly Crete. To a mighty Pelasgian tide westward from Asia Minor answered in time a quite as mighty Hellenic tide eastward, and except in the political and linguistic sense, if so much,

(1) Pallottino does of course concur. He subscribes without question to the synonymy: Tyrrhenians=Etruscans (op. cit., p. 75), whatever the sea and the time.

it is not always easy to discriminate what belongs to one or the other moment, "pure Greeks" (more or less, Dorians), "hellenized Pelasgians" (more or less, Ionians of Attica), finally "pure Pelasgians" (e.g. Lemnians) coexisting, advancing, retreating, fighting, interbreeding in Herodotus' own times within a radius of few score miles. Did we not have with us the "etruscoid" stele of Lemnos we could hardly be sure what language the Pelasgians spoke north of Smyrna and Athens. On the basis of what this stele does prove, and other parallel epigraphic documents reveal, we know today fortunately enough to understand that it is not without reason that generally south of Smyrna and Athens ancient authors (see, e.g., *Herodotus 1,170 ff./1: p. 86*) would place Carians and their kindreds. Scrutinized at close quarters Pelasgians, Carians, etc., do themselves break up into allied groups, whether Tyrrhenians, Leleges, Lemnians, Paroreatae, etc., quite as surely as the Greeks themselves are pulverized into Thessalotes, Boeotians, Achaeans, Argives, Lacedaemonians, etc., and not so long ago the men of France, Spain, Italy would break up into separate hosts of Normans, Provençals, Catalans, Andalusians, Piedmonteses, Sicilians, etc. This motley array of sub-nations and sub-languages; this quicksilver of pirates, navigators, adventurers, conquerors, and conquered could hardly be written out to fit the frames of language of the so called modern scientific kind some fifteen centuries ago, hence not all classical authors agree in every detail; and labels in some cases quite fitting and precise wear out thin by conventional extension at other times. However, and even so, he who understands the mainsprings of the argument can surely not be at a loss with the data which Herodotus supplies. Writing for the men around him and their immediate descendants he took of course for granted what everybody would know at the time, which is not necessarily what we know, and so are ready to take for granted. The arguments which Herodotus spins are nevertheless by far not obscure. He has, to begin with, Pelasgians along a line: Hellespont—Thessaly, and it cannot be chance that brings Lemnos right in the heart of things with certain Tyrrhenians on the left.

It being certain that the "hellenisation" of the Pelasgo-Cario-Tyrrhenian world was by not far completed even in 500

B. C. (approximate date of the conquest of etruscoid-speaking Lemnos by the Athenians); it being certain likewise (see *Archaeology* 13(1): 2-3 (map.) 1960) that before 1200 B. C. a lively stream of traffic oversea had brought "mycenaean" pottery to Sicily, Iapygia (approaches of Taranto) finally the Gulf of Naples; it being well known that at least around 1600 B. C. navigators and merchants from the Aegean had set foot on the Lipari Islands off northeastern Sicily in quest of obsidian (Taylour, L. W., *Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and adjacent Areas*. 1958), there preceding Rhodians and Cypriotes; it being well established that obsidian was likewise sought and worked out by the primitive dwellers of Attica (Aghios Kosmas; see Mylonas, G. E., *Aghios Kosmas*. 1959) whose culture represented a fusion of mainland and Cycladic (or, Carian) tradition when the tribes around the site of the coming Athens were but Cranaï or at the most Cecropians (see Herodotus, VIII, 44/2: p. 585); it being finally assured that when the Greeks of 850—700 B. C. began active colonization of Southern Italy they found in their way an Etruscan thalassocracy in full strenght (Pallottino, op. cit., p. 77); I do not see at all how the "Problem of Etruscan Origins" so called, can in any way be obscure.

It is obvious, to begin with, that between 1600 B. C. (and earlier) and 1000 B. C., steady streams of Tyrrhenians, and Pelasgians and Carians, etc.—much sooner than of "Greeks"—reached the seas between Liguria and Sicily swarming out of the Aegean Sea: Herodotus is doubtless well informed for example there, where he assigns to Carians a situation of prime importance (1,171/1: p. 86) in the fleets of the Knossian (Minoan) thalassocracy. This vast movement toward the seas of Italy did of course not empty the "Pelasgian cradle" in the Northern Aegean of all its inhabitants, which is reason why two "Tyrrheno-Pelasgian" centers soon arose, an older one in the Aegean, a younger one in the Tyrrhenian (and other) seas, both evolving eventually on their own, but both sharing in language, seafaring capacities, religion, and customs. The facts are indeed so clear in reference to traditional, linguistic, archaeological data as one that, as we heard, they have not gone unreported. *The trouble has accordingly not been with factual ignorance if the "Problem of the Etruscan Ori-*

gins" had remained unsettled to this very hour, as it might seem. The trouble still is, that even authors of the most recent who retrace the steps of the navigators to the Italian seas between 1600 and 800 B. C. (rather earlier than later, to be exact) call them "Greeks" and "Myceneans" while they surely ought to identify them as Tyrrhenians, Pelasgians (in the proper sense), and Carians. (1)

It is not my intention to cover the entirety of the subject, for I will return to it with details in a second instalment of these notes. I may however, right here observe that, coherent on the Aegean side with Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, Carians, etc., the picture is no less so on the Italian side with Etruscans.

How wholly coherent is the picture in its latter aspects will be clear to us if instead of lumping the multitudinous data today into the hands of the specialist as if all "Etruscan" in the same manner and degree, we orderly view them on the

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- (1) It is difficult to understand a situation of the kind. "Greeks" in the conventional meaning of the term do not become active in Italy before the eight to seventh century; and Carthaginians (rather, Phoenicians) established Utica on the northern coast of Africa in 1100 B. C., and Carthage was itself not founded before 800 B. C. By contrast, active contacts between, e. g., Sicily and the western sector of the "Fertile Crescent" (broadly speaking, Cyprus to Cilicia and Northern Syria) are documentable (see Bernabó Brea, L.: *Sicily before the Greeks*. 1957) long before the fall of Knossos (i. e., around 1400 B. C.). In plain words: Cario-Pelasgian languages did dominate the Mediterranean for at least two millenia, and Spain much sooner than Crete did stand as the western end of their sway. This age-long penetration automatically accounts for occurrence of similar locality-names the whole way between the Hellespont and the Spanish coasts. To what Cario-Pelasgian wave and branch did the proximal forefathers of the Etruscans belong may perhaps never be determined, but that in the plenitude of historical times a language allied to that of pre-Greek Lemnos, that is, a Cario-Pelasgian tongue, came to be spoken in Italy is so normal a consequence of three millenia of continuous previous history as to cause wonderment why most authors insist on "Greeks" and "Phoenicians" in their reckoning while making light of Cario-Pelasgians and Etruscans.

contrary around three main centers of reference, namely Northern Etruria, Southern Etruria, Adriatic Etruria, as follows:

1) *Northern Etruria* — This is the Elban, ore-rich end of Tuscany, whose main cities were Populonia and Vetulonia, both active in the Early Iron Age, that is, at no later time than between 1000 and 900 B. C. (1) These cities are accordingly most intimately involved with the development of the so called "Villanovan" culture. As Pallottino warns (op. cit., p. 70) it would not be true that: "The appearance of the Villanovan culture marks the appearance of the Etruscans", but it is true that from its beginnings till the fullness of historical times: "This civilization develops without any-break or sudden transformation". In plain words: The Etruscan did not start the "Villanovan" phase of iron culture, but took it in hand, not long after its inception and molded it uninterruptedly afterwards. Pallottino does bring to record (op. cit., p. 78 ff.) numerous examples drawn from tradition, linguistics (e.g., the occurrence of a tribe in Eastern Sardinia called *Aesaronenses*, suggestive of the Etruscan word *aisar*, "gods"), industry, architecture, etc., intimately binding Northern Etruria with Sardinia of the *nuraghi* age, and to a lesser extent also with Corsica. To the references given by the Roman etruscologist which the reader may consult in the original, three should be added which seems to be material, thus: i) Ashby (T.; signed article: *Sardinia* in *Encycl. Brit.*, xi ed. (Handy Volume), 24, p. 214 ff. 1911) observes that *nuraghi* and related *tombe dei giganti* and *domus de gianas* are distributed over the whole island to the virtual exception of its northeastern extremity. They are by contrast most frequent toward the center of the of the island and the so called Nurra (west of Sassari and north of Alghero, a volcanic region forming the northwestern tip of Sardinia). Ashby further writes: "Numerous fragments of obsidian arrowheads and chips are also found in and near them (the *nuraghi*)

(1) Whether the Etruscan ending in -luna of these two cities implies philological relationship with the name of Luna north of the Arno between Tuscany and Liguria remains to be seen. It possibly might. That Ligurian settlements would be at the spot prior to Etruscan, finally Roman, occupation is not untoward.

all over the island. The only place where obsidian is known to be found in Sardinia in a natural state is the Punta Trebina, a mountain south-east of Oristano"; ii) I admit being personally impressed by the circumstance that the modern town of Ales southeast of Oristano is surely not far from, if not identically the same as, a settlement called in classical times *Uselis*. This name strongly suggests the Etruscan word for *sun* or *solar*; iii) The earliest known name of Sardinia is *Ichnusa*, a toponimic which it proves, I am sure, exceedingly difficult to understand as other than Pelasgo-Tyrrhenian. (1) *Aesaronenses*, *Uselis*, *Ichnusa* do rhyme very much to the same in their implying a very early occupation of Sardinia by Tyrrhenians bent upon exploiting obsidian, a staple which they are known to have elsewhere sought out, whether in Melos of the Aegean or the Lipari Islands of the Southern Tyrrhenian Sea surely at no later time than 1600 B. C., possibly much earlier. It has been said by Bassi (see p. 41) that Tyrrhenian may mean "he who dwells in a tower", which is quite as suggestive once more as the fact that there is a Sardinian historical district rich in *nuraghi* called, as we heard, Nurra, in which district stood in Roman times a city of Nura. The Sardinian Tyrrhenians would not seem to have enjoyed friendly relationships with "autochthonous" Sardinians (probably, an Ibero-African or Ligurian

(1) *Pityusa* and *Ebusus* are classical names alternatively borne by the modern island of Iviza in the Balears. Contenau tells us (*La Civilisation Phénicienne*, p. 277. 1949) that these names are not Phoenician, and that the Carthaginians got hold of Iviza only around 650 B. C. The city of Lampsacus on the Hellespont bore the pre-Greek designation of *Pityusa*. A bay of the Balearic Island of Majorca is called *Alcudia*. *Phoenicusa* and *Ericusa* were the classical designations of islands of the Lipari Archipelago (where "Tyrrhenians" mined for obsidian already in 1600 B. B.) now identified as *Filicudi*, *Alicudi* of Italy and *Alcudia* of Spain easily bearing comparison. In the Tremiti Island north of the Gargano Peninsula in the Adriatic Sea are found *Pianosa* and *Pelagosa*; the former name recurs in the Tyrrhenian Sea (*Pianosa* islet off Elba). *Linosa* rises in the Mediterranean between Lampedusa and Malta (ab antiquo, *Melita*, a name rather not difficult to match in Aegean range (see Cape Melissa (Crete), *Melite* (Athens), etc.). If we further consider certain details of the so called "Phoenician" "Lady of Elce", and of the so called "Phoenician" jewels found in Spain

stock), which accounts as one for the many *nuraghi* and correlative massive tomb-structures. In regard of Tyrrhenian possibly meaning *tower-dweller*, the following is not without interest: i) Pyrgos (modern Santa Severa) was together with Alisium and Punicum one of the ports of Caere; ii) As observed by Webster (T. B. L., From Mycenae to Homer, p. 151, 157. 1959), *pyrgos* (currently, tower) designated a large estate of the Ionian invaders in the islands and coasts of Western Asia Minor. As a defense against hostile natives (Carians, Pelasgians, etc.), the *pyrgos* essentially consisted in origin of a fortified house around which were grouped the settlers' dwellings. It seems probable that the *pyrgos* was not a new Ionian invention, and a comparison between the *pyrgos* and the *nuraghi* thus becomes highly suggestive. It is true that it is currently believed today (see, e. g., Charles-Picard, G. & E., La Vie Quotidienne à Carthage, p. 170 ff. 1958) that the *nuraghe* civilisation of Sardinia is intimately related—indeed possibly a byproduct only—of early Carthaginian settlements, one of whom at Nora, in Southern Sardinia, is said to have been established almost simultaneously with Carthage, i. e., around 814 B. C., and so long after Utica (approximately 1100 B. C.).

(around Murcia and Alicante; see Contenau, op. cit., p. 161), we can with much difficulty—even without reminding ourselves of the claims of those who are sure that a "micenean" dagger is engraved at Stonehenge in England—find merit in the tradition which assigns to Etruscans early navigations to the Balears, Spain, etc. Pallottino is extremely critical (op. cit., p. 83 fn. 2) of authors who like Schulten have attempted to prove a "proto-Etruscan colonization of Spain", saying: "Schulten's demonstration... has... no reliable foundation. These hypothetical linguistic relationships and the analogies found between place-names in Lusitanian inscription and in the Tyrrheno-Pelasgic world... may, if need be, be explained by referring back to older, prehistoric contacts". Schulten's work (unknown to me) may be far from perfect in most details, but Pallottino's own recourse to implicitly non-Tyrrhenian "prehistoric contacts" is perhaps not better. It may be suspected that etruscologists have in general less than complete an idea of the staggering amount of "Pelasgian" toponimics underlying classical and modern nomenclature. Is it not a question with Tartessus ending in—*essus*, or with Saguntum only resembling *Zacynthos*. As the reader of these notes may suspect, there is much more.

Perhaps acceptable at the Punic end of history, this chronology leaves however much to be desired on the Tyrrhenian one, when the age and early bonds are considered in the direction of Sardinia of cities such as Vetulonia and Populonia. The strange neglect of the phase of Mediterranean history influenced by Tyrrhenians as yet not become Etruscans between ca. 1500 and 1000 B. C.; and the constant crediting of the highlights of this history to either Phoenicians or "Greeks"; is obvious responsible for opinions which a better understanding of times and men is bound, let us hope, substantially to alter.

Concluding insofar as *Northern Etruria*: i) Immediately after the beginnings of the "Villanovan" age, if not simultaneously with it, Tyrrhenians long before established in Sardinia moved on and to the iron mines fronting Elba on the coast of Tuscany, where they settled founding Vetulonia and Populonia. That they maintained for a time relations with whatever part of them had remained behind in Sardinia is proved by the evidence which Pallottino reports; that these relations were interfered with by non-Tyrrhenian pirates for a time also seems sure; ii) Considering that Tyrrhenians were active mining obsidian in the Lipari Islands around 1600 B. C. it appears very probable that the Tyrrhenian occupation of Sardinia lasted several centuries from about 1500 B. C. to about 1000 B. C., a span long enough to account for an abundant crop of local Tyrrhenian building; iii) It is of course obvious that Tyrrhenians would not be responsible for the beginning of the "Villanovan" cultural phase of continental Italy; quite as obvious, however, is that they controlled and extended it shortly from its inception at the hand of "Italiotes", whose iron mines the Tyrrhenians did appropriate.

2) *Southern to Central Etruria*.—From this end of Tuscany with the important cities of Vulci, Tarquinia, and Caere, all near to, but none exactly on, the coast, Pallottino reports (op. cit., p. 70 ff.) evidence of "infiltrations" from the south by coastal or sea routes. La Tolfa, a *trachytic* hill between Caere and Tarquinia is dotted (Pallottino, p. 113) with: "Many small Etruscan villages" that are as yet practically untouched by the archaeologist, though it is already understood (Pallot-

tino, p. 37) that at that point the "Villanovan" culture meets that of Latium, and "oriental" influences are present. The "Villanovan" cemeteries belonging to the great southern cities of Etruria yield evidence (found as far north as the approaches of Grosseto) for "unusual affinities" with the tombs of cremation peoples, which make their appearances between the end of the bronze and the beginning of the iron age in Apulia, and on the coasts of Sicily.

Concluding insofar as *Southern to Central Etruria*: i) Early settlements of "Tyrrhenians" probably exploiting volcanic stone, if not obsidian, occur at La Tolfa, which settlements prelude to the establishment of the great cities of the Southern Etruscans; ii) These cities engulfed within a stream of steadily progressive culture early "Villanovan" villages; iii) The cultural affinities here ruling in early times no longer point to Sardinia, but to the entire arc: Sicily—Iapygia, that is, to the access from the south of both the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic seas as one; iv) By navigation, shipbuilding, agriculture, and commerce the cities of Southern to Central Etruria did share in the prosperity of Northern Etruria in the wake of iron mining; v) This phase of "tyrrhenisation" may be virtually simultaneous with that proceeding from Sardinian bases, but its roots might be sought away from that island. The competent age is around 1000 B. C., from centers established possibly rather long before then in Apulia, etc. (1)

3) *Adriatic Etruria* — Von Vacano (op. cit., p. 82) writes: "Under besonderes Augenmerke verdienen die seltsam asym-

(1) It seems evident that long years of spade-work (in the figurative and literal sense alike) must elapse before we are clear about the details of the "tyrrhenisation" of the Italian mainland generally to the north of Rome. Right now the data contributed by Pallottino and Bernabó Brea (Sicily before the Greeks. 1957), respectively, may easily suggest contrasting interpretations, and Pisani's account of the "Siculo" language (Le Lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il Latino, 280 ff. 1953) raises more questions than it settles. Bernabó Brea speaks of two "Ausonian" civilizations in Lipari and parts of Eastern Sicily, the earlier bound with invasions from Apulia, the other suggesting cultural elements from Central Italy (op. cit., p. 137 ff.). Characteristically, Bernabó Brea brings on stage the "Tyr-

metrischen Spitzen und Messerchen aus der Umgebung von Perugia und aus den Abruzzen, deren nächste Verwandte sich in Apulia gefunden haben und drüben in Südgrichland, in der Nähe von Sparta"; a datum no less significant that the one contributed by Immerwahr (Archaeology 13(1): 8. ff. 1960) to the effect that on a reef (Scoglio del Tonno) facing Taranto stood a trading station of "Mycaean" origin with an apparent monopoly of Rhodian vases. This center was the terminus for the overland trade of the "Terramare people", who controlled "the bronze industry of Tuscany". It is probable that Immerwahr takes of the "Terramare people" and of "Mycaean" a quite conventional, very broad understanding, but it is obvious that Iapygia—where the tradition said had ended the rest of a "Minoan" fleet trying to return to Crete after a disastrous expedition to Sicily—was actively trading with the early "Italiotes" and their Tyrrhenian successors.

The linguistic situation at various points of the coasts of Adriatic Italy and Yugoslavia is complex. In the Picenum (Pallottino, op. cit., p. 29) we find "little-known dialects", and peoples named *Iapuzci*, cognate with the *Iapodi* of Istria and the *Iapygi* of Apulia. In the Etruscan sector by the Lower Po (Felsina (Bologna), Spina, Marzabotto) and in the alpine valleys north of the Adige the state of affairs is less than clear. It is currently taken for granted that the sector in question was colonized by Etruscans from Tuscany, but those who so believe easily run into difficulties, witness Antonioli. She writes (Arte degli Etruschi, p. 10. 1955) that Felsina was already important in the "Villanovan" age, only immediately to add

rhenians" but once (op. cit., p. 144), stating—after Diodorus Siculus—that when the Cnydian Greeks arrived in Lipari they found the islands with but an "Ausonian" remnant of its former inhabitants, who: "Lived in perpetual fear of raids from the Tyrrhenian pirates with whom the Greeks had immediately to fight". It seems accordingly probable that the "tyrrhenisation" of Italy north of Rome was far from representing a tale of pacific penetration throughout, and it is a question whether the "Ausonian" settlement of the Lipari Islands and parts of Sicily did not include, at least between 1150 and 850 B. C., Central Italian nuclei fleeing the invading "Tyrrhenian" hosts. See the coming instalment.

that the greatest territorial expansion of Etruria into the valley of the Po did not take place before the middle of the VI century. Hardly more satisfactory is the tangle of opinions centering around the so called Rhaetic language of the alpine valleys of Eastern Italy. Current learned opinion has it, that this language was kept alive by Etruscans originally from Tuscany, forced to seek refuge from Gauls actively invading the valley of the Po, which —purely from the historical end of the play— would not be absurd. However, Pisani (V., *The Lingue dell'Italia Antica oltre il Latino*, p. 303 ff. 1953) is certain that this cannot be true, because Rhaetic differs from Tuscan Etruscan almost as much as does Lemnian. In this understanding, Pisani coins a theory that Rhaetic speech is part of the "strato linguistico preindo-europeo dell'Italia antica, almeno, dell'Italia settentrionale", finally deciding that the Etruscan language is the byproduct of the mixture of that "strato linguistico" with "elementi importati, ie. e (sic) tirreno". Pallottino is not far from agreeing with Pisani, for he understands Rhaetic (op. cit., p. 94) simply as: "A pre-Indo-European dialect presenting certain affinities with Etruscan". I venture to say that were one to subscribe to the rather obscure conclusions of Pisani and Pallottino he would all too easily run the risk of being sorely pressed when attempting this time a genuinely coherent interpretation of the "asianic" languages.

Concluding insofar as *Adriatic Etruria*: i) Spina, Felsina, Marzabotto were most likely not established by the Tyrrhenians of Tuscany. They were *independent* settlements of Tyrrhenians originally in Iapygia-Apulia who eventually sailed northward to the mouth of the Po, thence to penetrate the alpine valleys in order to further and control trade with Central Europe. The age of this settlement is hard to establish, but 1000 to 800 B. C. is a safe guess; ii) These Tyrrhenians were not exactly of the same stock as those who went to Tuscany, therefore they were only allied to them within broad linguistic bonds, hence the differences between Rhaetic and Etruscan; iii) It is of course not improbable that the Tyrrhenians of Tuscany and of the Adriatic sectors kept in close touch mostly because of commercial reasons; iii) It is not at all against reason to suggest as a *very* useful working hypothesis the possibility at least that *Iapygi*, *Iapuzci*, and *Iapodi*

represented groups of mixed origin in which Tyrrhenians might have had some part; iv) Pisani's and Pallottino's theories on the origin of Rhaetic are not satisfactory. These theories may fit the purpose of some refurbished form of "autochthonism" for the *Etruscan ethnos*, but are evidently obnoxious for everything else of philology and history outside of Italy.

We may finally conclude overall concerning the Italian end of the Tyrrhenian tale, thus:

1) The Etruscan *ethnos* had its *development* on Italian soil all right, but this *development* makes no sense unless seen against a competent background of *origins*. Theories, whatever the vintage, are hopelessly out of place.

2) The Etruscan colonization of Italy was a very long process covering at least five centuries before the full occupation of its historical centers. Tyrrhenians did converge on Tuscany and the Lower Po Valley (Fig. 3) from different establishments in Sardinia (possibly the most important during the pre-Tuscan age), Sicily, Apulia, etc. They shared in a common language, but by far not in a single dialect.

3) What gave the Tyrrhenians the upper hand against the "Italiotes" at first was most of all consummate skill in navigation, a broad geographic outlook, finally a keen trading spirit. When reaching in a first time the Italian coasts, the Tyrrhenians did have a "civilization" of a type not to exceed the provincial level of the Pelasgians between 1600 and 1000 B. C. However, because of Tuscan prosperity as navigators, metallurgists, shipbuilders, dealers and brokers inside out and outside Italy, they eventually rose in wealth and so also culture.

4) It is by far not impossible that Etruria did receive immigrants also from "hellenic" sources at different times before and after 1000 B. C., but these accretions did not alter

the basically Tyrrhenian substratum of Etruscan life and customs. (1)

5) Naturally, the Tuscan Tyrrhenians did freely mix with native "Italiotes", the nature of the interrelationships resulting being at time challenging (see, for example, Falerii, a city most close to Rome by language yet willing to stand by Etruria to its utter destruction).

6) Much pointless writing on the political organization of Etruria into a loose confederacy of virtually independent cities woven together by contrast by religious and "national" bonds of the tightest could easily be avoided. The political formation of the Etruscans answered the original mercantilism of settlers streaming in from different point of the compass but even more molds of ancestral thought and tradition. Their twelve major cities essentially reproduced on Italian soil the type of organization of some Aegean "dodecapolis",

(1) According to tradition, Falerii was founded by "Greeks" from Argos (Von Vacano, O. W., *Die Etrusker*, p. 61, 1955; giving references to Strabo, Plinius, Altheim); Caere by Thessalians and Pelasgians (loc. cit.; giving references to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plinius, Strabo) under the initial name of Agylla (see for this name also Herodotus, 1,167: p. 84); Tarquinia by Achaean "Greeks" (loc. cit.; referring to Justinus); Clusium by Etruscans who supplanted Umbrians, the city's earlier name being Camers (op. cit., p. 61, citing Livius). How genuinely Greeks were the "Greeks" acting in these legends and traditions remains to be seen. Cerveteri, at any rate, is credited to Thessalians (with whom Herodotus places Tyrrhenians) and to Pelasgians, which speaks for itself. Camers might have been an Umbrian designation, but Kamares is old enough a Cretan name to advise caution in taking what Livius affirms for granted on the spot. Concluding: The process of formation of the Etruscan Dodecapolis was neither sudden, nor rectilinear, no more so than was the process of formation of "Hellas" or Roman "Italia", but the complexities of tale do not alter, be it in least, its intrinsic fundamental simplicity.

which shows once more that *development cannot be understood unless having deep regard of origins.* (1).

These are a few of the conclusions which, beginning with a proper interpretation of *Herodotus*, 1,57, flow without much difficulty from added considerations drawn from other fields of enquiry. More of course is to come before the reader in the second instalment of these notes.

(1) Lesbos, for example, an originally Pelasgian island, had a recognized pentapolis formed by the cities of Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha. The name Methymna is currently believe to be derived from the Greek méthu, in allusion to the excellent local wine. Since, on the contrary, methlum, melch means in Etruscan "nation" (see Pallottino, op. cit., p. 278) there is at least some reason for suspecting that Mitylene-Methymna may mean either confederacy or the like. Melch Rasnal might thus possibly mean Confederacy of the Rasna, whatever the derivation of the last word.

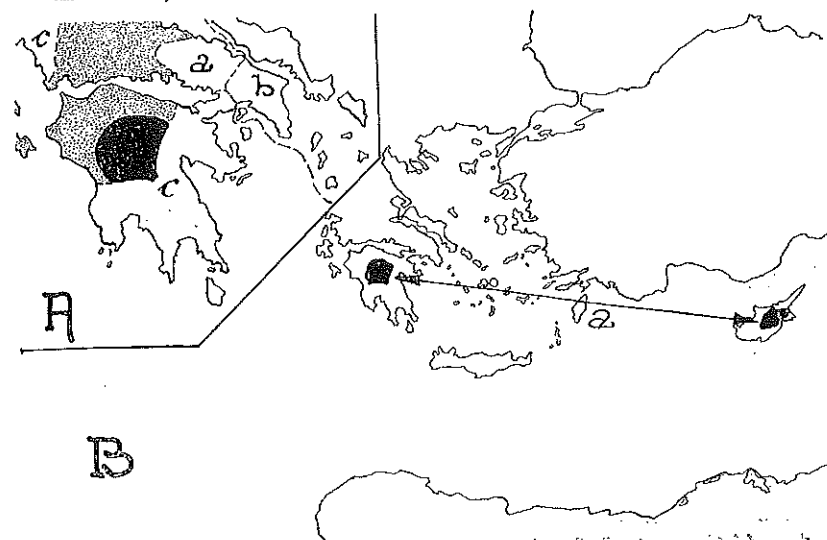


Fig. 1.—A: The Arcadian dialect (heavy black) hemmed in the Aeolic (sensu lato "North-West" dialect by Chadwick), stippled, and by the Doric (c). Ionic dialect in range b, Boeotian in range a. B: The nexus in speech between Arcadian (heavy black at left) and Cypriote (same at right): double-arrow a stresses the extent of the disconnection between these two most closely allied—yet territorially quite remote—dialects.

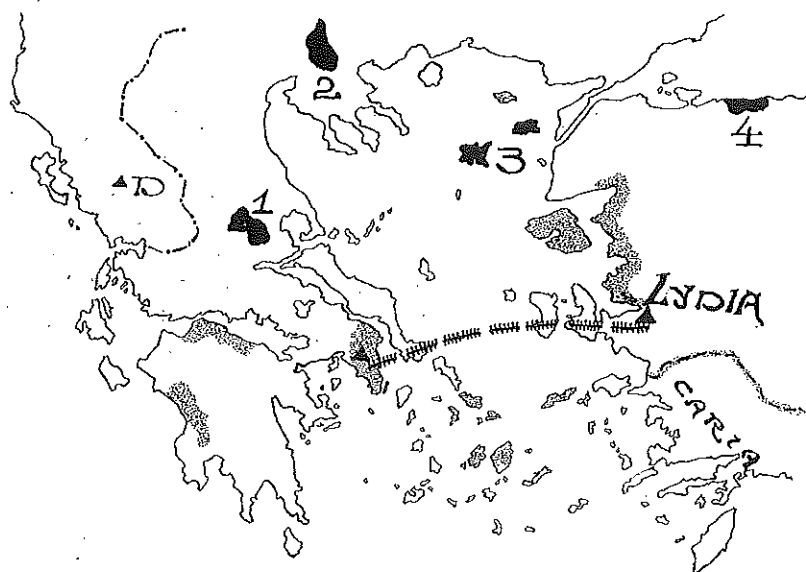


Fig. 2.—Heavy black marks off the localities and cities identified as focal for Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians by Herodotus (1,56-58;V,26), numbered as follows: 1) *Thessalotis* (Tyrrhenians recorded in the vicinity); 2) *Crestonaei*; 3) *Lemnos* and *Imbros* (latter to right); 4) *Placia* and *Scylace*. Stippled are the regions whence Pelasgians (and "Lemnians" in Western Peloponnese) are recorded by the same author. Broken-hatched line across the Aegean Sea (Athens to left, Smyrna to right) sets out northwards the home of Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians, *sensu stricto* by Herodotus. Within broken-dotted line (upper-hand, left) the range conventionally accepted by classical authors as the "cradle of the Pure Greeks". Full triangle D in this region identifies Dodona.



Fig. 3.—The two "Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians" historical centers in Aegean and Italian range, respectively, in heavy black. Indicatively stippled are regions of identifiable proto-historical "Pelasgo-Cario-Tyrrhenian" occupation. Arrow from the Lower Aegean pointing toward Italy is indicative of "Pelasgo-Cario-Tyrrhenian" migrations active approximately between 3000 and 1300 B. C. Arrows in Italian range identify secondary migrations of the same ethnic stock converging from Sardinia, Sicily, Apulia, etc., upon the centers of ultimate Etruscan occupation (Tuscany, Eastern Po Valley into the adjacent Alps, etc.) in times followings ca. 1250 B.C. Hatched arrows added to suggest the spread of Etruscan trade and navigation northward and westward. The double-headed arrows with question mark in the Tyrrhenian Sea emphasizes the as yet speculative status of the "Ausonian" invasion of the Lipari Islands and Eastern Sicily from a northern center probably involving Latium.