

ETRUSCAN ORIGINS*

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Models

The problem of Etruscan origins has received scholarly attention already in Antiquity. First of all, there is the testimony of Herodotos of Halikarnassos (5th century BC) according to which the Etruscans were Lydian colonists from western Asia Minor. Hard pressed by a famine, so the story goes, half of the Lydian population under the leadership of king Atys' son Tyrsenos mustered on ships at Smyrna and sailed to Italy, where they settled in the territory of the Umbrians (*Histories* I, 94). As opposed to this, we have the opinion of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (1st century BC), who, on the basis of a comparison between the customs and the languages of the Etruscans and the Lydians, reached the conclusion that these two peoples were unrelated. He extrapolated from this conclusion that the Etruscans were no Lydian colonists, but had always lived in Italy (*Roman Antiquities* I, 25-30).

As divided as opinions were on the subject of Etruscan origins in Antiquity, so they are in our present era. A majority among scholars in the field holds that the Etruscans were autochthonous. In accordance with this view, the Etruscans are considered a remnant population surviving the onset of Indo-European migrations which brought the Umbrians, Oscans, Latins, and Faliscans to the Italian peninsula. Their language, so this line of approach continues, is not comparable to any other in the world, except for the one attested for the famous stele from Kaminia on the island of Lemnos in the Aegean. This only linguistic relationship acknowledged by the adherents of the autochthonous thesis receives meaningful explanation in two ways. In the first place, Lemnian is, on the analogy of Etruscan in Italy, considered a remnant of a once widely dispersed Mediterranean language surviving the onset of Indo-European migrations into the Aegean basin (Pallottino 1988, 98). Second, Lemnian is seen as the result of a colonization by Etruscans from Italy into the north-Aegean region (Gras 1976; Drews 1992; de Simone 1996).

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A minority among scholars, but a persistent one, is of the opinion that the Etruscans were colonists from western Asia Minor. These so-called orientalist can be subdivided into two groups: those who situate the colonization of Etruria at the end of the Late Bronze Age, *c.* 1200 BC (Hencken 1968), and those who rather place this event in the Early Iron Age, *c.* 750-675 BC (Schachermeyr 1929). A representative of the first mentioned group of orientalist is the Indo-Europeanist Robert Beekes. However, he is exceptional in combining the idea of an oriental origin with the linguistic analysis of the adherents of the autochthonous thesis. Thus, Beekes likewise considers Etruscan and Lemnian relics of a language once spoken in the Aegean before the Indo-European migrations (Beekes & van der Meer 1991; Beekes 1993; Beekes 2002, 219-20; cf. Steinbauer 1999, 389). Much more common among orientalist is it to consider Etruscan related to the Indo-European languages of Asia Minor, and in particular to Luwian (Meriggi 1937; Laroche 1961). The latter language was spoken in southern and western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, and, in its western extremity, was subject to a dialectal development which resulted in Lycian and Lydian of the Classical period (for Lydian as a Luwian dialect, see Woudhuizen 1984-5a; Woudhuizen 1990).

Now, there is some evidence of non-Indo-European languages in Asia Minor, originally going back to the time before the Indo-European migrations. In the first place, mention should be made of Hattic, the language of the inhabitants of Hattusa before this city was taken over by the Hittites, as recorded in Hittite texts dating from the 2nd millennium BC. Next, there is Hurrian, the language of the realm of Mitanni, once a formidable rival of the Hittites in their strive for hegemony in eastern Anatolia and North Syria. This language developed into Urartian of the Early Iron Age. Finally, we cannot omit the Semitic language, which in the form of Akkadian was used as a *lingua franca* for international correspondence between the empires of the 2nd millennium BC – a function taken over by Aramaic during the Early Iron Age. But, except for some bilinguals with Aramaic for Lycian and Lydian, this evidence has a bearing on eastern Asia Minor only. In western Asia Minor the linguistic situation is much less complicated. Here we find evidence of two language groups, both of them Indo-European, namely Luwian, which, as we have seen, developed into Lycian and Lydian of the Classical period, and Thracian-Phrygian, presumably the vernacular of the common people of the Troas already in the Bronze Age and, after the fall of the Hittite Empire *c.* 1180 BC, introduced further east into the Anatolian highland. If, for the sake of argument, we have to allow for remnants of a non-Indo-European language in western Anatolia, this can only entail small pockets, incapable of providing the amount of people necessary for the colonization of Etruria as envisaged by the orientalist. As a matter of fact, Beekes' tenet of non-Indo-European survivals in the Aegean is entirely based on the linguistic analysis of the Lemnos stele as common among the adherents of the autochthonous thesis.

Autochthonous thesis

The statement by Dionysios of Halikarnassos that the Etruscans differed in customs and language from the Lydians is perfectly true for the period in which he lived, the 1st century BC. But, if a colonization of Etruria from Lydia had taken place, as Herodotos wants us to believe, then this event happened some 6 to 11 centuries earlier. We must believe that in this period the customs and language had developed independently in Lydia and Etruria, which would explain the differences. It is of much greater importance, therefore, to know whether the Etruscan customs and language were more closely related to those of the Lydians when these first manifested themselves, in the late 8th and early 7th century BC.

At the same time, it is interesting to determine what exactly is Dionysios' drive to disconnect the Tyrrhenians, as the Etruscans are called by the Greeks, from the Pelasgians. In earlier sources, like, for instance, Thucydides (5th century BC), these two population groups are persistently identified (*Peloponnesian War* IV, 109). The answer to this question is given by Dionysios himself in the introduction to his work: he wants to prove that the founding fathers of Rome were actually Greeks (*Roman Antiquities* I, 5, 1; cf. I, 17, 1; I, 60, 3). Now, the Pelasgians, who played a role in the earliest history of Rome, according to literary tradition originate from Greece. For Dionysios, this is reason to assume that they are in fact a Greek *ethnos*. In reality, however, the Pelasgians are a pre-Greek population group, already present in Greece before the Greeks came into being. As they are so different from the Greeks, Dionysios cannot use the Tyrrhenians to the same effect: to declare them Greeks would be preposterous. The unprecedented and rather forced distinction between Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians leads to absurd consequences, like, for instance, the assumption that the language of the inhabitants of Cortona, whom Dionysios considers to be Pelasgians, was distinct from that of the Tyrrhenians (*Roman Antiquities* I, 29, 3)¹. Dozens of inscriptions disprove this: the language of the inhabitants of Cortona was straightforwardly Etruscan (Rix 1991, 301-4; Agostiniani & Nicosia 2000; cf. Briquel 1984, 133). Another question which arises from Dionysios' distinction between Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians is where the latter were living at the time that the Pelasgians are said to have occupied their country (*Roman Antiquities* I, 20, 5). Finally, the way in which Dionysios disposes of the Pelasgians in order to make room for the Tyrrhenians is extremely suspect: he simply, so to say, lets them evaporate into thin air (*Roman Antiquities* I, 24, 4; 26, 1)! In short, the story on which the adherents of the autochthonous thesis base themselves suffers from many flaws.

¹ This view, based on a misreading of †Crotoniats for Crestoniats in the manuscript of Herodotos' text, is followed, amongst others, by Briquel 1984, 101-40 (esp. 126 ff.) and Beekes 2002, 221, in the latter case without realizing the consequence.

Also the explanation of the relationship between Etruscan and Lemnian within the frame of the autochthonous thesis leads up to unsurmountable difficulties. The first option, according to which the Etruscans and Lemnians were both remnants of population groups surviving the onset of Indo-European immigrations, runs up against the fact that the two languages were so closely related that such a long period of independent development is highly inconceivable (the Indo-European invasions in the Aegean date back to at least *c.* 2300 BC). The second option, according to which the north-Aegean region was colonized by Etruscans from Italy in the late 8th or early 7th century BC, is, considering the slight dialectal differences, *a priori* possible, but lacks a proper archaeological and historical basis.

Colonization at the end of the Bronze Age

If the autochthonous thesis turns out to be flawed, what about the thesis of oriental origins? As we have seen, one group of orientalist situates the colonization of Etruria from Asia Minor at the end of the Bronze Age. These scholars base themselves on the chronology of Herodotos, who places the rulers descending from Atys' son Lydos prior to those of the Heraclids. The reign of the latter, Herodotos continues, lasted as many as 22 generations or 505 years in sum before the last representant, Kandaules, was set aside by Gyges, the first ruler of the Merminades, at the beginning of the 7th century BC (*Histories* I, 7). Accordingly, it follows that the descendants of Atys' son Lydos were in power before the beginning of the 12th century BC. Herodotos, however, amplifies this information with the remark that the population of Sardis and its surroundings were called Lydians after Lydos, whereas prior to his rule they were known as Maeonians. Now, Maeonians is the form of address for the Lydians in the epic songs of Homeros, which primarily reflects Late Bronze Age history. Hence the name Lydians can only be surmised to have come into currency in the Early Iron Age. Ergo: Herodotos' chronology is flawed.

Also from an archaeological perspective, the colonization of Etruria at the end of the Bronze Age is highly unlikely. It is true that at this time Italy is characterized by the introduction of a new culture, the so-called proto-Villanovan (= an earlier phase of Villanovan)², but, as demonstrated convincingly by Hugh Hencken, the latter shows close affinities with the European urnfields. Thus the typical biconical urns relate to counterparts primarily discovered in the region of Oltenia and the Banat, Hungary (see Fig. 1). Furthermore, the house urns, which are so well-known a feature of the Latial variant of (proto-) Villanova, find their closest parallels in northern Germany (Behn 1924, 90-1; Tafel 6, d-e) (see Fig. 2)³. In line with these observations, it seems reason-

² Note that Hencken 1968 wrongly applies the term pre-Villanovan instead; cf. Fugazzola Delpino 1979; Ridgway 1988, 628 ff.

³ Note, however, that the north German house urns postdate the Latial ones.

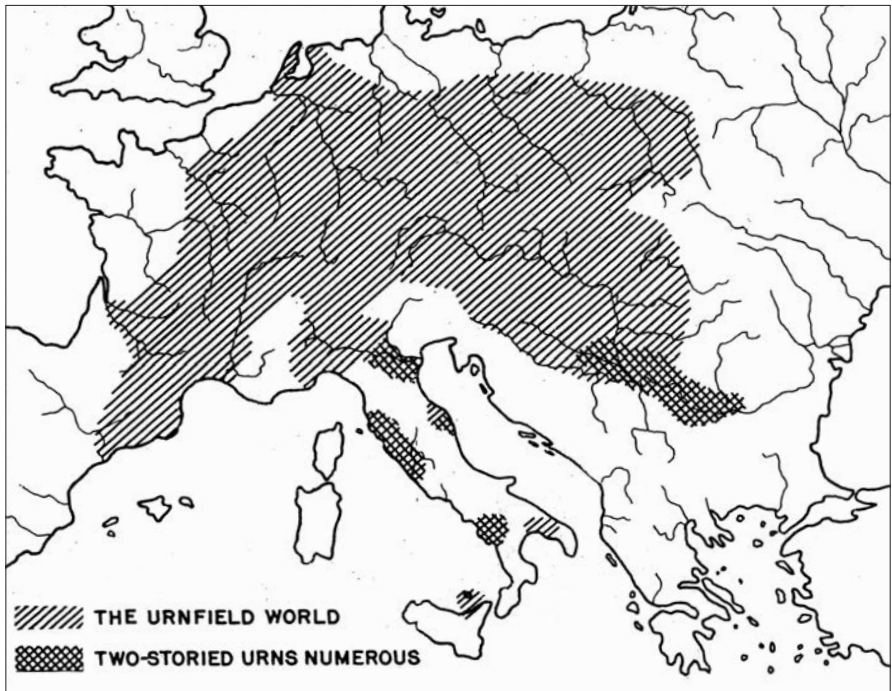


Fig. 1. Distribution of biconical urns in the urnfield world (from Hencken 1968, fig. 452).



Fig. 2. Distribution of house urns (from Bouzek 1997, fig. 49).

able to assume that new population groups have entered Italy, as Hencken does, only not from the Aegean, but from Europe. These new population groups can plausibly be identified as the forefathers of the historical Italic peoples of the Umbrians, Oscans⁴, Latins, and Faliscans, whose languages show the closest affinity to Celtic and Germanic. At any rate, the Umbrians have the same name as the German tribe of the Ambrones as recorded for Jutland in Denmark (Altheim 1950, 56-7), branches of which can, on the basis of related place and river names, be traced as far afield as France, Spain and even northern Italy (Schmoll 1959: 83, 119), whereas that of the Oscans or Ausones is obviously related to the Celtic ethnonyms Ausci of the people near Auch in southern France and Ausetani reported for Ausa-Vich in Catalonia (Bosch-Gimpera 1939: 40). – Note in this connection that, as demonstrated by Hans Krahe (1964: 90-1, 43-4), both ethnonyms are rooted in his Old European river names, the first being based on **embh-*, **ombh-* “moist, water” and the second on **av-*, **au-* “source, stream”.

This reconstruction of Italian prehistory at the end of the Bronze Age, which assumes a relation between urnfield culture and the historical peoples of the Umbrians, Oscans, Latins, and Faliscans, collides with the view of the foremost representant of the autochthonous thesis, Massimo Pallottino. He put much effort in an attempt to disconnect the Italic Indo-European languages from the (proto-)Villanovan culture, the bearers of which he considers to be the forebears of the Etruscans. To this end he presents a map showing the distribution of archaeological cultures of Italy in the 9th and 8th centuries BC, which he compares with the distribution of the various languages as attested in about the 5th century BC (Pallottino 1988, 68; Abb. 1-2). This is a dangerous procedure. In the first place, it leaves out the proto-Villanovan phase, which cannot be separated from Villanovan and which spread far to the south, reaching Apulia, the Lipari islands and even northern Sicily – regions where later evidence of Italic languages is found (see Fig. 3)⁵. Secondly, the use of the distinction between cremation and inhumation burial rites as an ethnic marker is, as far as the 8th century BC is concerned, an oversimplification. After the introduction of proto-Villanovan at the end of the Bronze Age, there is a revival of the rite of inhumation spreading from the south of Italy to the north, reaching Caere in the 9th and 8th centuries BC. Similarly, the Etruscans are also acquainted with both rites – be it that their cremation burials are clearly distinct from the Villanovan ones (see further below). Hence, the distinction is rather Villanovan style cremations and inhumations versus Etruscan

⁴ Note in this connection that the introduction of proto-Villanovan in Lipari and at Milazzo in Sicily is attributed to the Ausones (= variant form of Osci) who according to Diodoros of Sicily, *Library of History* V, 7, invaded Lipari and Sicily from the Italian peninsula, see Hencken 1955: 31.

⁵ For Ausones (= Oscans) on the Lipari islands and in Milazzo, see Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* V, 7, and cf. preceding note.

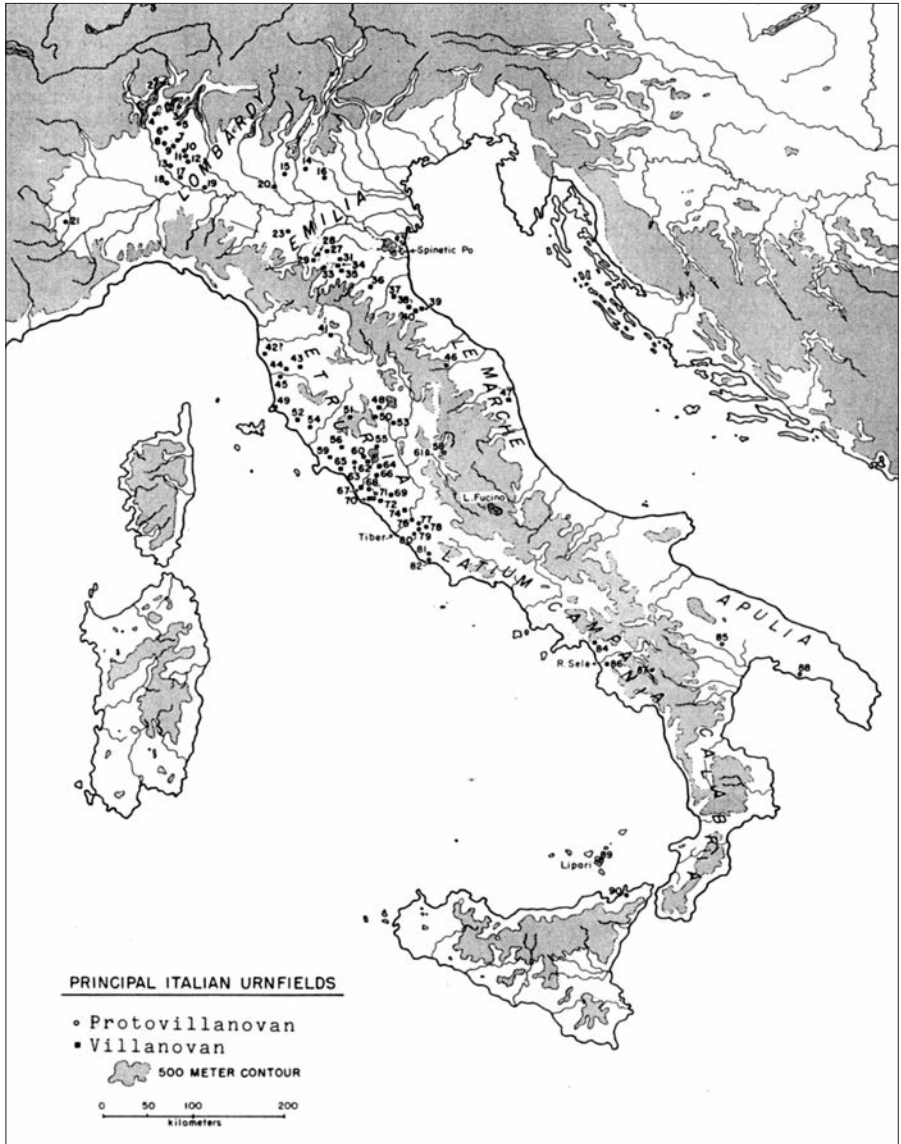


Fig. 3. Distribution of (a) proto-Villanovan and (b) Villanovan sites (after Hencken 1968, fig. 466).

style cremations and inhumations – a line of approach actually applied by Ingrid Pohl in her publication of the Iron Age cemetery of Caere (Pohl 1972). Finally, the identification of the bearers of Villanovan culture in Etruria with the forebears of the Etruscans disregards the historical evidence according to which the Etruscans colonized the land of the Umbrians and drove them out of their original habitat (Plinius, *Natural History* III, 14, 112). As a matter of fact, there are numerous reminiscences of the Umbrians originally inhabiting the region later called Etruria, like the river name *Umbro*, the region called *tractus Umbriae*, the association of the Umbrian tribes of the *Camartes* and *Sarsinates* with the inland towns Clusium and Perugia, and the identification of Cortona as an Umbrian town (Altheim 1950, 22-3). At any rate, the sites which have yielded Umbrian inscriptions mostly lie along the eastern fringe of the Villanovan style cremation area (Poultney 1959, 3) and there even have been found Umbrian type inscriptions in Picenum on the other side of the Apennines, whereas literary sources speak of Umbrians in Ancona, Ariminum, Ravenna and Spina to the north (Briquel 1984: 33; 51; 88; Salmon 1988, 701) – regions where (proto-)Villanovan is attested (cf. Fig. 3).

The repercussions of the urnfield migrations into Italy are archaeologically traceable to well into the Aegean region. Thus urnfield material of Italian or European type is attested for the islands Crete, Kos, and Euboia as well as for various locations on the Greek mainland (Popham 2001). Apparently, some population groups in Italy were displaced at the time, or some of the European immigrants, whose maritime nature has already been extrapolated by Hencken (1968, 634), went straight on to the Aegean. This is exactly the situation recorded by the Egyptian sources on the so-called Sea Peoples, which inform us about raids by the Shekelesh, Sherden, and Weshesh, in which we can recognize the Italic peoples of the Sicilians, Sardinians, and Dusesones or Oscans (Chabas 1872, 299; for the Sea Peoples in general, see Sandars 1978). These western raiders made common cause with colleagues from the east-Mediterranean basin, like the Ekwesh or Achaeans from the Greek mainland, Peleset or Pelasgians from the Aegean, Tjeker or Teukrians from the Troas, and Lukka or Lycians from western Asia Minor. The importance of bearers of the urnfield culture, like we have suggested for the Dusesones or Oscans, among these Sea Peoples is stressed by the fact that their boat(s) as depicted in Ramesses III's memorial at Medinet Habu are characterized by bird-head devices at both the bow and the stern – as convincingly shown by Shelley Wachsmann a typical urnfield feature⁶. Furthermore, this element among the Sea Peoples can even be shown to have settled in the Levant at Hamath, where urnfield cemeteries with more than 1000 urns have been dug up⁷.

⁶ Wachsmann 1998, 178 (with reference to de Boer 1991 who, with due reference to Hencken 1968, already noted the connection); Wachsmann 2000, 122.

⁷ Wachsmann 2000, 123; Drews 1993, 201, note 104 stipulates that a substantial number of the European Naue type II sword, mostly of iron, were found in these crema-

Within the frame of the autochthonous thesis, the Teresh or Tyrsenians (= Tyrrhenians) are, on the analogy of the Sicilians and Sardinians, likewise supposed to have come from Italy, but considering their Aegean location in early Greek literary sources this is unlikely. At any rate, the direction of the migrations at the end of the Bronze Age is clearly from west to east, and not the other way round. Therefore, the colonization by the Etruscans of Italy from Asia Minor as recorded by Herodotos does not fit into the period of the Sea Peoples.

Colonization in the Early Iron Age

The question which remains to be answered is whether the colonization of Italy by the Etruscans from Asia Minor as recorded by Herodotos does fit into the period of the Early Iron Age. This is the period of exploration and colonization of the west-Mediterranean basin by Phoenicians and Greeks. Was there among these explorers and colonists of the far west a third party, namely Luwians from western Anatolia?

First of all, it is important to note that only from *c.* 700 BC onwards Etruria is characterized by an archaeological culture that with certainty can be identified as Etruscan, because from that date onwards inscriptions conducted in the Etruscan language are found (Hencken 1968, 631). One of the most outstanding features of this Etruscan culture is formed by the chamber tomb under tumulus for multiple burials. The burial rites may consist of inhumation or a special form of cremation, according to which the remains of the pyre are collected in a gold or silver container which, wrapped in a purple linen cloth, is placed in a *loculus* of the grave. The closest parallels for such élite-cremations are found in Anatolian style chamber tombs under tumulus at Salamis on Cyprus (D'Agostino 1977, 57-8)⁸. The rite in question is meticulously described by Homeros in connection with the burial of Patroklos, for which reason one often speaks of a Homeric burial. As far as mainland Greece is concerned, similar élite-cremations are attested for the hero of Lefkandi and the burials at the west gate of Eretria. The element which is missing here, however, is the characteristic chamber tomb under tumulus (the hero of Lefkandi is discovered in an apsidal building secondarily used as a grave and covered by a tumulus) (Bérard 1970; Popham, Touloupa & Sackett 1982).

Chamber tombs under tumulus for multiple burials are a typical Mycenaean feature. During the Late Bronze Age this type of burial is disseminated by Mycenaean colonists from mainland Greece to western Asia Minor, where it is subsequently taken over by the indigenous population groups like the Carians, Lycians, Lydians, and ultimately the Phrygians. The earliest indigenous examples are pseudo-cupolas in Caria, dated to the period of *c.* 1000 to

⁸ Note that the Etruscan nature of the élite-cremations at Pontecagnano is deducible from the fact that the earliest inscriptions from this site are conducted in the Etruscan language, see Rix 1991, Cm 2.2, Cm 2.7 and Cm 2.19, all of 6th century BC date.

800 BC. These graves are characterized by a rectangular groundplan and a concentrically vaulted roof. The problem of the dome resting on a square is solved by the so-called pendentive. This very same construction is typical of chamber tombs in Populonia during the 7th century BC (Schachermeyr 1929, 89-91; 100-1; cf. Demus-Quatember 1958, 63). Similarly, in Lydia a chamber tomb has been found with a roof vaulting lengthwise in the same way as for example the famous Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere, dating to the 7th century BC. Furthermore, Mysia has produced a chamber tomb which is entirely hewn out of the soft tufa with mock roof beams in place as if it were a wooden construction. The same technique is so common for Etruria that if the photos of the Mysian example would have had no caption one could easily be mistaken to be dealing with an Etruscan grave (Kaspar 1970, 71-83). Unfortunately, the Anatolian examples in the last mentioned two cases were so thoroughly robbed that they cannot be properly dated. Next, it deserves our attention that Lycia from the 6th century BC onwards is typified by façade graves hewn out of the natural rock, which bring to mind the façade graves hewn out of the natural rock of Norchia and its immediate surroundings to which a similar date is assigned as the Lycian counterparts (*contra* Åkerström 1934, 104-7). Like the Mysian tomb mentioned above, the façade graves imitate wooden constructions. Hence, it is interesting to note that actual wooden constructions have been dug up in Phrygia. Here large wooden boxes dating to the late 8th and early 7th century BC serve as a replacement of the stone built chamber tomb in a similar manner as in Vetulonia during the 7th century BC. Finally, mention should be made of a Lycian chamber tomb from the 5th century BC with paintings which bear a strong resemblance to the Etruscan ones in Tarquinia – be it that the Lycian paintings, in contrast to their Etruscan counterparts, show Persian motifs (Mellink 1972, 263 ff.).

In summary, on the basis of the preceding survey of relations in funeral architecture one gains the impression that Etruria was in close contact with various regions of western Anatolia during the Early Orientalizing period and beyond⁹. Possibly, a crucial role was played by Mysia, the Aeolian coast, and the offshore islands like Lesbos, because here the typical local pottery, just like in Etruria from the 7th century BC onwards, consists of bucchero (Pfuhl 1923, 153 f.).

The inference that colonists from various regions of western Asia Minor migrated to Etruria may receive further emphasis if we take a look at the script. As mentioned in the above the earliest inscriptions in the Etruscan language date from c. 700 BC onwards. In general, it is assumed that the Etruscans have borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks, in particular from the Euboians at Pithecussae and Cumae. This view, however, runs up against

⁹ This contact needs to be distinguished and can at the same time be underlined by Etruscan post-colonial trade with the Aegean as attested by the presence of Etruscan bucchero at, amongst other sites, Smyrna and Pitane (Briquel 1991: 80).

serious difficulties, since the local Etruscan alphabets are characterized by signs and sign-forms unparalleled for Greek inscriptions. In the first place we have to consider in this connection the sign for the expression of the value [f] as attested for an early 7th century BC inscription from Vetulonia (Vn 1.1) in north-Etruria, which consists of a vertical stroke with a small circle on either top. As time goes by, this sign develops into the well-known figure-of-eight [f], which spreads from the north of Etruria to the south ultimately to replace the digraph of *wau* and *ēta* (< *hēta*) for the same sound in the south-Etruscan alphabets. The origin of this sign can be traced back to the Lydian alphabet, where during the same time it knows exactly the same development! Next, a late 7th century BC inscription from Caere (Cr 9.1) in south-Etruria bears testimony of a variant of the *tsade* which is closer in form to the Phoenician original than the Greek *san*. The closest parallel for this sign can be discovered in the local script of Side in Pamphylia. On the basis of these observations it lies at hand to infer that various groups of colonists from various regions in western Asia Minor, ranging from Lydia in the north to Side in the south, simply have taken their script with them (Woudhuizen 1982-3, 97; for the Sidetic *tsade*, see Woudhuizen 1984-5b, 117, fig. 5).

The colonists not only introduced their own type of grave and their own type of alphabet, they also settled themselves, just like the Phoenicians and Greeks, in urban centres founded according to neatly circumscribed rituals (Woudhuizen 1998, 178-9). An often heard argument in favor of the continuity between the Villanovan and Etruscan Orientalizing periods is that the Etruscan cities are founded on locations where in the previous period Villanovan villages are situated (Hencken 1968, 636). It should be realized, however, that the Greek colony in Cumae is also preceded by an indigenous Italic settlement and that there is ample evidence for intermingling between the original inhabitants and the new arrivals (Müller-Karpe 1959, 36-9)¹⁰. The same model is applicable to the Etruscan colonization, as suggested by the large number of Italic names in Etruscan inscriptions dating from the 7th and 6th centuries BC. To give some examples, one might point to: *Cventi*, *Eknate*, *Venelus*, *Vete*, *Vipie*, *Kavie*, *Kaisie*, *Mamerce*, *Numesie*, *Petrus*, *Punpu*, *Pupaia*, *Puplie*, *Spurie*, *Flavie*, and tribal names like *Latinie*, *Sapina*, and *Sarsina* (cf. Vetter 1953). As a matter of fact, the colonists from western Asia Minor constitute an élite, who impose their superior culture on the by far more numerous indigenous Italic population. A vital component of the colonial culture is formed by their language.

A first hint at the nature of the language can be derived from the name of some of the newly founded cities. Thus Tarquinia (= Etr. *Tarchna*-) is, on the

¹⁰ Note that there are also Etruscans among the new settlers as indicated by the Etruscan nature of an élite-cremation in the so-called Fondo Artiaco dated c. 700 BC, see Strøm 1971, 146 and Strøm 1990, and an Etruscan inscription dated c. 700-675 BC which is not included in the corpus Rix 1991, see Woudhuizen 1992a: 158-61.

analogy of Greek colonial names like Posidonia, Apollonia and Herakleia, which are also based on a divine name, named after the Luwian storm-god *Tarhunt*¹¹. In addition, a number of Etruscan personal names, like *Arnth*, *Mezentie*, *Muchsie*, *Thifarie* or *Thefarie*, can be traced back to Luwian counterparts (*Arnuwanta-*, *Mukasa-*) or Luwian onomastic elements (*masana* “god”, *Tiwata-* or *Tiwara-* “sun-god”); the same applies to family names like *Camitlna* (< Luwian *hanta-* “in front of”) and *Velavešna* (< Luwian *walwa-* “lion”), be it that the diagnostic element *-na-* is an Etruscan innovation unparalleled for Anatolian onomastics. Furthermore, Etruscan vocabulary shows many correspondences with Luwian, like for instance the very common verb *muluvane-* or *muluvani-* “to offer as a vow”, the root of which is related to Luwian *maluwa-* “thank-offering”. Of a more profound nature are similarities in morphology (adjectival suffixes *-s-* and *-l-*), the system of (pro)nominal declension (genitive-dative singular in *-s* or *-l*, ablative-locative in *-th(i)* or *-r(i)*, nominative plural in *-i*, genitive plural in *-ai* > *-e*) and verbal conjugation (3rd person singular of the present-future in *-th(i)*), the use of sentence introductory particles (*va-*, *nac*, *nu-*), enclitic conjunctions (*-c* or *-ch*, *-m*), negative adverbs (*nes* or *nis*), etc. On the basis of these features, Etruscan can be classified as most closely related to Luwian hieroglyphic of the Early Iron Age (adjectival suffixes *-asi-* and *-ali-*, sentence introductory particle *wa-*, negative adverb *nas*), but in certain aspects already showing developments characteristic of Lycian (genitive plural in *-āi* > *-e₁*) and Lydian (dative singular in *-l₁*, loss of closing vowel in the ablative-locative ending, sentence introductory particle *nak*, enclitic conjunction *-k*) of the Classical period. Finally, Etruscan shows a number of deviations from Luwian which it shares with Lemnian, like the 3rd person singular ending of the past tense in *-ce*, *-ke* or *-che*, the vocabulary word *avi-* “year” and the enclitic conjunction *-m* “and”. Considering the fact that the Lemnos stele contains a dating-formula bearing reference to a certain Holoaie from Phokaia, who is specified as king (*vanacasial* < Greek *wanaks*) over the Myrinians and Seronians, the places of which, on the analogy of Phokaia, are likely to be situated in Aiolia, these deviations may plausibly be ascribed to the dialect of the indigenous population of Mysia (Best & Woudhuizen 1989; Woudhuizen 1992b; Woudhuizen 1998; Woudhuizen 2001). If so, the linguistic evidence coincides remarkably with the results from our archaeological investigation according to which we

¹¹ Evidence for a *Tarhunt*-cult in western Anatolia is provided by Lycian *Traqūt-* or *Traqas* (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 126), whereas the remains of such a cult are indicated by the demos *Tarkundara* at Mylasa in Caria (Woudhuizen 1992a: 7, note 28a), the epiklesis *Targuēnos* of Zeus in Lydia (Woudhuizen 1990: 101), and the heroic name *Tarkhōn* as reported for Mysia by Lykophron, *Aleksandra* 1248. The attempts by Briquel 1984: 181 ff. (who does not even refer to the long standing [since Herbig 1914: 20-1] and well-known equation of Etruscan *Tarchna-* to Luwian *Tarhunt-* in a note) to dissociate Mysian *Tarkhōn* from its proper Anatolian background are altogether futile.

were already able to posit a crucial role for Mysia in the colonization process. Notwithstanding his mistaken chronology, Herodotos, while not telling the whole story in all its nuances, has certainly transmitted a tradition which in its nucleus may safely be considered historically correct!

We still have to answer the following question: why did Luwian population groups from western Asia Minor take the boat and sail to Italy in order to settle in the country of the Umbrians? In an attempt to address this question, it is important to note that the excavations at the island of Pithecussae, alongside Phoenician (to be more specific Aramaic) (Buchner 1982, 293) and Greek inscriptions, have produced what should be called proto-Etruscan ones dating to the period of *c.* 750 to 700 BC (Woudhuizen 1992b, 154 ff.)¹². Apparently, the Luwians of western Asia Minor were involved in trade with the indigenous population of Italy for the same reasons as the Phoenicians (to be more specific Aramaeans) (Bernal 1991, 192 with reference to Homeros, *Iliad* II, 783)¹³ and Greeks: the metalliferous (especially iron) nature of the regions of the Tolfa hills near Tarquinia, Elba, and Populonia. This situation of precolonial offshore trade in Italy is described by one of our earliest sources with respect to the Tyrsenians, namely Hesiodos. In his *Theogony*, which dates from the 8th century BC, he informs us that the indigenous kings Agrios and Latinos ruled over the famous Tyrsenians who live very far off *mukhōi nēsōi hieraōn* “in a recess of the holy islands” (*Theogony* 1011-6)! The motivation to let these trade contacts culminate into actual colonization comes from domestic difficulties: at the end of the 8th century BC Anatolia suffered heavily from the Kimmerian invasion, which overthrew the Phrygian realm of king Midas and terrorized the Lydian realm of the tyrant Gyges (Sauter 2000). If you were living along the coast and were acquainted with the route to more peaceful regions, this was the time to pick up your belongings, board on a ship and settle in the metalliferous zone of Italy, where, from a military point of view, the indigenous population was by far inferior!

Postscriptum (december 2004)

In an article about Etruscan origins which just appeared in *BABesch* 79 (2004), 51-57, the Etruscologist Bauke van der Meer speaks out in favor of the orientalist thesis, but he does not choose between the two variant mod-

¹² *Contra* Johnston 1983, 63, who tries to get rid of the un-Greek features by reading the combination of *sigma* and *san* in one inscription as *sigma* and four stroked unstemmed *mu* and by emending the sequence *]mi maion[* in another inscription as *ei]mi + MN* [in the genitive, but the four stroked unstemmed *mu* occurs only in inscriptions of later date and the verbal form *e(i)mi*, in all of its occurrences in Jeffery 1998, turns up after the personal name it is associated with. Similar criticism also applies to Bartoněk & Buchner 1995.

¹³ For the distinction of Phoenicians at Pithecussae by their burial rites, see now

els of colonization as presented here, viz. at the end of the Bronze Age or during an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age; in fact, he posits three waves of colonization in sum, namely one c. 1100 BC, a second c. 900 BC, and the third c. 700 BC (p. 55).

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