

The Origin of the Etruscans

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‘dass jene Polemik ... jetzt praktisch ... an
einem toten Punkt gelangt ist.’

F. Falchetti - Antonella Romualdi,
Die Etrusker (Stuttgart 2001), p. 12.

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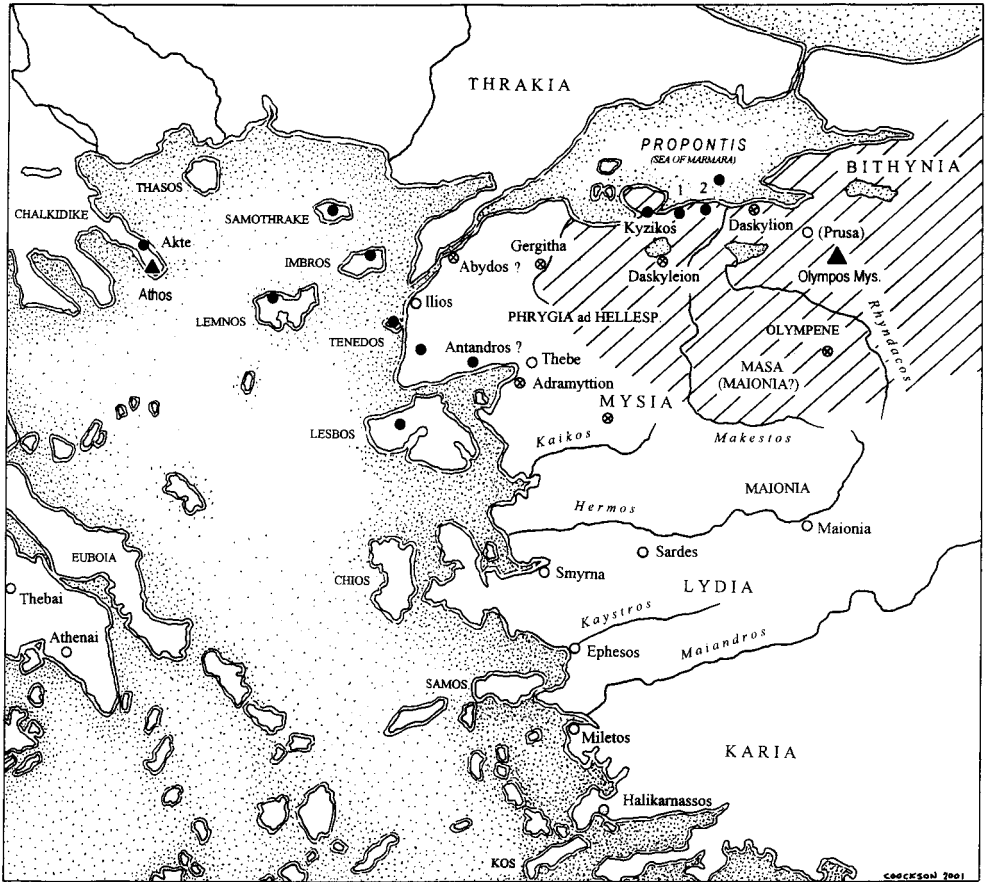
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¹ I am indebted for comments and information to dr. M.P. Cuypers, drs. W.F.H. Henkelman, prof. Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, prof. F.H.H. Kortlandt, drs. W.G. Kuijper, prof. A. Lubotsky, dr. L.B. van der Meer, dr. M. de Vaan. The theory will also be presented in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 2002.



The Homeland of the Etruscans

////// MASA acc. to Starke; = MAIONIA? = the homeland of the Etruscans

● Places where Tyrsēnoi lived in classical times

1. Plakiê 2. Skylakê

⊗ Lydian places/Lydians north of Lydia

INTRODUCTION

Herodotus says that the Etruscans came from Lydia. The question is whether this is correct. My answer is: yes, but the Lydians lived at that time (also) in another area.

The question of the origin of the Etruscans is one of the most debated problems of antiquity. Nowadays most scholars are convinced that they came from Asia Minor (Turkey); only in Italy does a large number of scholars deny or doubt this. The eastern origin seems certain to me, for reasons that I will present below (2.1).

However, an important part of the problem has not been solved: where exactly in Asia Minor did they come from, and was this in Lydian territory, as Herodotus says? Until now we had no arguments pointing especially to Lydia. On the contrary, the indications we have seem *not* to point to the area called Lydia in antiquity (2.2). My solution, then, is that the Lydians lived originally in a different area than in Herodotus' time (at least partly; this matter cannot now be decided). Therefore our story falls into two parts; 1. the prehistory of the Lydians; 2. what this tells us about the origin of the Etruscans. We shall see that after establishing the older habitat of the Lydians the question of the origin of the Etruscans *is* solved, without the need of further assumptions.

I arrived at this idea via a linguistic question - the old name of the Lydians. I was interested in this question because my field is comparative Indo-European linguistics. I had looked into the problem of Etruscan origins earlier (Beekes 1993), but without reaching any new insight. This time, by chance, I found the solution.²

As the matter has a rather complicated background, I shall make a few preliminary remarks.

As may be known, the Greeks called the Etruscans *Tyrsēnoi*, a name they also used for people in the north-west of Asia Minor. This has always been an important argument for the eastern origin of the Etruscans. It has been denied by the opponents that there were Tyrsēnoi in Asia Minor, but at present nobody doubts this any longer. The Latin name for the Etruscans derives from this Greek name: the root of **Turs-ānoi* (> *Tyrsēnoi*) is found in *Tusci* < **Turs-ci* (from where *Toscana*) and, with the variant **trus-*, *Etruscus* < **e-trus-cus* and *Etruria* < **e-trus-ia*. (On these

² My promotor, prof. F.B.J. Kuiper, reacted: 'Of course you find such a thing only by chance!'

forms see 3.2.) A Greek variant of *Tyrsênoi*, the Attic form *Tyrrhênoi*, is found in the *Tyrrhenian Sea*.

In Herodotus' time, Lydia was the land east of Smyrna (mod. *Izmir*) and Ephesos. The capital was Sardes (mod. *Salihli*). Lydia became a mighty kingdom after the Phrygian power had declined around 700 B.C. Lydia ruled the whole of western Asia Minor, west of the river Halys (mod. *Kızil Irmak*). Its best known king is the last one, Croesus, famous for his wealth. He was defeated by the Persians under Cyrus, in 546 B.C.³ Since then the Persians ruled Asia Minor till Alexander the Great.

The Lydians spoke an Indo-European language.⁴ It belongs to the Anatolian group, of which Hittite is best known. In this language we have some 25,000 clay tablets, in cuneiform writing, dating from 1700 to 1200, when the Hittite Empire disappears. We understand the language quite well. The capital was Hattusas (mod. *Bogazkale*), east of Ankara.⁵ There were several other languages in the Anatolian group. One was Palaic (which must now be called Bla-ic) spoken in an area to the north of the Hittites. Luwian consists of a number of closely related languages: Cuneiform Luwian at the time of the Hittites, Hieroglyphic Luwian in the south-east (from 1500 to 700), Lycian from the fifth and fourth centuries (in an alphabet related to that of Greek); and Carian from the same time as Lycian (written in its own alphabet, which strongly deviates from the other alphabets), of which the relation to the other languages is not yet clear. (And there are a few remains of still other languages.) Lydian is known from some fifty inscriptions, also in an alphabetic script, from the seventh to fourth centuries. However, this is the language of which we understand least, which is very little indeed. Its relation to the other languages is still debated.

What is relevant here is that from western Asia Minor we have no written sources dating from before 800. Only in the Hittite texts (so from before 1200) we find the west sometimes mentioned. The Hittite kings in their campaigns reached the Aegean: *Wilusa* (= *Ilios*, Troy) was a tributary of the Hittite empire, at least in the centuries before 1200.

The Indo-European languages must at one time have arrived in Asia

³ Famous is the story, told by Herodotus (I, 86), that Cyrus spared his life. However, an Assyrian source states that Cyrus had him killed.

⁴ For a survey of the Indo-European languages see Beekes 1995, 11 - 30.

⁵ There is now a fine introduction to the world of the Hittites in the catalogue of the exhibition in Bonn, *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich* 2002. An excellent history of the Hittites is Bryce 1998.

Minor, as we know that the Indo-European languages originated in Ukraine. A date around 2000 B.C. for their arrival in Asia Minor seems probable. We are not sure about the route they took, but most probably the speakers of these languages came from the north-west; the north-east route, passing the Caucasus, is quite difficult.

When the Indo-European speaking peoples entered Asia Minor, they found other languages there, of which little is known. We have a very few texts in Hattic, which is badly known. A language that is used in a certain area where another language arrives later, is called a substratum language. Often the substratum language disappears. This is what happened in western Asia Minor. It is probable that one of these languages was preserved: Etruscan. In Greece the same thing happened: the speakers of Greek found another language, or languages, which disappeared. This substratum is recognizable in numerous words taken over in Greek. Place names were taken over as well: Athens, Korinth, Mycene, Thebes are all non-Greek names. It appears that the Greek substratum was - at least partly - identical with that in (western) Asia Minor; cf. Thebes in Greece and Thebe near Adramyttion.⁶

The 'Anatolians' were not the last to invade Asia Minor. After them, around 1200, came the Phrygians. They settled just across the water, near the Hellespont, but their main force went to the south-east. Gordion became their capital (known from the knot which Alexander the Great 'solved'). They too spoke an Indo-European language (but one quite different from the Anatolian languages; it is more similar to Greek). We have old (8th to 4th centuries BC) and later inscriptions (2nd and 3rd centuries AD: New Phrygian). Much in them is unclear, but the situation is slightly better than with Lydian. The arrival of the Phrygians will appear essential to our story.

Still later, in 277 BC, the Galatians, a Celtic people, immigrated along the same way. They too settled in central Anatolia.

As I said, I started out with an etymological question, which we shall now discuss. It is rather technical - what follows, therefore, is easier - and the matter cannot be settled, but it brings us to the problem of the earlier history (the prehistory) of the Lydians, which provides the answer to the question of the origin of the Etruscans.

⁶ One might expect that Etruscan belonged to the Greek - Anatolian substratum, but this is not evident. Greek has one or two loanwords that are found in Etruscan (the best is *ὄπιώ* 'to marry' - Etr. *puia* 'wife'), but Etruscan does not show many of the typical characteristics of the Greek substratum.

I. THE PREHISTORY OF THE LYDIANS

I.1 Μήονες

The Homeric name for the Lydians is *Mēiones* (Μήονες)⁷ (the name is sometimes transcribed as *Meïones*, but in Homer the η is always monosyllabic). It occurs in Homer in Κ 431, Β 866, -οσι Β 864, -ίς ‘Lydian woman’ Δ 142, -ίην Σ 291; gen. -ονος of a personal name Ε 43. Later the Greek form of the word is *Maiones* (Μαίονες), with shortening of the vowel (cf. Τροίη from Τρω-). The α in this form shows that the Homeric η continues a long *ā*; the form with α must be of Aeolic origin (a Dorian origin is improbable). This means that the oldest form was **Māiones*.

**Māiones* might be compared with Παίονες, but nothing is known of the formation of this name. (We might expect *Τρωη from Τρω+η, parallel to Μήονες from *Mā+ιονες; the form we find, Τροίη, may be the younger form, comparable to Μαίονες. The younger form, with -σ-, may have been generalized later; note that it makes no difference for the metre.) Greek has a suffix -ον- to indicate peoples, cf. Κίκονες, Μύγδονες, Μακεδόνες. We also find -ιον-, in Δολίονες (south of Kyzikos! the long *i metri causa*).

I.2 *The land Māsas*

It was suggested long ago that Μήονες is derived from the name of the land *Māsas*, mentioned in Hittite texts. The idea originated from Goetze (1924, 23).

In recent years a conviction has grown that in western Asia Minor, in Hittite times, Luwian was spoken (e.g. Starke 1997a *passim*). This raises the question, of course, where the speakers of Lydian, which is linguistically rather deviant (see below 1.5), lived. Starke suggested that Lydian came from the northeast (1997a n. 101). If one looks, with this in mind, at Starke’s map (ibid. 449; also *Troia, Traum und Wirklichkeit* 2001, 34f.; *Die Hethiter* 2002, 304f, 306f; Latacz 2001, inside front and back cover), we find there the land of *Māsas*. Thus, it seems obvious to derive the *Maiones* from *Māsas*. It must be noted that scholars situated this land earlier quite differently, in the south, near later Lycia (in Hittite called *Lukkā*). As yet there is no agreement on the position of *Māsas*, north or south (see e.g. Hawkins 1984, 29f.; cf. Del Monte - Tischler 1978, 264f, 1992, 102f). I cannot discuss this issue extensively and will start from Starke’s position: we shall see below that everything confirms his view.

As an *s* disappears in Greek in many positions, the derivation seems

⁷ Homer does not have the word *Lydoi* (Λυδοί), Lydians.

unproblematic. However, there is a problem, as the *s* had already become *h* very early, probably in Proto-Greek; so when the Greeks learned the name *Māsas*, the *s* could no longer have participated in the Greek development and would have remained, as e.g. in *Ephesos* from *Abasas* (mentioned in Hittite); cf. further e.g. *Amnisos* (Myc. *aminiso*), the harbour of Knossos; χρυσός ‘gold’, Myc. *kuruso*; Ἀπαισός/Παισός (in the Troas).

We have a comparable problem, however, with the Hittite names *Wilusas* and *T(a)ruisas*, now generally identified with Ilios, (F)ίλιος resp. Troy (Τρω̃-(ε)s, Τροίη), where there is no trace of the first *s* either. This problem has not yet been solved. It would be easiest to assume a local sound law *s* > *h* in this northern region, but, while Lycian knew such a rule, there is no evidence for it in Lydian or Luwian.⁸

Another possibility seems that *-sa-* was a suffix and that the Greeks learned the forms without this suffix. Note that all three forms end in *-sa-*. For the suffix (to be distinguished from *-ssa-*), which is very frequent in Anatolian geographical names, see Jin Jie (1994, 91 - 93). The situation seems most clear in the case of *Truisas*: I think that it must be analyzed as *Tru-isa-s*; *-isa-s* being a variant of *-sa-s*, cf. *Kark-isa-s*. Then *Tru-* corresponds with Τρω̃⁹, which is found in Τρω̃-εs and in Τροίη (from Τρω̃ + -η; see above on the shortening of the long *-o-*).

However, *Wilusas* is often considered as derived from **Wilus*, as *Hattusas* is from *Hattus*; so it would not have a suffix *-sa-*. But this is uncertain.

⁸ There is a case where *s* disappeared in Lydian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1, 24 says that the oldest ancestor of the Lydians was Manes, son of Zeus and Gē (which means that this is the oldest man). This Manes is well-known, e.g. Hdt. 1, 94. However, all manuscripts of Dionysius have Masnes (Μάσνηs; the form without *s* is a conjecture). Von Wilamowitz 1899, 222f pointed out that the manuscript reading is correct. Hephæstion (cap. 1) and Herodianos (Etym. M. s.v. δάσκληρα) mention as examples of the unusual consonant-clusters of Lydian from Xanthos the Lydian the names *Pasnes* (Πάσνηs) and *Masnes* (Μάσνηs), which would be river-names (the names have not been identified, I think, as the *Barrington Atlas* does not give them). Von Wilamowitz added that it is understandable that a first ancestor was called after a river (cf. note 49). The form is furthermore confirmed by Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 360b, which has: Manes, whom some call *Masdes* (Μάνην...ὄν ἔνιοι Μάσδη καλέουσιν). L. Robert, 1937, 156-8, has shown that the oldest form of the name is *Masdnes* (Μάσδνηs). However, Lydian inscriptions have no trace of this *s*: the name is *manes*, adj. *maneli-* (Gusmani 1964, 163; Gusmani does not discuss the point). However, this will be an instance of assimilation of *s*, which may have nothing to do with *s* between vowels.

⁹ That *-u-* was rendered by *ω* is no problem; cf. e.g. Luw. Lyc. *Runt-* in names as Ρωνδασ, Ρωνδβεppας, Ρωνδεppεμις etc.; Houwink 1961, 130f.

Anyhow, it seems to me that *Wilusas* was adapted as **Wiluos*, which became *Wilios*, with assimilation of the *u* to the preceding *i*.¹⁰

In the same way *Mā-sa-* may have come into Greek without the suffix *-sa-*. *Māsa-* may have been the land of *Mā*. As is well known, *Mā* was the name of the Mother goddess who was venerated in these lands. This interpretation was already given by Kretschmer in 1927. The name of the land may well have been **Mā*; cf. for the structure *P/Blā*, the new reading of Hitt. *Palā*, based on Gr. Blaene (Βλαήνη).

Whatever the explanation, Ilios and Troy 'lost' an *s*, and the same may have happened to *Māsas*. The *-i-* of the Greek form may be explained as follows. *Māiones* indicates the people; the land is called in Greek *Māion-iā*, which is derived from the word for the people. It is therefore obvious to ask whether there was an earlier name for the country, parallel to *Māsa-*. Names of countries were formed in Greek with *-iā*.¹¹ So we might expect **Māia-*. Alternatively, we could assume an Anatolian variant with *-iya-*, cf. *Wilus-ia-*.¹² (For the lengthening of suffixes cf. *-ηνοι* : *-ιηνοι*, Lat. *-ānus* : *-iānus*.) Kretschmer (l.c.) assumes a Greek derivation from *Mā*. (Cf. for a derivation with *-s(s)a-* from the name of a god, *Tarhuntassa-*, note 31, *Tešubassa-*). Cf. for the forms γῆ : γαῖα. Lastly compare Stephanus of Byzantium, who notes s.v. Μαῖα: πόλις Ἐλλησποντία ('a city on the Hellespont').

As in the case of *Wilusas - Ilios* and *Truisas - Troiē* the geographical and historical evidence, combined with the phonetic resemblance, is so strong that I think we can consider the equation *Māsas - Μαῖον-* highly probable. It is quite improbable that in the same area two large countries existed of which the name began with *Mā-* (*Mā-*, with long *ā*, is much less frequent than forms with short *a*).¹³ What follows confirms the idea so clearly that

¹⁰ This development may have been helped by the fact that *-uoç* is rare in Greek. Kretschmer-Locker give 34 forms, with one more on p. 712, of which nine are neuters; the forms are mostly very unusual, except a few compound adjectives, like ἀριδάκρυος; *-toç* is, of course, extremely frequent.

¹¹ It was demonstrated long ago (Sommer 1937, 254ff) that single *-ā* in that function only occurs in a few very old names (Θρήκη, Κρήτη, Φοινίκη, Λιβύη; to which Εὐρώπη must be added).

¹² Meister 1921, 150f argued for original Μήονες, without *i*. But then Μαίονες is difficult to explain. (The form has been explained as Boeotian, with *-η-* from *-αι-*.)

¹³ It is a pity that the *Barrington Atlas* does not indicate the length of vowels, a mistake that seriously diminishes its value, as also the decision to give when possible the latinized version of names instead of the original form. Geographical names are linguistic facts that are of historical interest.

there can be little doubt about the etymology (but, as we shall see, it is not essential for my thesis).

Geographically the assumption of an 'old Maeonia', in the north, fits very well. Classical Maeonia is notably the area north-east of Sardes (where there is also a town *Maionia*); and this area lies south of (Starke's) Māsas. Starke indicates that Māsas comprised the territory of eastern Phrygia Hellespontica and western Bithynia; from the mouth of the river Aisēpos, west of Kyzikos, (which probably was the border of the Troas), to Heraklea, east of the mouth of the Sangarios; in the south it runs to the (east-west course of the) river Makestos; he excludes the peninsula east of the Bosphorus. Classical Maeonia, then, lies due south of Māsas/old Maeonia; the distance is some 225 km.¹⁴

1.3 *Ancient testimonies*

That the Lydians came from the north is in my view confirmed by a story given by Greek authors. It is very shortly referred to by Herodotus (7, 74), where he says about the Mysians (Μυσοί): 'These are colonists of the Lydians, after the mountain Olympos called Olymپیēnoi'. (The Olympos in Mysia is meant.) (οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἀποικοί, ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὄρεος καλέονται Ὀλυμπιηνοί.) The story is told at some length by Strabo (12, 8, 3). He says that there is uncertainty in the authors he consulted about the Mysians, and that some say that they are Thracians, 'but^{14a} others say that they [the Mysians] were Lydians, thus concurring with an ancient explanation given by Xanthos the Lydian and Menekrates of Elaia, who at the same time explain the origin of the name of the Mysians, (by) saying that the *oxua*-tree is so named by the Lydians [this means that this tree has a name in Lydian which strongly resembles the word Mysoi]. And the *oxua*-tree abounds in the neighbourhood of Mt. Olympus, where they say that the decimated persons were put out [i.e. where a Lydian colony was established] and that their descendants were the Mysians of later times, so named after the *oxua*-tree, and that their language too bears witness to this; for, (they add,) their language is, in a way, a mixture of the Lydian and the Phrygian languages, for they lived round Mt. Olympus for a time,

¹⁴ Dr. M.P. Cuypers draws my attention to the fact that the Bebrykes lived in the territory designated by Starke as Māsas. They lived in (later) Bithynia, east of the Bosphorus, between the Black Sea and the Kian Gulf; but they are also mentioned near Lampsakos. They are even found in Lydia, near Ephesos; Cuypers 1997, 30f.

^{14a} I give the translation by H.L. Jones in the Loeb edition, with a few slight changes; I add some explanations in square brackets.

but when the Phrygians crossed over from Thrace and slew the ruler of Troy and of the country near it, those people [the Phrygians] took up their abode there, whereas the Mysians took up their abode above the sources of the [river] Kaikos near Lydia [i.e. went to the places where they lived in classical times].¹⁵

It may be useful to give a few explanations.¹⁶ ‘To decimate’ is a means of deciding who has to leave the country and find a living elsewhere, i.e. to select the people that will found a colony. - Mt Olympus is the Olympos in Mysia, exactly in the area where the land of Māsas is situated, the country which I assume to be ‘old Maionia’. - Strabo knows that the Phrygians came from Europe. He also states, as one might expect, that their arrival was accompanied by violence: they overthrew Troy [perhaps rather than the Greeks as they claim in their story of the Trojan War¹⁷] and the land lying near it. This cannot be to the west of the Troas, where you have the sea. It might be to the south of it, but the story is about the country east of it (round Mt. Olympos). It is a pity that Strabo and his sources do not mention who lived there: it will be clear that I think that the (forefathers of) the Lydians lived there.

The story may be summarized as follows. There was a tradition that the Mysians originated from the Lydians, for there was a Lydian colony established around the Olympos. Their descendants became the Mysians. The Mysians were pushed southward by the Phrygians and so came in the position where they are found in historical times, just north of (classical) Lydia. That this story is correct is shown by the fact that the language of these people (who Herodotos calls Olympiēnoi, and who according to Strabo became the Mysians) is a mixture of Lydian and Phrygian. It would also appear from the name of the tree, which would be Lydian. (This etymology of the name ‘Mysian’ is improbable: peoples’ names are not

¹⁵ οἱ δὲ Λυδοὺς εἰρήκασι, κατ’ αἰτίαν παλαιὰν ἱστοροῦ ντες ἦν Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδοῦς γράφει καὶ Μενεκράτης ὁ Ἐλαίτης, ἐτυμολογοῦντες καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τῶν Μυσῶν, ὅτι τὴν ὀξύην οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Λυδοί. πολλή δ’ ἡ ὀξύη κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπον, ὅπου ἐκτεθῆναι φασι τοὺς δεκατευθέντας, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοὺς ὕστερον Μυσοῦς, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύης οὕτω προσαγορευθέντας, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον. μιζολύδιον γὰρ πῶς εἶναι καὶ μιζοφρύγιον. τέως μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον, τῶν δὲ Φρυγῶν ἐκ τῆς Θρακῆς περαιωθέντων, ἀνελόντων[?] τε τῆς Τροίας ἄρχοντα καὶ τῆς πλησίον γῆς, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ Μυσοῦς ὑπερ τὰς τοῦ Καΐκου πηγὰς πλησίον Λυδῶν. (There is a problem with the text: ἀνελόντων is a conjecture for εἴλοντο τὸν ‘they took the’, but the general meaning is clear.)

¹⁶ A discussion of the story is given by Briquel (1991, 55ff), from a traditional point of view, of course.

¹⁷ The Phrygians in Homer are an anachronism.

derived from the name of a tree. But it may be true that in this area the word for this tree was Lydian. The tree argument is not strong.)

My view is that the Lydians mentioned were not a colony, but were the original inhabitants of the area. There are good arguments for this view, and it is also easy to see how the colony-version arose.

To begin with the latter, we are dealing with dim recollections of a distant past. It is assumed that the Phrygians invaded the country after 1200. That is 700 years before classical Greek times (Xanthos wrote in the early fifth century BC). What people observed was that there is evidence for Lydians around Olympos. As the Lydians lived in (classical) Lydia, this must (they thought) have been a colony (ἀποικία) of Lydians. That the Lydians might have come from there was no longer known, and did not occur to them.

I see the following indications for my view. The people in Strabo's story lived on the Olympos, i.e. they lived in the mountains. That they lived in the mountains, while the surrounding country is so fertile as is the case in this area (Strabo 12, 8, 4), suggests that this is an instance of a people driven to the mountains by invaders; it is a 'Rückzugsgebiet'. Then, the colony would have been established before 1200. It is next to impossible that there was a tradition about such an uneventful occurrence so long ago. (The invasion of the Phrygians, on the other hand, was such a disaster that there remained a tradition about it. Also the precise term δεκατεύω must be sheer phantasy: such minor details cannot be remembered over so long a time. It is just a usual feature of colonization.)

Thus, there is a tradition which remembers Lydians living in old Maeonia.

This interpretation is confirmed by another passage in Strabo (13, 1, 8), where he says (in Jones' translation, see n. 14a): 'Now such were the conditions at the time of the Trojan War, but all kinds of changes followed later; for the part round Cyzicus as far as the [river] Practius was colonized by the Phrygians, and those round Abydus by the Thracians; ... and the plain of Thebe [Thebe near Adramyttion] by the Lydians, then called Maeonians, (and by the survivors of the Mysians who had formerly been subject to Telephus...)'. (τὸ δὲ Θήβης πεδίων [ἐπὶ ὠκισαν] Λυδοί, οἱ τότε Μήονες, καὶ Μυσῶν οἱ περιγεγόμενοι τῶν ὑπὸ Τηλέφω πρότερον). This statement is important for two reasons. First, it shows that the Maeonians were pushed on in the time when the Phrygians came, and probably by pressure of the Phrygians. Secondly, the movements mentioned must have been roughly from north to south (or from west to east, for the

Phrygians, like the Galatians later, moved to the south-east), which gives evidence that the Maeonians earlier lived north (or east) of Thebe; and this is exactly where I propose that they were.

That there were in earlier times Lydians in the north has long since been assumed. Thus, Herodotus (1, 8) states that Gyges, the founder of the Lydian Mermnad dynasty (see below 1. 6), was the son of Daskylos. Xanthos the Lydian, in his history of Lydia (which is lost), says that an early king Meles had profited from the violent death of a prince Daskylos. How and Wells, in their commentary on Herodotus (ad loc.), already commented that this name reminds one of Daskyleion (older Daskylion; cf. below 1.4), where later a Persian satrap resided. It lies to the south of the westernmost of two lakes south of the Propontis (called Aphnitis, mod. Manyas Gölü or Kuş Gölü). There was another town so called further east on the seashore (east of Skylake). Both places are exactly in the country which I suppose old Maeonia to be. In an appendix How and Wells (1, 374, section 8) write: 'It is tempting to conjecture that some immigration of fighting men from the North (was the cause...).' The question is not put, however, how a noble Lydian family could have originated so far in the north. It may be a further indication that (the) Lydians once lived in the north, in old Maeonia.¹⁸

It may be noted here that Hanfmann, the excavator of Sardes, also reckoned with 'immigrant Maeonians' (1958, 74).

Another consideration is that in the tradition on the origin of the Etruscans it is stated that the Lydian people were divided in two parts, one being that of the later Etruscans, the other, under the king's son Lydos changing their name (from 'Maeonians') into 'Lydians'. This fact is repeated several times, e.g. Hdt. 7, 74: 'The Lydians were earlier called Maeonians, but after Lydos the son of Atys they got their [present] name, changing their name.' (οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μητίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὔνομα); cf. also Hdt. 1, 7. The latter point requires explanation. That they were named after the prince is very doubtful: it is much probable that the name of the prince was coined to have an eponymous hero to explain the name 'Lydian', as happened so often in the Greek world. But the story contains something remarkable. Why did the other half of the population change its name? This would have happened at the same time when the Etruscans left the country. So it seems as if the same event that caused the

¹⁸ The name *Deskylos* [sic] is found on inscriptions east of Sardis around 150 AD. See Malay 1999 nr. 105 and 180 (three times).

Etruscans to leave the country, was also the cause for (the event leading to) the change of the name of the other half of the population. This is well explained by my assumption that the other half also left the country, heading south, and settling elsewhere (i.e. in classical Lydia). If they settled in a country called Lydia, they were of course called ‘Lydians’. In this way the statement about the change of name can be accounted for. To put it briefly, the change of name suggests that they went to another country, as my hypothesis supposes.

I wonder whether Homer gives evidence for Maeonia in the north. In B 866 the mountains Tmôlos is mentioned as located in Lydia, so Maeonia is classical Lydia. But in Γ 402 and Σ 291 we find Φρυγίη καὶ Μηονίη (in K 431 Phrygians and Maeonians are mentioned side by side as well). Now in classical times this would be unthinkable: Phrygia is a large and mighty country, whereas Maeonia is small and insignificant. So the collocation must date from a time when the two were comparable. Also Phrygia in the Iliad seems to be only the land in the north (the Sangarios is mentioned, nothing else): its southern extension is simply not in view. This may imply that Maeonia is also a land in the north, of roughly the same importance as Phrygia. But it cannot be excluded that the expression, or the idea, Phrygia and Lydia, dates from a (very recent) time when Phrygia had become less strong and when Lydia was growing in strength, so that both were comparable; Maeonia would then be just the traditional name for Lydia.

1.4 *Other evidence*

When I had nearly completed this article, I saw Neumann’s important article on the language of Troy (1999). He remarks that the peoples speaking (Indo-European) Anatolian languages ‘müssen ... den Nordwesten Anatoliens nicht ausgespart haben, ein unüberwindliches Hindernis gab es da nicht.’ Names connected to Troy do not show typical Luwian elements, but some evidence points to Lydian. Thus, Τρωίλος, e.g. the name of a son of Priamos, has a suffix *-il-*, which finds its closest parallel in Lyd. *-li-* (*mane-li-* ‘(son) of Manes’). It is found in Μυρσίλος, the name of a tyrant of Mytilene on Lesbos and of a historian from Lesbos; it is a derivation from Μύρσος, the name of a Lydian king and of the son of (the Lydian king) Gyges. The place name *Daskyl(e)ion*, which is found several times in the northwest of Asia Minor, is derived from a personal name *Daskylos*, which is the name of the father of Gyges (Hdt. 1, 8) and of a king of the Mariandyni and his grandson (schol. on Ap. Rh. 2, 724 and 752). This name is known in Hittite as *Taskuili-*, which may mean ‘son of (the

god) *Tasku'* (the god is known to us).¹⁹ Further the town Gergitha in the Troad is reported to have been founded by the Lydians from Gergithes (Strabo 13, 1, 19). Neumann concludes 'Insgesamt machen diese Einzelbeobachtungen wahrscheinlich, dass auch nördlich von Lydien, in Mysien und dann wohl auch in der Troas das Lydische - oder eine ihm nahverwandte idg.-anatolische Sprache - geherrscht hat - vor dem Eindringen der Phryger und anderer aus dem Balkan herübergekommener Ethnien.'

He then goes on to refer to an article by Starke (1997b), who discussed the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of Yariri from 8th century Karkamis (in the far east of Asia Minor), who claimed to speak many languages. Starke concluded that (the name of) one of these languages, *musu/azza*, referred to Lydian. He then connects this term with Mysia (Μυσία), and finds the equation confirmed by the statement of Xanthos the Lydian (FGrH 765 F 15) that the language of the Mysians was 'half-Lydian, half-Phrygian' (μιξολύδιον and μιξοφρύγιον); we discussed this text in 1.3 above. Neumann: 'Das darf man wohl so interpretieren, dass durch das auch Mysien erfassende Ausgreifen der Phryger das dort vorher herrschende Idiom [= Lydian, as appears from the context] beeinflusst, beeinträchtigt worden ist.' Finally Neumann points out that the evidence adduced for Luwian in the Troas is not reliable. About the seal with hieroglyphic Luwian text recently found in Troy he remarks that it has 'nicht den geringsten Zeugniswert' for the (local) language of Troy; such seals were also found in Mycena and Thebes in Greece. So Neumann differs from Starke, who thinks that the whole north-west of Asia Minor was Luwian. We shall return to the question in 1.7.

I add a few small observations, which may be relevant for our problem. One is the name of the Trojan warrior Πάλμυς. He is mentioned by Homer N 792, together with Askanios and Morus, as having come from Askania. In B 863 Askanios is called a leader of the Phrygians (together with Phorkus).²⁰ Askania is in the center of old Maeonia/Māsas (the most eastern of the three lakes there is called Askaniē). Now *Palmus* is a Lydian name; we have the word *qalmly-* 'king' in the Lydian texts (Gusmani 1964, 179, 276). The problem is how a Lydian can come from Askania

¹⁹ Note *morinail* 'from [the city of] Myrina' on the inscription from Lemnos (on which below in 2.1). - Further I recall Καδμῖλος, which will be 'son of Kadmos' (on Kadmos cf. note 49). Note that here the *i* is long. (One might compare other suffixes consisting of long *i* followed by a consonant, like Σαλαμῖν-, (Hom.) Μυρίνη, Φοινῖκ-ες.)

²⁰ Note that names in *-us* are typical of Lydian.

(which is far north of classical Lydia). In the present context it would confirm that the Lydians originated from this area. But the conclusion is not certain. If the word is of Indo-European origin, it may have occurred not only in Lydian. But there is no Indo-European etymology. So it will be a loan from a substratum language in Asia Minor, and from there it may have come not only in Lydian. Further, Homer may just have used an interesting name, without respect of historical fact. (Homer probably lived near Lydia, so he must have known many Lydian names.)

Interesting is the inscription recently found in Daskyleion which mentions a man called Manes (Gusmani - Polat 1999). The inscription, dating from the first quarter of the fifth century, is in Phrygian. But Gusmani remarks that the name 'im Lydischen...mehrmals vorkommt, im Phrygischen aber bisher nur eine schwache Spur hinterlassen hat' (it is found on a seal-inscription). It is further remarked that the oldest mention of the name comes from Kyzikos. This may imply that the man is of Lydian descent; probably the text mentions that his grandfather was also called Manes (gen. *manitos*). (The stela has a relief of a banquet-scene, much like those known from the Etruscans. Polat (150) states that this represents 'eine tief verwurzelte Tradition ...in dieser Region', i.e. the Propontis area and Phrygia and Lydia.)

We have in the Lydian inscriptions a name *Srkastu-*, which may be related to the epithet of Zeus in the city of Tios/n in Bithynia, Συργάστης, -ητος, mentioned on coins of that town (see RE 2, IV 1 c. 967 s.v. *Surgasteus*; Cook 1914, I, 753, 2). Hesychius calls it an ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν ('a non-Greek name'). The word is also found in Phrygian (dat.) *Surgastoj*. Its meaning is unknown.²¹ If the name is typically Lydian, it might prove the

²¹ Neumann (1988, 14) discusses Συργάστης, -τωρ. He also mentions *Surgastos* in Old Phrygian (Dd-102, an inscription identified as Phrygian by Neumann). He assumes that it is a parallel formation in Greek and Phrygian, and derived it from a verb **surgad-yō* (root **syerg-* 'to care for'), as a nomen actoris resp. a verbal adjective ('der, der für seine Schützlinge sorgt' resp. 'der Betreute, Beschützte'). This seems improbable to me. In the first place, the Greek form is not Greek: it is written in Greek letters, but it is a name, as Hesych states an ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν, i.e. 'a non-Greek name'. The distribution too suggests a Phrygian - Lydian name taken over in Greek. A present in *-ad-yō* is unknown in other Indo-European languages and is probably a typical Greek formation. That the s- was preserved in 'Greek' is because it was a loanword. We do not know whether it went from Phrygian to Lydian or *vice versa*; both languages may have it from a substratum. Gusmani (1980/81) considers connection with Hitt. *sarku-* 'high, eminent, powerful'. (His comparison with the type *dalugast-* 'length' seems not viable to me, as these words are abstracts, which is not probable here.) We should also keep in mind the strange Greek word σύρραστρος, on which see the etymological dictionaries.

presence of Lydians in Bithynia (which is supposed if Maeonia was Lydian and if Starke's identification of Māsas is correct). But the situation could be explained differently. Gusmani (1980/81) pointed out that *-st-* is well known in Anatolian onomastics: Μαμαστις, Παππουστις, Νενεστος; Ερεμαστος (Haas 1966, 98), the monster *Agdistis*. Dr. M.P. Cuypers suggests to me that it will be continued by (Lat.) *Sergestus*, the companion of Aeneas (see below, section 4.). I would add the possibility that it is found in the Etruscan name *Sekstalus*. *-alu-* is an Etruscan suffix of gentilicia (Rix 1965, 182). Then we may have *Sekst-* < **Serkst-* < **Serge/ast-*. (There is a form Τυργαστης found on Chios, see L. Robert, BCH 59, 1935, 455, which may be a variant.)

Lamētru- (Gusmani 1964) is a Lydian name, *Damatrus* (probably the same word) the name of a mountain in Bithynia. But the word is derived from Gr. Δᾶμᾶτηρ, so it is too late to be relevant here.

Note that the town Adrasteia, north of Troy, recalls the Lydian personal name *Atrašt[a]* (with adj. *Atraštali-*; see also the comment on *atrašali-* in Gusmani 1964, 70).

Then there is the tradition that Adramyttion was founded by Lydians (Strabo 13.1,65). Stephanus of Byzantium says it was founded by the Lydian king Ἔρμων or Ἄδραμυς.²² But if this was the son of Alyattes or Sadyattes, it would be in the time of the last dynasty. Pedley (1968, 22) says that Abydos too was Lydian, but I have not found his source.

Taking all pieces of evidence together it seems probable that, before the arrival of the Phrygians about 1200, the whole area north of Lydia to the coast spoke Lydian.

1.5 *The linguistic position of Lydian*

Linguistically Lydian is the most deviating of the Anatolian languages. Oettinger (1978) argues that Lydian belonged to the Palaic-Luwian group (which remained after Hittite had left the group). From this group Lydian would have branched off first. But Melchert (1994, 4) thinks that ideas about subgrouping are premature. In Starke's diagram (1997a, 486) Lydian is at the farthest end of the Anatolian languages. Our reconstruction may help explain this fact. From the proposed position of the Lydians in old Maeonia/Māsas it follows that they lived in the north. Hence they were in the farthest corner of Anatolia, and their contact with the other

²² Note that Ἔρμων is also the name of a king of the Pelasgians (= Tyrsēnoi) who handed over Lemnos to Miltiades; Zenobius Paroim. 3, 85 (Lochner-Hüttenbach 61).

Anatolian languages may have been limited, which would explain the deviating form of Lydian. (This is more probable than that they were an enclave in Luwian territory.) This is probably one reason why Starke assumed that the Lydians lived somewhere in the north. (It is improbable that, if Lydians lived in Mysia, there was a small zone with another dialect north of it.) If the Anatolians entered Asia Minor from the west, from Europe, one might think that the Lydians were the last to enter Asia Minor.²³

1.6 *Historical considerations*

Historically the situation seems also clear. It is generally supposed that around 1200 peoples from Europe crossed the straits. Among them were the Phrygians. So it is very probable that the Lydians were pushed to the south by the Phrygians. The connection with the arrival of the Phrygians is mentioned by Strabo. We pointed out above that classical Maeonia is due south of old Maeonia/Māsas. Sakellariou (1958, 430) also saw a connection with these events. After observing that the Greeks, writing about the colonisation of Ionia, never mentioned the Lydians, he concluded that they did not live in the coastal areas. He therefore assumed that the Phrygians pushed the Lydians to the west into their later positions. This is geographically less probable, as it presupposes that the Lydians originally lived further east (than in classical times) and that the Phrygians came to the east of them and pushed them westwards. It is more probable that the Phrygians, coming from the north, pushed other peoples southwards. This means that the Lydians came from the north. The Phrygians lived also east of classical Maeonia. Perhaps, then, they pushed the Lydians also westwards. (In Homer, the Maiones are mentioned immediately after the Phrygians.) The connection with the invasion of the Phrygians was also made by Neumann, as we saw (1.4 above).

It may be mentioned that Strabo already remarked that the region under discussion had a very turbulent history. He says (12, 8, 4) that the history of the peoples in this area is very complicated, because of 'the fertility of the country this side of the Halys river, particularly that of the seaboard, on account of which attacks were made against it from numerous places and continually by peoples from the opposite mainland, or else the people nearby would attack one another. Now it was particularly in the

²³ There is no passage from the north-east, passing the Caucasus, to Turkey. Only the Turks and the Mongols came from the east, but they came through Iran.

time of the Trojan War and after that time that invasions and migrations took place, ...'

This hypothesis is confirmed by archaeology and by a remark of Herodotus. Archaeologists have found that Sardes, the capital of classical Lydia, was violently destroyed around 1200. Pedley (1968, 25): 'Sardis was destroyed by a fierce and uncompromising foe at the end of the Bronze Age; but at a time of great population disturbances and political upset, it is difficult to assess the responsibility accurately. The Herodotean sons of Heracles may have been responsible, just as similar legend records the damaging activities of the Heraclids in Greece and elsewhere at this time.' In my view it is probable that this were indeed the 'Heraclids', i.e. the population movements of about 1200, but that in this case we have to do with the the first arrival of the Lydians in their later land. The argument is simple; before 1200 the Lydians lived in my view in old Maeonia; and after 1200 Sardes was continuously in the hands of the Lydians; so they must have arrived around 1200. (It must be admitted, however, that we do not know how far south the Lydians lived before 1200.)

Herodotus (1, 7) tells us that two dynasties ruled Lydia: the Mermnads (the last dynasty, ending with Kroisos), and before them the Heraclids; these were preceded by a few earlier kings sometimes called the Atyades (one of them Atys, whose sons Lydos and Tyrsênos led the people when the Lydians split in two groups because of a famine, one group leaving for Italy). Herodotus states that the Heraclid dynasty reigned 505 years. The Mermnads seized power under Gyges. This is supposed to have happened around 680 BC (Pedley 1968, 5). This gives a date of 1185 for the moment when the Heraclids took power in Sardes. 'What is significant is the notice of a change of dynasty around 1200, a fact substantiated by the archaeological material.' (Pedley 1968, 30; Pedley gives the year 1221, which is based on the old assumption that Gyges came to power in 716, forgetting his own, more exact, estimate.) Drews (1969) found how the chronology arose. It is based on 1 king = 1 generation = 25 years. There would have been 22 Heraclid kings (Herodotus 1, 7, 4 says generations but seems to imply kings) and 5 Mermnad kings. The number of 505 years must have arisen as follows: 27 kings x 25 years = 675 years; later (?) it was known that the Mermnads reigned 170 years; then the Heraclids must have reigned 675 - 170 = 505 years.²⁴ To reckon with 25 year per king is reasonable, so if there were 22 kings, this gives some 500 years (550).

²⁴ Drews' comparison with the rulers of eastern Asia (Minor), the Assyrians and the Medes, is irrelevant for the Lydian chronology. - The explanation of the 505 years had

Starting from 680, with Gyges, you get 1180 (1230). However, we do not know how real the 22 kings (generations) are.

As the Phrygians and the Mysians arrived much later, there was a time (before 1200, the fall of Troy) when in the north of western Asia Minor we only have the name of the Lydians (of course the names of other peoples may have been lost). Their territory may have been (much) larger at that time. Perhaps we have a reminiscence of this situation in Diodorus Siculus (3, 58), who tells us that Μήων, king of Lydia and Phrygia, was father of Kybele by Dindymênê. The story refers to very ancient times (speaking of the birth of the goddess Kybele), the name Μείων refers to the Maeonians, and the fact that he is presented as king of both Lydia and Phrygia is remarkable.

We started from Starke's idea of the position of Māsas - which may have been based partly on his assumption that the whole of western Asia Minor was Luwian. However, we saw above (1,4) that this is not certain, and that the north was more probably Lydian.

Bryce argued (1986, 23 - 35) that the Lycians originally lived in western Caria, east of Miletus, and were pushed south to (classical) Lycia after 1200. This would be a fine parallel to the proposed history of the Lydians. However, in 1992 Bryce seems to be less certain about this reconstruction.

One wonders whence the name Λυδοί comes. As mentioned above, Homer does not have the name Lydians, only Μείωνες. One wonders how this is to be explained. Most probably Homer knew the term Lydians, so he must have consciously ignored it. But why were they not mentioned as allies of Troy, like the Lycians? He also ignored the presence of the Greeks along the coast of Lydia, which may be because Homer knew (or better thought) that there were no Greeks in Asia Minor at the time of the story about Troy, or in general the Greek expeditions against Asia Minor. The general idea is that the Ludoi lived to the south and at a later date became more important.

1.7 Conclusion

We started from the etymology deriving *Māiones* from *Māsas*. There are however two problems; one is the formal difficulties, the other the fact that there is no agreement on the position of Māsas. Starting from there, however, we found several indications for the essential point, that the Lydians once lived (also) further north, notably on the (east)coast of the

been found much earlier. Schubert 1884, 8 says that Gutschmid had proposed this explanation in a lecture.

Propontis. These indications were both historical (data from Greek writers) and linguistic (the view that Luwian has not been ascertained for north-west Asia Minor; and notably Neumann's analysis of the linguistic situation around Troy; and the position of Lydian among the Anatolian languages) and a few minor indications.

The further developments leading to the classical situation are perfectly accounted for by the events around 1200: destabilization of the world and large scale migrations, notably that of the Phrygians. Thus part of the prehistory of the area can be accounted for.²⁵ [Add. 1]

The conclusion is strongly confirmed by the fact that it solves the origin of the Etruscans in an unexpected way, which at the same time confirms all that we knew about the question.

2. THE ORIGIN OF THE ETRUSCANS

When I had reached the above conclusion that the Lydians earlier lived (also) more north, up to the coast, I realized that this provided the answer to the problem of the origin of the Etruscans. I shall argue that their homeland was in 'old Maeonia', south of the Propontis, the Sea of Marmara.

2.1 *The Etruscans came from the East*

Herodotus' story (1, 94) of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans met with much scepticism in the scholarly world. And rightly so, because there are several stories in antiquity about movements of peoples that are unreliable. In our case, however, the results of very many years of research leave no doubt that the story is correct. I consider this at present as

²⁵ Prof. Th. van den Hout read a paper on the early history of Lydian at the congress on prehellenistic Lycia and Lydia in Rome, 1999; the author kindly sent me the manuscript. He assumes that names like Maddunassa, Maduwata, from the 13th and 15th century, have Madun- from *Maj-un- (with a known Lydian sound change), which would be related to Μῆονες. But this is mere hypothesis. (It would also be cognate with Maiandros, but this is a Carian river, there is no evidence for Lydians here, and the Greek form with short vowel (B 86g), as opposed to Μῆονες, rather shows that this root is unrelated.) But as these forms had -d- already in the 15th century, the author must assume a third unknown language, which kept the original -j-, from which the Greek form was taken. Thus the Greek name, from which the idea started, immediately becomes a problem, which rather weakens the proposal. Also -(t)ov- is a Greek suffix, so it is less probable that it is an Anatolian element. There is nothing that confirms these hypotheses. (The idea that a fricative -d- was represented by double writing is not very probable.)

proven, and give here just a short presentation of the most important arguments

I take as a starting point a few remarks by Briquel in his thorough study on the tradition (1991). He wants to discuss the tradition without giving an opinion on the matter and he largely succeeds in doing so, but in some cases he confesses that he himself is very sceptical about the oriental origin.

He admits (79), like most other scholars, that there is a connection between the Etruscans and the Tyrsênoi of the East, because of the identity of their names, and because of the Lemnos inscription. This inscription, found on Lemnos in 1884, has always been the most important testimony for the oriental origin of the Etruscans. It was soon recognized that the language of the inscription was closely related to Etruscan, and this has never been contested. However, opponents of the oriental theory have tried to escape the inevitable conclusion.

For the explanation Briquel sees (79 n. 273) three possibilities: (1) a movement from the West to the East; (2) a movement from the East to the West; (3) both peoples are remains of a general non-Indo-European substratum.

The first theory was recently defended by De Simone (1996), but this was generally rejected (Steinbauer 1999 shows that it is linguistically impossible; cf. also Beekes 2001). This is also clear from the following consideration. A glance at the map (in this article) shows that the eastern Tyrsênoi are the remnant of a population that tried to survive at the fringes of the mainland and on the islands. This is further confirmed by the fact that these people disappear without trace. Mostly they are mentioned just once, and often it is only stated that they once lived (past tense) there. Why would the Etruscans from Italy have come to these places? One might suggest for trade, but there is not the slightest evidence for trading activities of these eastern settlements; they are never mentioned as (active) trading posts; in any case we would have to assume that this trade became a failure. (Let alone the question whether the Greeks would have tolerated them in their country.) Also, the archaeologist Beschi objected that there is no sign that there were Etruscans (from Italy) on Lemnos. Would Etruscans have settled in all these places? And all these places are found in one contiguous area, which seems unlikely if it concerns trading posts. [See also App. III.]

The last theory (of the three mentioned by Briquel), defended e.g. by Pallottino, is quite improbable. First, there is no evidence that there was a language covering Italy *and* (the west of) Asia Minor. On the contrary, whereas there is ample evidence for one language (or language group) in

Greece and Asia Minor (the Greek substratum language), there is no evidence that this language also existed in Italy (apart perhaps from a few words, that might easily have spread secondarily). Then, it is almost impossible that the names of these peoples (i.c. Tyrsênoi) remained the same over so long a period. It is even improbable that peoples with the same language but living so far apart would keep the same name. Further, old languages may hold out in places that are of difficult access, but this cannot be said of Tuscany: this is not a relic area. On the contrary, it is a most fertile and desirable country. If the Etruscans were there already when the Indo-Europeans entered Italy, they would have taken Tuscany just like the whole rest of Italy. (Whereas the eastern Tyrsênoi were a remnant, Tuscany was an area to settle.) Then, the time depth between Etruscan and Lemnian would be some 2500 years in this view (if we assume 3000 as the end of the common language), and one might ask whether so long a time distance is linguistically possible for these languages (De Simone called Lemnian a *dialect* of Etruscan; though I think there is no basis for this qualification). Also, it would be very curious if only *these* two languages would have been preserved from such a widespread language group, while there is at the same time the tradition that they come from one area, in Asia Minor. Briquel too finds this solution less probable (1999, 72; this remark is not found in the Italian version in Torelli 2000). The theory is a desperate attempt to avoid the evident conclusion from the Lemnian inscription: the Etruscans came from the East, and the Lemnos inscription was made by one of the small groups that remained in or near their country of origin. This simply settles the question.

Briquel then requires (70) that adherents of the eastern theory explain the form of the tradition. Essential is: 'Pourquoi et comment une telle tradition se serait-elle élaborée sous la forme sous laquelle nous la percevons?' Earlier he called the tradition very elaborate. I think that the tradition is very simple: it says that people were forced by hunger to leave their country: this is what Herodotus says. Briquel gives himself parallels for this motif, but it is natural enough (even though it can be fictitious). The story about the plays invented during the famine (to forget their sorrows) is not worth serious discussion. Briquel also makes a point of the fact that Tyrsênos (who is of course fictitious) would be a son of the Lydian king Atys and brother of Lydos.²⁶ It would point to a close

²⁶ Briquel uses the Torrhêbians as an argument, but we know nothing about them! Xanthos said that Atys' sons were Lydos and Torrhêbos, but except that a Torrhêbian

association between the two peoples. But if the Indo-European peoples entered Asia Minor around 2000 (a date which is certainly not too early), and if the Etruscans left about 1200 (see 1.6), the Lydians and the Tyrsênoi would have lived side by side for 800 years. This may be enough for calling them, in mythological terms, 'brothers'. Briquel thinks that Tyrsênos was made a son of the Lydian king in the time of the Lydian Empire, and is then at a loss to find why this was done. He suggests, with much hesitation, that the Lydian kings wanted to have a good relation with the Tyrsênoi, because they had the islands of Lesbos and Lemnos, whereas the Lydians did not have a fleet. But Briquel doubts himself whether this was enough to invent the story. So Briquel - who here in fact rejects the oriental origin - has a problem, while the adherents of the oriental theory have no problem at all.

The way of selecting half of the population, as stated by Herodotus, is completely fantastic, because they were peoples speaking quite different languages, but a story about the selection of who would take part in a colonisation, was a standard element in these stories. Above we saw this in the story of the supposed Lydian colonists (who became the Mysians) given by Strabo, where the element is also fictitious. That they left from Smyrna, as Herodotus says, is an element that everybody might have imagined; it is also an anachronism, as Sakellariou remarked (1958, 471; Smyrna dates from the end of the eleventh century). It probably testifies to a completely unhistorical view of the matter: it is most improbable that the departure was a large-scale operation from a great harbour. I rather think that a few ships found a good place to live, far away. They settled there and next year some went home and brought family and friends in a few ships. Next year more people came over, etc. In the course of time a considerable number of people came to the new country. (Smyrna is only mentioned by Herodotus, not in the anonymous version in Dionysius of Halikarnassos, which is more reliable; see 2.3 below.) So I see not the slightest difficulty in the form of the tradition.

It may be noted that the Pelasgian story, the variant that the Etruscans originated from Pelasgians in Greece, agrees with the Lydian tradition in that it assumes that the Etruscans came from overseas, from the east. Also it uses the same name for Etruscans, Pelasgoi, as is used for people in the north-west of Anatolia. Homer, B 840-3, mentions Pelasgoi as allies of

lake is mentioned, which has not been identified, absolutely nothing is known about the figure or the people. Briquel goes on stressing that they had the same language as the Lydians, but nothing is known about their language. This is all shere speculation.

Troy; they are mostly thought to have lived in the Troas, i.e. very near my 'old Maeonia'. An extensive discussion of this version is given in Briquel 1984. He does not discuss the origin of this variant, but does not think that it is original (except that it may contain details that are historical); p. 168. I think that the story originally was a variant of the Lydian tradition: the Etruscans, called Pelasgoi, came from Asia Minor. Only later the Greeks learned their real name, Etruscans/Tyrsênoi (cf. 2.2 with n. 31 and App. 11). Later the Greeks thought that the Pelasgians in Greece, notably Thessaly, were meant.

The fact that Xanthos the Lydian seems not to have mentioned the tradition can easily be explained. He wrote about the Lydians, and the Tyrsênoi were no Lydians, even though they lived side by side for a long time. This was evident to everybody, as they spoke a completely different language. So Xanthos needs no excuse for not mentioning their departure. This is also the view of Hencken (1968, 611). After all, Herodotus too does not pay much attention to the story; it is just a footnote to his telling that the Lydians invented several games. It may well be asked whether the departure of the Tyrsênoi had much impact on the Lydians, for it seems most probable that around the same time the Lydians were forced to go south. No wonder that Xanthos 'forgot' about the Tyrsênoi.²⁷

It is often said that the question of the 'Origin of the Etruscans' is wrongly put, following Pallottino 1947. He stressed that the Etruscans only became what they are in the times we know them, as a result of a long process, and with influence from the peoples and cultures of Italy. It was necessary to stress this, as adherents of the eastern origin earlier thought of a much more recent date (like 800), and assumed that they brought an

²⁷ A useful statement of the rejection of the eastern theory, is given by Drews 1992. None of his arguments can stand, however. He refutes the idea that Herodotus story can be ancient, as oral tradition does not normally reach that far back (in our case 700 years). That is correct, but there are exceptions. One need only think of Homer, and his mention of objects that had long since disappeared. (That the drought lasted eighteen years seems to me a genuine folk-tale element. Eighteen is 2×9 , and nine, much like seven, is a typical folk-tale number. It is frequent in Homer; cf. B 134 ἐννέα δὴ βεβῆσσι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί, and Π 785 τρίς δ' ἐννέα φῶτας ἔπεφεν. Cf. Germain 1954. For eighteen one cites that Haldan had eighteen sons, that Odin knew eighteen things; Endres-Schimmel 240. For the idea, compare the seven fat and the seven meagre cows/years of farao's dream in Gen. 41: 18ff.) Consider also the fact that there is a tradition of the coming of the Phrygians. Drews suggests that a Lydian scholar made up the theory, in Herodotus' time. But why would a Lydian scholar be interested in the Etruscans? As to the drought, see 2.1, nr. 19.

advanced civilization with them, much as we know it. Pallottino's objection would hold against a formulation: 'the origin of the Etruscan civilization' (and even then one can object that the religion and traditions, not to speak of genes, brought by the Etruscan people are an essential element of their civilization). It is a pity, however, that the great scholar was always very sceptical about the eastern origin.

Though one may object to the formulation of the question, this does not mean that there is no question of origins, for the problem remains where the Etruscan language came from. So the remarks about the wrong question cannot be used to brush away or forget the question of Etruscan origins, as has been done all too often and too easily. And a language can only come with its speakers, and these bring also other things, notably ideas and traditions. Thus e.g. Pfiffig (1975, 2) recognizes: 'ein aus dem Osten eingewandeter Bestandteil' to be called 'Tyrrhener'. 'Den 'Tyrrhener', den Trägern einer hochstehenden Stadtkultur, dürfte das Wesentliche der Sprache, der Religion und der höheren materiellen Kultur zuzuschreiben sein.' (Note that here we find a trace of the view which Pallottino rightly refuted, in the 'höhere materielle Kultur'. For 'das Wesentliche der Sprache' I would say 'die Sprache', to avoid misunderstandings; there are no 'mixed' languages.) So to be precise, the question concerns: 'the origin of the people who brought the (predecessor of the) Etruscan language', people who also brought other things with them'.

I shall now give a list of the most important arguments for the origin in Asia Minor and the immigration into Italy. Opponents often mention just one or two of the arguments, while there are so many. (The first four, and 15, recapitulate arguments mentioned above.)

1. The *tradition* as given by Herodotus and Dionysius of Halikarnassos (on which see 2.3 below).

2. The story that the Etruscans were *Pelasgians*.

3. The use of the term '*Tyrsênoi*' for both Etruscans and a people in north-western Asia Minor. Above we argued that the eastern Tyrsênoi are the remnant of a population. This means that the Tyrsênoi/Etruscans came from this area.²⁸

4. *The Lemnos inscription*.

5. To the testimony of Lemnos must now be added that Herodotus says

²⁸ Dr. Cuypers points out that the rare sequence *-urs-* in the name (it is hardly possible in Greek words of Indo-European origin) recurs in *θύρσοϛ*, which probably came from Asia Minor (cf. Hier. Luw. *tuwarsa-* 'vine').

that the people of *Plakiê* and *Skylakê* spoke the same language as the Etruscans; see 2.2.

6. *The Kumdanlı inscription.* Brandenstein refers (1942, c. 1912) to Sittig (1929), who said that Tyrrhenians are attested near lake Askania. Sittig meant modern lake Burdur, on the border of Pisidia. In fact the inscription was found west of Antiochia in Pisidia, in the village of Gondane (mod. Kumdanlı?), at the north-western top of mod. lake Egridir (of which the old name is unknown, unless it was just *Limnai*). This is just over the border of classical Lydia. The inscription dates from the second century AD and is given by Ramsay (1883); the same inscription is cited by Sundwall (1913, 221). It mentions three people as Tyrsênoi (67, 68, 102). Though very late, the inscription is of great interest, as it is the only time that we have inscriptional evidence for Tyrsênoi in Asia Minor. (And nobody will argue that these were Etruscans from Italy.) One might assume that these Tyrrhenians went south from the coast with the Maeonians, and later went further east from (classical) Maeonia.²⁹

7. *The suffix -ānos.* The suffix *-ānos* in the name Tyrsênoi (with *ê* from *ā*) points to the north-west of Asia Minor. It has long since been recognized that this suffix for ethnic names is at home in north-west Asia Minor; some think that it is of non-Greek origin; cf. Ἀβυδηνός, Ὀλυμπιηνός, Περγαμηνός, Σαρδιηνός; (see Chantraine 1933, 206; Schwyzer 490 (6); De Simone 1993, 88ff.).³⁰ This proves that the name Tyrsênoi originated in the north-west of Asia Minor. This fact has not been given much weight, as it seemed not to fit in with the tradition of the Lydian origin. We shall see that the fact fits excellently into the theory proposed here.

8. *Loanwords.* As to the language, Steinbauer (1999, 367) observes that Etruscan shows most connections (loanwords) with Lydian and concludes (p. 389): 'Unbezweifelbar steht somit wenigstens die kleinasiatische Herkunft der etruskischen Sprache fest.' [Add. 2]

9. *Tarchon.* The definite proof of the oriental origin of the Etruscans is that a 'hero' of great significance is Tarchon (Briquel 1991). He is clearly the Stormgod Tarhun(t)-, the highest god of the Luwians and Hittites. The form is of extreme importance, as it represents an element which the

²⁹ I have not seen a photograph of the inscription. There should be one, because of the unique character of the text.

³⁰ A desperate but unconvincing attempt to refute the argument was made by De Simone in 1996.

Etruscans brought with them from Asia Minor.³¹ I cite a few remarks on him by Briquel (1991) - who is no adherent of the Lydian origin. Tarchon is 'le héros fondateur par excellence, dont l'activité concerne l'ensemble des cités étrusques'. He is also the specialist in the *etrusca disciplina*, 'un héros religieux' (p. 25). He has the power to ward off lightning; the Anatolian Tarhnt was the god of lightning. He is 'une des figures les plus importantes de la fable étrusque.' (p. 238). Still Briquel thinks that he is in origin the eponyme of the city of Tarquinia (p. 242). But his properties are much easier explained if we assume that he was in origin the Anatolian god of lightning. His importance is shown clearly by Lykophron (1245 - 1249) who mentions Tarchon and Tyrsēnos, sons of Telephos, as the leaders of the Etruscans on their voyage to Italy (see n. 38). In Virgil he is the leader of the Etruscans (e.g. 10, 153).

10. *Nanas*. This identification is strongly confirmed by the story that the Etruscans were Pelasgians who came from Greece under Nanas (Nanos), mentioned by Hellanikos. This name was long ago recognized as an Anatolian 'Lallname'. We have Lydian (!) *Nannas*, *Navvaç*, Hitt. *nannaya-*, *Nani-* and the kinship-terms Luw. *nani*, Lyc. *nēni* (also (*N*)*annakos*, a Phrygian king); see e.g. Kretschmer 1896, 353 - 357.

11. *The triumphus complex*. In his study of the Roman *triumphus* Versnel has shown that (1970, 293): 'the Etruscans brought the New Year festival with them from Asia Minor, together with the god who formed the centre of it, a god whom the Greeks called Dionysos, the Etruscans Tinia (or by an Italic name Voltumna), a figure of the 'dying and rising' type, who was invoked by the cry **thriambe* and who on New Year's Day was represented by the king.' And on p. 300: 'The Etruscans brought the New Year festival with them from Asia Minor and gave Rome two ceremonies: the *ludi Romani* as the festival of the New Year, the triumph as the festival of the victory. ... Only along this way is it possible to explain the data: 1. the Dionysiac call to epiphany *triumpe*, introduced via Etruria; 2. the identification of the Roman victorious general and of the magistrate leading the games with the god Iuppiter; 3. the typological and historic relation between the *ludi Romani* and the triumph.'

12. *The double axe*. On a smaller issue Versnel concludes (p. 299): 'When this *bipennis* ['double axe'], property of 'Zeus Bakchos', carried as symbol of sacred power by Lydian kings, is encountered again as the symbol of

³¹ It should be noted that this fact was realized long ago. I found it in Schachermeyr 1929, 158 n.12. Horsfall 1987, 96 e.g. takes it as a fact. - In Etruria the city of Tarquinia was called after him. Compare the town of Tarhuntas in the Hittite world.

the royal authority of the Etruscan kings, particularly of the supreme king of the federation of cities, this may be considered an important indication of the Asia Minor origin of the entire underlying ideology, and of the ceremony of investiture in which the *bipennis* played a part.⁷

These conclusions are of primary importance, as they concern a deep-rooted complex of religious views that cannot have been taken over from elsewhere.

13. *The Kabeiroi*. One might also recall the Latin word *camillus*, which means a young boy of noble birth who assists with ritual actions. The word is stated to be of Etruscan origin; see Ernout-Meillet and Walde Hoffmann s.v. The first handbook states that the initial stress confirms this. Varro derived the word from *Kadmilos/Kasmilos* who is one of the Kab(e)iroi. Cf. Dion. Hal. 2, 22, 2; 'And all the functions which among the Tyrrhenians ... were performed by those they called *kadmiloi* in the rites of the Kouretes and the Great Gods, were performed in the same manner by those attendants called by the Romans *camilli*.' Again, Dionysius (1, 23, 5) relates: 'For the Pelasgians [=Etruscans] in a time of general scarcity in the land had vowed to Zeus, Apollo and the Kabeiroi tithes of all their future increase'. This shows not only that they honoured the Kabeiroi, a group of gods originating from northwestern Asia Minor, but beside Zeus, who is no doubt the god of lightning, Tarchon, and Apollo, who is also probably originating from Asia Minor. (Note that he is the defender of Troy, and cf. Apaliunas, mentioned in the treaty of Alaksandus of Wilusas with the Hittite king (e.g. Latacz 2001, 138).³² The subject is of great importance. We saw that the Etruscans kept the connection with the Kabeiroi. But Herodotus, 2, 52, says very clearly that the cult of Samothrake was a Pelasgian cult (and he makes it very clear that he means with Pelasgians the Tyrsênoi). That is, they did not, at a later stage, take it over, but the cult *arose* among them. Which means that they lived there (for a very long time). Again, this fact in itself shows that the Tyrsênoi/Etruscans came from there.

Probably more evidence can be found in the field of religion, such as the much discussed hepatoscopy. It seems quite probable to me that the *lituus*, the crosier used by the Roman priests, is Anatolian (see e.g.

³² The connection with Semitic names is wrong. Kadmilos e.g. is derived with *-il-*, which is found in languages of Asia Minor (cf. *Taskuil-*, from which *Daskyleion* was derived: Neumann in 1.4 above), from *Kadm-*, which is a geographical name in Caria and in Greece. See note 13.

Wainwright 1959, 210; cf. Haas 1991, Abb. 75, the Stormgod standing on an animal with his lituus over his shoulder).³³

14. *The Etruscan way of life.* There was in antiquity much criticism on Etruscan customs, concerning cruelty,³⁴sexual behaviour, and the behaviour of women. Much of it may be exaggerated or simply wrong; in the eyes of the Roman and Greek observers they were different, i.e. 'wrong', with all the usual stereotypes. But I think Pfiffig (1975, 216f) has said essential things about it. 'Etwas muss doch an den Etruskern gewesen sein, dass man so gern bereit war, alles mögliche von ihnen zu glauben.' Dionysius of Halikarnassos said that they were οὔτε ὁμόγλωσσον οὔτε ὁμοδίαιτον with any other people, which Pfiffig translated: 'nicht nur in der Sprache, sondern in der ganze Mentalität verschieden'. Pfiffig then continues: 'Es war die letzte Blüte der grossen vorindoeuropäischen Kulturen' (where e.g. the position of women was much different). 'In ihrer so wenig indoeuropäischen Mentalität mussten die Etrusker den Griechen und Römer als etwas fremdartiges erscheinen.' Dionysius concluded from the fact that they were so strange that they had always lived in Italy, whereas it is of course much more natural to explain it by assuming that they were *strangers*.

15. *No withdrawal area.* We have seen above that Tuscany is not a 'withdrawal area', where an ancient people may hold out when the country is invaded. On the contrary, it is a desirable area which the Indo-European peoples, had they come later, would certainly have occupied. (But it went the other way: the Etruscans came long after the Indo-Europeans and settled there/conquered the country.)

16. *Archaeology.* Many scholars would like to see archaeological evidence, but I think that it is quite possible that we shall never find any. People came slowly, in small groups and brought few material objects with them, which may have been lost relatively quickly. One might compare the arrival of the Greeks in Greece for which archaeological evidence is so difficult that it brought a scholar like Renfrew to assume quite a different period (and way of spread) than most Indo-Europeanists do (who almost generally reject Renfrew's proposal). Still, at one time the speakers of the

³³ I wonder whether the cothurnes worn by the Stormgod, as often seen on representations of Hittites, and often worn also by the Etruscans, are an Anatolian heritage.

³⁴ Thus, after the Etruscans defeated the Phocaeans near Alalia in 540, they stoned the prisoners to death (Hdt. 1, 167). Mezentius would tie prisoners to dead bodies, Verg. Aen. 8, 483ff. Vergil will have it from Cicero (fr. Hortensius 95M), who said that Aristotle mentioned the practice of Tyrrhenian pirates. - The reproaches resemble very much ideas of 'the East' in the western world which persisted until recently.

later Greek language did arrive in the country, in spite of the lack of archaeological evidence. So, perhaps we should be content with other indications. Further, it should be noted that until now we did not know where in Asia Minor we should look for the Etruscans, and in what time; and second that archaeologists tended to give most attention to Troy and later to Greek remains.

The archaeological aspect has now entered a new phase, it seems. The transition between Proto-Villanova and Villanova appears to be a continuous one, but that between Proto-Villanova and the preceding Bronze Age Apennine culture, about 1200, shows a serious break. 'De fait, l'apparition de cette nouvelle culture en Toscane vers 1200 semble bien marquer une rupture importante, que l'on est enclin à interpréter par l'arrivée, dans cette partie de la péninsule, de groupes humains venus de l'extérieur.' (Briquel 1999, 59; this treatment appears slightly shortened in Torelli 2000, 43 - 51.) Elsewhere the Apennine culture continued (now called Sub-Apennine and later *Tombe a fossa*). Proto-Villanova appears in Tuscany, but also in small areas round Bologna and in Campania. These are exactly the territories which later are Etruscan! (see the maps in Briquel 1999, 60.)³⁵, and 1200 is exactly the time I propose for the departure of the Tyrsênoi to Italy. So what we still would like to have is material objects, or art traditions etc., from Etruria agreeing with their homeland. [Add. 6]

17. *The 1200 crisis*. In 1200 the whole Mediterranean was in commotion; the Mycenaean and Hittite worlds, between which the Tyrsênoi lived, disappeared. So the movement of the Etruscans fits very well in the general picture. That this was the setting of the migration of the Etruscans has been assumed by many earlier scholars.

18. *The ten saecula*. As to the time, it has been argued that the Etruscans thought that their world would last ten saecula (Briquel 1999, 58; Pfiffig 1975, 159ff.). The way of counting provides several problems, however. The eighth saeculum ('lifetime', not a 'century') ended in 88 BC, the ninth in 44 BC. The sixth and seventh would have lasted 119 years, the fifth 123. If one assumes 119 also for the eighth saeculum we arrive at 568 for the end of the fourth.³⁶ The first four would have been hundred years

³⁵ A glance at the map makes it probable that these people came by sea, not from the north, from the Urnfield culture (which are mostly Indo-European peoples). - Proto-Villanova is characterized by the transition to cremation. This is indeed found often in Asia Minor, cf. Mountjoy 1998, 37a, 53b; Jansen 1995, 1126.

³⁶ Pfiffig's alternative ('wäre es für uns näherliegend') is without value.

each. This is clearly a guess because there was no accurate memory. If we accept it, we arrive at 968 BC. Now we do not know from when one started counting. This might have been a decisive victory over the Umbrians, or a kind of unification of the Etruscans, or the founding of an important city. It could well be that this was some 200 years after the arrival of the Etruscans, which would take us to 1168 BC. It is clear, however, that there are many uncertainties in this reckoning (if the first to fourth saecula consisted of shorter periods, the date of 968 could be a hundred years later. Not much value can therefore be attached to this argument.

19. *The famine.* Herodotus states that the reason for the departure of the Tyrsênoi was a long famine. This has been identified as the famine about 1200. Drews (1992, 14ff) denies that there was a famine at this time, but he has to admit that the pharao sent grain to help the Hittites, which seems convincing evidence. A. Kuhrt (1995, 391) says: 'There *is* evidence that in the reign of Merneptah (1214 - 1204) the Hittite empire suffered from a serious famine...' It is very obvious to identify this with the famine in Herodotus.

20. *The sea-peoples.* I have nothing to say about the possibility that the Tyrsênoi are mentioned among the Sea-peoples. Amélie Kuhrt (1995, 386 - 393) thinks that the concept has been greatly overestimated, and that only peoples near Egypt were concerned. Her conclusion is that the turmoil caused by the 'Sea-peoples' was 'one of the *signs* of general collapse and disintegration, but not its cause.' But that was evident, I think: people don't migrate without a compelling cause; but then again such a movement could become itself a cause, e.g. for further movements and destructions. She says that the inscriptions of the pharaos contain much rhetoric. But when pharao says that Hatti and Arzawa (= western Asia Minor) were affected, that the islands were in turmoil, would that be just rhetoric? The phenomenon as a whole stands, it seems; the problem is the details: which peoples took part in which movements? In our case, as the Lukka are mentioned (which were very probably the Lycians), the Tyrsênoi may have been involved as well. So the question is whether the *T(w)r(w)š*, mentioned by Merneptah, were the Tyrsênoi. We have no confirmation, but it seems quite possible.

21. *The journey.* We know from the abundant finds of ceramics in the 13th century that the Mycenaean knew the sea-route to Italy. Still, it remains remarkable that they travelled over such a distance and with such a considerable number of people. The first comparable movement is that of the Phoenician colonies, from 900 BC on, but these were smaller, and it was 300 years later. On the other hand, man occupied Crete at least

in 6.000 BC. (The islands Fiji, Samoa and Tonga in the Pacific were reached in 1200 BC.)

22. *The Umbrians*. Pliny (3, 112) states that the Etruscans conquered 300 cities from the Umbrians (*Trecenta eorum oppida Tusci debellasse reperuntur*). This clearly refers to the 'Landnahme'. This statement is confirmed by the river Umbro (mod. *Ombrone*), which flows in its full length in Etruscan territory. The river will have given its name to the people, or *vice versa*. Anyhow, the river will have flowed in Umbrian territory; so the Etruscans must have pushed the Umbrians out.

23) Sergestus - See section 4. on Aeneas.

24. See App. I for further evidence. [And Add. 3, 4, 5 and 6]

Conclusion

The conclusion is that the evidence that the Etruscans came from Asia Minor is overwhelming: their name (*Tursēnoi - Etruscā*); the fact that Tyrsēnoi are still living there in classical times (the eastern Tyrsēnoi); their language (Lemnos; Plakiê and Skylakê; the possible connections with Lydian); the names of their leaders (Tarchon; Nanas); their religious beliefs (Tarchon; the triumphus-complex; the double axe; the *camillus* -complex and the fact that the cult of the Kabeiroi was of Tyrrhenian origin); the epigraphical evidence (Tyrsēnoi east of Lydia); the fact that they were seen as strangers; the archaeological evidence that a new people arrived around 1200; the fact that around 1200 the whole eastern Mediterranean world was in commotion; perhaps their mention among the Sea-Peoples; the date that roughly agrees with the Etruscan 'belief' that their people would live ten saecula; the famine mentioned by Herodotus, identified with that around 1200; the statement that they conquered 300 Umbrian cities and the Umbro-argument; the fact that Toscane is not a 'Rückzugsgebiet'. [And that the Pelasgian allies of Troy in Homer were 'Etruscans'; App. I.] It is no longer possible to ignore the evidence. It must be accepted that the first remarkable high civilization in Italy, and in western Europe, was essentially developed by an 'oriental people' (Piganiol). The evidence is limited because we have no written texts of the people themselves (the inscriptions do not tell us much and we can hardly read them), and our first information dates from about 450 BC (Herodotus), i.e. 750 years after the migration. We shall now see that Herodotus' statement that they came from Lydian territory, is literally true, and that this confirms that it is an old tradition, because neither Herodotus nor his informants could understand it (as Lydians in historical times no longer lived in the area).

2.2 *The Tyrsênoi in classical times*

When we look at the places where Tyrrhenians are attested in classical times we find them, as has long been recognized, in the extreme north-west of Asia Minor, on the islands and on the continent east of the Hellespont; see the map. I first follow the list given by Brandenstein (1943 col. 1912 -14).

On the islands :

- Lesbos; (Brandenstein mentions also Samos because the brother of Pythagoras had the name Tyrsênos, and their father came from Lemnos; however, this may mean only that one individual arrived at Samos);

- Lemnos. Tyrrhenians on Lemnos are confirmed, of course, by the famous inscription and by numerous references in the literature. It is argued that the Tyrrhenians arrived here only late. But they may well have come from some place nearby. Thus Hellanikos (FGrH 4, 71) tells us that they came from Tenedos (see De Simone 1996, 73). Thus I add Tenedos (though it may be that we should strike Lemnos in that case). As I argued earlier (2001), the Tyrrhenians were probably pushed out of their lands, and wandered along the coasts and islands to find a place to settle, but it seems that they were time and again expelled and then had to find other dwelling places; for the parallel of the Lelegians see Bryce (1986, 31).

- Imbros.

- Samothrake; Herodotus (2, 51) mentions Pelasgians here, which were Tyrsênoi; see below and cf. 2.1 on the Kabeiroi.

In Thrace:

- two people called Maron are considered Tyrrhenians because of their name; again this can be just two individuals.

In Macedonia:

- the supposed mention is due to wrong interpretation; see below on Plakiê and Skylakê.

In Attica:

- Athens; the story of the Tyrrhenians being expelled to Lemnos is considered a propaganda story by many scholars. The idea that Hyttenia was equivalent to Tetrapolis and shows Etruscan *huth* 'four' is probably incorrect. *Huth* probably did not mean 'four' (cf. Steinbauer 1999a, 97, 430; cf. also Furnée 1972, 193). Anyhow, Athens is not relevant if we look for the possible homeland of the Tyrsênoi.

So far Brandenstein. But there is more:

- Chalkidike, the peninsula of Akte, is inhabited by Tyrrhenians; Thuc. 4. 109, 2. [See App. II.]

- Kyzikos was once Tyrrhenian; Konon FGrH 26 F1 (= Phot. Bibl. 186, 41); see e.g. Lochner-Hüttenbach 54f.

- the case of Plakiê and Skylakê is rather complicated. The two small places east of Kyzikos are mentioned by Herodotus (1, 57). Inquiring about the Pelasgian language, he states that these two villages have the same language as the city of Krêstôn. However, Dionysius of Halikarnassos (1, 29, 3) cites this passage but has Krotôn instead of Krêstôn (which is found in all manuscripts of Herodotus). The problem has been hotly debated, but Briquel (1984, 101 - 140) convinced me that Krotôn is the correct reading. It refers to the Etruscan city of Cortona in Etruria. First, there is no *town* Krêstôn (only a region Krêstônîkê, with villages). Second, the form Κρηστων-ιῆται is not the adjective of Krêstôn, whereas Κρωτων-ιῆται is the normal adjective from Krotôn. Third, the statement that the city is ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν leads to awkward problems in the case of Krêstôn, whereas for Cortona it is very apt: it means 'north of (or: beyond) the Etruscans', i.e. on the northern boundary of Etruria proper. Fourth, Herodotus does not further mention Tyrsênoi in the Aegean area. That means that Tyrsênoi in Herodotus are always the Etruscans in Italy, so we must read Krotôn here. So far the arguments Briquel provides, but there is more. Another argument is that there is no further evidence for Pelasgians between Thessaly and north-western Asia Minor with the islands (= the Tyrrhenian area). Further, the text with Krêstôn makes no sense in itself. It says: the language of Plakiê (and Skylakê) is the same as that of Krêstôn. But nobody knows anything about the language of Krêstôn. Why should Herodotus give this reference which is of no use? He could just as well have said that you have to go to Plakiê if you want to see that the language is not Greek. If we read Krotôn, however, the statement is informative: the language of Plakiê is the same as that of Cortona, which is Etruscan (Herodotus here says that it is Pelasgian, which is only because he accepts the story that the Etruscans were, at least partly - and especially those in the north - were Pelasgians.). And everybody knew that Etruscan was not Greek, i.e. βαρβαρικόν. Then again, Herodotus is talking of people that (still) exist and can speak, but there is no evidence that in his time there were still Pelasgians alive in continental Greece: they were a people of the past. Herodotus is talking of Pelasgians in Italy, i.e. Etruscans, which were very much alive. Finally, nowhere else is it mentioned that Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians live side by side (they were one and the same; see App. 11). If we read Krotôn, this strange situation disappears.

The inevitable conclusion of this reading is that in Plakiê and Skylakê (a

language close to) Etruscan was spoken. In the next chapter, Briquel admits this in a footnote (145 n. 28: 'On connaît les diverses explications (faits de substrat, traces de migrations) qui ont été avancées pour rendre compte de la présence d'un parler étruscoïde à Lemnos. La constatation d'Hécatee, dans l'antiquité, [to whom Herodotus' statement about Plakiê and Skylakê is probably due] relevait un fait parallèle.' (On p. 144 with note 21 Briquel argues for the reliability of the observation.) Note that the two villages are exactly in the region which I identified as the original home of the Etruscans. The testimony is of essential importance: the eastern Tysênoi speak Etruscan. It is a second testimony of the character of the Lemnos inscription. And it will hardly be possible to maintain that here too (beside Lemnos) Etruscans from Italy had settled: again these people are clearly a relic of the past, a remnant of a disappearing population.

The search for the Tysênoi is hampered very much by the question of the relation between the names Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians.³⁷ Some Greek authors say that they must be kept apart (Dion. Hal. 1, 29), others say that they are one and the same (Hellanikos FGrH 4 F 4 = Dion. Hal. 1, 28, 3; Philochoros of Athens FGrH 328, F 99 quoting Hyginus). So much is clear that there was confusion among the ancient authors; and it is also clear that in some cases 'Pelasgians' refers to Tyrrhenians. (The term Pelasgians is much more frequent than the term Tysênoi.) In the foregoing I have only cited cases where the term Tysênoi is used - exceptions indicated. Thus Homer mentions Pelasgians as confederates of Troy in B 840 - 843. They probably lived near Larissa near Hamaxitos,

³⁷ The Pelasgians, and their relation to the Tysênoi, are still much of a puzzle. It is clear that the Pelasgoi were a non-Indo-European people which the Greeks met, in Thessaly, when they entered Greece. It seems that their name was later used simply for the old inhabitants of Greece, or at least large sections of them. I consider the possibility that the Pelasgians in Asia Minor were also just a non-Greek people, whether they were related to the continental Pelasgians or not. In the beginning the Tysênoi were simply called Pelasgoi (thus Hellanikos F 4 = Dion. Hal. 1, 28, 3: τὸς Τυρρηνοὺς φησι Πελασγοὺς πρότερον καλουμένους). In this way the origin of the idea of the Etruscans being Pelasgians becomes clear. Then it becomes understandable that one can also call the Tysênoi Pelasgians, simply because they were a part of them. The more precise name Tysênoi became only known and used later, when it became clear that they were a separate entity, especially after the Greeks got acquainted with the Etruscans. (One might compare Morocco, of which the inhabitants are Arabs; but one learns only later that a large part of the population is Berber, with a different language and different traditions.) Thus the 'confusion' about these names is understandable. - The stories about Pelasgians sailing from Greece to Asia Minor may all be fantasy. [See now App. 11.]

in the south of the Troas. [See App. 1.] It is stated that Besbikos, a small island in the east of the Propontis, was called after a Pelasgian (St. Byz. s.v.).³⁸ In Apollonius Rhodius 1, 1024 the Argonauts, returning to the Doliones, by whom they had been received hospitably, were taken for Pelasgians. If Tyrrhenians are meant here, it is interesting that the event took place east of Kyzikos (where Tyrsênoi are attested). Pelasgians are also mentioned for Antandros (Konon FGrH 26 F 1; see Lochner-Hüttenbach 54f). However, according to Strabo Alkaios called it a city of the Leleges. As in Homer Leleges lived in Pêdasos (a little west of Antandros), we are here already in Lelegian territory, and no longer in the land of the Tyrsênoi.

If we admit that *all* Pelasgians of Asia Minor were Tyrsênoi (see the last note, 37), we have to add (LH refers to Lochner-Hüttenbach): Chios (LH 40) and Samos (LH 59) and, according to Menekrates of Elaia (= Strabo 13, 3, 3; LH 28) the whole coast north of Mykale (the peninsula opposite Samos). As to Samos, Lochner-Hüttenbach mentions that there is no evidence except the mention of (a) Pelasgian Hera. It seems not probable that here too Tyrsênoi were found, as these regions lie past Antandros, which was probably Lelegian, as we just saw.³⁹

It appears that in all cases where Tyrrhenians are mentioned, it concerns the extreme north-west of Asia Minor, in fact the Troas and the land east of it down to the Gulf of Kios (in the farthest south-east of the Sea of Marmara), and the islands west of the Hellespont, including Lesbos. As Herodotus' statement that they came from Lydia gave a problem, scholars were uncertain about the original home of the Tyrsênoi, and it was thought that the historical Tyrsênoi mentioned in classical sources might have come secondarily to the places mentioned. There is, however, no indication that this is correct; they could as well

³⁸ With Besbikos compare for its formation the Hittite land Karkisa-

³⁹ The only other interesting statement I found is Lochner-Hüttenbach (1960, 42; Strabo 13, 69) speaking about the Homeric Pelasgoi in the Troas: 'the Pelasgians were annihilated by the Aeolians', which is a historically most interesting statement. It is once stated that the Doliones were Pelasgians (LH 18, Ephoros FGrH 70 F 61), but this will be due to a confusion; see above in the main text. - Thus it is said that Pitane (east of Lesbos, north of Phokaia) was enslaved by the Pelasgians and later freed by the Erythraeans. The name then became proverbial for happiness following misfortune; Zenobius V 61, who cites Alkaios and Hellanikos. If the town Pitane is meant, this would point to battles; see Lochner-Hüttenbach 1960, 5 and 101f. However, it is much more probable that it refers to a woman (who was taken prisoner by pirates); otherwise one would have expected for Πιτάνη εἰμί rather Πιτανάϊος.

have stayed in their own land, or moved to places near by. This is what I suggest, as now it appears that this area was Lydian territory. [See the appendices I and III.]

2.3 *Ancient testimonies*

A proof that my view is correct is found in one of the basic texts concerning this problem, Dionysius of Halicarnassus I, 27. This text, the so-called ‘anonymous version’ of the Lydian origin, is slightly more trustworthy than that of Herodotus (see e.g. Briquel 1991, 44f.); Briquel thinks that it is the Lydian version (ibid. 14).⁴⁰ Though always cited on this point, it has probably always been misinterpreted. This wrong interpretation was easily made, almost inevitably, and the right interpretation could hardly have been found hitherto.⁴¹

Dionysios says: ‘They say that Tyrrhēnos was the leader of this colony; τοῦτον δὲ Λυδὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐκ τῆς πρότερον Μηονίας καλουμένης,...’ (‘he was a Lydian by birth from what was formerly called Maeonia’). Because there was no other option, this was interpreted as: he was a Lydian from the country (of Lydia), which was formerly called Maeonia. This is improbable. Not only would Greek have expressed this in another way (e.g.: from Lydia/his country, (which was) formerly called Maeonia), but in this interpretation the statement would have been quite superfluous: all well-educated readers of Dionysios knew that Lydia was formerly called Maeonia, as they knew their Homer. It would have served no purpose for the story to recall this antiquarian fact. That this view is right, is confirmed by Herodotus (I, 94), who in his story left out the word Maeonia, no doubt because he did not find it relevant; and that is because he did, and could, not know that it was relevant. What Dionysios’ text says is: ‘He was a Lydian by birth, from the [land] formerly called Maeonia.’⁴² This means that there was a land Maeonia (which is not Lydia, otherwise

⁴⁰ One indication is that this text has the form Μάσσης, discussed in note 8. - As to Dionysios’ view that the Etruscans were autochthonous, Briquel (1993, esp. p.20 - 35 and 192 - 220) shows that his view was inspired by a preconceived idea (that Rome was of Greek origin, so the Etruscans should not be, neither Pelasgians (from Greece) nor Lydians (which are too close to the Greek world). The view was perhaps inspired by Syracusan writers, who propagated it for political reasons.

⁴¹ Only Hanfmann, 1960, 570 n. 3, asks the essential question (about Hdt. I, 94): ‘Es ist nicht klar, wo diese Lyder [from whom the Tyrsēnoi sailed to Italy] ansässig waren.’

⁴² I cite the translation by Cary in the Loeb edition, 1968, with a single alteration: I say ‘land’, where he says ‘district’, for Carey did not think of a different country; the Greek text implies γῆ ‘land, earth’.

he would have said that), from where Tyrrhênos went to found the colony. So there was a, hitherto unknown, country Maeonia from where (the Lydian) Tyrrhênos came. In classical antiquity it was no longer known which country this was, but it is now obvious that it is the country which I called ‘old Maeonia’, the former land of Māsas. Dionysios repeats a few lines later that Herodotus says ‘that the migration of the Maeonians to Italy’ etc. (while Herodotus did *not* use the term ‘Maeonians’). Note again that it is not stated that the *Lydians* went, but the Maeonians, which is apparently essential. That Dionysios says that Tyrrhênos’ brother Lydos ‘remained in the country’, is a consequence of his ignorance of the facts; so while writing he slips back into his own view of history. The story of the hunger could be fiction: it is common knowledge that you only leave your country if there is not enough food.⁴³ But we have seen (2.1) that there is historical evidence for the famine.

The tradition that the Tyrsênoi departed from (a land called) *Maeonia* is strong. Cf. e.g. Isidorus, *Etym.* XIV, IV. 22, who carefully distinguishes between Lydi (who derive their name from a king Lydus) and Maeonia: *Item et Tyrrhenia a Tyrrheno, Lydi fratre, qui cum populi parte de Maeonia venit ad Italiam.* (Vergil too uses Maeonia, e.g. 8, 499.)⁴⁴

The fact that these stories mention Maeonia implies that we have to do with an old tradition. For it was not clear to people at that time what it meant: if it was just a synonym for Lydia, why would they consequently use the synonym? And if Maeonia was something else, they could not understand it, because the only meaning of Maeonia was an inland part of the country, which makes no sense. (It may be noted that the area indicated by Starke as Māsas, which I suppose to have been old Maeonia, has no name in the classical period: it lies in Phrygia ad Hellespontum, Bithynia and Mysia.)

Our solution also solves a strange problem. Lydia has always been a landlocked country. The Mermnads repeatedly attacked the Greek cities (on the coast). ‘Yet, they never seem to have held a single port for their own use.’ (Pedley 1968, 47). ‘Es ist nahezu ungläublich, dass die Lyder die Dardanellen in ihrem Machtbereich hatten und doch an diesem Schlüsselpunkt keinerlei befestigte Seestützpunkte anlegten.’ (Hanf-

⁴³ Especially in Lydia droughts, which cause famine, are well known. Dussaud (1958, 89-III) has a chapter called: ‘Sécheresses et séismes, fléaux de la Lydie.’ He then gives an example of his own time.

⁴⁴ ‘Thus also ‘Tyrrhenia’ [derived] from ‘Tyrrhenus’, the brother of Lydus, who with a part of the people from Maeonia came to Italy.’

mann 1960, 517f.) This is confirmed by the anecdote in Herodotus (1, 27), where the Greek sage Bias, visiting Kroisos, dissuades him to build ships to attack the islanders. It would be as stupid as when the islanders would try to attack the Lydians with cavalry. The point is that the Lydians had no experience with ships, just as the islanders had no experience with cavalry; on the other hand the Lydian cavalry was a dreaded weapon).^{44a} The fact is also noted by Sakellariou (1958, 430). He observes that Greek writers about the Ionian colonization never mention Lydians and concludes that they did not live near the coast. This is confirmed by Pherekydes (ap. Strabo 14, 1, 3; cf. 7, 7, 2), who says that the coastal areas south of Ephesos were inhabited by Carians, north of it by Lelegians. 'Les traditions locales des diverses villes ioniennes ne mentionnaient donc pas les Lydiens parmi les peuples qui ont précédé les Grecs dans ces lieux.' So Drews (1992, 30) is right when he says: 'More incredible <still> is that an inland people gripped by famine should have walked to the coast, built a fleet, embarked on a thousand mile voyage to an entirely unfamiliar land, and appropriated it.' On the argument of the Lemnos inscription he answered: 'Lemnos is not Lydia.' Hencken (1968, 612, 614) suggested that the Tyrsênoi came from the north, settled on the Lydian coast and then fled again (to Italy) because of the famine. This is a possible, but not an attractive solution for which there is no evidence.

The conclusion is that the Tyrsênoi/Etruscans are said to come from Maeonia, which must be old Maeonia/Māsas on the Propontis; otherwise it would either have made no sense (as classical Maeonia was not on the sea) or it would have been useless to speak of Maeonia instead of Lydia. This is confirmed by the fact that the remaining Tyrsênoi lived in this area, which is not even close to that of classical Lydia.⁴⁵

^{44a} I found a curious parallel summer 2002, when I was in Çandarlı, which is ancient Pitane (cf. n. 39). I got a booklet, edited by the Belediye, about the city, where we find (p. 7; I slightly adapt the English): 'After the Turks controlled that area, because Çandarlı is on the seaside, they were not so much interested in the town. Since the Turks were of nomadic tradition and had a culture of the plains, they were not interested in the area near the sea...Also they thought that islands and the seaside were very dangerous places.'

⁴⁵ The story that the Tyrsênoi came from Mysia, from king Telephos, differs only little from the Lydian version. In my view, Mysia was also Lydian at an early period (see 1, 3 and 1, 4), so the story could contain historical elements. Schachermeyr 1929 preferred the Mysian version, but I did not find any argument to do so. The story is late; it is given by Lycophron, Alex. 1245 - 1249; it is mentioned by Dion. Hal. 1, 28, 1 (and indirectly by Plutarch, Rom. 2). Lycophron took it from Timaeus (Schur 1921, 137 - 143). 'Wir können nicht ahnen ob Timaios hier etruskische Ueberlieferung folgt, oder welchem west-

2.4 *Historical considerations*

We can be short on the historical aspects. As has been supposed by several scholars, it was around 1200 that the Tyrsênoi emigrated, after or in the time of the great troubles. The famine will have been one of the causes, the arrival of the Phrygians (and others?) will have been the more direct cause. They may have participated in the movements of the Sea-peoples. And some survived in their homeland or moved to places nearby (the islands), perhaps moving on more than once.

The sea route to Italy was already known to the Mycenaeans. The Etruscans may already have had one or more bases in Italy, before larger numbers of them moved there, as W. Henkelman suggests to me. This is the normal process with colonies: you go to lands which are known to you or your fellow men. They may already have been traders, perhaps they were after the minerals of Elba. 'dès l'âge du bronze, les navigateurs en provenance du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée auraient fréquenté les côtes étrusques [better: of Tuscany] à la recherche de ces matières premières.' (Briquel 1999, 109f).

3. TROY

3.1 *The language of the Trojans*

After the names of Priamos and Paris had been interpreted as Luwian, in any case Anatolian (Watkins 1986), and with the recent find of the Luwian seal in the city of Troy, it was believed that the Trojans spoke Luwian. Latacz (2001, 142), however, warned that it is not yet certain that this was the native language of the population. The seal only proves that Luwian was used in the highest levels, perhaps as a diplomatic language; thus also Neumann (above 1.4). The new perspective makes another answer possible. When the Lydians crossed the straits to enter those fertile lands, it is quite probable that they, like the Phrygians later, occupied the whole area, from the Aegean coast to the east. In that case the inhabitants of the Troas might have been speakers of the (later) Lydian language. We have

griechischen Autor er diese interessante Nachricht entnommen hat' (p. 141). It seems more probable that the story is secondary. Cf. Scheer 1993, 71 - 152 on the secondary character of myths about Telephos. One might think that the name Rômê, daughter of Telephos, brought Telephos and Mysia into the story, but she is not always his daughter. On the other hand, we saw that Lycophron stated that Tyrrhênos was accompanied by Tarchon, which must be an old element. Both would be sons of Telephos. (For the variation Troas/Mysia one is reminded of Troy/Teuthrania).

seen that Neumann, on linguistic grounds, had also reached the conclusion that the whole north-west possibly spoke Lydian.

However, there is still another possibility that might be considered, i.e. that they were Tyrsênoi, as I will explain now.

3.2 *Taruisas*

It remains unclear how the name ‘Troy’ came to be used for the country of Ilios, whereas in the Hittite text *Truisas* is on the same level as *Wilusas*, i.e. (probably) a town with its country, a city-state. I suggest the following course of events. There was beside *Wilusas* a town/city-state *Truisas*. Later this town disappeared - it is no longer mentioned in the later Hittite texts, e.g. the Alaksandus-treaty - but the name remained and was used for the land only (as the town had disappeared). The Greeks understood it in this way that *Truisas* was the name of the country of *Wilusas*, and consequently limited *Wilusas* to the city alone.⁴⁶ (Latacz 2001, 124f too thinks in this vein.) Of course the two towns must have been close to each other. In the Hittite text, *Truisas* was mentioned directly after *Wilusas*, when one comes from the south; this means that *Truisas* must have been located further, and as west is excluded because of the sea, it must have been to the east. But I cannot suggest where it was. Near Abydos, Lampsakos?

Against the new background that the Tyrsênoi lived (in any case) directly east of the Troas (but also to the south: Add. I), the idea that *Truisas* (if it must be thus read) was the town of the Tyrsênoi becomes very attractive. This is an old idea (e.g. Rhys Carpenter 1946, 63), but earlier there was no geographical evidence (for the homeland of the Tyrsênoi) in favour of it. Now the geography makes the suggestion more likely. However, I proposed that *Tru-isa-* has to be analyzed as indicated, with *Tru-* = Τρω-. This differs from the element *Turs-* in *Tursênoi*. We have *-trus-* in *E-trus-ci*, *E-trur-ia*, where the metathesis may have been caused by the prefixed *e-*; the origin of the *e-* is unknown. As the interchange *Trus-/Turs-* has not been explained with certainty, one might think of an original *Trs-*. Thus the resemblance (with *Tru-isas*) is only superficial, and the analysis forbids the equation.

It seems not probable, then, that the Trojans were themselves Tyrsênoi (and spoke Tyrrhenian). We have seen that the Tyrsênoi lived on both sides of Troy, east and south (for the latter see App. I). However, if Homer’s Pelasgians were Tyrsênoi (see 2.2 and App. I), they were

⁴⁶ In Homer, Τρωίη is the name of the country. The cases where it is used for the town are clearly secondary (if one studies the formulaic technique).

distinguished from the Trojans - at least by Homer. Of course, the Trojans may still have been closely related to the Tyrsênoi. But it is also possible that Wilusas was Lydian, conquered by the invading Anatolians - at whatever date.

3.3 *The Trojan War.*

Archaeology shows that Troy was destroyed and afterwards occupied by people from Europe. We know that around 1200 peoples from Europe entered Asia Minor (Phrygians, Mysians, Thyni and Bithyni; though some of them may have come at a later date). Strabo mentions that the Phrygians 'took' (or 'killed') a Trojan king. Of course they also took the city. The Phrygians are found afterwards in the whole area of the Troas (Phrygia hellespontica) and the lands east of it. There is no archaeological evidence that Greeks took part in these events; in any case they did not settle there at the relevant times. On the other hand we have the strange story that the Greeks, going to Troy, made a mistake [sic!] and went to Teuthrania (near Pergamon), in which expedition Achilles and Patroklos had similar roles as in the Iliad. It is improbable that *after* the Iliad a second story was made which largely imitates it, and was presented as an error! An obvious conclusion is that in the oldest story the Greeks went to Teuthrania, and that this expedition was only later transferred to Ilios, because Ilios was much more considerable, a much greater undertaking, giving much more fame. This agrees with the fact that Achilles took (in the Iliad, I 328) 23 cities, all in the extreme south of the Troas, which is near Teuthrania; this undertaking seems unconnected with Troy. Achilles probably operated from Lesbos; it is now agreed that this island (in Hittite *Lazpas*) was the first Greek position in the north. Thus e.g. Rhys Carpenter 1946, 50 - 65 (cf. further e.g. Kullmann 1960, 189 - 203). The Trojan War, then, remains a historical problem. (It is a pity that these doubts are not discussed by Latacz 2001. See e.g. Der Kleine Pauly s.v. Troia. A good modern survey of the problems is given by Bryce 1998, 392 - 404; see also Jansen 1995.)

4. AENEAS

My proposal may be relevant to the origin of the Aeneas legend. It has long since been considered that the legend was based on a story about Etruscans coming to Italy. The earliest information is from Hellanikos (FGrH 4 F 31), who says that Aeneas went to Pallene, the western peninsula of Chalkidike, where he would have died. Note that the

Tyrsênoi also settled in Chalkidike. The major new element is that the hero would have come from an area surrounded by Tyrsênoi, who went to Italy. One might think that this fact made it easier to assume that Aeneas too went to Italy. On the question see the recent article by Horsfall (1987b).

The other fact is that the name *Sergestus*, of a prominent friend of Aeneas, seems identical with Lydian *Srkastu-* and Phrygian *Surkastos*, as dr. M.P. Cuypers suggested to me (see I. 4). The point is how Vergil got this name. It is evident that he used it because it fitted in the story. But it is excluded that he got it from Lydia or Phrygia, or Asia Minor in general. So he must have got it at home, from a source that was acquainted with Etruscan traditions. This means that the name was known to the Etruscans (or those who studied their traditions).⁴⁷ Above I proposed that it lives on in Etr. *Sekst-alu*.⁴⁸ So we should be aware that the Aeneis may contain more old elements. [Add. 7]

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing I have presented my idea as it gradually developed, but it can also be presented in the following way.

The tradition about the Etruscans says that they sailed away from Maeonia, not Lydia. In classical times (from Homer on), however, Maeonia lay east of Sardes, that is in the middle of a big continent, completely land-locked. This absurdity cannot date from classical times, so it must refer to an older situation. This is in itself a strong argument in favour of the tradition. We need a 'Maeonia-on-Sea'. Where can this area have been? We need a territory where both Tyrsênoi and Lydians lived, on the sea-shore. There are several indications in classical sources that Lydians lived earlier in more northern regions than in classical times. The Tyrsênoi, i.e. the remnants of this people - as we have always known - lived in the farthest north-west of Asia Minor. Of course, they could have lived originally elsewhere, but it is easier to assume that they always lived in this area. This has never led to any solution, because it seemed so far from

⁴⁷ There may be more in the Aeneid. Thus dr. Cuypers reminds me of the Trojan Amycus, whose name is that of Amykos in Apollonius Rhodius, but who will come from another tradition, as Amykos is presented by Apollonius as an unsympathetic figure.

⁴⁸ Mention may be made of the Maxues, a people in Lybia, who would have come from Troy; Hdt. 4, 191; cf. Wainwright 1959, 207. This story is so unexpected that you would think that it must be true.

(classical) Lydia; and it seems never to have occurred to scholars that the Lydians may have lived earlier (also) in other places (or it was not connected with the Etruscan problem). The two meet, then, on the shores of the Troad or in Phrygia Hellespontica. Here, then, we must look for the Etruscan homeland. The tradition has now been confirmed since we have found a way to locate a region on the sea where both Lydians and Tyrsênoi lived. Again, the whole idea can be presented as follows: we know that in 1200 the Phrygians crossed over to Asia Minor and settled there, i.a. on the Hellespont. If we imagine the situation before their arrival, who lived there? It is natural to consider the possibility that it were Lydians who lived there. This is all the more probable when we consider that the Mysians were half-Lydians. But not only Lydians may have lived in that area. There may always have been an unknown people, or peoples, that lived near the coast. This appears indeed to have been the case: the Etruscans.

Note that until now we have not invoked the etymology of the name Maeonians, nor a theory about the position of Māsas. However, at this stage we assume that Maeonia lay near the shore of the Troas or east of it. Now we bring up the point that Māsas is placed either in the north or in the south of western Asia Minor. If we accept the northern position, the old etymological connection of this country *Mā-sa-* with Greek *Mā-iones* becomes very attractive. If Māsas must be located, as Starke thinks, east of the Troas, in Phrygia Hellespontica - Mysia - Bithynia (the borders/frontiers of these countries were quite unclear as Strabo says), it would fit into our reconstruction.

When the Phrygians crossed the water, the Lydians were pushed away southwards and settled east of Sardes, in classical Maeonia. The (other) people that lived there, beside or among the Lydians, the Tyrsênoi, fled to the islands and other places nearby, and part of them sailed to Italy.

It is also clear why this solution was not found earlier. In the first place, there was the opposition to the idea of oriental origin of the Etruscans. In the course of time, however, the arguments in favour of it have become so much stronger that the conclusion can no longer be avoided. Further, one did not really consider the possibility of Lydians elsewhere than in classical Lydia. But most of all perhaps one did not realize the meaning of Maeonia. It was 'evidently' understood as Lydia, i.e. classical Lydia. Already Herodotus did so, as he does not mention Maeonia but speaks only of the Lydians; that he meant classical Lydia is shown by the fact that he names Smyrna as the harbour from where the Etruscans sailed. So

Herodotus put us on the wrong track, but we can hardly blame him for that.

We can consider it certain, then, that the Tyrsênoi, who became the Etruscans of Italy, lived on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara and the Hellespont, and in the Troas. Archaeological research can now be more concentrated and study possible connections with the Proto-Villanova culture. But especially in the field of religion the study of Hittite texts and what we know of western Asia Minor may give new insights. I hope that now the gate has been opened which gives a view on the background of the Etruscans, which will be relevant for both the history of the Etruscans and that of western Asia Minor.

[Now this view is definitely confirmed by the fact that Homer mentions Pelasgians in the Troas who spoke (a form of) Etruscan; see App. I.]

APPENDIX I ETRUSCANS IN HOMER

In 2.2 above I argued that the Pelasgians mentioned in Homer could well be Tyrsênoi. We know that the term 'Pelasgians' is sometimes used for Tyrsênoi, and that Hellanikos states that this term was earlier used for the Tyrsênoi. See on this question App. II. And we now know that the Tyrsênoi lived in the area near Troy.

Homer mentions Pelasgians in Asia Minor, fighting on the Trojan side, three times: B 840 - 843, K 429 and P 288. Only two names are mentioned, the brothers Hippothoos and Pylaios. The first name is clearly Greek, perhaps also the second.⁴⁹ We get two further names when it is stated that they are sons of Lêthos the Pelasgian, son of Teutamios (Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο; B 843). The last name is much discussed (see e.g. Lochner-Hüttenbach, index; his identification of Pelasgian as Illyrian, however, must be rejected. On **teutā* as a non-Indo-European word see Beekes 1998). For *Lêthos* the connection with Lêthê, river of the

⁴⁹ However, Pylaios occurs only here (and as epithet of Hermes; and for the inhabitants of Pylos). But there is a mountain called Pylaion on Lesbos. In antiquity one supposed that the mountain was called after this leader (Strabo 13, 3, 3), but it is rather the other way round. In Asia Minor personal names are often identical with the names of geographical entities, like rivers; see Sundwall 1913, 271; above, in n. 8, we saw an example of this. For a mountain we have the parallel of Kadmos. (Therefore, and for several other reasons, Kadmos is a local figure, which has nothing to do with Phoenicia.) It seems possible, then, that this name, Pylaios, too is Tyrrhenian. Note that Πυλαιμένης is found three times (beside three other instances) in Paphlagonia. One is reminded of Etr. **pule*, which is supposed by *pulia* (Rix, 1963, 241, 352).

Underworld (see Wathelet 1988) is just a guess. The name occurs only here, and may therefore be of interest. It has not been observed, however, that the name is found in Etruscan, where we find *leθe*. The fit is complete: Etr. *-e* is the equivalent of Gr. *-os*, Lat. *-us* (cf. Gr. *Daidalos* - Etr. *Taitle*; Lat. *Aulus* - Etr. *av(e)le*); Etruscan has no long vowels. The Etruscan name was studied by Rix (1965; see the index; together with its derivations *leθi*, *leθia*, *leθai/e*, *leθiu*, *leθiunia* it is discussed 23 times). One of the derivations occurs in an archaic inscription, and the origin of the name is unknown (Rix 349 n. 152a).

The consequences of this identification are considerable. It confirms that 'Pelasgians' can stand for Tyrsênoi, that Tyrsênoi are mentioned in the eighth century BC. in Asia Minor, that the Tyrsênoi are Etruscans, that they lived near Troy: they are mentioned directly after the (five groups of) Trojans in the Catalogue of Trojans, which means that they lived next to them, probably to the south, near Larisa in the Troad (see above 2.2). The possibility that Pelasgians here means another minor population like the Leleges (see 2.2) is refuted by K 429, where the Pelasgians are mentioned beside Carians, Paeonians, Leleges, and Kaukônes. It is not clear to what time it refers. It dates at least back to the time of Homer, i.e. the eighth century, but it may well be a fact preserved by the tradition from much older times. In principle it may go back to the 14th century. Hippothoos may be part of an old tradition, as he plays a part in the death of Patroklos (P 219ff), a story which may have a long tradition.

It may be unnecessary to stress that this fact in itself definitely proves that the Etruscans came from Asia Minor, near Troy.

APPENDIX II THE PELASGIANS

The vexed question of the Pelasgians, and their relation to the Tyrsênoi, has now become largely clear, I think. (The conclusions of Lochner-Hüttenbach cannot be maintained.) Cf. 2.2 above (with n. 31) and Add. I. The view that in Hdt. I, 57 Krotôn must be read (see 2.2 with n. 37) has solved many problems. The main points may be summarized as follows:

1. The term Tyrsênoi, when used of Asia Minor and the adjacent area's, is unambiguous.
2. The term Tyrsênoi used of inhabitants of Italy means Etruscans.
- 3a. The term Pelasgoi used for continental Greece originally indicated a non-Greek population which the Greeks found in the north of Greece, notably Thessaly, when they first arrived there.

3b. The term was extended to the non-Greek inhabitants of north-western Asia Minor, of which the Greeks learned the specific name, Tyrsênoi, only later. Thus Homer and Herodotus use 'Pelasgians' for the Tyrsênoi in Asia Minor. At that time 'Tyrsênoi' meant the Etruscans of Italy. Later authors still do the same incidentally, but soon it was no longer clear to the Greek writers (who found in older writers different uses of the terms) whether they were one and the same people or different peoples. (In fact, this question has not yet been decided - the two peoples may be closely related, but they can as well have nothing to do with each other. In any case the Tyrsênoi were seen as a particular group within the concept of 'Pelasgians'.) The confusion led to such statements as that which says that Kyzikos was first Pelasgian and later Tyrrhenian (Konon FGrH 26 F 1; see Lochner-Hüttenbach 55; wrong 123).

3c We have seen that sometimes Pelasgians in Asia Minor rather refers to Leleges. (St. Byz. e.g. s.v. Ninoe speaks of Pelasgian Leleges in Caria.) So apparently the term was extended to other minor peoples living along the coast (of more important peoples the appropriate name was known earlier, as in the case of the Méiones).

3d. Because the term 'Pelasgians' was also used of the Tyrsênoi, the term 'Pelasgians' also came to be used for Etruscans. Later the Greeks thought that they were a people different from the other Etruscans (which is historically wrong, but some writers thought so). Also it was thought, because of the term 'Pelasgians', that these Etruscans came from continental Greece (again this is historically wrong, but some authors had this concept).

3e. The term will have been extended to all non-Greek populations in Greece, in which process the term Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος will have played a role.

3f. The situation in Attica is very complicated, but it seems that much that is said about it by ancient authors is fantasy (for the greater part inspired by Athenians interests).

3g. In Lemnos there were only Tyrsênoi.

3h. In a late stage 'Pelasgians' was used for the Greeks! In Latin writers, e.g. Vergil, this was very frequent. So the term came to indicate the opposite of what it was in origin. This is however, not as strange as it seems. All designations of the Greeks in origin indicated non-Greek peoples: Achaioi, Danaoi, Hellênes.

4. 'Pelasgians' in Crete will be the designation of the original inhabitants of the island (the Minoans), for which no name was known. (Eteokrêtes seems the term for them, but this seems only used of a small

group. The same is clearly true of 'Kydônes'. The last two terms are found in τ 177.) The stories about Pelasgians sailing to Crete may well be fantasy (though it is historically quite possible that Pelasgians fled from Greece before the Greeks).

5. It should be realized that in historical times there were no (real) Pelasgians (in continental Greece) alive anymore. Tyrsênoi were still alive in Plakiê and Skylakê and in Aktê.

Against this background Thucydides 4, 109, 4, where he talks about Aktê, a passage which is much discussed, is perfectly clear. A problem was that one wanted to connect it with Hdt. 1, 57, where one read Κρηστών-; this can now be forgotten. The text says: τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λήμνον ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων. An exact translation is that of Braun: 'das., in der Hauptsache [aber] aus Pelasgern, und zwar jenen vormals auf Lemnos und in Athen heimischen Tyrsenern besteht.' ('mostly Pelasgian(s), [i.e. people] of the Tyrsênoi, who...') So Thucydides speaks of Tyrsênoi as a part of the Pelasgians. That is, he still calls them Pelasgians, as did Herodotus, but he uses also the specific name Tyrsênoi, and he is the first to do so.

APPENDIX III THE DATE OF THE EASTERN TYRSÊNOI.

The suggestion that the eastern Tyrsênoi were Etruscans from Italy is still used to discredit the eastern origin of the Etruscans. This most improbable idea must be given up if the Tyrsênoi can be attested in the east at an early date. The date suggested for the arrival of Etruscans (from Italy in Asia Minor) is mostly 700. I think there are various indications that the Tyrsênoi lived in the east since very long, if not always.

In the first place they are in the beginning called Pelasgians, a name which is usually associated with very old, autochthonous inhabitants. It would be very strange if this name was used for people who had arrived in historical times.

Then, it is most improbable that we would have no mention of their arrival. The Greeks were discussing the history of the Pelasgians and they are mentioned very often. If one part of them, those in Asia Minor, would have arrived after Homer, we would certainly have notes about it.

There are at least three positive indications that they lived there for a very long time. 1) Above we already mentioned the cult of the Kabeiroi (2. 1, nr. 13). It may be well to cite Herodotus (2, 51) on this point. Discussing the Pelasgian origin of the ithyphallic statues of Hermes, he says: 'Anyone will know what I mean if he is familiar with the mysteries of the Cabiri -

rites which the men of Samothrace learned from the Pelasgians [= Tyrsênoi], who lived in that island before they moved to Attica, and communicated the mysteries to the Athenians. This will show that the Athenians were the first Greeks to make statues with the erect phallus, and that they learned the practice from the Pelasgians - who explained it by a certain religious doctrine, the nature of which is made clear in the Samothracian mysteries.' Such a religious doctrine is not taken over from people who just arrived.

2) There are legends around Kyzikos (easily found in Lochner-Hüttenbach; from Dei(1)ochos, p. 7; from Agathokles (of Kyzikos), p. 20; and Konon (of Kyzikos), p. 54). They say, amongst other things that Kyzikos, king of Pelasgians in Thessaly, a son of Apollo (for Apollo in Asia Minor see above 2. 1, nr 13) was driven away by the Thessalians [I think that the Thessalian origin is later fiction] and founded Kyzikos. When the Argonauts came he was (accidentally?) killed. The Argonauts are supposed to have sailed before the fall of Troy. This cannot, of course, be taken simply as historical fact, but it shows that one thought of these events as terribly early, almost as early as a thing can be in the Greek world. Note that the authors from Kyzikos would certainly have been aware of recent events, if the Tyrsênoi arrived there after Homer.

3) There are the Etruscans in Homer (App. I). Homer tells about the fall of Troy around 1200, but his data can be both older and younger, but not from after 800. Note also that Homer, B 840, talks of φῦλα Πελασγῶν, the tribes, the race of the Pelasgians, which hardly points to (a small number of) recent, commercial settlers.

The 'theory' of Etruscans from Italy settled in Asia Minor, then, is utterly improbable (see also 2.1 beginning).

ADDENDA

Add. 1. Hittite texts mention a land Hapalla. This has been identified with classical Kabalis, a region in north-west Lycia, east of the Kibyris. It contains the towns Oinoanda, Balbura and Bubon. Herodotus (7, 77) says that the people are Maiones, Strabo (13, 17, 1) that it was dominated by the Lydian Kibyrites. Here again there is discussion on the position of Hapalla. Starke, on his map, puts it in the north, directly south of Mâsa. If this is correct, it too moved southward, and it would be a good parallel to what I supposed happened to Mâsa.

Add. 2 Here may be added e.g. the gloss γάπος ὄχημα, Τυρσηνοί (gapos: 'carriage', the Tyrsênoi) in Hesychius. The word has been

connected with Greek *καπίνα* 'wagon', which is probably a substratum word, i.e. related to Anatolian. Further may be mentioned e.g. the *-rn-* suffix which is found in Etruscan (e.g. *Mastarna*, *Perperna*, *Plosurnius*) and Anatolia (*Idarne*, even in Cappadocia: *Lipurna*, *Tikurna*; on Cappadocian cf. Add. 3). See Furnée 1972, 48 [cf. n. 51].

Add. 3. Kronasser (*Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, 1966, 113) compares the suffix *-umn-* in e.g. the Cappadocian personal name *Tunumna* with the pre-Greek *-umn-* (e.g. in *Methumna*, the city on Lesbos) and Etruscan *Tolumnius*, Etr. *Tulumne* (a king of Veii, north of Rome). Now if we are allowed to compare the suffixes, we are also entitled to compare the names. So I suggest that *Tolumnius* is cognate with, or derived from, Anatolian *Tunumna* (for the dissimilation *n-mn* to *l-mn* cf. Hitt. *lamniya-* 'to name' from **namn-*, cf. Lat. *nomen*, Goth. *namnjan*). Cappadocian is the name we give to a further unknown, non-Indo-European language from which we have personal names, found in the texts of the Assyrian merchants in Nesa, in the east of Turkey, near Kayseri; they date from the nineteenth century. That this language had cognates in the west may appear from the following. Pithanas, king of Kussara, who conquered Nesa (and who's son Anittas founded an empire that was the predecessor of the Hittite empire - we have his account in Hittite) has a name for which Indo-European origin has not been demonstrated (Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*, 1974, 130 n. 319, 133f.; cf. Bryce, 1998, 14ff, 36ff). I suggest that we find this name in the place name Pitane (Πιτάνη), on the west coast, north of Phokaia and east of Lesbos. It occurs also as a woman's name (cf. n. 39).⁵⁰ The name recurs as the name of a town, village that became a part of Sparta (Pitana). This would mean that the name belongs to the substratum language in Greece and Anatolia, which provided so many place names.⁵¹ Another western cognate of a Cappadocian name gives Furnée (*Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen*,

⁵⁰ Zgusta (*Kleinasiatischen Ortsnamen*, 1984, 498) thinks that the name was brought by the Greeks: 's. die verschiedenen Personen in der griechischen Mythologie, die diesen Namen tragen.' This is improbable. There are only two such figures, one being an Amazone, from whom the town in Asia Minor would have its name. So this is the same name as that of the town, and more probably the Amazone was created to explain the town's name. The other is a figure in Laconia, which is no doubt the same name as that of the Spartan village mentioned in the text.

⁵¹ I do not believe that Furnée is right (1972, 322; see the text), when he assumes 'bewegliche Dentale', to connect the name with Hitt. *Piha*, *Pihanu*. The *t* may have been lost before the *h*, but I rather think that the *h* was lost (at least in the Greek loan) after the *t*.

1972, 321), who derives the (Greek) name *Tektaphos* from Capp. *Tatkapu/Tatkipuš*. (The name may be directly relevant here because the variant *Tektamos* is also given as *Teutamios*, which is the father of the Pelasgian Lethos in Homer, whom we identified as Etruscan in App. I).⁵² - It is clear that, if the origin of *Tolumnius* proposed here is correct, this is in itself enough to prove the Anatolian origin of the Etruscans.

Add. 4. The name of the city of Cortona is in Greek, beside *Krótōn*, also *Kurtōnīos* or *Gortunía*. This name is no doubt identical with that of Gortun, -us (stem *Gortūn-*; inscr. give Gortuns) in Crete; the name occurs several times in Greece: *Górtus*, *Kórtus* in Arcadia, *Gordunía* in Macedonia, *Gurtōn* in Thessaly, *Kurtōnē* in Boeotia (cf. R.A. Brown, *Pre-Greek Speech on Crete*, 1985, 148ff.) This is clearly a name from the pre-Greek substratum, and though we do not have it from Asia Minor, we can be sure that it occurred there too, as the substratum of Greece and (western) Asia Minor was the same. The Etruscans must have brought the name from Greece/Asia Minor to Italy.

Add. 5 The origin of the name (of the Etruscan city) Corythus in Virgil (Horsfall thinks it is only a city, not a person) has not been traced. Horsfall (*Jour. of Roman Studies* 63, 68 - 79) thinks it comes from a king of Argos, who became the adoptive father of Telephos, the king of Mysia, whose sons are Tarchon and Tyrsēnos. I don't think that this is the solution. We know that Korythos was the name of a son of Paris; this refers to Troy. Valerius Flaccus (III 99) mentions a man from Kyzikos with this name. Both cases, then, refer to the area from where the Etruscans came in my view. It may just have been a usual name in that region.

Add. 6 In 1969 paintings have been found in a tomb in Kizilbel, in Lycia, which strongly resemble the Etruscan paintings ('ist die Ähnlichkeit tatsächlich verblüffend'). Now they date from the sixth century BC, so they do not provide a direct argument for the origin of the Etruscans. But Elfriede Paschinger (*Jahresheft des Oesterreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 56 (1985) Spalte 1 - 48, esp. 6) suggests with due caution 'dass es in dieser Frühzeit vielleicht noch eine direkte Verbindung zwischen Künstlern aus dem tyrrhenischen Element im etruskischen Volk...und

⁵² Lochner-Hüttenbach (1960, 152) thinks that the forms with *Tekt* are due to influence of τέκτων; I think that this is quite improbable. The variation *Tektamos/Tektaphos* is typical for the Greek substratum (Furnée 1972, 222ff.; cf. γέφυρα - Arm. *hamurj*, on which see Beekes, Glotta, to appear); the -φ- may be confirmed by the variant Κέρκαφος. This variation testifies to the originality of these forms. I do not know what the relation is between *Tekt*- and *Teut*-, for which phenomenon I know no parallel.

den Malern aus der Landschaft Milyas [the area of Kizilbel in Asia Minor] gegeben haben könnte.' So more direct evidence may still be found.

Add. 7 A. Palmucci (in *Anatolisch und Indogermanisch*, edd. Carruba - Meid, 2001, 311 - 353, esp. 353) argues that there is evidence that the story of Aeneas in Italy was preceded by a version where the journey from Troy went to Etruria. If this is correct, it is of great importance: the Romans will not have made such a story, so it will be an Etruscan story, telling that they came from Troy...

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