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THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

Third Edition.

TOUR TO THE SEPULCHRES OF ETRURIA,
IN 1839.

By Mrs. HAMILTON GRAY.

Contents :—Introduction—Veii—Monte Nerone—Tarquinia—Vulci
—Tuscania—Cære or Agylla—Castel d'Asso—Clusium—Conclusion.

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THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

PART I.

TARCHUN AND HIS TIMES.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF TARQUINIA TO THE FOUNDATION OF
ROME.

BY

MRS. HAMILTON GRAY.

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P R E F A C E.

WE beg to warn the readers of this work, that the references to ancient authors quoted in it, may often appear incorrect as to paragraph and page. This arises from different editions of the classics having unavoidably been used and consulted, during the composition of the work, owing to a frequent change of residence. In each edition the pages vary, and in some of them the paragraphs.

The courteous reader is therefore requested, when at fault, to look into the index of the works in question, and there he will almost always find those references given, which are proper to his own edition, concerning the subject under consideration.



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ERRATA.

- Page 15, line 1, *for Vellijus read Vellejus.*
22, 6th line from top, *for spendor, read splendor.*
87, 13th line from bottom, *for styles read style.*
129, 2d line in note, *for sone read son.*
208, 4th line from bottom, *for chapter read chapters.*
234, 2d line from bottom, *for nations read notions.*
238, 12th line from bottom, *for constitutions read institutions.*
303, 5th line from bottom, *for Macrobus read Macrobius.*
306, bottom line, *for him read he.*
323, 6th line from top, *for enbalmed read embalmed.*
352, 4th line from bottom, *for n read in.*
361, 10th line from top, *for from Greece for Atria read for Greece from Atria.*
362, 6th line from bottom, *for Rhæotia read Rhætia.*
365, 6th line from top, *for interest read intention.*
369, 10th line from bottom, *for of Sabines read of the Sabines.*
396, 13th line from bottom, *obliterate the comma after the word Campanian.*

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INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE undertaken to arrange in chronological order, the diffuse and abundant notices which we have, widely scattered through classical authors, respecting Etruria and the Etruscan people, and which, as far as I know, have never yet been embodied in one history. This work I dedicate to my countrymen, hoping that it may fill a void in literature, and prove destitute neither of interest nor improvement; and most heartily do I wish, for their sakes, that it were more within the compass of my feeble powers to do full justice to so weighty a task.

Those who know what it is to write a history and what are the qualifications necessary for an historian, are aware that it requires a union of memory and knowledge, of judgment and acuteness, of reach of intellect and depth of thought, which are very rarely combined in one person, and to which I make no pretensions. But what lies within the compass of my power, I have done. I have spared neither study nor research to arrive at the knowledge of the truth; I have consulted ancient authors, as well

as read modern ones, and I have nowhere intentionally misled or misrepresented, in order to support a favourite theory. I have found the field unoccupied, and mine has been the first plough to break the fallow ground. May more skilful hands cultivate it richly, and reap a golden harvest !

The authorities which have been consulted in the composition of this work, are Livy and Tacitus, Virgil, Varro, Pliny, Dionysius, Diodorus, Herodotus, Plutarch, and Strabo ; the English Ancient History, in twenty volumes, to which I cannot sufficiently express my obligations ; Dempster de Etruria Regali, Bochart's valuable Treatise upon the Phœnicians, Micali's two works upon Italy, Müller's Etrüsker, and Niebuhr's Rome ; besides a multitude of lesser authors, and the Annals of the Archæological Institute of Rome. May my countrymen excuse the deficiencies of this work, and accept the information which it contains.

The Etruscans appear not to have been a native people in Italy, but to have arrived there in ships from some foreign country, about twelve hundred years before the Christian æra. Some authors call them indigenous, but this merely means that they were settled in Etruria from the earliest period of Italian history of which we have any knowledge, and that the first dawn of civilization and literature in that land may be traced to them. In the same manner, when they are called by Pliny, Diodorus, and Dionysius, the inventors of handmills, trumpets, prows, and of many arts and sciences, it merely

means that they were the first introducers of these things into the Peninsula.

Their history naturally divides itself into four parts, which we shall treat of in order.

1st. From the Settlement of the Etruscans in Italy to the Foundation of Rome.

2nd. From the Foundation of Rome to the Death of Tarquin the Second.

3rd. From the Death of Tarquin the Second to the Death of Sylla.

4th. From the Death of Sylla to the Extinction of the Etruscan Faith in the Fourth Century of the Christian *Æra*.

To conclude with a short account of the manners and customs, arts and sciences, religion and commerce of the Etruscans.

Every nation in western Europe may take an interest in their history; for though unacknowledged, they were the prime originators of all our civilization, and many of their laws and customs exist amongst us at this day, and will continue to influence us unto the end of time.

HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE RASENA.

OUR first notices of the Etruscans are from Hesiod* and Homer,† who call them the mighty Tyrseni, and say that they lived in the days of the Demi-gods; Eschylus, Euripides, and Herodotus, who call them Tyrseni, the only Italian ‡ nation known to the early Greeks, celebrated for their dominion of the sea, their commerce, and their piracy. About a hundred years later than Herodotus, the Greeks knew that they were a different people from the Latins, and Aristotle § and Theophrastus || wrote largely upon their laws and government, but the

B. C.
CENT.
XIII.

* Hesiod. Theog. 1015.

† Herod. in lib. de vit. Hom

‡ Dionysius of Halic. l. 1, says, that Italia of the Latins was Tursenia of the Greeks.

§ Athen. Deip. xii.

|| Scholiast. Pind. in Pith.

works are lost. The later Greeks, describing the same people, call them Turrheni or Pelasgi, and the Latins call them Etruri, Etrusci, Tusci. It is singular that by none of these names did the people call themselves. Dionysius of Halicarnassus made a particular study of them and their institutions in the reign of Augustus, and wrote their history in twenty books; and though that history is lost, yet the circumstance of his having written it makes his authority of more weight in all those passages of his Roman history in which he treats of the Etruscan people; and he affirms that they called themselves Rasena, as he supposes, from some native hero. The word Rasn, Rasnes, is often found in their inscriptions, and though no Latin author has thus denominated them, it is, notwithstanding, their distinctive and appropriate appellation, even as Gael is that of the Scottish Highlanders, although no English historian has made mention of them by that term.

The name of an ancient nation is a thing of much consequence in tracing its origin, because it was never arbitrary, but had always a meaning attached to it, implying either some peculiarity in the people, such as "tall, strong, red, fair;" or that they were the descendants of a certain man, or that they came from a certain country or city. Of this, the example best known to every one is the Israelites, who took their name from Israel, and who were besides Hebrews, from Heber, and Jews, from Judah. They were also called "the people of Moses," and "the

seed of Abraham ;” and they evidence to us the common practice of the East, which was to give many names to the same people, and frequently to the same person, but each name for its own peculiar reason. Hence the Rasena were Tyrseni, Turrheni, Etrusci, and Tusci, and each had its derivation. Niebuhr thinks that the real name is Ras, or Rus, and that Ena is a Latin termination. But as Pursn, or Pursenna, is unquestionably Etruscan, and the n or enna in this name, is not a Latin addition, there is no reason why it should be in Rasena, nor much probability that Dionysius, who, besides, gives us both the Latin and the Greek name, would have changed the native pronunciation, as it was taught to him. The name of Rasena, the radicals of which are R. S. N., (for in Etruscan the vowels seem always to be a matter of indifference,) is further confirmed by its being the only one adopted by all the early Greeks, who, like Dionysius, must have learned it from the people themselves; and they called them Tyrseni, or tyRSNi.* No other appellation, according to Niebuhr, being found in any Greek author before the time of Plato. We shall, therefore, suppose the letters R S N to be proved as forming the radicals of the word by which the people called themselves; and the stock from which they are descended, whether man, country, or city, is likely to have had that or a similar pronunciation.

The Greeks, in like manner, called their country

* The T here is merely a servile letter.

TyRSeNa, and believed it to include the whole of Italy, from the Alps to Magna Grecia; because in the whole of that wide space from Spina to Cape Garganus, and from Luna to Cuma and Paestum, they knew and had commerce with no other people. The first colonies of the Greeks in South Italy bordered upon the country of the TyRSNi, and some towns, especially Parthenope Baia, Pozzuoli, and Nola, were composed of both people. The later Greeks, from the time the Romans became known in Magna Grecia, i.e. from about 350 B. C. down to the second century of our æra, called the people Tyrrheni and their country Tyrrhenia, and give as a reason, that they were great tower-builders, or as Dionysius says, the first tower-builders in Italy—*Τυρροι*, whence Turrhenoi. The real reason, however, is probably derived from the Roman Etruri, or the name they themselves called their country, Etruria, Etura, Ature, whence the Greek Turi, Turroi, Tyrrheni. This last appellation is the one by which they are best known in poetry and general history, and it is also a corruption, as Niebuhr and Müller both prove, of the name Tarchun, or Tyrrhenus, the great hero, lawgiver, and leader of the Etruscan people.

It is scarcely necessary to quote authorities for these various names, as any one may satisfy himself of the correctness of the statement, by looking into any of the Latin or Greek writers whom we have mentioned.

Herodotus, about 450 B. C., is the oldest author who attempts any history of the TyRSNi, or, as they name themselves in their inscriptions to be seen in Italian museums, the "Rasne." He gives a very curious story, and doubtless a very old tradition, current amongst themselves in that age. He says, (lib. i. 95,) "In the reign of Atys, son of Manes, king of Lydia, the country was afflicted with a grievous famine, which the people long bore with great patience, but finding that the evil did not cease, they sought a remedy, and each one imagined what pleased himself best. Upon this occasion they invented dice, ball, and all sorts of games, excepting *πεσσοι*, calculi, a sort of drafts, of which they were not the inventors; and they played at these new games one day and fasted, whilst they ate and, it is to be hoped, worked on the day following. In this manner they continued to live for eighteen years! But at last, the evil, instead of diminishing, increased, and the king Atys divided his people into two bands, and made them draw lots, the one to remain and the other to quit the country. Those who departed had for chief the king's son Tyrsenus.

"The banished Lydians first went to Smyrna, where they constructed vessels, loaded them with furniture and useful implements, and embarked to go in search of food and habitation elsewhere. After coasting along several countries, they landed in Umbria, where they built cities, which," says Herodotus, "they inhabit now."

It is, indeed, remarkable that this language is still so far true, that some of the descendants of Tyrrhenus's colony, which settled in Italy more than three thousand years since, did very lately inhabit, and possibly may still dwell in the cities which Tyrrhenus colonised; witness the Cecina of Volterra and one or two more Tuscan families, whose names denote an Etrurian origin. Many will smile at this, but let them ask themselves, Do not we know the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, nay, even of Aaron, at this very hour? Herodotus continues, "that the Lydians quitted their former name, and took that of Tyrsemi, from Tyrsenus, son of the king, who was chief of the colony."*

It is scarcely necessary to criticise the absurdity of this story, which, nevertheless, Herodotus cannot be supposed to have invented. No land ever suffered famine for eighteen years. The longest famine ever known upon the earth was the seven years' famine mentioned in Genesis, many years before the date of the Italian Rasne. The story is not Lydian, in our acceptation of the name Lydia, as is shown by Dionysius,† confirmed by Müller and Niebuhr; for Xanthus, the historian of Lydia prior to Herodotus, never mentions it. The Lydians never were either a maritime or a commercial people. They had no navy; they sent out no colonies. Smyrna, in that early age, did not exist; Tyrsenus

* Vel. Paterculus, lib. i., who repeats the story, and Strabo, both, from Herod., call Lydus and Tyrrhenus brothers.

† Lib. 1.

is not a Lydian name: and when, in the reign of Tiberius, the Lydians claimed kindred with the Etruscans,* Tacitus tells us that the senate rejected their claim. This story, however, omitting the details of the famine, is repeated by Strabo, Velleius Paterculus, Virgil, Horace, and Plutarch, the one borrowing from the other, and all deriving their information from the father of Greek history. "The ancients," says Wilkinson, speaking of his own experience in Egypt, "tell us little of any land excepting Greece and Rome, and what they do tell us is generally wrong."

Dionysius examined the grounds of this story, which was universally believed in Rome in his day; and he says that the Rasne had nothing in common with the Lydians, neither language nor religion, those two strongest of all evidences, nor manners, nor customs, nor laws, nor national peculiarities. The Rasne being from the beginning a trading and commercial nation, which the Lydians were not. Some, he says, called them "Turrheni-Pelasgi," and of the two, they resembled the Pelasgi more than the Lydians, though most unlike to both.

It thus seems proved that the Etruscans were not Lydians, and yet that all the authors quoted agree in their having arrived in Italy by sea, from some

* Tacit. Annal, (lib. iv. § 24.) Eleven cities disputed the honour of raising temples to Tiberius; the Sardians recited the testimony of the Etruscans, that they came from Lydia under Tyrrhenus, but the senate rejected their claim. Dion. repeats the whole of the story.

other country, and under one great leader of royal rank, called by the Greeks Tyrsenus, by Greeks and Romans Tyrrhenus, by the Romans also Tarchon,* and by the Rasne themselves Tarchun or Tarchu. Those who call the Etruscans indigenous, i. e. not tracing themselves beyond their settlement in Italy, equally agree as to their first great ruler Tarchun.

Dionys. lib. 1, after relating the whole of Herodotus's story and confuting it, gives the version of Xanthus, that king Atys had two sons, Lydus and Torebo, both of whom remained in Asia, and both of whom are probably Eponyms, after the manner of the east, to signify that Lydians and Torebi were of the same stock. He then goes on to say, that he considers those authors who would make the Etruscans indigenous, scarcely less foolish than Herodotus and his legend; because the people and their language were different from all the rest of Italy, though they influenced every state between the two seas. It is curious to see Dionysius lay so great stress upon language, which modern criticism has proved to be the real key to the extraction of a people. He thinks the Greeks called the Raseni Turseni from their *Τυρσείε* or fortresses, and Turrhenoi from their turreted habitations, or from some great prince. The Romans, he says, called the people Etruscus from their country Etruria, and Tuscus (which is a false idea) from the pre-eminent excellence of their frankincense and sacrifices; *θυοσκοῦς*

* Vide *Æneid* passim.

being the Greek for a sacrificer, from *θυοσ*, a sacrifice ; whence the Latin word for frankincense, *Thus*. The Turrheni and Pelasgi, Dionysius says, were long the only names connected with Italy which were known to the Greeks. Therefore, though the Pelasgi were conquered by the Turrheni, and all their cities taken, the two people came to be confounded by the Greeks, and supposed to be the same. "In like manner, they included under the name Tyrseni the Latins, Umbrians, and Ausoni; the distance of the two countries rendering accurate information very difficult." * Nothing, surely, can more rationally and satisfactorily explain the confusion in ancient authors between the Turrheni and the Pelasgi, and how the acts of the one are continually attributed to the other. If it be true, as Dionysius affirms, that Agylla, Pisa, and many other cities be Pelasgic, can we wonder, when the Greeks found them inhabited and governed by Turrheni, that they should imagine the two people to be the same? The Greeks excelled in imagination, but were never famous for exactness or truth. Hence Helanicus of Lesbos says that Tyrsenus, the leader of the Tyrseni, and Pelasgus were the same person. Hence other authors, according to Dionysius, make Tyrsenus the son of Hercules by Omphale, the Queen of Lydia. A poetical version of Herodotus's story, that Tyrsenus or Tarchun was a royal person of great courage and talent from Lydia. Strabo follows this version, which yet we have proved to be false.

* Dionys. lib. 1.

With respect to their antiquity, we have seen that Hesiod and Homer could not trace what had existed so long before themselves, and that Herodotus merely gives us the date of Atys, king of Lydia, a mythological person, whose ancestors sprung from the earth, and whose era is not known. Dionysius, lib. i. says, they expelled the Siculi, whom Niebuhr makes the Itali, the first inhabitants of Italia, three generations before the Trojan war; i. e. about 1260 B. C. Strabo says that the Pelasgi expelled the Siculi at that time, meaning, very probably, by Pelasgi the Turrheni; but if otherwise, he must by implication place the settlement of the Tyrrheni still earlier, for Dionysius, i. says, that they, the Etruscans, taught the Pelasgi how to fight. Ptolemy and Aristides say that they were cotemporary with the Argonauts and Theban Bacchus. Athenæus* and several other authors say that they fought the Argonauts, which must have been 1266 B. C., according to Sir I. Newton. Appian says, they triumphed 1000 years before Rome; and as the first Roman triumph is ascribed to Romulus, this fixes their date at 1700 B. C., and can only mean to express their great antiquity compared with the Romans.

Dionysius says, they conquered the Umbri 500 years before Rome, i. e. about 1253 before Christ. Virgil makes their hero Tarchun cotemporary with Æneas, 1177 B. C., when they were a settled and

* Deipnosoph.

powerful nation, and Vellijus Paterculus confirms this date by placing Tarchun in the same age with Orestes, king of Argos.

It seems then established by Greeks, who were wholly unacquainted with Etruscan numbers, and by Latins, who were acquainted with them, that the Turrheni or Rasena arrived in Italy about 1250 B. C. Now, in confirmation of this,* Varro tells us that the Tuscan annals were collected together and made into a written history in their 8th sæculum about the year 347 of Rome, which places the beginning of their æra between 400 and 500 years before Rome. Cicero gives the same statement, and Plutarch tells us that in the year of Rome 666, an Etruscan Aruspex proclaimed that the Etruscan day of 1100 years, during which Jove or Tina had given them dominion, was near an end,† and this again brings us to the same reckoning.

From all these concurring testimonies, it seems quite clear that the Rasena, Tyrseni, Turrheni or Tuscans, arrived in Italy about the middle of the thirteenth century, B. C. ; and that they were a settled and powerful nation, both according to their own records and the early Greek authors, about 1180 B. C.

Before discussing the precise point of time from which the annals of the Tuscans date, we will inquire who was their leader? where they landed? what inhabitants they found in Italy at the time of

* Varro apud Censorinum, 17

† Vide Niebuhr on Seculum.

their arrival? what arts and sciences, laws, religion and language they introduced? and lastly, upon this subject, whence they probably came?

Herodotus, lib. i., says that they sailed from their native land, and established themselves in Italy under Tursenus, and all the numerous Greek writers who follow him give the same story, changing the name, as they became personally acquainted with the people, to Turrhenus. Dionysius, who alone studied them, examined their annals and wrote their history from individual research, says that they did not name themselves Turrheni but Rasena, and that the name Turrheni was probably derived from some great prince, whom Müller and Niebuhr prove to have been Tarchon, or as Micali has found it written in inscriptions preserved in Italy $V\check{V}O A \times$ Tarchu, and again, Tarkisa and Tarchina. We shall spell it Tarchun, because there was no O in the oldest Etruscan alphabet, and in the same manner and for the same reason, we shall substitute U for O in Etruscan names generally. Cato, Cicero, Festus, and Servius, call the Etruscan leader Tarchon; and as to him, the various authors quoted attribute the founding of all the Etruscan states, and especially of Tarquinia, which was called after his name, the promulgation of laws, the institutions of religion, and the formation of the army, we may consider it a settled truth, that Tarchun was the first leader and ruler of the Etruscans.

Our only testimony as to where they landed, is to be found in Herodotus, i. 94, and his followers,

who call the country Umbria, and this is confirmed by Livy, v. 33, who says, that "They first settled in the country between the Appenines and the lower sea, and afterwards sent out colonies north and south." Umbria, 1200 years before the christian æra, included, according to Pliny, all the country from the Po as far south as Mount Garganus. This account of their first landing is not disputed by any ancient writer, and the internal evidence of which such a matter is capable is all in its favour, such as names, dates, and the seat of government; and the certainty that all Etruria proper was once called Umbria, that the Umbrians were conquered by the Etruscans, and that several of the chief states, such as Perugia, Arezzo and Cortona, were long indifferently called Turrhenian and Umbrian.

Thus it would seem that this matter also is demonstrated; and that we have gained the facts that the Rasena under Tarchun landed at some spot in Umbria, about 1250 before Christ; the period at which their own annals commence, being, according to the best scholars, 1187 before Christ. As the country was called Umbria, it must have been inhabited by the Umbrians; and as they conquered the Pelasgi, and as many of the Turrhenian cities were also called Pelasgic; so it would seem that the inhabitants with whom they first met, were Umbri and Pelasgi, of whom more hereafter.

The arts and sciences which they brought with them, consisted, as implied by all the authors before

quoted, of everything which in that age was known to the Lydians, or to the eastern nation which is designated by that name. As Tyrsenus is called the son of Hercules, his people must have been a brave, strong and warlike nation. As they built ships and fitted them out for long voyages, they must have understood navigation; and as orientals, they must have loved music, dancing and feasting, pomp and ceremony, dress and show.

They were probably inclined to love of ease and luxurious living; they must have cherished a profound respect for age and rank, a reverence for parental authority, a religious veneration bordering upon superstition for all that related to divine worship, a love of order and an aversion to change. The story of the famine supposes that they had long patience and perseverance, that "they knew how to want, as well as how to abound," that they were rich in expedients to remedy inevitable calamities, and that they introduced into Italy an unheard of number of games and diversions, the origin of which with them was not so much to consume time, as to divert sorrow. As the eighteen years scarcity implies that they supplied themselves with food, and did not depend upon their neighbours, we gather that they were an agricultural people; and as Herodotus says that they carried with them furniture and useful implements, we presume that the forms afterwards in general and ancient use amongst them, as well as the peculiar inventions ascribed to them, were introduced into Italy first by them. It thus

appears, that when they landed, they were an eastern colony of cultivated, refined and highly civilized men, well skilled in war, science and agriculture. Our knowledge of their dress and family names, some religious ceremonies and many domestic customs, is gathered from the arms and ornaments, the paintings, urns and sculpture found in their tombs.

Before detailing the Italian life of their great hero, it appears natural to inquire who they really were? or in other words, whence we must conclude them to have come?

Their laws and religion we gather from the Latin writers, Cato, Cicero, and Livy, confirmed by the whole Roman history; and of them and of their marked Syro-Egyptian character, even to the very name given to their laws, of "Tagetic institutions," and of their lawgiver "Tages," we shall treat in the sequel, when we come to the history of Tarchun and his times. Their language is only known from inscriptions found upon sarcophagi and bronzes in their tombs, upon statues and liturgical tables and marbles, which have from time to time, within the last two centuries, been dug up in Italy, and are now preserved in various museums. We have also a few Etruscan words in Varro, and in most of the Greek and Latin historians. And from these various sources, it has been proved that their alphabet is Assyrian; meaning by the term Assyria, that vast continent which lies between the Mediterranean and the Indus, the inhabitants of which originally had

one common character, from which each separate nation has made its own varieties. The Etruscan language, in like manner, appears to be a branch of Phœnician or Assyrian, with some mixture of Egyptian, and in later times with derivations from the Greek, and the Oscan, or the native tongue of Italy.

The use of investigating a language and the reason of laying so much stress upon it, may be exemplified by the English. Supposing a learned eastern philosopher, who knew not our history, were to examine our language now, in order to trace through it, our origin and probable relations, he would find the basis of our tongue Saxon, our scientific terms all Latin and Greek, and the language of our upper classes, our fashion and refinement, largely mingled with French. He would hence conclude that the people were a German race; but that they had derived their literature and the greater part of their political institutions from the Greeks and Romans, and their ruling classes from the French. They appear, in short, to have been a race of Saxons, civilized by the Romans, and conquered by the French. Could written history tell our story better? It is thus that we shall reason with regard to the Etruscans.

Their numerals, as will hereafter appear, are a variety of oriental writing, and are remains of the Zend or arrow-headed character, which was used in the Assyrian part of Asia from the earliest times down to the days of Darius, but not later. Niebuhr

calls them "the remains of a hieroglyphic of the west." But he should rather have said the remains of a hieroglyphic, which proves the intercourse of the Etruscans with the eastern continent, if it does not demonstrate the very spot whence they emigrated.

Their astronomy and chronology, in like manner, Niebuhr terms western or Mexican. But as the Mexicans are very clearly traced in the annals of the American Archæological Society, to have been colonists from Tartary and from Malacca, whose ancestors were settlers from lands to the west and north of themselves, our investigations pushed far enough, land us again in the centre of Asia, as the fountain spring whence the Rasena issued forth. Who and what then, do we suppose the Rasena to have been?

We think it not doubtful, borne out at least by every collateral proof, that they were a colony from the great and ancient city of Resen, or RSN, as it is written in the Hebrew Bible, the capital of Aturia, in the land of Assyria.* It is situated on the Tigris, a great navigable river, and the name is by some called the Chaldee and by others the Egyptian form of pronouncing Assyria, the Hebrew S (ש) being sounded in Chaldee, ט נ.† It is mentioned by Moses in the book of Genesis, x. 12, as one of the oldest and one of the greatest, if not the very greatest city, then in the world. He says, "Out of that land (the land of Shinaar) went forth Assur (or the Assyrians, i. e. the tribe of Assur) and builded Nineveh, and the

* Vide Strabo xvii.; Bochart, Pliny, v. 8.

† Vide Bochart. Phal. l. 2.

city Rehoboth, and Calah, and ReSeN, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city." This was written by Moses the prince of Egypt, brought up in the court of Pharaoh, and acquainted with Zoan and Memphis, and the hundred-gated Thebes, and all the wealth, power and splendor of the first of kingdoms. Yet does he place R S N in its early glory above them all, using, as he does, an expression of wonder in mentioning it, which he neither uses respecting them, nor Salem, nor Tyre, nor Nineveh, nor Babylon. This was written at least 1460 years before Christ, two centuries before the appearance of the Rasena in Italy, and it refers to times which are many hundred years earlier.

It may be objected that if the radicals of the name Rasena are RSN, which are preserved in tyRSeNi and etRuScaN, how comes the N to be wanting in Etruria and Tusci, the Latin names for the Rasena; and does not this rather prove Niebuhr's assertion that the radicals were RS? But this argument falls to the ground, if the great city of R S N itself, in course of time, or by Greek orthography, had its name so changed that the radical N was omitted. We find in Bochart's profoundly learned work, that R S N was probably conquered by Cyrus, and that it is the city of Larissa, as described by Xenophon. It was then in ruins, but it had been a mighty and important town when in possession of the Medes. Bochart says, that when the Greeks asked its name, the Orientals would answer לרסן, L R S N, or in

Greek euphony Larissa.* Still more does Niebuhr's argument fall, if tried by the Roman appellation of Etrusci or Tusci, for he thinks that the N was itself a Latin addition. Etrusci and Tusci are taken from the country Etruria or Tuscia, now Tuscany and the adjoining provinces.

We think, from the striking similarity in religion and habits between the Egyptians and the Rasena, that a large colony from the city of Resen dwelt for a long time in Egypt; and that about 1260 years before Christ, or it may be even somewhat later, they sailed from some part of Africa to seek new homes and new fortunes in Italy. And we think that had Herodotus written either "Ludin" or "Lubia" instead of "Ludia," and "Syrtes" instead of "Smyrna," his account would have given the real tradition of the people. It is almost certain that Herodotus must have been told "Ludin," for the country of the Rasena, which he wrote "Ludia;" because the name "Ludin" is found upon the Egyptian monuments, as the name of a series of nations triumphed over by the Pharaohs two or three times before the days of Moses.† And as it is evident that the story of Herodotus is not Lydian in the sense of Lydia proper, so we must suppose him to have confused the Etruscan account with the Lydian, from similarity of names.

Concerning the events of a very remote period of ancient history, recorded by no authentic annals,

* Bochart, iv. 123. † Vide Rosellini, M. Storici, vol. iii.

and conjectured rather than traced through the mazes of the wanderings of a mysterious people, discretion forbids us to assume the tone of positive assertion. We trust, however, that in the foregoing as well as subsequent pages, hypothesis will be admitted to have assumed the garb of probability, and that we are neither deceiving ourselves, nor misleading our readers, when we believe that we can point out the true source of that wonderful race, to whom Europe owes so much and has acknowledged so little. We think that we can discern them, a stately band, issuing from beneath the lofty gateways of the high walled and proudly towered Resen, that great city, as ancient as Memphis and Zoan. Thence we follow them to the banks of the Nile, and behold them mingling in fellowship with the victorious Assyrians, and with the seed of Israel, in the fertile nomes of Lower Egypt. Until at length the avenging arm of the legitimate Pharaoh delivered his country from Asiatic oppression, and drove the men of Resen to seek for settlements elsewhere. After their second exile, we trace them to a welcome Italian home, whither they brought the arts, the arms, the luxuries, and the sciences which they had originally possessed in Ludin, and on which they had engrafted the learning of the wisest of nations.

Here they become dominant lords of the soil, and beneficent victors, conquering, civilizing, and blessing the ruder people of the west ; until the mys-

terious times of their dominion being ended, and the sand of their promised ages of glory having run, they sunk into the subordinate state of a conquered nation, and were soon absorbed in the all-engrossing "Senatus Populusque Romanus."

CHAPTER II.

THE HYKSOS.

COTEMPORARY with the Etruscans as Rasena, and closely connected with them in their original Syrian home, and in their progress through Egypt, was another mysterious people, whom the annals of the ancient world introduce to us as the vanquishers of the most civilized of nations, and founders of a powerful monarchy, which flourished for many centuries. In investigating the early history of the world, the Hyksos cross our path as a mighty shadow, advancing from native seats to which it baffled the geography of antiquity to assign a fixed position, covering for a season the shores of the Mediterranean, and the banks of the Nile with the terror of their arms and the renown of their conquests, and at length vanishing with a mystery equal to that of their first appearance.

It will be seen that we regard the word Hyksos, not as the name of a particular nation, but as the term by which those enemies were designated, who, after a long and obstinate usurpation, continued always to dispute the palm of victory with the Pharaohs, during the culminating centuries of Egyp-

tian glory, and who, though sometimes vanquished, seem never to have been totally subdued; for even, after ages of security and conquest, they reappeared again, bringing defeat and ruin in their course.

But although not marked out as any one particular people, the Hyksos were of Asiatic origin, and were inhabitants of the western part of the continent of Asia, the early cradle of the human race. From the only real authentic accounts which we possess, of the most ancient history of man, it would seem that the civilization and power of some of these Asiatic people were not inferior to those of Egypt. And this equality is confirmed by the long and often successful struggle which they maintained with the Pharaohs; while it is illustrated by the treasures of pictorial antiquity which the researches of modern times are bringing forth from the palaces and tombs of Egypt, which represent Sesostris, Sethos, and other conquerors triumphing over enemies, evidently not inferior to themselves.

But the Hyksos have a nearer claim to our interest than that which belongs to a matter of history foreign to our subject. Since to them, as the people of western Asia, belonged the great city of Resen, whence issued the ancestors of the Etruscan race.

Rosellini, in his "Monumenti Storici d' Egitto," vol. iii., part 1, page 438, mentions several people, such as the Tohen, Romenen, and Scios, as coming from the land of "Ludin," which he has satisfactorily proved to be the Egyptian name for the west and

south of Asia, if not for all the parts of that continent which were intimately known to the Egyptians. A remarkable monument of King Amenoph the 1st, whom Rosellini places 1822 years before Christ, speaks "of the Scios or shepherds, a people of Ludin who inhabited the fortresses of Canaan:" and amongst the countries of Ludin are mentioned by name "Canaan, Mesopotamia, and Ionia." He further proves that the Ludin named on the monuments, was a land of vast extent, divided into upper and lower; and that it is the Ludim or לוֹדִים of the Hebrew Scriptures, comprehending Asia Minor, and the whole of the country of Assyria.* Eratosthenes, the geographer, about 230 years before Christ, was the first who extended the name Asia beyond Syria, Arabia, and Asia Minor, over the central parts of that great continent, called by the Hebrews Ludim; and Herodotus is proved, in the nineteenth century, by the rediscovery of the hieroglyphics, to have given us a real tradition, which those who related and repeated it had ceased to understand.

We will now inquire whether there are any circumstances in Egyptian history, recorded either by the ancients or on the monuments as explained by Rosellini or Wilkinson, which make it probable that a colony of Assyrians ever did settle in Egypt; and that having once settled there, they left it again about the period when the Rasena say they arrived in Italy. Rosellini, Wilkinson, Bunsen and Champollion, all agree that the Egyptians were early in-

* Jeremiah xlvi. 9; Ezekiel xxx 5.

vaded on their eastern borders by the Assyrians and Arabians, that Lower Egypt was entirely conquered and long ruled by them; and that after a strife which never ceased for centuries, the legitimate sovereigns, who had retired to the south, first to Upper Egypt, and then into Nubia and Ethiopia, regained their territory and expelled the invaders with triumph. The names of these strangers is written upon Egyptian monuments "Hyksos," and the debate amongst scholars is not as to any of the facts now stated, but only as to who the "Hyksos" were, and how long they ruled.

Bunsen * gives them a dominion of nearly 1000 years in the land, from 2514 B. C., down to 1561 B. C., when the 18th dynasty recovered their former territories, and began to rule, and during this time Abraham visited Egypt, and Jacob and his descendants established themselves in Goshen. Bunsen at the same time follows Josephus in thinking, that they resided in Egypt without dominion, or with uncertain dominion, much longer, and that amongst these Hyksos the Jews were also numbered, who did not quit the land until the time adopted by the Hebrew Bible, viz. in the year 1490

* We do not believe that this distinguished antiquarian has as yet published his views on the subject of Egyptian Chronology. The dates quoted in the following pages refer to the Chevalier Bunsen's system, as communicated to the author in 1838, by some of the learned members of the Roman Archæological Society, of which he was at once the ornament and patron.

B. C. or thereabouts, in the reign of Thutmes the 3rd.

Rosellini on the other hand, gives the Hyksos absolute dominion over lower and middle Egypt for only 240 years, re-establishes the legitimate sovereigns, in the person of Amenoph the 1st, in 1822 before Christ; and thinks that the Israelites, who were also Hyksos, but never triumphant, quitted Egypt under Ramses the 3rd, about 1560 before Christ. Rosellini, although not in this, follows the Septuagint chronology in almost all his reckonings; and Bunsen, who takes his dates from the monuments only, also comes much nearer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew, in his calculations of all the early dynasties. Indeed, whilst all the principal independent chronologies of the east, the Chinese, the Hindustanee, Egyptian, and Samaritan, have a general agreement with the Septuagint, and with each other, none of them can be made to agree with the Hebrew, previous to the time of Solomon, nor is that Hebrew chronology supposed ever to have existed before the second century of our æra.

Spineto, in his work upon the Egyptian hieroglyphics, says, that for 127 years after Christ, only one chronology was used by Heathens, Jews, and Christians; and that this was the chronology of the Hebrew text, as it then stood, followed by the Samaritan, the Pentateuch, and the Septuagint, and corroborated by Josephus, who says that he derived all his dates from the Hebrew. An alteration took

place A. D. 130, in the reign of Adrian, when some Jewish Rabbis and a heretic, named Aquila, made a new translation into Greek. The Jews then altered the Hebrew, and appealed from the Greek, which the Christians did understand, to the Hebrew, which they did not understand. Still the Christians kept to their old dates, until Bede adopted the Jewish reckoning, not knowing its origin. And this altered reckoning was followed at the Reformation, by all the Protestants.

The name Hyksos, which is indiscriminately applied to all the strangers who conquered Egypt or settled in it, is proved by Rosellini, vol. i. page 177, to have meant "strangers and wanderers." Hence in hatred and contempt, "vagabond, wretch, beggar, slave;" and in indifference or respect, "shepherd kings, and their people." Thus the wild Scythians and Arabians, the trading Edomites and Canaanites, the civilized Phœnicians and Assyrians, were all Hyksos. Josephus says, that the Hyksos were Jews; Eusebius, that they were Phœnicians; Africanus, that they were Greeks, by which he is supposed to mean strangers from Asia Minor; and more modern writers that they were, without doubt, Arabs and Assyrians. And all these assertions are true. The Hyksos, or shepherd race which invaded Egypt before Abraham, are called by ancient writers Cushim,* that is, Ethiopians, or Babylonians. Rosellini says, that the tradition of the ancient Egyp-

* Cush lay on both sides of the Persian Gulf. Vide Bochart.

tians was, that they were a race of giants who lived between the Nile and the Euphrates.

This has a singular relation to the children of Anak, the Ben Anak or Pen Anak, whence the profound Bochart derives the word Pheanic or Phœnician. When the children of Israel were on the borders of Canaan, they could scarcely be persuaded to attack these dreaded men, of whom they had doubtless heard the most fearful tales from their nurseries upwards. They said, “we will return into Egypt; for we are not able to overcome these dreadful giants, the Ben Anak. The sons, i. e. the men of Anak come of the giants, and we were as grasshoppers beside them. They are stronger than we, and the cities in which they dwell are walled and very great.”*

It is probable that every nation which the Egyptians ever conquered, as well as all those by whom they were conquered, were called by them Hyksos or foreigners. There were demonstrably in Egypt three races of them. First, The wild barbarians who destroyed the monuments and overran the country, overwhelming the Egyptians by numbers and disgusting them by fanaticism and ignorance, wasting and ruining everything in their course, and whose image afterwards, in the bitterness of hatred, they painted upon the soles of their shoes. Secondly, The scientific Assyrians, who, according to Herodotus, lib. 2, built†

* Numb. xiii. 28, &c.

† Herodotus ii. 125, &c. “The shepherd Philites and his cotemporaries, Cheops and Chephrenes, built the Pyramids.”

the pyramids of Cheops and Cephrenes, and foremost among whom we place the RSNa, who ruled peacefully over a great and flourishing people in the days of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph. Thirdly, The quiet, industrious, well-ordered Hebrews, who yet came to be confounded with the first Hyksos, because they left Egypt by a high hand, and were hated for the plagues and humiliations they had brought upon the country.

Now, among the kings of that early dynasty, which both Eusebius and Africanus call Phœnician or Assyrian, are two celebrated Etruscan names, Archles or Erkle, and Janias or Janus. Amongst the towns over which they ruled is Eluthya, the name of the great Etruscan temple at Pyrgi. Amongst the people buried at Eluthya, is a great warrior and scribe, or literary man, named RaNSeNi, remarkably like RSeNa; and another whom Rosellini calls Phippe, like the Etruscan Fipe or Vibenna. And in these tombs, there are representations of a Biga, and a man writing; of music, and dancing, and of agricultural processes, quite similar to the Etruscan.

The emblem of victory with both people is the same, a vulture; though in Italy it afterwards became an eagle; and the idea of a disembodied soul is represented by both people as a bird-like animal with wings. Amongst the traditions preserved by Diodorus* of the Hyksos, is one that 240,000 of them deserted their own king and settled in Ethiopia, where

* Vide Wilkinson.

the Pharaoh gave them land, and where they built the town of Esar, and lived for 300 years. Esar is an Etruscan word, meaning demi-god. Amongst the personal names to be found in Rosellini, are "Titi," one of the queens, and "Phipi," one of the kings,—Etruscan "Tite and Fipi;" Tachfn-es, a royal princess, like Tanchfl, king Tarquin's wife; Sephtha, a priest of Vulcan, like Sethlans, the Etruscan vulcan; "Mandu," the god of destruction, and Mantu, who is the same person in Etruria. Amongst Anastasy's papyri, as read by Young, are "Pursnei," "Tages, the son of Chalome," "Muthes, Pachytes and Phipes," all of them Etruscan names, and three of them familiar to us, as "Porsenna, Mutius, and Vibius." But above all, is the name *Tarchun*, or *Tarakun*, or *Tahraka*, as the Egyptians wrote it, an African name. *Tahraka*, or *Tarchun*, or *Tirhaka*, was an Ethiopian king of Egypt. The name is found in various Egyptian papyri, and the people, whose leader was Tarkun, may be traced from Africa with the same probability that the people whose leader was George, or John, or Pitt, or Fox, may be traced from England. Whatever may be liable to criticism in these remarks will be treated of hereafter.

As to the wars between the Assyrians and Egyptians, their commencement is amongst the things whose memories have perished from the earth; but they may be said never to have ceased whilst Egypt continued to be a nation. According to Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, six Assyrian kings, whose names have been preserved to us, were successive

sovereigns in Lower and Middle Egypt. According to the plates of Wilkinson and Rosellini, war continued between the two people throughout the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties, with various success, sometimes the one and sometimes the other becoming vanquished and tributary. In the days of the kings of Israel, from 1060 down to 620 B.C., we find frequent mention of these wars in the Scriptures, particularly the submission of Pharaoh Necho to Nebuchadnezzar, which conquest led the way to the invasion of Cambyses and the rule of his six next successors. Egypt then recovered her own sovereigns for three dynasties; but her power being broken, the Persians again conquered her under Ochus, 339 B.C., and ten years afterwards, she bowed at the feet of Alexander, when he vanquished Darius; and she finally became a Greek kingdom, under the Lagidae. With these latter we have nothing to do, and we merely mention them to show the unbroken communication which Egypt always held with the continent of Asia.

Both Wilkinson and Rosellini quote passages from Manetho to prove that the Assyrians conquered Egypt before the time of Osortasen the 2nd, more than 1800 B.C.; that the Egyptians afterwards not only reconquered their country, but subdued the greater part of Assyria, and that each nation settled colonies in the other, and employed the subject troops of the other in their armies. Dionysius says, that a colony of Egyptian priests was settled in Babylon, and some authors say that the magi of

Egypt were Chaldeans—which, during the dominion of the Assyrian princes in Lower Egypt, is most probable, if not indeed self-evident. The native high-caste magi would surely follow the fortunes of their lawful princes. Wilkinson thinks, that the Egyptians had always a band of Assyrians amongst their troops, either as allies or as slaves, whence it follows that if the Rasena were in their army, they would be versed in the Syro-Egyptian discipline, and would probably adopt and transplant to their new country the method of fighting of the Egyptians, their arms, and many of their military customs. It is a strong confirmation of the Rasena having been among the dreaded adversaries of Egypt, that we find a people with their countenances and dress, painted in the tomb of Nevothph at Beni-Hassan. This man was a general in the army of the Pharaoh Osortasen, who, as a mark of royal favour, presented him with a certain number of the captives he had taken in war, along with their leader, and with the thirty-seventh portion of the spoil. These captives have much the appearance of the Etruscans in the tombs of Tarquinia. Manetho says that the Assyrian Hyksos were pent up in Avaris before they were finally expelled.

Rosellini, vol. i. p. 169, gives us the account of Manetho and Josephus, that the Assyrian or Phœnician Salatis ruled in Memphis, and quartered his army in Avaris or the Delta, having there two hundred and forty thousand troops; and that he and his successors held a yearly fair in the Avaris,

which was also a religious feast, when he went to review and pay his troops, and to see that their discipline was properly preserved. The Avaris is the same land which is called Tifonia; and the fortresses of the Hykos-Assyrian troops were surrounded by strong walls. Rosellini proves that from this Tifonia, or the enemy's stronghold, came the Egyptian evil genius Typhon; and Typhon was the name which the Greeks gave to the evil genius of Etruria, because it had the same attributes as the Typhon of Egypt.

Of the Hyksos race, says Rosellini, were the Edomites and the Phœnicians. Now Herodotus, in his first book, places the Phœnicians on the Red Sea, and the Rabbis had a tradition that the Rasena were Edomites. This again seems to bring them from Assyria into Egypt. Valerius Maximus, ii. 4, says that they were Curetes, or Philistines; and the Philistines, as we learn from Genesis x. 14, were a Phœnician people, originally from Egypt.* We shall hereafter see that the Etruscans introduced into Italy the eastern armour and battle array, pay for the troops, walls and fortifications for the towns, and yearly fairs, which were both political and religious feasts. It is, perhaps, needless to remark, that Avaris was also the land of Goshen, which the Israelites inhabited for upwards of three hundred years; and, probably, both from its great fertility and strong fortifications, was able

* Gen. x. 14. Philistim, the son of Casluhim, the son of Mizraim, or Egypt. Son means colony.

to maintain and rule * a very abundant population. The fortifications were all Assyrian, for the children of Israel were unwarlike and peaceful, as we find mentioned of them in Exodus xiii. 17, and do not seem to have attempted defences of any sort, whilst they considered themselves under the protection of the Egyptian government. They were equally Hyksos or strangers to the Assyrian rulers of the time of Joseph, and to the Egyptian rulers of the time of Moses, and equally submissive to both.

The plates of the eighteenth dynasty, in the “*Monumenti Storici*” of Rosellini, copied from the monuments in Egypt, show us much of the people with whom the Pharaohs warred. They were fully armed with helmet and shield, sword and spear, bow and arrow, battle-axe and dagger; fighting in close ranks on foot or in chariots, and sometimes, but not often, on horseback. Their towns were walled and battlemented, as the Etruscan towns were afterwards; their gates built and formed in the same manner, and their strong forts, which were built on rocky eminences, were attacked by machines and scaled with ladders.†

The word “*Avar, Avari,*” Lord Lindsay, in his *Letters upon Egypt*, proves to be the Sanscrit for

* We say *rule*, because no doubt the walled cities of Goshen rendering dominion over the inhabitants easy, was one reason why the Hebrew colonists were permitted to remain there.

† In a plate of the wars of Menephtah we see a bridge laid across the river, battle-axes in the hands of the soldiers, and helmets with ostrich plumes upon their heads.

shepherd, and "Goshen, Goshenaya," to mean the shepherd land. His researches go to prove that as the Assyrians once ruled in Egypt, so a colony of them crossed the Himalayas and settled in the north of India. The Hindu records say, that a branch of the Pali, or shepherds, from Palestina, conquered Hindostan. Hence we may expect to find many points of resemblance between the Italian Rasena and the early Hindus, and such is most strikingly the case in many passages of the laws of Menu,* and in some of the very few words which have been preserved to us of the Etruscan language. For instance, augury, the Etruscan solemn manner of consulting the gods, which comes from Augurries, the Hindu name even now for temple. Sir William Jones tells us that Menu speaks of the laws of property and the division of land, the respect due to women, the value of coin, and regulations concerning trade and commerce. Menu lived certainly 800 years B. C., and compiled his Institutes from the Vedas, which were 300 years older, about the time when the Rasena, or TuRSeNi, were a great Italian nation. Menu, however, in all probability, lived and wrote 480 years earlier, i. e. 1280 B. C., at the time when we believe the Rasena to have been an Assyrian tribe in Egypt, and when, whether in Egypt or Assyria, they probably had commerce with the Hindus.

It is the tradition of Hindostan that the first civiliziers came from the north across the Himalayas,

* *Vide* Sir William Jones.

and it is fully proved by the writers of the Asiatic Journal that these first civilizers were Assyrian, though whether from Babylon, Nineveh, or Resen, (those three great cities,) we have no means of ascertaining. It is very possible that they may have been driven to seek a new country by some of the successful and bloody invasions of the Egyptians.

As we suppose the RaSeNi to have entered Egypt along with the Assyrian dynasty, and at some time or other to have occupied the land of Avaris, we must inquire now if there are any facts in Egyptian history that would lead us to expect an emigration thence about the year 1260 B. C. or at any time in the thirteenth century.

Now it is a very difficult matter to ascertain and to reconcile ancient dates. The early Greek chronology is all imaginative, and much of the Roman is copied from it; whilst, on the other hand, until we become better acquainted with Eastern literature, we have very few other sources of information. The Hebrew scriptures supply us with the most authentic, especially as translated by the Septuagint, and we have the further light of the Egyptian Papyri and monuments, corroborated by what is beginning to be known of the Hindu and Chinese records to help us forward through the labyrinth. It will, however, always be a labyrinth, for not only is it the case with ancient history, but with all history, that we can seldom verify dates which belong to the infancy of nations, for they, in most instances, depend upon an unwritten tradition, which refers

every event to one great æra, or to a few successive heroes. The date, then, can never, in the absence of monuments, be depended upon; but the tradition has its value in that it keeps alive all great facts and embodies them in the spirit of its own nation, even though both names and times should be highly inaccurate, and the deeds of twenty different persons should be ascribed to one, or *vice versâ*. Niebuhr holds all the chronology of Greece to be false, prior to the Trojan war; whilst the Kalenders of Asia can be verified 1905 years before the entrance of Alexander into Babylon, i.e. 2200 B.C.; and in the main, all these kalenders agree with the Septuagint. Bunsen carries the annals of Egypt 1000 years higher. It is certain that in those annals the acts of three, if not four, different conquerors are confused together and ascribed to one, which makes it very difficult for us to fix the dates of any of the actions referred to him. This one is Sesostris, probably a Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty, and confounded with Ramses the 3rd, Ramses the 4th, Sethos or Egyptus, and Shishak or Sesonchis; leaving a distance of 1000 years between the first and last.

The Hyksos were all of them finally driven out of Egypt; but as there were different races of them, so they were driven out, or they left the land, at different times. Manetho says that the Egyptians being unable wholly to subdue them, made a treaty of peace with them, by which they were allowed to depart with their wives and families, going wherever they chose. In this manner 240,000 of them left in

the reign of Thutmes the 3rd, and took the road towards Syria.*

This is supposed, with great reason, to be an account of the 600,000 Israelites who left under Moses,† besides women and children, and a mixed multitude, probably amounting in all to two millions of souls. Bunsen and the Hebrew Scriptures place this event 1491 B.C., the Septuagint dates it 1639 B.C., without naming the Pharaoh, and Rosellini places it under Ramses the 3rd, about 1560 B. C. Again, Bunsen places Ramses the 3rd, under whom there was one emigration, if not more, about 1270 years B.C., and Diodorus‡ tells us of an emigration of the Hyksos, 240,000 in number, towards the south, many centuries later, in the days of Psammeticus, which is long subsequent to their latest departure. This figure of 240,000 recurs so often, that we imagine it to be an Egyptian expression to signify a great number. Amasis the 1st has it inscribed upon his monuments that he drove out the Hyksos, and his reign agrees with none of these dates.

There were, therefore, many different exits, and doubtless by many different ways. The most improbable is the one which we know to be the most indisputable, viz. that of the Jews, who marched completely across their enemies' country to enter Syria.

Those Hyksos who went southward are said to

* Manetho, *vide* Rosellini, vol. i. p. 169. Josephus.

† Exod. xxxviii. 26.

‡ *Vide* Wilkinson.

have done so by the will and protection of the reigning Pharaoh, and the others had only two methods of escape which to us appear reasonable. Either by ships to Phœnicia and the islands adjacent, like Danaus, or into Lybia, the land bordering upon Egypt and Avaris to the west, which way, we think, possibly was taken by the Rasena. The inhabitants of Lybia were constantly at war with the Egyptians, for we find upon the monuments that Thutmes the 1st, Memnon, and Meneptha, triumphed over them. They were, therefore, well known to the soldiers quartered in Avaris, and were alternately their enemies and friends. This part of Lybia was, moreover, early colonized from Phœnicia, as we learn both from the Greeks, who are supposed to have copied it from the Carthaginian annals, and also from some very curious traditions and corroborating circumstances now at this very time existing in the states of Morocco and along the chain of the Atlas.

We know from ancient authors that the Phœnician tribes early possessed and colonized the whole of the north of Africa, from the Delta to the Straits of Hercules, and even beyond those Straits both north and south. At this moment, in the south of Morocco and the states of Barbary, there are tribes of Phœnicians, warriors, calling themselves Beni Het, and Ait Het, and Beni Amor and Ait Amor, or the sons of Het and of Amor, the Hittites and the Amorites. There are also Ait Emelk or Amalekites. Their tradition is, that they are the de-

scendants of the Canaanites, who were driven out of their country by the Hebrews under Joshua. Their language is supposed to be a dialect of Phœnician, because some of the few known Phœnician words are in use amongst them. And in their country are the noble ruins of a town called Kassar Farown, or the City of the Pharaoh. They say that it was destroyed by the Ethiopian Tirhakah, thus evidencing that they warred with the Pharaohs, and they have besides traditions of several of the other Egyptian kings.

The Shelluhs who live in the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon also say that they were driven out of Canaan by Joshua, and in the province of Haha in Fez, they are divided into twelve tribes. They have houses and castles, though the Arabs amongst whom they live, continue to dwell in tents. And they speak a language which they call Tamazirgt, which predominates all along the chain of the Atlas, and is found in the island of Lancerote, one of the Canaries. It is the tradition of the people that Arabic (i. e. an Asiatic tongue) was the language of Fez when Tirhakah conquered Kassar Farown.

Champollion le Jeune, in his thirteenth letter, mentions that Tirhakah conquered all the north of Africa, and the distinguished historian Hammer writes that the information here given agrees exactly with Ibn Cheldoos's relation of the traditions of the Barbary states in his day. Traditions which he treated as romance; nevertheless the language and the old and strange literal characters remain

amongst them to prove the fact. Several of these tribes are in clans, and have before their names the prefixes O and Mac. Mr. Grey Jackson, British consul at Muggadore, from whom this account is taken, and who visited them towards the close of the last century, knew one chief Macneen, and another OBryhen. The alphabet of these people is the Ogham, which was the first alphabet of the Milesian Irish, and from which the numerals of the Etruscans are formed, as we shall show when we come to their arts and sciences. The Ogham is an arrow-headed alphabet, which ceased in Asia in the time of Darius, but has continued in use with these far separated tribes. The Irish language is termed, in the native idiom, the *Bearla na Fene* or Phœnician speech.

As to the better known colonies of the Phœnicians, Carthage, according to Petavius, was founded 137 years before Rome, and Utica, according to Aristotle, is 287 years older than Carthage, or, according to Eusebius, 300 years older; and Velleius says that Cades in Spain is of the same age as Utica. That is, they were founded at least in the year 1171 before the christian æra, perhaps 1190, which is very near the time when the Rasena appeared in Italy, having, as we think, sailed from the Lybian coast. But as the Ancient History observes, the date of these cities is most probably not of their foundation, but of their dedication. Therefore we must suppose them earlier, and the Assyrians or Rasena of the Avaris would, in that case,

be inhabitants of the same line of coast with the long-established Assyrian colonies which had fled from Joshua in the year 1450 B. C., and of the new Assyrian colonies from Phœnicia, about 1190 B. C., and would, very probably, when obliged to quit Avaris, be glad to join them and take temporary refuge in the same land. In proof of the great antiquity of the Phœnician colonies in Africa, Eusebius says that the Phœnician Hercules conquered Antæus fifty years before the founding of Utica, which is a more recent city than Tingis, now Tangiers, the oldest known Assyrian settlement in Africa. In another place, Eusebius gives the tradition, confirmed by the Egyptian monuments, the reading of which has been so recently discovered, that the Lybians were defeated by the Egyptians 393 years before the fall of Troy, or 1577 B. C., in the reign of Ammon* or Amenophis the 3rd. The date, as usual, is not correct, but the Lybians were conquered by Amenoph, very long before the destruction of Troy, and by Thutmes the 1st, 100 years earlier still, before Troy was even founded.†

If, as we think likely, the Rasena sailed from Syrtis, in Lybia, their course, in a direct line north, would land them in Umbria. And this idea seems strongly corroborated by the fact that whilst they carried on no trade at any time with the Phœnicians, they for

* According to Bunsen's chronology, Ammon, or Amosis, reigned 1561 B. C., and Amenoph 1536 B. C., which is not far from Eusebius's account.

† See A. Hist. in Lybia.

ages sent ships to Egypt, Carthage, and the Egyptian colonies in Greece. Herodotus says that the people bordering upon Avaris were the Lybian Nomades, or wandering, unsettled Lybians, and that their great goddess was Minerva, the peculiar patroness of Etruria. In another place, he says that they worshipped the sun and moon, or Jupiter and Juno and Minerva; and these three divinities were the three great gods of Etruria.

Our notion is somewhat further confirmed by the tradition of Eusebius, corrected by the monuments of Egypt, that Antæus of Lybia was defeated by the great warrior Hercules, with an army of natives and Ethiopians, 1587 years B. C., when it is really most probable that Hercules, or, in other words, the strength and power of the Assyrians, ruled the land. Lybia, however, was not subdued, and the Lybians continued to invade Egypt, and were often defeated, until the reign of Sethos in the thirteenth century before Christ, when he overran their land and annexed it to his own territories. Two centuries earlier, the Israelites exterminated or drove away the Canaanites, and many of the present inhabitants of Africa believe that they are descended from them. An idea no more incredible than that the Hebrews should be the children of Isaac, or the Arabs the seed of Ishmael. The Phœnician tribes upon the coast would, without doubt, take to their ships, and trust to their ancient knowledge of the Mediterranean; and it is at this period that Cadmus is said

to have fled into Greece, and to have carried with him the Phœnician letters.

Four exits of the Hyksos from Egypt appear to be perfectly well ascertained, besides the departure of many colonies, either purely Egyptian, or Syro-Egyptian, for other lands. The first great and forcible departure of these foreigners was under the king Amosis or Amenoph, head of the 18th dynasty. The second under Thutmes the 3rd, in the year B. C. 1491, or rather earlier. The third was under king Menephtha, 160 years later. And the fourth was about fifty years before the Troja war, in the days of Thuoris, Uerri or Remerri, father to the great Ramses the 4th, the Sesostris* Sethos and Egyptus of the Greeks. He was called Egyptus from his comparatively fair complexion, for Gypt means in Coptic, a fair person. Uerri or Remerri was driven from his throne by the Hyksos, who overran his whole country, and obliged him to take refuge far in Ethiopia, where he died after a most disastrous reign of thirteen years, leaving all his rights to his son, then a child. Sephtha, the priest

* It has been already stated that the name of Sesostris, together with the glory of that conqueror, has been attributed to various Pharaohs. He to whom it is, perhaps, the most generally ascribed, and to whom Rosellini gives it, was Ramses the 3rd, great-great-grandfather of Ramses the 4th Sethos, and whose reign terminated about twenty-three years before that of Remerri commenced. The second of the above-mentioned exits of the Hyksos was that of the Hebrews, and the fourth was that of the Rasena.

of Vulcan, usurped the power which still belonged to the Pharaohs, and ruled for some time in the Thebaid; but not being able to retain the sceptre, he was set aside, and probably put to death, and the young Ramses was re-established.

Sephtha must have been related to the royal family of Egypt, and probably stood in the same relation to the crown, which the Orleans branch did to Charles X. of France. There are some interesting representations of him in the plates of Rosellini's great work, where he is seen presented to the divinity Amonrè, by Menes and Sesostris, the ancestors of the Pharaohs; an honour which he could not have presumed to claim had he not been of the royal race. It is probable that during the exile of the real sovereign, and the infancy of the heir apparent, Sephtha may have considered no one so justly entitled to sway the sceptre as the high priest of Egypt, himself sprung from the reigning house.

It was about the date of these revolutions and times of struggle, that we suppose the Rasena to have quitted Egypt and to have appeared in Italy. It is almost superfluous to remark, that if the Hyksos forced Remerri to retreat into Ethiopia, and if his son recovered the whole of Egypt, and with all the pride of conquest, reduced and expelled his enemies, carrying his arms into every Hyksos land, which, during his long life he had time to overrun; there must necessarily have been in the thirteenth century before the christian æra, a great emigration from Egypt of that people, both by sea and land.

Lybia also was then completely subdued, and annexed to his dominions.

We have thus carried on the train of probable conjecture, which already led us to the ancient city of Resen, as the early home of the Etruscan nation, and thence to lower Egypt and the Lybian coast, which we believe to have received the Rasena in their progress from Asia to Italy, and we have brought our colony to the point of their departure for their Ausonian settlement. We will only add to the reasons on which our Syrian and Egyptian theory is founded, one corroborating proof not hitherto mentioned, and that is the extraordinary similarity, almost identity, which is shown by their most authentic monuments, to have subsisted between the Etruscans and the refined people of Asia and Africa.

On examining the feasts, the dresses, the ornaments, the manners and customs of the Etruscans, as they are depicted in their paintings, and on their precious utensils, we at once recognize an Asiatic people. While in the style of their art, in their sacred rites, and in many of the objects of their religious veneration, we discern with equal accuracy, the impress of ancient Egypt.*

* To adduce examples of this is almost superfluous. It is only necessary to visit an Etruscan museum to be convinced of it. A few years since, the late Prince of Canino discovered a tomb at Vulci, of which the contents were Egyptian. The author possesses a large and beautiful scarabæus of root of emerald, of Etruscan form, and found at Chiusi, but of which

the engraving, a grove of Lotus and Isis giving suck to Horus, is as purely Egyptian as the same subject given in Rosellini's *Monumenti d'Egitto*. Etruscan scarabæi too have been seen engraved with the royal cartouche of a Pharaoh.—Ros. vol. iv. tells us that *Ludin* upon the monuments is often called the Land of the North, and Ethiopia and Nubia, the Land of the South.

CHAPTER III.

TARCHUN IN ITALY.

B. C.
CENT.
XIII.

WE now leave the region of probable conjecture, and approach that of historical certainty; since from whatever quarter of the world the Rasena may have come, or from whatever race they may have deduced their origin, the fact of their arrival in Italy is undoubted. I would venture to add that the fact of their having come from an eastern country is equally undoubted: and it is difficult to conceive how so great an author as Müller, who has done more than any other writer in our day to illustrate Etruscan history and antiquity, could have assigned a cradle among the rude and stormy crags of the Rhætian Alps, to the refined, luxurious, and scientific race, whose manners and customs recall the idea of Babylon, and whose elaborate religious ceremonies and artificial calculations, remind us of the wonderful inhabitants of the banks of the Nile.

Let us now proceed to inquire what notices we have among the principal authors of antiquity, concerning

the first settlement of the Rasena in the permanent European home which they occupied with so much glory during their fated Sæcula.

If the tradition of Herodotus, which we doubt not he learned from the Rasena themselves, through the medium of the Italian Greeks, may be depended upon, they are represented as having been driven to colonize originally by a famine, or some other plague, during which they made a vow to observe a sacred spring. Festus * gives us the full account of this institution which they introduced into Italy, and which, at the time that Rome was founded, was observed by every nation with whom they were in communication.

When a town or province was afflicted by some general calamity, the inhabitants made a vow, that if the gods would remove it, they would dedicate to their service all the children born in that year, and all the cattle born in the spring of the year upon which the dedicated children were old enough to colonize. This age was fixed at eighteen years, the time when young men were eligible for the army, and we must suppose that, along with the youthful colony, some older heads were usually sent to guide them, especially as their numbers were fixed, and were always expressed roundly by tens, as 30, 90, 100, 1000; and as the presence of an augur along with them was considered as of the greatest importance, and no man was capable of being an augur under the age of five-and-twenty. These colonies were considered as being in a peculiar manner under

* In Ver. Sac.

the divine protection, and the land which received them was held to be blessed.

The tradition then may be considered to read thus, and it seems in all points to agree with the collateral evidence preserved to us in ancient authors, or opened up to us by the recent discoveries amongst the Necropoleis in Italy.

“About sixty or eighty years before the Trojan war, and some time about the reigns of Uerri and of Ramses 4th, i. e. Sethos in Egypt, the RaSeNa, a people of Ludin, dwelling in, or upon the borders of, Lybia, which was then to a great extent under the power of the Assyrians, fitted out a fleet and sent forth the colony of a sacred spring, to sail northwards, and fix themselves in some new land. This colony was supplied with all useful instruments for agriculture, with provisions, arms, and furniture, and had for its chief Tarchun, who conducted them to the land of Umbria, on the west coast of Italy.”

They landed at Gravisca, as appears to be proved by the foundation in its immediate vicinity of Tarquinia or Turchina, the town which bore Tarchun's name, and which was the seat of government, and the metropolis of Etruria Proper. Probably he made a treaty with the inhabitants, and was permitted peaceably to land, to draw up his ships, to disembark all his goods and persons, and to entrench himself on some limited spot, which he was allowed to consider as his own. Standing upon the heights of Corneto, we may imagine ourselves to be upon the very ground where Tarchun first pitched his

tents, and drew his lines, and arranged around him his well-ordered, and, as he thought, sacred colony.

We suppose him to have landed in peace for two reasons. First, because there was no tradition amongst the Rasena of any opposition on their first appearance, or of any battle or victory, which, had it taken place, they would naturally have kept in remembrance by some pillar or monumental stone, after the manner of the east,* and also, by some yearly feast ever after. Secondly, because almost every Phœnician and Egyptian colony seems at first to have established itself with the good-will of the natives, and almost every maritime settlement in Italy, from whatever quarter, preserves that tradition.

The Pelasgi are said to have come in peace. Æneas, whose history by Virgil, is probably in many parts drawn from that of Tarchun, is hospitably received, and has immediately a grant of land made to him. Carthage is founded in the same manner, and all the earliest towns in Sicily and Africa. What was the means of communication between the TyRSNi and the Umbri, we do not know, for if, even after centuries of intercourse, their languages were unlike, they must have been hopelessly unintelligible to each other at the beginning. But it is probable that the settlement granted to the strangers, was little more in its commencement than an absence of op-

* Josh. iv. 7. Josh. xxiv. 25; Gen. xxviii. 22; xxxv. 14.

position, and that the Umbri retired before the foreign tribe of glittering arms and gay apparel, with sentiments of amazement and fear.

The navy of Egypt was at that period, in so very flourishing a state, that a few years afterwards Ramses sent his ships round the coast of Africa, and took infinite pains to build for the navigation of the Red Sea, vessels* of as large a burden as had, under his flag, already for a very long time navigated the Mediterranean. † Ramses's brother, Danaus or Armais, fled from him into Greece, and as the ship he appeared in, was the first ever seen there, and named from him the Armais, so we must suppose Tarchun's vessels to have been the first ever beheld by the Umbrians; and in that case, they were probably regarded by them as great birds descended from the moon, or as Demi-gods careering over the sea; as the South Sea islanders have often considered the vessels and persons of the English. The idea that Tarchun's ships were the first ever seen in Italy, is confirmed by the Italians universally attributing the invention of the prow ‡ to the Etruscans, whilst we know that without prows they could not have made their voyage to Umbria. The next idea, that they were regarded as beings of another species, is confirmed by the tradition that Jove or Tina him-

* See Rosel. vol. v., 119. Herodotus ii. Ramses the 3rd sent 400 large ships into the Erythrean Sea to navigate the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

† Vide Diodorus, Rosellini.

‡ Vide Pliny.

self gave them the land, and that they were his peculiar children.*

We will now enumerate some of the testimonies of the Greek and Latin authors, as to the acts of Tarchun and his colony upon their first establishment in Italy. Livy † says, that they originally settled in Etruria Proper, and afterwards sent colonies to the north and south. Livy is an author upon whom we place the same reliance as upon Dionysius, because he also studied the history and antiquities of Etruria, which the Emperor Claudius, ‡ his pupil, wrote under his inspection, and gave to the world in twenty books, all now lost. Livy was himself an Etruscan, and must therefore have known many things relating to his country without study, and as he devoted himself to writing and embellishing the history of Rome, and nowhere gives evidence of being proud of his own people, who were then sadly fallen from the pre-eminence which they once enjoyed, his testimony has yet greater weight, for it has every appearance of being free from all partiality. He gives us the idea of a Scotchman or Irishman writing about sixty years since, in courtly tone, the history of his country; and not wishing to offend the ruling power by any attempt to raise his own great heroes—his Douglasses and Bruces, his O'Niels and O'Briens, to an equality with the first historic names of England. Considered in this view, Livy's works contain some very extraordinary passages relating

* Varro.

† Lib. v. 33.

‡ Suet. in Claud. c. 41.

to Etruria, and such as we may suppose to have been universally and unquestionably acknowledged as true, by the Roman people in the days of Augustus.

At the time of Æneas's arrival, the Etruscans were, according to Livy, book i. 2, "wealthy and powerful, "not by land only, but by sea, extending the whole "length of Italy; which from the Alps to the straits "of Sicily, was filled with their fame. Their towns "were walled and their armies numerous." Again (in Book v. 33) he says, "The Tuscans ruled Italy "before the Romans, and their dominions extended "far by sea and land, even to the upper and lower "seas, by which Italy is surrounded, as if it were "an island. The appellations of these seas show us "the vast power of that people, for the Italians call "the one Tuscan from their name, and the other "Adriatic, from Adria, a Tuscan colony. The "Greeks name them Turrhenian and Adriatic. "This people, divided into twelve states, inhabited "the country extending to both seas, and by sending "colonies, equal in number to the mother cities, "first on this side of the Appenines to the lower "sea, and afterwards on the other side, possessed "all the tract beyond the Po even to the Alps, "excepting a corner belonging to the Venetians, "who dwelt on the sea. Nor can it be questioned "that this is the origin of the Alpine nations, es- "pecially of the Rheati, though from their un- "fortunate situation they have become barbarians, "and now retain nothing of their original, except-

“ing some remains of the language, and even that “is corrupted.”

Strabo in his 5th book says, that Tarchun founded the twelve states of Etruria Proper, and was king of the whole. Also that Turrhenia took its name from him. Dionysius, lib. 1, says, that the Tyrrheni conquered Agylla, Pisa, Saturnia, Alsium, Faleria, and Fescennium, from the Pelasgi, or the aborigines, i. e. the Umbrians, and that these Pelasgi, whose power began to decay, and who were driven out of Italy before the fall of Troy, learnt in their latter days, navigation and fighting from the Turrheni. The only traces that remained of them in Italy, he says, were some few cities, such as Cortona and Perugia, which they possessed in common with the aborigines or Umbri. Some say that the Pelasgi were driven north of the Tiber by Tyrrhenus, the son of Hercules. Pliny says, that the Turrheni took 300 towns from the Umbrians, and that all Etruria Proper was conquered by them from the Umbri. Cato (ap. Servium) affirms that Tarchun founded Pisa, Tarquinia and Perugia, and Silvius Italicus * says that he both founded Cortona and also lived there.

Cicero de Div. informs us, that Tarchun promulgated to the Etruscans the laws and constitutions of Tages, which were the fundamental rules of their government and polity, and which treated of Tribes, Curiaë and Centuries, the founding of cities, the constitution of the army, the laying out of camps, the

* Vide Dempster de Etr. Reg.

division of lands, the ceremonies of peace and war, the duties of subjects, the rights of strangers, the cultivation of the soil, the laws of augury, many details of domestic life, and above all, the forms and rites of religious worship. Festus says, that he gave the Aruspices to the twelve people of Etruria. Virgil* makes him the great military chief of the Etruscans, calling forth their forces, marshalling and heading their army, conquering Mezentius, assisting Æneas, and at length offering to resign to him the Etruscan crown—a poetical expression of Etruscan Virgil to intimate that his nation obeyed the Romans, not from inability to resist, but because they believed it to be the will of the gods. Virgil names all the principal states as then acknowledging the rule of Tarchun, and as bringing their troops to join him by sea, as if every state of Etruria Proper were maritime. Servius, in his annotations on the Æneid, quotes Flaccus and Cecina, two Etruscan historians, who say that Tarchun crossed the Apennines, and founded the twelve states of north Etruria. And Virgil, in common with some other Latin authors, asserts the same thing.

Here then is the data upon which we found our account of the life and times of Tarchun, the leader and lawgiver of the Etruscan people. “Now Tarchun and his might, and how he warred, and his deeds which he did,” we must tell of them even as we find them incidentally and traditionally mentioned, in the annals of Greece and Rome: for we know but

* Æneid, vii. ix.

little of their date and sequence, excepting only the amount of the conquests, and the chief of the institutions, which are by concurring and unvarying testimony referred to him.

Tarchun landed in Umbria and effected his debarcation in peace, but he did not long remain so, as is proved by the number of cities he founded, the tract of country he conquered, and the settled state in which he left the land at the time of his death. The numbers of his colony we cannot pretend to determine, but as 240,000 is the sum of every recorded exit of the Hyksos from Egypt, and as Herodotus's tradition says, that the Turseni consisted of half the Ludim or Lydian population, we must presume their amount to have been considerable. They consisted also of women as well as men, which we know, not only because such was the law of the sacred spring, and such the story in every instance but one of the retirement of the Hyksos from Egypt; but also because of the internal evidence which we derive from the respect uniformly paid by the Etruscans to their women, which argues an equality from the first, certainly of mental cultivation, and possibly of equal daring. The honour which, as we shall hereafter see, the Etruscans uniformly rendered to the weaker sex, would not have been thought of to the conquered, and could not have been yielded to the barbarous; whilst it was the established custom of the countries from which they came. In Egypt and in Syria the women were always rulers of the house, and sometimes sat upon the throne, witness

the account of Herodotus* as to what he saw himself; the stories of Nitocris and Semiramis, and the ascertained facts of Miriam and Deborah, Amense and Tmaumoth, † Dido, Jezebel, and Athaliah.

We have reason to think that Tarchun laid out a portion of ground 200 feet square, which was his sacred inclosure, for augury, where he might consult the gods upon all his proceedings, and that he encamped his people around him in tens, and fifties, and hundreds, such being the law of their after settlement in the conquered country, and such the custom of Egypt, of the Hebrews when they left Egypt, ‡ and of the Hindus of the Assyrian stock. His first step would doubtless be to found a city, in which his people might live, and as this was done by marking out its limits with a plow, he probably drove the instrument, a bronze Egyptian plow, himself, whilst it made the first furrow. There is an ancient bronze in the Jesuits' Museum at Rome, representing this scene, and giving us the form of the plow, which never afterwards varied; and that which had belonged to Tarchun was probably for many centuries, held to be sacred in Etruria.

We know not whether Tarchun invented the ceremonies used on the foundation of all Etruscan cities, or whether he transplanted, as far as he was informed of them, the customs of his fathers. It is

* Lib. ii.

† Vide Rosellini.

‡ Vide Rosellini, and Sir William Jones.

scarcely possible that he could have been present at the foundation of a city in Egypt or Lybia, supposing him to have been in the flower of his age when he led forth his colony. But he took care that none of his acts should ever seem to be arbitrary, and therefore he affected to proceed under divine inspiration, and had his forms and ceremonies written down and engraved, that they might serve for the laws of his people to the latest posterity.

We know these ceremonies, because they were all used upon the foundation of Rome, and are fully described by Plutarch, in his life of Romulus.

“First, a circular ditch was dug, about what is now called the Comitia, i. e. the market-place, and the first fruits of everything that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, were cast into it, and then each one bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country, threw it in promiscuously,” to show, says Isidorus, to the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, and to maintain peace and union amongst themselves. “This ditch had the name of Mundus in Etruscan,” whence has been derived that of Mundus, the Universe, and it was probably in its origin a sacrifice to Mandu or Mantus, and designed to appease the gods of the Shades. “In the next place, the city was marked out like a circle round this centre, and the founder having fitted to a plow a bronze plow-share, and yoked a bull and cow, himself drew a deep furrow round the boundaries.” The bull and cow

are said to be emblematical of fecundity, though we think it likely they implied that male and female should always labour together as true yoke-fellows for the prosperity of their city. "The business of those that followed was, to turn all the clods raised by the plow inward to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outward; implying, by turning them inwards, that the walls should never be destroyed. This furrow described the compass of the city, and between it and the walls was a space called by contraction *Pomærium*, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Wherever they designed to have a gate, there they took the plow-share out of the ground, and lifted up the plow, making a break for it; thence they look upon the whole wall as sacred, excepting the gateways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessaries of life by them, or to carry out through them anything considered unclean." All this, says Plutarch, "was done at Rome by the Etruscan Aruspices or priests, according to stated *ceremonies and written rules, as is usual in their sacred mysteries.*"*

These rules and ceremonies were the laws of Tages,† which Tarchun said were divinely taught to him. According to this account, all the Etruscan cities were walled and fortified, the walls were held sacred never to be violated,‡ and the cities were

* Plut. in Rom.

† Macrobius, Sat. 8.

‡ The plow was used for the purpose of desecration, as well as that of consecration.

entered by gates. The Pomærium or Postinurum, is, according to Niebuhr, a suburb taken into the city, i. e. included within the limits for auspices, and surrounded by a slight wall and ditch, but not included within the high and holy walls of the fortified city. According to Livy, i. 44, this name was also given to an unoccupied space between the wall and the nearest houses within, equal in extent to that without, which it was unlawful to cultivate, and which was therefore devoted to pasture. Now as Romulus followed the laws of Tarchun, so we doubt not that Tarchun acted exactly and really as his follower, nearly five centuries later, is said to have done. He founded all the cities, and most especially the first city, with auguries, and he himself was the augur or high priest of his own colony.

The augur held in his hand a small crooked staff, without knots, called a Lituus,* and going apart from the crowd with the few chiefs or Lucumoes, whom he judged to be the most interested, he made lines in the air with his Lituus, in this form +, due north and south, east and west; † and marked upon the ground the point where the lines crossed each other. He and his chiefs then sat down upon the spot, covering their heads, and waiting until they should have some manifestation of the will of the gods. At length the looked-for sign was given, and we presume that it consisted in this instance of ten large birds which appeared upon the right hand, and which Tarchun called vultures, the Egyptian

* Liv. i. 18.

† Müller and Niebuhr.

bird of victory. As tradition says, that twelve vultures appeared upon the foundation of Rome, intimating, according to the Etruscan augurs, twelve centuries or *sæcula* of dominion, so vultures, or creatures resembling them, are more likely than any other sign, to have been the omen from which they inferred that Tina had given them dominion in the new country of Umbria, for ten *sæcula*, or 1100 years, an Etruscan *sæculum* averaging 110 years; and this period they named by the remarkable Hebrew term of *one day*—their *one day* of prosperity and rule. This prophecy was constantly current amongst the Rasena, and is more than once noticed in the Latin writers, so that when forced to submit to Sylla, the people believed they were only bowing to a pre-determined fate: and whilst this does not appear to have broken their courage, or to have, in any degree, relaxed their opposition to tyranny at the last, it certainly must have greatly animated them and have filled them with an enthusiasm for their leaders, and a confidence in themselves, at the first, that would secure to them victory.

For three or four years, we may suppose them to have been very busily occupied in building their new city and cultivating the small territory round it, and as they, according to Dionysius, were the first erectors of fortifications in Italy, so it is probable that this innovation upon the Umbrian custom of unwalled villages, or rude towns surrounded by high polygonal, but not towered or turreted walls, may have first excited the displeasure of their neighbours, who

would not like to see this new people rooted and fixed amongst them, so that they could not be driven away again. Whatever might be the cause, Tarchun was soon engaged in war, a situation which he would most carefully avoid, until he felt prepared for it.

Being, however, attacked or insulted, he drew out his troops to punish the aggressors, and it could be no very difficult task for the son of Assyria, and the tribe out of Egypt, with their rich dress and polished armour, to conquer and drive before them the comparatively uncivilized Umbrians, or their subjects the already subdued Pelasgi, or the few Sikeli,* the inhabitants of Italy in general, who might come to the assistance of the Umbri.

It seems probable that Tarchun first conquered the region which afterwards formed the state of Tarquinia, in the neighbourhood of his own first town, because that state ever after bore his name, and contained within it the holy fane of the Etruscans, at which they held their yearly parliaments, and in which they dedicated a temple to national union or concord. They probably held their annual meetings here, even before the country, afterwards theirs, had been wholly won by their swords, and ceded to them in perpetuity. As we do not imagine Tarchun to have had any allies in his first conquests, and as there is no example of the states of any ancient Italian people proving treacherous to each other, though they were frequently neutral: we must imagine Tarchun's conquests to have been gradual, and

* That is Itali, according to Niebuhr.

to have occupied some years, even though each town or state he conquered would so far increase his force, that a portion of their men would be obliged to make war with and for him, and to serve as allies in his future expeditions. His ships would probably subdue with ease the rude and poor towns upon the sea coast, and he would march against his enemies according to the points from which they attacked him, or towards which they retreated.

We are told that he took the Pelasgic towns of Agylla and Alsium, Pisa, Faleria, and Fescennium, and the Umbro-Pelasgic towns of Perugia and Cortona.* Of these we can only dispute Agylla, which from other evidence, appears not to have been subject to the Etruscans during the lifetime of Tarchun, but to have been taken into alliance only, and may possibly have been bound to furnish him with troops, and to receive with friendship any Etruscan families who wished to settle within its precincts. We are further informed, that the whole of Etruria Proper was conquered from the Umbrians, and that within this space, 300 of their towns or villages were taken and destroyed. It is very probable that Tarchun first conquered northwards to Pisa, and that then he ascended the Arno to Fiesole, whence he turned south, and fell upon the Camerti and Sarsinati, two distinct tribes of his brave and energetic, though half-civilized foes. However slow and gradual might have been his first conquests, the Umbri now fled before him like the leaves of autumn driven by the

* Dion. i.

wind, and finding themselves powerless to resist a foe who did not seek for conquest, but only for security, they were glad to sue for peace with the Rasena, who offered them a treaty on such just and equal terms, that it was never afterwards broken.

The land which became theirs, and which was subject wholly and solely to their laws, extended from the Apennines to the Tiber, and from the Turrhene Sea to the confines of Umbria Proper. But the Umbrians conceived such a respect for their allies, and were so pleased with the terms granted to them, that they adopted gradually much of their religion and most of their laws and customs, and they never afterwards attacked the Etruscans nor deserted them, nor made any conquests separate from them. We learn from the Eugubian tables, that they joined them annually in one common worship, and we find Umbrian families buried in the Etruscan necropoleis all throughout Etruria. Cato* calls Umbria a part of Tuscany, and Stephanus of Byzantium speaks of all the Umbrian cities as Turrhene. Each people dwelt indifferently in the towns of the other; the Tuscan language was understood and spoken, as we have reason to know, throughout Umbria, and the Rasena, as their history proves to us, had the wise and singular policy of making with those whom they conquered, such a peace as gave them a share in the government, and an equal interest in the permanence and prosperity of the state; thus nullifying all feelings of humiliation and hostility, and convert-

* Cato apud Servium, xii. 753.

ing them from fierce and bitter enemies, into grateful allies and indissoluble friends.

Herodotus says, "They built cities in the land of Umbria, and inhabit them still." We, who write three-and-twenty centuries later than Herodotus, are tempted, to our own amazement, to use the same words. To this very hour the Tusci dwell side by side with the Umbri, and the small tribes of the Sarsinati or Sarteanati, and the Camerti, or people of Camers, inhabit their ancient soil; and it is this almost incredible connexion with the olden time, this undestroyed, however often broken chain, that renders Italy so interesting beyond all other lands to the historical tourist, and that makes it, as it were, the neutral soil, where the ages before and after Christ harmonize; and where Europe and Asia, Greece and Germany, cultivation and barbarism, Christianity and heathenism, meet and melt into each other.

It may be proper to say a few words in proof of some of the assertions just made. We know that Tuscan was spoken in Umbria, and we are inclined to call it the court language; because, when the Romans wished to send ambassadors* to the Umbrians, they sought out as interpreter, a man who could speak Tuscan. We know that Umbrians were entombed in the Tuscan burying-grounds, because they are found there now, and have, sometimes, like the Sentinati at Chiusi† and Tarquinia, the word

* Livy, l. ix.

† See Archæologia for 1827 and 1836.

“Umbrana” affixed to their names; and we know that the Umbrians shared with them the government of such towns as they assisted to found or to conquer, because, Plin. iii. notices it in Campania, and says that Acerra and Nocera were named from them. Strabo (l. v.) mentions it of Acerra and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. viii.) associates them in Cuma.

It appears extraordinary that the Etruscans, excited by opposition and flushed with victory, should not have carried their conquests further, and either have crossed the Po and gone forward to the Alps, or have subdued Campania, as far as its utmost cape. If the only two people in Italy with any pretensions to civilization, the Pelasgi and the Umbri, could not withstand them, what could there be further south, to oppose their conquering career? But Strabo (l. v.) tells us that they were not an ambitious people, and that they did not fight from the lust of conquest. They had gained as much as they could well settle, and they never seem to have desired a widely extended empire. Where they did fight, Strabo says, “it was not for sole possession, but for dominion, for lands and soldiers, money and slaves;” such things as they supposed they could not now prosper nor be safe without. Some writers, as Flaccus and Cecina, do indeed say that Tarchun crossed the Po and founded twelve states and chief cities between the Po and the Alps, but we know from Livy and Virgil, that these cities were colonies from Etruria Proper, and it is alto-

gether incredible, that during the lifetime of one man, Central Etruria could have grown to such maturity as for each state to send out its own independent colony. Tarchun is here used in an eastern manner, to express, not the man, but his tribe; and as we say that Israel founded Jerusalem and Jericho, though Israel, i. e. Jacob, was dead, centuries before the Israelite foundation of either; so we may say, that Tarchun founded the twelve states north of the Po as well as within the Apennines.

To this it may be objected, that if Tarchun's people and not himself founded the states of the north, so his people in later times, and not himself, may have founded the states of the centre. But Strabo says, that he was king of the whole of Central Etruria, and Virgil gives it as the tradition, that 400 years before Rome, each state was settled and under its own prince, but all bowed to the authority of Tarchun, and led forth their troops at his call.

We shall suppose, therefore, that Tarchun is now monarch of this new country, and that, according to the usual custom of the east, he has changed its name, causing that which had been Umbria to be henceforward the Tarchunian, or TuRSeNian Etruria. Let us stop, before inquiring into the different aspect which it must necessarily have assumed under its new government, to make some few observations upon the people over whom his arms triumphed, and with whom he was successively engaged. Let us inquire what had been the previous state of Italy, and who

were its inhabitants; and in our backward researches, let us begin with the nation from whom the Etruscans won their settlements, and ask who were the Umbri ?

CHAPTER IV.

THE UMBRI AND SIKELI.

WE will devote a short chapter to an inquiry concerning two races, with whom the Rasena were brought into collision during this first period of their Italian rule, and who are important rather for their continued existence in their descendants, the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula and its adjacent island, than from their early historical celebrity. The Umbri and Sikeli, though, in the times of which we are treating, comparatively obscure and uncivilized, possess greater claims to the original paternity of the existing Italian people than the more illustrious Etruscans and Pelasgians, to whom Italy owes its institutions and civilization. Even as the descent of the people of England may with greater certainty be mainly traced from the ancient Britons and their Saxon successors, than from the conquering Romans or the lordly Normans.

I. THE UMBRI.

According to Dionysius i. 19, Pliny iii. 14, and

Florus iii. 17, the Umbri were native Italians, which we presume to mean regular colonists from Istria, Carinthia or Dalmatia, who had at first settled in small numbers upon unoccupied ground, but when they increased and became so numerous as to require more room, they attacked the Sikeli, who are the first known inhabitants of Italy, and driving them southwards, took possession of their land. According to Niebuhr, they are the oldest people in Italy; but we cannot understand how the oldest people can have driven away a people still older. They warred with the Pelasgi, who had intruded into their country, and finally triumphed over them, and at the time the Etruscans landed in Italy, they ruled, according to Niebuhr, from the river Inn northwards, to the mountains of Garganus, southwards, including the whole of the country on both sides of the Po, and over all the centre of Italy. Now, in proof of their southern boundary, a valley in the centre of the Garganus is still called by the peasants "Valle degli Umbri;" and close to this valley is a wood called Umbricchio, and another rather more to the north is called "Cognetto d'Umbri," and as a testimony to their former possession of Etruria, the two rivers, Ombrone and Umbro, which are named from the Umbri, run through the centre of Tuscany. Pliny (iii. 5) says, that they ruled over the country between the Alps and Apennines, as far south as the Anio, also the southern part of Picenum and the districts of Palmenze, Pretutianus, and Adrianus, all of which they conquered

from the Siculi ; and Zenodotus of Trezene, a Greek, names Reati (afterwards of the Sabines) as their chief settlement.

The Umbri are by many authors called a tribe of the Oscans, meaning by Oscans,* simply the inhabitants of Italy or of the land of Ausonia, called also Auruncia, Osci, and Opici. Niebuhr thinks that the Sabelli, that is, the Sabines, the Marsi, the Samnites, the Volsci, and their offsets, were probably all of the same Oscan blood, though separated into tribes by mountains and rivers, until they became strangers and sometimes enemies to each other. The Umbri were warlike, for they were conquerors ; settled, for they had more than 300 towns when the Etruscans invaded them ; and agricultural, otherwise they could not have maintained, as they did, a large population in their mountainous and stormy, though fertile land. After their subjugation by the Etruscans, they continued to be their faithful and inseparable allies, sharing in all their conquests and all their colonies, as we shall afterwards show ; adopting most of their customs, and sacrificing in token of union, at the same altars and to the same divinities. Nevertheless, it was a Tuscan maxim, that “ no people † should change its gods or forsake the worship of its ancestors ;” therefore, the Umbri retained their national divinities without images, and in Umbria Proper, always continued to be governed by their own laws, and their native rulers. Their coins are Etruscan, and their letters,

* Micali Storia, viii.

† Vide Müller, b. vii.

as shown on the Eugubian tables, are a mixture of Tuscan and Latin. Their capital became Ikuvine or Iguvium, the k and g sounding alike "ig," and it is now Italianized to Gubbio, the chief town of the duchy of Urbino, or the ancient land of Umbria Proper.

The treaty which they made with the Rasena was the following:—"There shall be peace between the contracting powers, the Rasena and the Umbri, so long as the heavens and the earth retain their places: neither shall attack the other, nor yet suffer the other to be attacked:—neither shall raise up enemies to the other, and if one suffer loss, the other shall afford him protection, help, and support. They shall share one common danger, and divide one common booty; and if causes of complaint arise between them, they shall be decided within ten days in the place where the offence happened. Nothing shall be added to this treaty nor aught diminished from it."

This curious document is to be found in Dionys. vi. 95, p. 415, and is copied by him from Macer, an older author, "who (says Niebuhr) seems himself to have read the treaty, and who describes the offerings, (all of them Tuscan,) made upon its confirmation. We have, indeed, here changed the names *Latins* and *Romans* for *Umbri* and *Rasena*, but this and no other was the form of treaty used throughout Italy, from the days of Tarchun down to the battle of Regillus; and we must remember that it was from the Rasena that the Latins learned, in the first instance, all that was either eastern in their

style, or civilized in their diplomacy. The Latins learned from the Rasena, and did not teach them. And as we know the manner in which Tarquinia was founded, because we have the records of the foundation of Rome, according to the written rules of the Etruscans; so we know the Etruscan treaties, because we can read the written form of the ancient Latin ones. This will be proved as we advance. Meanwhile, we may observe that for some ages the Etruscans and the Greeks were the only civilized people in Italy, and that it is the invariable experience of mankind, as testified to us by all history, that law and order, justice and equity, letters and refinement, are communicated by the civilized to the barbarous, and not by the barbarous to the civilized. Tarchun did not learn how to word his treaties from the rude tribes of Italy. Nor did he, the Oriental chief, change his words and sentiments for theirs. If, therefore, the above was the form of all the Italian treaties, it was of the Etruscan; and if of the Etruscan, it was originally derived from them, and not imitated by them. On the subject of war and treaties, we may add, that Niebuhr thinks that, in the case of allied armies, the chief command was probably alternated between the allied powers.

We believe the Umbri to have been of the same origin as the Sikeli, and all the other tribes of Ausonia, but differing from them in being an educated and regularly appointed colony on their first arrival, and not mere stragglers and outsettlers who had multiplied in time, like the race they drove

southwards. It is evident that all the Italian tribes came from the north, for their invariable movement is towards the south, and none of them were maritime, whence we conclude that they entered Italy by land, round the north of the Adriatic, or across the mountains. The Umbri are distinguished by all ancient authors from their countrymen, because of their indissoluble alliance with the Tuscans, during the whole of their historical existence. It was a remarkable state of union without ever merging into identity. The Umbri never became the children of Tages, nor the people of Tarchun, though they never ceased to be the admirers, imitators, and friends of both.

II. THE SIKELI.

We will now ask who were the Siculi or Sikeli? Whatever author we may consult concerning the first inhabitants of Italy, we always find the Sikeli mentioned as the people dwelling in the land from the beginning. Hence, they were the first who were attacked by after settlers, and being early driven from their aboriginal homes, they are said to have been finally hunted through all the tribes of the Italians, until they took refuge in Sicily, an island which still bears their name.* They were, therefore, neither a warlike, nor a powerful, nor a civilized people; and Sallust † tells us that they were utter

* Vide Strabo, Dion., and Diodorus.

† In vit. Catalini.

savages, feeding upon acorns, and clothing themselves in skins.

To dress in skins implies either that they hunted wild animals in order to use the fur, or that they kept flocks and used their fleece. They were, therefore, in so far as this account is true, hunters and shepherds ; and we cannot have the smallest doubt that they lived upon chesnuts, and clothed themselves in sheep and goat skins, and fed upon the milky produce of their flocks, such as Ricotta and other preparations of a like nature ; because they do so still. They were not a commercial or manufacturing people, and it is probable, from the very marshy state of early Italy, that they were not agricultural. They could, therefore, only be such as historians paint them. We do not know that they had any towns, and they are represented as dislodged first by the Umbri, and then by the Pelasgi, till in very despair they left the mainland of Italy, and took refuge beyond the sea. They were probably, in the beginning, not a regular colony, but stragglers from Illyria, who brought forward their flocks, and dwelt in a wide pasture land on either side of the Po, which no man disputed with them, until the regular colony of the Umbri required their room.

In process of time, this word "Sikeli" came to be applied to all who dwelt in the provinces whence the Siculi* had been removed ; the Umbri called all their enemies Siculi, who were not Turseni or

* Or Sikeli.

Pelasgi, and Niebuhr proves that the other nations of Italy did the same; so that Sikeli or Siculi came to mean Italian, and is only another name for all the Italian people whom we do not choose to distinguish by any more limited appellation. Niebuhr (vol. i. p. 51) brings examples to prove, that in old Italian S and V, K and T, are interchangeable, and frequently used for each other in different dialects. Hence Sikelus is also written Vikelus or Vitalus, Sitalus, Italus. This, in striking opposition to the perished Pelasgi, shows us that both Italy and Sicily at this moment preserve the names of their oldest people.* Italus is written by the Etruscans in their inscriptions Uitellia, very like in sound to the present Italia, and they called all the nations by that name, who bordered upon them, south and east. Uitellia was pronounced and spelt by the Latins and Sabines "Italika," and at the time of Hannibal's war, all the tribes were thus called, excepting the Umbri and Turseni; and in many Greek and Latin authors, the name is used for all who were not Greeks and Tuscans. Servius tells us that the king of the Sikeli was Italus, by way of a figure to show that both were one: and Niebuhr says, that Uitellia was the name of a native goddess, and that all the country between the Tiber and the Garganus long bore her name. Thus the Latins of the Tiber may be said to have dwelt in the very heart of Uitellia or Italia. The Samnite and other coins struck in the

* Niebuhr mentions some inscriptions in which Latinus is written Lakinius.

social war, have on them the Etruscan $\vee\text{I}\text{J}\text{E}\text{T}\text{I}\text{C}$ Viteliu, and Servius (viii. 328) writes, "Italia plura nomina habuit, dicta est enim Vitalia." Latium is particularly named by Varro,* as the seat of the Siculi;† and probably they, i. e. the first inhabitants of Italy, found a resting-place there, between the rule of the Umbri and their wars with the Pelasgi, who drove these Siculi farther south.

We have little more to say or to learn concerning them, for nations that have neither monuments nor written annals, can have no history, and can be considered only as a series of generations or individuals, who are born and die, however long any particular spot may be called by their name, or remain in their possession. Excepting as Italians in general, we know not how to designate nor to distinguish one single hero of Sikelian blood, nor one single work of Sikelian production. They are said to have warred with the Sicani in Sicily, and to have so far gained the advantage over them, that besides establishing themselves in the enemy's ground, they caused their name to become dominant in that island. Common sense confirms tradition in pointing out to us the probability, that Sicily was originally peopled from Italy, and therefore, that Italus, as Servius says, was king of the Siculi; but every town or state in that island that figures in history was of foreign establish-

* Lib. iv. and Pliny, iii. 5.

† For Siculi, vide Dionys. i. 10, Varro, Pliny, Solinus, c. 8, Servius, xi. 317.

ment, and was a colony either of Phœnicians from Carthage, or of Greeks from Asia Minor and Græcia Proper. Hence the unillustrious Sikeli inhabited the centre of the island, and are to us a demonstration, better than all narrative, and all quotations, to show us what was the original state of Latium, and what the real, and pure, and native civilization of early Italy.

The Sikeli had no army, and no navy. From this we gather that they were not a maritime people, and did not make their first settlements on the coast, nor arrive by sea, like the Rasena. They had no cities, no forts, no walled towns, no laws commented upon by the Greeks nor adopted by the Romans, like the Rasena, no public character, and no grand civil institutions. Yet they were shepherds and hunters, and probably, in so far as necessary, became agriculturists; they in time learnt letters and numbers for the common uses of life, from their neighbours; they could fight when attacked, and run their boats along the shore, for the sake of fishing and change of habitation. They had a religion, so far as we can trace, of rude stones, and holy groves, and mysterious caves, and sacred animals, and voices in the wind; and they had unwritten laws of common custom, and the rule of Head men. But a treaty, such as we have described with the Umbri, or a city, such as we know to have been Tarquinia, they were as incapable of imagining or of executing, as of flying in the air, or of living in the sea.

It appears certain that the first colonists of Italy

were not educated men, though of the same blood, and with the same original powers of mind and body, as the most distinguished of the stock of Japhet. But uneducated men, as we see in our own island, do not civilize each other, and are usually quite contented in all ignorance not positively inconvenient, being all the while proud of conscious ability and bodily strength. Moreover, uneducated men are not submissive to law and order, except in cases of extreme danger, and cannot endure the restraints and refinements of civilized life. This was the case with the Sikeli; they amassed no riches to tempt conquest, they exhibited no weakness to provoke contempt, and they had no discipline or warlike force to excite fear. They accordingly dwelt in general peace with their wealthier neighbours, and remained in all prominent respects as they had originally been. Whilst such of their race as did not flee from the mainland, being conquered by nations who were superior to themselves in cultivation, or being forced into continual and unavoidable communication by the forts upon their borders, and the colonies spread throughout their territories, enjoyed the advantage of gradually becoming assimilated to a more excellent way, and of adopting as their own, institutions which raised them in the end to be the greatest, and most distinguished amongst the empires of the earth.

At the time of Tarchun's landing and conquests in Umbria, we have no account of any nations in Italy excepting the Pelasgi, the Umbri, and

the Sikeli, or, as they are also called, the Opici or the Oscans.

We shall return to this subject at the period when we suppose Italy to have become more thickly peopled, and more distinctly divided.

CHAPTER V.

THE PELASGI.

WE now come to that very difficult question, who were the Pelasgi?—that people with whom the Umbri warred before the arrival of the Rasena, and whom they finally succeeded in driving away or rendering tributary.

If we ask, who were the Scythians, the Israelites, the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Lybians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Assyrians, or Phœnicians, any of these ancient nations renowned in history, their localities are easily pointed out, and some undisputed information concerning them is, with equal facility, obtained. If we ask, who were the less known Umbri, the Etrusci, the Latins, the Sabines, or the Lucanians, the map of Italy will answer us now. But if we ask, who were the Pelasgi? who figure in all the early annals of Greece, Italy, and Asia, and who are named by every Greek and Latin historian, we read such different and irreconcilable accounts of them as to make us doubt if such a

people ever had any real existence. When we look over the maps, whether ancient or modern, of the wide territories which they overran, and the islands which they colonized, we find that they have left not a single province, nor stream, nor mountain; not a single city, nor cave, nor fountain, to give evidence of their being, and carry forward their name. Yet there are walls both in Italy and Greece, of the same construction, built of immensely large polygonal blocks of stone, the angles being neatly fitted to each other; and there is a line of towns having these walls, and gates with a peculiar symbol on them, which are ascribed to the Pelasgi, extending directly across Italy, and resembling walls and gates ascribed to the same people in Greece, such as Lycosura, Tyrins, and Mycene, and in some parts of Asia Minor. The architecture is as massive as that of the Etruscans, but ruder, less laboured, and less regular. Pausanias (lib. 21) distinguishes the styles both from the Etruscan, which was quadrilateral, regular and without cement, and from the Cyclopean, which was massive, but irregular, having the interstices filled up with small stones. Now as these polygonal walls are to be found at Spina on the coast, and strike across to Amiternum, Acquicola, Alba, Arpino, Preneste, Alatri, and Atena, and as they are not Etruscan, it is impossible not to believe in the existence of some other race by whom they were erected.

We have somewhat contradictory accounts of the Pelasgi by different writers; such as, that they

were the origin of everything noble and refined in the Grecian character, and on the other hand, that they were cruel and barbarous,* ignorant, weak, and wild. Herodotus (lib. 1) says, that they were a fixed nation, in opposition to the Helenes, who were always wandering; and Dionysius, that they were never quiet, and that they derived their name from Pelargos, a stork, to denote that they were for ever on the move. Herodotus (lib. 8) says, that they built cities, and conquered, and prospered, and spread; Dionysius, (lib. 1,) that the first set who came into Italy could neither build nor fight, and that the second set, who could build, learned both fighting and navigation from the Turrheni. Homer calls them "Godlike;" † while many authors ‡ say they were the slaves of the Enotri in Italy; and Herodotus, that they became at a very early date the slaves of the Hellenes in Greece. All agree that they disappeared both in Greece and Italy about the time of the Trojan war, and in Asia soon after; and that such as were not exterminated, or enslaved, became then amalgamated with other people.

We think there is something very extraordinary in these first fathers of the great works of Europe suddenly disappearing, like the genius of a fairy tale, into thin and unsubstantial air, and we think also that the various accounts of them are as irreconcilable as those of the barbarous and civilized Hyksos

* Hecataeus, Strabo, Dion.

† Odys. xix. 177.

‡ See Niebuhr, i.

in Egypt, whom in various points they closely resemble. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the Pelasgi were not one people, but many people: and that their name does not signify a nation, but is the characteristic of some class of men. Such, for instance, as "Pale-face" expresses to the North American Indian, and "Children of the Sea" to the men of Hindostan. They know not of the white stranger, whether he be English or French, Dutch or Portuguese, Swedish or Italian. He is a "Pale-face," and under that name they would describe all the nations of Europe, however much they might differ from one another in language, religion, and habit. Dionysius (lib. 1) mentions an idea that the name Pelasgi might be derived from Pelagos, the sea, and it no doubt originally meant "maritime stranger:" for in every country, numbers of them seem to have arrived by sea, and to have made settlements upon the sea-coast.*

Herodotus (lib. viii.) says, that they were the oldest inhabitants of Hellas, called from them Pelasgia, and that they came from Thessaly, and had no images. Other Greek historians say that their original seat was first in the Hellespont, whence they spread into Thessaly, but agree with Herodotus that they reigned in Argos, Lacedæmonia, Attica, and Arcadia, and that they peopled Thrace, Bœotia, Phocis, Ionia, and the islands of the Egean Sea. Strabo (v. 221) says the same. And Niebuhr adds to

* Concerning the Pelasgi, vide Herodotus, vii. and viii. Strabo, vii. ix. xiii.

this enumeration, Macedonia. Herodotus says that their tongue was barbarous, that is, not Greek, and that the Atheni, Lacedæmoni, Argives, and Arcadians, had all turned into Hellenes before the return of those Italian Pelasgi, whom with brotherly kindness they made their slaves, fifty years or two generations previous to the Trojan war. Menecrates says that in Asia they became extinct as unaccountably, immediately after the Trojan war. Again, Herodotus says, that Argos of the Pelasgi was founded by Inachus, son of Ocean and father of Phoroneus, who built a temple to Hera or Juno; that nine kings succeeded him, and that the ninth, Pelasgus, was conquered by Danaus the Egyptian, whose fifty daughters married and settled in fifty towns of the Pelasgi. Lynceus, whom others make a native prince, and husband of one of these daughters, is said by Herodotus* to have been an Egyptian from the Thebaid, and to have built Lycosura. Now as Herodotus calculates the foundation of Argos two hundred years before the introduction of letters and numbers by Cadmus, we shall beg leave to doubt if its date could be very precisely known. And as the oldest monument in Greece, i.e. the statue of Hera,† is attributed to Phoroneus, the grandson of Ocean, and we cannot imagine how the son of Ocean could have reached Argos without a ship, and as the first ship ever seen in Greece was that which conveyed Danaus from Egypt, we shall sup-

* Lib. ii.

† Vide Herodotus.

pose that Phoroneus means Pharaoh Danaus* himself, the brother of Pharaoh Sethos or Sesostris, king of Egypt,† who, according to Manetho, did really lead a colony of civilized men into Greece, and imparted to that land the rich stores of knowledge and refinement which had long been the portion of the nations of the east.

We now know, from the concurrent testimony of Egyptian scholars, that Danaus emigrated to Argos during the rule of the 18th or 19th dynasties, at which period Egypt was in the height of her glory; and all the arts of the ancient world, architecture, sculpture, engraving, jewellery, manufactures, and agriculture, were carried by her inhabitants to their utmost perfection. Her annals were most carefully kept, and most laboriously repeated in writing and engraving, in painting and in sculpture, and the kings' sons were always scribes.‡ Can we, then, believe that Danaus the prince and his men would not introduce letters and engraving into Greece? Can we believe that they could or would abstain from it? We may say that the Greek alphabet is evidently Phœnician, and that the universal tradition ascribes it to Phœnicia. But this tradition has not prevented many learned men from doubting if the Greek alphabet did not come out of Egypt, and if by Cadmus we were not to understand merely כְּדִים (Kedim,) or

* Herodot. ii. says that both Danaus and Lynceus came from Chemnis, a city of the Thebaid.

† Josephus says nine generations before the fall of Troy.—
Vide Rosellini, vol. ii.

‡ Vide Rosellini.

the east, and by Cadmus's alphabet, the k'd-mean or eastern alphabet? It is very remarkable that the Hebrews, after their centuries of residence, and all the other colonies which have issued from Egypt, have always used the Phœnician alphabet, and not the hieroglyphics; and in the days of Danaus we have already shown that it had been for a thousand years the prevailing character through all the north of the land of Misraim.

Either, then, Danaus introduced that alphabet, and was, as is most likely, the founder of Bœotian Thebes—for Herodotus says he came from Thebes in Egypt, whence the tradition of the Cadmean alphabet introduced by the founder of Thebes came to be related thus, that it was Cadmus who founded Thebes; and that this founder brought letters into Greece. Or, on the other hand, seeing that we can place no dependence upon the early Greek chronology, Danaus may have found that Assyrian alphabet already introduced from Phœnicia, and understanding it as well as his own, he would certainly not change it. No German settler in England would ever think of altering our character for either the cursive or the monumental writing of Deutschland. When the Greeks in their turn, under the Ptolemies, became the rulers of Egypt, the hieroglyphics were held as too sacred to be used by any save the priests, and by them only for sacred or monumental purposes. And so much were the Grecian monarchs regarded by their subjects in the light of the old Hyksos, that as, according to the testimony of Wil-

kinson and Rosellini, no name of any Hyksos ruler has ever been found in an Egyptian tomb, neither has any name of a Grecian or Roman sovereign ever had place there, any more than those of the ancient Assyrians or other strangers. The Ptolemies are indeed the antitypes of Salatis, Archles, and Janias. They allowed all the nationalities of the people quietly to take their own course, and without destroying what previously existed, they super-added to them their own nationalities, their own literature, and their own faith. This is a mixture which, passing through Greek channels, has caused endless perplexities and confusion in history, but not having touched the ancient religious structure, seems to have left unaltered the Egyptian principles and Egyptian mind.

It is from these Egyptians and Phœnicians that we find evidences of regular walls, and of arches in approaching courses, as at Tyrins and Mycene in the neighbourhood of Argos, and even evidences of bridges,* amongst the enigmatical remains of earliest Greece: and "the fifty daughters" whom Danaus brought with him, is merely an eastern manner of expressing fifty towns which he colonized. Danaus, or Armais, arrived in Greece in the first ship ever seen by the natives, called from him "Armais," and after the model of which the renowned Argo was built, which carried the Argonauts to Colchis, also an Egyptian colony further north.† And Hero-

* As seen by Colonel Muir over the Eurotas, near Taygetus.

† Herod. ii.

dotus says that he introduced the worship of Demeter, that is, Isis, afterwards identified with Sabine Ceres, and that he taught it to the Pelasgic women. Rosellini doubts if there is any Greek monument existing, older than the reign of Psammeticus, 654 B. C., but if there is, he considers the stamp of it to be Egyptian. The Greeks he proves not to have invented anything; and indeed why should they, or how could they, when all the refinements of life were already abounding in India, Assyria, and Egypt? * Herod., lib. ii., says that the Greeks derived their arts from the Egyptians.

In the work of Rosellini we have the quotations of Josephus from Manetho, and the independent testimonies of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as to Armais or Danaus being the brother of Pharaoh Sethos, against whom he conspired, and was consequently forced to flee from Egypt by sea. He arrived at Argos in the first ship, or at least in the first large and powerful vessel ever seen in that country; and he conquered Argos and Argolis, and reigned over them. Diodorus calls him Hermæus, whence Hermes, the Greek Mercury, the same as the Egyptian god Thoth, whose worship he probably introduced. Rosellini says that the only representation of a naval armament to be seen on the Egyptian monuments is one in the reign of Sethos.

We have said that Demeter is the same with Isis. Isis is also the same with Juno, and no doubt

* See Ros., vol. iv. p. 72, upon Arts and Sciences.

Danaus was the man who introduced the worship of Hera, whose statue Herodotus saw. Amongst the nine imaginary kings of Herodotus who were descended from the Ocean, three have Egyptian names, Apis, Phoroneus, and Phorbas or Phorpi. Lynceus, the Egyptian, who built Lycosura, is said, by Pausanias, to have been a Pelasgian, and Lycosura,* founded after the conquest of Argos, according to the usual calculation, 1453 years B. C., he, says "was the most ancient of all the cities of the world"—meaning by the world doubtless Greece—"and was the model from which all other cities were built."† The fifty daughter towns of Danaus were all established in Pelasgia, i. e. the Peloponnesus, and the king of Argos conquered by him is named by the fancy term "Pelasgus," whom Hellanicus makes the same as Turrhenus or Tarchun; in other words, the person for the time being who ruled the Pelasgi, wherever they might settle. Danaus‡ must have been Pelasgus, or a sea stranger himself. The majority of Greek Pelasgi were evidently Egyptians

* That is, Lycosura was founded after the conquest of Argos by Danaus, which took place 1493 B. C.

† Thus it follows, that all the cities of Greece were built after the model of one erected by an Egyptian.

‡ Herodotus says that Danaus reigned two generations before the coming of Cadmus and nine before the Trojan war. (lib. ii.) He says that the Cadmeans, i. e. the eastern tribe, drove the Hellenes out of Phthiotides, their original seat. Many scholars believe the *th* in Greek to be derived from the barbarous Pelasgic tongue, and the similarity between the unmusical Phthiotides and the name of the Egyptian god Phtha cannot escape notice.

and Phœnicians; and the first colony in Italy—admitting the reality of such a colony—must have been the rude* inhabitants of Hellas, whom these polished strangers displaced.

The oracles of the Pelasgi were Dodona, Eleusis, and Delphi, and hence a strong evidence for one race of Pelasgi having been Egyptians. Dodona, according to Herodotus, lib. ii., was founded by priestesses from Egypt. If, therefore, the Pelasgi consulted it, they consulted an Egyptian oracle. Strabo, lib. ix., says that the oracles of Delphi and Dodona were originally Pelasgic; and some Greek authors say, that at Delphi was the oracle of the Lybian Neptune and Egyptian Themis, before it was dedicated to Apollo. Eleusis was sacred to Demeter or Ceres, the goddess introduced by Danaus: and Herodotus says that it was founded by Eumolpus, the Ethiopian, who came from Thrace. Now, as in the days of Danaus, according to Manetho, his brother, the king of Egypt, Ramses or Sesostris, carried his arms into Thrace, and left colonies there, the story of Eumolpus is quite consistent with history and probability, and the priesthood was continued in his family for twelve hundred years. Delphi was consecrated to Apollo, and was a mean oracle in outward semblance, though so widely renowned. Its Egyptian origin is corroborated, if not proved, by the circumstance, that when in

* Thucydides tells us how rude, unlettered and unrefined, were the first inhabitants of Greece, and he is reproved by Dionysius for telling truths which disgrace his country, and which, he says, would have been much better concealed.

548 B. C. the temple had been burnt and the Greeks wished to rebuild it with stone and marble, Amosis,* the Pharaoh of Egypt, sent large sums of money to assist in its erection; and this he would not have done without a belief that his people had a national interest in it, and that Delphi was connected with Egypt. Apollo of Delphi, the "Magnus Apollo," was the Egyptian god Horus, or as both the Greeks and Egyptians called him, "Aroere." † The peculiar deity of the Pelasgi, "Pan," ‡ both Rosellini and Wilkinson prove to have been an Egyptian god, one of the eight great divinities; § and he had a particular fane at Mendes, where his sacred goat was kept: his oracles in Greece were on Mount Lycæus, the settlement of the Egyptian Linceus, who built Lycosura, and here games were instituted in his honour.

Cecrops, the Egyptian, and Cadmus, the Phœnician, are said by Herodotus both to have conquered the Pelasgi, i. e. conquered those who dwelt in the country which they (the sea-kings of their day) made Pelasgic. The first Pelasgi, || or dwellers in that land, had, according to Herodotus, no images, and only one supreme god, whose name, from reve-

* Vide Rosellini.

† Vide Rosellini's *Monumenti Storici*, vol. iii. part i.

‡ Pan of the Egyptians and Pelasgians was also a God of the Turrheni. Rutilius, in his *Itinerary*, speaks of "Pan Turrhenis qui mutavit mœnale silvis."

§ Vide Herodotus ii. 46, 145.

|| The Italian Pelasgi are here more particularly meant: the people who were driven out of Greece by the Egyptians, and who settled in Italy.

rential feeling, they never pronounced. This is so extraordinary a testimony, that we have difficulty in believing it, especially as authentic history cannot demonstrate the existence of any such monotheistic and spiritually-minded people; and we have preserved to us, along with all accounts of the Pelasgi, also the names of many Pelasgic gods. We must, therefore, suppose that they worshipped large shapeless stones, or some visible object, perhaps some bird or beast, which was not a graven image, and which occasioned the Egyptians to remark with amazement, that they had no sculptured images. The unpronounceable name of their one god, is like a garbled tradition of the Hebrew Jehovah, brought into the land by Cadmus, (the Hebrew כְּדִים or k.d.im, the men of the East,) who probably fled from Syria before the armies of Joshua.

It is, indeed, more than probable, if not completely proved, that the word Pelasg-i, or Pelast-i, is itself Syro-Egyptian, and means the same thing as Hyksos, or "wandering stranger." Lord Lindsay gives some proofs, in his Letters from Egypt, of the Philistines, (an Egyptian colony in Canaan,) the Egyptian Hyksos, and the Pelasgi, being all one. This word is spelt in Hebrew פֶּלֶסְטִי or P L S T I, and Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 51, proves that in numerous instances the K and T, K and G, are convertible into each other—Pelasti, Pelaski, Pelasgi. Calmet says that "Philasges" or "Pelasgi," means a wanderer or stranger. Attica was, according to Herodotus, Pelasgic; yet he says that Athens was founded by

Cecrops the Egyptian, who arrived with a colony from Sais, 1556 years B. C., and who introduced agriculture and the worship of Athena. This Athena is now known to scholars, beyond all dispute, to be the Egyptian goddess Neith. Her name in Syrian letters, written from right to left, would stand thus, HTIN; and as the Greeks probably learnt to read and propagated these letters the reverse way, this name, adding the Greek particles A and E, would read to them AHTINE, whence Athena. In like manner, Themis, the Goddess of Justice, is derived from the Egyptian Thmè. Cadmus, the Phœnician, is said by Herodotus to have founded Thebes, the capital city of Pelasgic Bœotia, yet Thebes is not a Syrian, but an Egyptian name; and he is said to have introduced the worship of Zeus, Hera, and Athena, i. e. Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, who are the chief Egyptian divinities. Neptune or Poseidon was also a great Greek divinity, and is proved to have had his origin* amongst the Lybians, the neighbours and enemies of the Egyptians. The Greek and Syrian traditions, and the Egyptian monuments, inform us that both Egypt and Phœnicia were in the habit of sending out colonies to Europe from time to time, many centuries before the Trojan war; and this is incidentally but strongly confirmed by the Holy Scriptures, the Carthaginian annals, and the traditions of the Shelluhs and Amorites, and other tribes who now inhabit Mount Atlas in Africa.

* Vide Ancient Hist. vol. xvii.

It is scarcely necessary, in the present advanced state of our knowledge, to prove that the chief Greek gods were all originally Egyptian, but if any one doubts, he may see this matter ably demonstrated in Rosellini, and Spineto; and Homer gives his testimony to their foreign origin, by telling us that the language or terms used in their service was not Greek, but foreign. He says that "the language of the gods was different from the language of men," i. e. from his language; and the first Greek hymns, the Orphic, are said to have been brought by Orpheus out of Egypt.

The annals of Greece also, were kept in the Egyptian manner, for Tatian says that the Greeks learnt to write history by copying from the Egyptians; and Homer has been accused by Tatian of stealing the whole of his noble poems from the library of Ptha, at Naucratis, in Egypt, and giving them to the world as his own.* The Greek verse of these poems is so indisputably original, and the comparisons and the manner of relating each event or fable so individual, that such an accusation can never detract from his merit, and amounts only to a charge, that he took his facts and materials from the best kept annals in the world,† where they were likely to be most accurately recorded, and that he gave the substance of them without quoting his authorities, at a time when none of his hearers at all concerned themselves about the proofs of the things they heard.

* Vide Spineto.

† Rosell., vol. iii. Monu. Stor. part i.

If the story of Troy has, as we are persuaded, a real foundation,—if it began, as Herodotus says, by an Egyptian trading vessel taking Helen to Egypt from Argos, the largest and wealthiest city in Greece,—if she was there separated from her lover, and restored to her husband by the Egyptian king, after ten years of exile and of absence,—and if Memnon, an Egyptian general, and twenty thousand troops, (whom, with extraordinary accuracy and agreement with Egyptian monuments, Homer calls Assyrians and Ethiopians, i. e. Assyrians and natives under an Egyptian commander,) fought at Troy,—then the story of the war was certain to be known in Egypt, and would be recorded among the events of that day. It is said to have happened in the reign of Thuoris or Proteus, the unfortunate Uerri. And though his was the legitimate authority, during his whole lifetime, in Lower Egypt, as the Great Mogul was for centuries the only sovereign acknowledged in Hindostan, yet, like the Great Mogul, his did not continue to be the power, and if he detained Helen upon her arrival, he might have been himself a refugee in Ethiopia at the time when she was demanded back, and thus be wholly unable to surrender her.*

* During the first and protracted domination of the Hyksos in Lower Egypt, there can be no doubt that the sovereigns of the native dynasty, were not permitted to retain even a shadow of authority, but were confined to Upper Egypt; while in Lower Egypt there reigned a line of Asiatic monarchs with the title of Pharaoh, under whom Abraham visited the banks of

There is one difficulty which may strike a scholar, with regard to the Greek gods having been introduced from Egypt, viz. that the seat of the gods was in the north. So it was also in Etruria, and so it is in Hindostan. Now, if they came from the far south land of Egypt, how could they come from the north? But if the Egyptians or the Syrian Egyptians derived their gods from any country north of themselves, from Chaldea, for instance, the fatherland of Ham, and of the first Egyptian sovereign Menes, then, wherever their gods were transported, the same language would continue to be used concerning them, and the seat of the gods would continue to be placed in the north, though in fact the term meant no more, than the north of that land from which they had been originally derived to the daughter colony.*

the Nile, and who were the protectors of the Hebrew race. But it is remarkable that during the short restoration of the Hyksos dominion, in the reign of the unfortunate Uerri or Remerri, he alone continues to be the Pharaoh of the monuments and authentic records: no mention is made of a Hyksos Pharaoh. And even after his death, when a usurper assumed the royal title, that usurper, instead of being a Hyksos, was a high priest in Upper Egypt, who was ere long dethroned and made way for the vigorous reign of Ramses the 4th, Uerri's son, who overthrew the armies of the strangers, and forced them to evacuate the country.

* The Normans, who conquered England, came from the south. Yet because, when they conquered Neustria, they came from the north, they had ever after the appellation of "Northmen."

Again, it may be objected that, in the days of Herodotus, the Egyptians could not have retained this version of the origin of their gods, as they made a yearly pilgrimage, with great pomp into Ethiopia, carrying thither the god Ammon, as if to celebrate his birthplace; whence it has long been a fashion to people Egypt, and to derive her science from the south, and not the north. But the very origin of this opinion dates no farther back than the time of Herodotus. The first founded city of Egypt was Memphis, in the north,* and not in the south; her oldest works are the Pyramids, and not Thebes; and the pilgrimage into Ethiopia, was not to celebrate the birthplace of Ammon, but the refuge he and his people found there, when driven away by the Hyksos, from the land of their ancestors, their idolised valley of the Nile.

It appears, then, without contradiction, that Greece was civilized by colonies from Phœnicia and Egypt, between 1800 and 1200 B. C.; that the Pelasgic remains in Greece are the works of these nations, or of the natives who were enslaved by them; and that the chief divinities of Greece, and all the Pelasgic oracles, were Egyptian. Euripides, who flourished about the same time as Herodotus, says that the *Pelasgi* of Argos were called Danäides, or

* Vide Egypt. Published by Christian Knowledge Society. No royal name is found in Upper Egypt before the 16th Dynasty; and Osortasen is supposed to have founded Thebes. Amosis, the 6th king of the 17th Dynasty, built there the temple of Ammon, and recovered Memphis.

the colony of Danaus, and that the inhabitants of Lemnos were Pelasgi, who had fled from Attica, and who were the sons of Ægyptus. The Cretans also were Pelasgi, and these Pelasgi were Philistines, or Cherethims from Palestine.*

Now the dwellers in Pelasgia, of whom we have been speaking, i. e. the colony which came from Thrace, through Macedonia and Thessaly, to the southern parts of Greece, and the more numerous bands who joined them by sea, these men conquered and drove away a previous race, who are said to have taken refuge in Italy. The Greek Pelasgi increased and required more land,† and upon consulting the oracle of Dodona, after a lapse of two centuries, they were ordered to follow the first refugees, and to colonise also in that western country. Dionysius, lib. i., says, that the first set were *wholly barbarous*, and were found dwelling in huts and in poverty, but that the second set, who joined themselves to them, knew how to build and how to wall cities. They landed at Spina, and thence making their way through Italy, built the line of towns already enumerated, subjecting Cortona, and making a strong settlement at Reati; and it is worthy of remark that all these cities are in the style of Egyptian Pelasgic Lycosura. They are said to have driven the Sikeli,

* Pliny says that the Cretans were called Curetes, and that their king was Philistides: Valer. Max. ii. 4, says, that when the Etruscans are called Pelasgi, it means that they were Cretans or Philistines.

† Dion. says that they were driven away by Deucalion.

or native Italians, who were not Umbrians, southwards, until they took refuge in Sicily, and to have established themselves all through the country of the Umbri, whom, as subjects or allies, they doubtless assisted against the Etruscans, when they fought for dominion under Tarchun.

It is possible, that they may have brought with them the Phœnician letters, and that they may have written them as the Greeks learnt to do, from left to right; but of this we have not a particle of evidence; and every probability, from the most ancient inscriptions in northern Italy, lies the other way; these being either Etruscan or Etruscanized Pelasgian. They kept up no communication with Greece, or her oracles for they are said to have learnt navigation from the Etruscans, and fighting also, (which must mean military discipline,) and being conquered by the Umbri, and by the Rasena, who subdued the Umbri, such of them as did not choose to submit to the Umbrian terms of peace and toleration, returned to Greece,* and there were never more heard of. They are said to have there become slaves to the Hellenes, whilst those who remained in Italy, marching southwards and driving forward the Sikeli, met with a similar fate, and became enslaved by the Ænotri, or barbarous inhabitants of southern Italy.† The only known colonies of Grecian Pelasgi who continued to exist, are mentioned by Herodotus, lib. i. 57,

* Myrsilus of Lesbos says, that they were driven out of Italy by plague and famine, both of which may express war.

† Vide Niebuhr.

as, in his day, inhabiting the towns of Tralles in Caria, and Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont. Under the Umbri they had made good a settlement in Italy, at Pisa and at Agylla, and they had been admitted to some degree of power in Cortona and Perugia, where, though the power was lost, they, for many ages, continued to form part of the population, and whence, as their posterity fondly believed, they had sent forth the colony of Dardanus to Troy, before Cortona was a town, or they themselves knew how to navigate the sea.

With this ignorance and incapacity, however, we have to reconcile the account of their sending a thankoffering to Delphi for the expulsion of the Sikeli,* three generations before the Trojan war; which we shall do, simply by stating that, as they could not send to Delphi without ships, and as they knew nothing of maritime affairs until after their union with the Turseni, it is most probable that, by means of the Etruscans, they were enabled to fulfil their pious intention, if they ever really did send such an offering there. The tradition of their origin remaining, and the maritime Rasena having undoubted commerce with Greece, especially with Corinth or Ephyra,† in the days of Homer, it is very likely, and consonant with the customs of all the ancient nations, that they should send offerings to the chief temple of their mother-country. And the words of Strabo, book v., only bear out that they, in early times, sent to Delphi a treasure as a

* Dion. i.

† Iliad, ii. 570.

thankoffering for peace in their settlement, upon the cessation of disturbance from their enemies. This cessation is referred to three generations before the Trojan war, at which time, Dionysius says, the Sikeli, i. e. bands of continental Italians, were driven by more northern enemies into Sicily. Strabo calls this memorial a "treasure of the Agyllans," and not a gift in order to propitiate the oracle on a consultation; as when they afterwards asked advice about their Phocian prisoners. Modern authors, confusing together the accounts of Strabo and Dionysius, have fancied that it was conveyed to Delphi at the time which the Greeks said it was meant to commemorate. As well might we say, that the Martyr's Monument at Oxford, just finished, was erected in the days of Elizabeth. This offering was probably a commemoration of their peace with the Etruscans, and the final treaty and favourable terms granted to them by the conquering Tarchun. From this time forward the Agyllans, even when wholly Etruscan, continued to keep up a communication with Delphi; and other Etruscan states, as we find from Strabo,* Dionysius, and Pliny, also sent gifts to the Greco-Pelasgico-Egyptico-Apollo. Etruria sent gifts to other places in Greece besides Delphi, for at Olympus, Pausanias † saw a golden throne, which was a present from Arimnos, "king of the Tusci, who was the first Barbarian that sent gifts to Jove."

By different authors, the Thracians, Arcadians, Ionians of Asia, and Oenotrians of Italy, are all said to

* Lib. v.

† Vide xii. 3.

have been Pelasgian. As, then, in Greece, all were called Pelasgi, who ever inhabited the country once in Pelasgic possession, so in Italy, we find that name given without distinction or inquiry to the Sikeli, whom the Pelasgi displaced, to the Umbri among whom they settled, and to the Turrheni who conquered and inhabited all the centre of Italy, which they had overrun. Strabo, lib. v., says that they drove out the Sikeli before the Trojan war, and calls them, from the testimony of Hecataeus, "barbarous Pelasgi, bands of robbers;" and Pliny, lib. iii. 5, confuses the Pelasgi with the Raseni, when he says that they drove the Umbri out of Etruria. Strabo, lib. v., says that Pelasgi from Thessaly founded Agylla, that they had a treasure called by their name in Delphi, (hence supposed to have been consecrated before they became Cerites,) and that they were considered Thessalians. Pausanias says that the Thessalians were admitted from the first, into the council of Amphictions, and hence the Agyllans as Thessalians were allowed to send gifts and offerings to Delphi.*

Niebuhr proves that the name Pelasgi was given to every people in Italy, from the Danube and the Tyrol, where they could never have penetrated, down to its most southern shores; to Sikeli, Umbri, Turrheni, and Oenotri, just as ignorance or poetry may have made it convenient. Dion. Hal. (l. i. 10) affirms that they first came into Italy (where they

* Vide Micali, p. 81.

landed at Spina) "along with the Curetes and others of that blood," and he makes both Peuceti and Oenotri in southern Italy, Pelasgi; and the second band of Pelasgi, he says, were brought in by command of the Oracle of Dodona. In giving their general character, he mixes together the traditions of the Canaanites, flying before Joshua, and of the Jews quitting Egypt. He says that they were a people cursed by heaven, and to be found everywhere, broken and flying, and that in this manner they seized upon Peloponnesus, Hellas, Arcadia, Argos, Ionia, and Thessaly, whence they, this cursed people, passed over into Italy, and the islands of the Levant, and the Ægean Sea.* Again, he gives the common Phœnician tradition that they fled, because they would not give the tenth of their children to the gods, for which reason they were visited with plagues, until they were destroyed. This is like a version of the plagues of Egypt, and death of the first-born, as it might be related in Canaan and Lybia, and thus be transplanted to Europe.

The Pelasgi have left their vast polygonal walls in Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, not to mark either the cradle or the grave of their race, but only their occasional resting places, as they travelled on from east to west, until they ceased to be Pelasgi or strangers, and became parts of the settled nations. Gell melts them into the Oscii in Italy, as Herodotus does into the Hellenes in Greece, and unless we accept the explanation of their being "sea strangers,"

* Dionysius l. i.

they are, for a conquering and powerful race, the most enigmatical of all people. Their valour was powerless against barbarians; their civilisation disappeared before unlettered rudeness, and the earth seems to have opened her mouth and to have swallowed them up, that so useless a race might be seen no more.

We think that the Pelasgi in Greece were Egyptians and Phœnicians, and that the first Pelasgi in Italy were Greeks, displaced from Pelasgia, poor and unrefined; whilst the second were Greeks, refined and tutored by the foreign colonies which had become naturalized amongst them. We think, moreover, that where they had once settled, there they continued to exist, to flourish, and to improve, though with a change of name, taking that of the people among whom they dwelt.* And that hence they were called Hellenes in Greece, and Turrheni in Italy, even as the Celts in Scotland, the Danes and Saxons in England, and the Catti † in Nor-

* In proof of this, Hellanicus of Lesbos says, that the Turrheni were first Pelasgi, and changed their name; and in like manner Dionysius says, they were confounded with the Umbri before the Trojan war.

† The Catti alluded to, settled at Cadheim in Normandy, now called Caën; another branch of them settled in Catti, or Caith-ness and Sutherland, in Scotland; and the late Duchess, Countess of Sutherland, had for her grandest northern title, "Lady of the great Catt." About one league from Katheim or Caën, is a village named Allemagne, famous for its quarries of beautiful stone. It is said that when the tourist Dibdin was at Caën, he asked whence came the stone with which the city was

mandy, all go under the general name of Scotch, English and French, though preserving their distinct descents and national peculiarities, which can never be mistaken. The Greeks, who speak so confidently of the Pelasgic wanderings and deeds in Italy, twelve centuries before Christ, knew nothing of Italy itself, excepting Agylla and their own southern colonies, until after the taking of Rome by the Gauls.

We have now established the following points:—

First, That the Rasena or TuRSeNi, Turseni, or Turrheni, called also Etrusci and Tusci, landed in Italy in the thirteenth century before the christian æra, and some years previous to the Trojan war. That they were a people of Ludin or Asia, though they came from Lybia or Africa, and probably after a long residence in Egypt.

Secondly, That they landed in Umbria under Tarchun, and conquered all Etruria Proper from the Umbrians and Pelasgi.

Thirdly, That the Pelasgi had twice sent colonies, of different characters, from Greece or Thessaly into Italy, and that the second, and better appointed and instructed race, had driven away the Sikeli, and established many colonies, and built many towns in the land of the Umbri, three generations before the Trojan war.

Fourthly, That two generations before that war, some other power had suddenly overwhelmed them.

built, and being answered by the people from Allemagne, he wrote in his book, as many Greeks would have done under similar circumstances, that Caen was built of stone from Germany!

The sword, plague, and famine are said to have attacked them; they became small,* and such as were not reduced to slavery left the land, or dwelt humbled and subject amongst the Umbri and Turseni; whence their most appropriate name in old Greek authors, “of Turseni-Pelasgi.”

* Dionysius, l. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TWELVE DYNASTIES OF ETRURIA.

CENT.
XII.
B. C. OUR next theme is the number of towns which Tarchun founded, after he became master of all that tract of country, known to us by the permanent name of Etruria; the manner in which he divided his territory, and the institutions and laws which he gave to his people. All the cities, both beyond and within the Po, are ascribed to Tarchun, (vide Livy, v. 33,) and yet we know that many of them could not have been founded until after the period of his death, whilst others had an existence previous to his arrival. We shall therefore make a distinction between those, of which we believe him to have been really the founder, those which he conquered and re-founded, and those which were in later times colonies of either the one or the other.

Gravisca, in the territory of Tarquinia; the towns of Alsium, Falleria, or Falisci, and Fescennium, Aurinia,* afterwards Saturnia, and Pisa, were all conquered Umbro-Pelasgian towns, which became subject to Etruscan rulers, and had then erected around them, the sacred Etruscan gates and

* Dionys. lib. i.

walls. They were all commercial and flourishing under Etruscan rule, but none of them, so far as we know, ever became the residence of sovereign princes or the metropolis of a state, excepting Falleria. Cato* says that Tarchun founded Pisa; (i. e. that he destroyed the Pelasgic port which resisted him) and that after the eastern fashion, he changed † its name, and thus re-founded upon the same site, the rich and ancient city of Pisa, the queen of the Arno, before Florence came into being. According to Dionys. Hal., Tarchun conquered Camers, Cortona, and Perugia from the Umbri; according to Cato, he founded Perugia, and according to Servius, he both founded Cortona and lived there. He also changed the name of Camers to Clusium, (now Chiusi,) and on the conquest of Perugia, changed its former appellation to the name which it now bears. Servius, ‡ moreover, says that Clusium was the residence of Etruscan kings before the time of the Trojan war, and therefore it may be regarded as having been from the first, the chief city and metropolis of a state. These were all towns re-founded by Tarchun.

Besides these, Cato says that he founded Luna, on the Gulf of Spezia, once a large trading town,

* Origin. xxiii.

† This was the constant practice of the children of Israel, *vide* Numbers xxxii. 38, 2 Sam. xii. 28. We find also throughout ancient history that each nation was in the habit of calling its towns either by the names of their founders, conquerors, or gods.

‡ *Æn.* xi.

famed for its walls of white marble,* but now rased to the ground, and its site only known, because the district in which it lay is still called Luneggiana. Virgil † gives amongst the states of Tarchun's time Populonia and Cosa; but as both of these were colonies, we must suppose him to intend by them the principal towns which they represented, namely Volterra and Vulci, both of which were probably really founded by Tarchun. Etruscan Virgil is a great authority in Etruscan matters, and will be frequently quoted, not as exact history, but as current and accepted tradition.

Were any Englishman to write an epic poem on king Arthur, he would very likely, summon ambassadors from London, Lincoln, and York, because all those cities existed in Arthur's time, and therefore they may have sent ambassadors to him; though we never heard of them before. But no English poet would send to him deputies from Liverpool, Manchester, or Brighton, because all these cities are known to be of very modern date. Just such an authority as a learned and judicious Englishman might be, who wrote an epic of king Arthur, such do we consider Virgil, in relation to the affairs of ancient Italy. But suppose again, some learned grammarian were to write long criticisms and comments upon the poem of Arthur, and were to detect in it, some such anachronisms as "the great town of Leeds," or "the renowned and commercial Glasgow," he would tell us that these places were so called in the spirit of prophecy, and give us the ancient

* *Vide* Rutilius.

† *Æneid.* x.

name of the first little village at Leeds, and the early history of the small but episcopal Glasgow, as nearly as he could trace them, in king Arthur's time. Just such an authority is Servius, when we quote him for the early condition of Etruria.

Very many Etruscan cities we know to have been founded by Tarchun, from their early fame and power, their established coëval dominion, and the Assyrian form of their names. All those, for instance, belong to this class, which commence with Fel, or Vel, or Bel, which are the same with Hebrew בל B.l. or Baal, and mean Lord, to which is added some affix. Of these, we have Volterra, or "Felatri," as its name is spelt upon its ancient coins; Bolsena or Felsuna; Bononia or Felsina; Vetulonia or Fel.tulan; Fiesole or F.lsole; and Vulci or F.lce.

To these earliest names, we must add, though not of the same class, Arretium, as a Tarchunian settlement; and it is possible that the sea ports of Populonia and Cosa might be used as harbours in the time of Tarchun, though the cities were of later growth, even as Leith, though only of late years become a town of some consideration, was always the port of Edinburgh. Veii, which Virgil does not deem considerable enough to have had any dominion in the days of Tarchun, was yet probably chosen by him as the site of a border fort, for its name פאה, Ph.ee.h, means a boundary, limit, or border. The names of many of these towns are so strikingly eastern, and so strongly and incidentally corroborative of Herodotus's tradition, "that the Etruscans were a people of Ludin" from Lybia, that we cannot forbear

to give them, even at the risk of seeming tedious, and we transcribe them from the Ancient History, vol. xvi. art. *Etruria*.

The great towns well known to Roman authors, taking them from north to south, were Luna, Pisa, Fiesole, Volterra, Vetulonia, Populonia, Arretium, Cortona, Perugia, Clusium, Rusella, Volsinia, Cosa, Vulci, Tarchunia, Faleria, Agylla, Pyrgi, and Veii. Of these, twelve were ruling cities, capitals of the dynasties, and the others were dependencies upon them; and four of those enumerated, viz. Populonia, Cosa, Veii, and Fiesole, being colonies from the earlier cities, were of no account during the lifetime of Tarchun.

Luna, from לֵּן, “to lodge or rest in,” a harbour for ships praised by Strabo, v. It had most beautiful marble walls, called by Rutilius, “Candentia Moenia Lunae,” and according to Cato* was a place of trade before the Trojan war, i. e. immediately upon its occupation by the T.R.SeNa. Its name answers to Portland, or Newport in English. Lucan says that it was ruined and deserted in his day, and he† and Pliny both mention it, as famous for Augurs and Aruspices who were introduced by Tarchun. Carrara and the finest marble quarries of Italy lie in the Luneggiana.

Pisa, from פִּי שׁוּאָה “Pi. suah.” “The mouth of noisy waters,” on the confluence of the Æsar and Arnus, a short distance from the Turrhene Sea. Both rivers bear oriental and genuine Etruscan

* Origin. xxv.

† In Pharsalia, l. v.

names. No one acquainted with the Bible can be ignorant of the brook Arnon in Palestine. Cato* says that Tarchun founded Pisa, whence we deduce that the name is Etruscan. Dionysius says that a Pelasgic settlement existed there when Tarchun began his career of victory. Piet.he.sa is supposed on some coins to mean Pisa.† Its harbour was capacious, and was called the Pisan Gulf.‡

Fiesole or F.sole, or פּוֹל סֶלֶע, "the tribe on a rock," is traditionally a thousand years older than Florence, which was founded by Sylla 90 B. C., in order to take its place.§ Hence as its date is only one thousand and ninety years before the Christian æra, it cannot have been one of the original states, but only a dependency. It is celebrated by Polybius ii., Livy xxii., and Diod. Siculus. xx.

Volterra, פֶּלְטוֹר, F.l.tur, and on the coins Felathri, "tribe on a mountain," or "the high fortress," one of the greatest of the Etruscan states, and one of the most interesting which now remains. It is said to have been built against Pisa, in order to keep it in check; and for this reason, it is perhaps

* Servius x.

† The Hebrew word Bt. or Pt.suah. would have the same meaning—Daughter of noisy waters.

‡ We have taken the numismatical names of the Etruscan towns from Müller's chapter on Finance, vol. ii. p. 331, in his History of the Etrüsker. Volterra is spelt Vel or Fel.a thri; Populonia, "Puplun;" Clusium, "Kakam," as is supposed; Volsinia, "Felsune;" Vetulonia, "Fet.luna;" Caere, Karait, or "Cisere," the C being hard, &c.

§ Vide Dempster.

the first genuine Etruscan city after Tarquinia. Dempster quotes an ancient MS. authority, which dates its foundation at one hundred years before the Trojan war, that is, in the earliest days of the Rasena, and says that it was long afterwards repaired and defended by king Propertius, who colonized Populonia, and assisted Veii to found* Capena. Dionysius Hal. iii. 51, and Pliny, mention it along with Clusium, Arezzo, Rusella, and Vetulonia, as if it were in especial alliance with these states; and there can be no doubt but that in cases of divided opinion, they hung together. Etruria owed her downfall to these divisions within herself between the north and south, after the foundation of Rome.†

Vetu-lonia, בית עלין, Bit-oliun, or on coins Fet-luna, or, as it is found on some inscriptions, Fet-ulun. The ancient history derives it from Bet or Vet-Elion, the principal Lucumony or government. But we think it more likely to mean "the daughter of the Highest;" or, as it was a royal town near the sea, that it conveyed some idea like "Kingston," or "New Port Regis," or "Mount Royal," in English. It is now called Vetulia, and Feltule, and Vetletta, about three miles from the sea, and is a mass of ruin, overgrown by wood. Müller ii. 1, 2, says that ruins are to be seen in Vetulonia, not only of colossal walls, but of Mosaic pavements, fragments of

* Servius vii.

† For Volterra, vide Cicero Orat. pro Sex. Rosc.; Dion. Hal. l. iii.; Liv. l. x.

statues, and a huge amphitheatre. In its neighbourhood are the hot springs which are mentioned by Pliny, lib. ii. 103; the value of which in every case was fully appreciated by the Etruscans. Dionysius ii. says that it was a powerful city or state in the days of Romulus, and as we scarcely hear of it afterwards, Dempster thinks that it was probably destroyed in the infancy of Rome, at the time when Etruria was divided against herself. Silius Italicus,* says that it was the most illustrious, which we presume to mean, the largest and richest of all the Etruscan cities, and that Rome borrowed thence her fasces, secures, lictors, curule throne, toga prætexta, and all her other ensigns of regal power.

Micali has visited the ruins in the Vetulonian forest, and says that they are very extensive. Supposing this city to have perished in the time of Romulus, its ruins give us, beyond every other, an idea of what was then Etruscan civilization.

Pupulunia, פ פ הלם P. p h. l. m or l. n, upon the coins Pupulun, "a harbour for metals." This, if tenable, is a very remarkable derivation; for it exactly describes the character of Pupulunia. It was a colony of Volterra, and though subsequent to the time of Tarchun, it was long prior to Rome, and the greatest emporium in Italy for the iron and copper ores of Elba,† which were brought here to be manufactured for internal use, and also to be exported to other nations. It is now Porto Baratto.

* Punicor. viii.

† Vide Strabo and Aristotle.

Arrezzo, or Arretium, or Aret, from ארת, A. R. T, a lake, pond, river. It lay upon the confluence of the Clanis, and the Arno, not far from the lake of Perugia. A. r. t and Hareth, pronounced with a foreign accent, are both scriptural names. Arretium was the capital of its own principality, and Silius Italicus* says that it was the seat of the ancient kings of Etruria. Its walls were and are of an architecture singularly beautiful, and are celebrated both by Pliny † and by Vitruvius. ‡ Its pottery was also reckoned of the finest workmanship and colour § in Italy, and some specimens of it may now be seen in the Museo Gregoriano in Rome. It was also famous for the manufacture of arms. ||

Cortona, a city and state, sometimes mistaken for Crestona ¶ in Thrace; and yet more often for Crotona in the south of Italy. It is called by Virgil, Corytus, and is made the birth-place of Dardanus, and the cradle of the royal house of Priam. The ancient history considers its name more clearly eastern than that of any of the others, and believes it to be derived from כרתִי, K. R. TI, or Creti, a town of the Cherithim or Philistines, “wandering strangers.” At the time of Tarchun’s conquest, it was inhabited by the Umbri and Pelasgi in common, and its first fortifications are supposed to have been Pelasgic, though the present walls are Etruscan. It was the metropolis of a principality, and Sil. Italicus says that Tarchun had a residence there. (See Dempster.)

* Punicor. vii.

† Plin. xxxv. 14.

‡ Vitruv. ii. 8.

§ Plin. idem.

|| Liv. xxviii. 45.

¶ Dion. i.

Perugia is one of the most beautiful and romantic cities, in a land where all are beautiful, and the greater number romantic. It was a city of the Umbri, inhabited also by Pelasgi at the time of its conquest, like Cortona, and Cato says that Tarchun changed its name. It may be derived from פְּרוּשָׁה, P. R. U. S. H, "divided or separated," or from פְּרַצַּ, P R Z, to break, defeat, overthrow. It was divided from Umbria by the Tiber, here a noble river, and there are many reasons for thinking that its government may have been shared with its former possessors, though the chief ruler was ever after Etruscan. It was a powerful state, having several dependencies, and lay near the famous Mount Ciminus. Cluverius, from Cato, says that it was founded, i. e. remodelled by Tarchun, and Servius (*Æn.* x.) that it was founded by Ocnus, or Bianor, a native chief. By native, however, he means Tyrsenian; and Ocnus may very probably have been the first king, and hence called the founder. Never was a town more divided as to the fame of its first existence, and of the man or men to whom it owes its origin, which proves that it had many ancient heroes, to each of whom in time its greatness came to be attributed. Dempster refers its earliest sovereignty to Aulestes, the brother of Ocnus, i. e. a brother chief. Müller says that it was conquered by the Sarsinati, and Micali, that it was founded by this people, and hence it may be considered the daughter of Sarteano.

Clusium, now Chiusi, from חָלַשׁ, CH. L. S, to conquer, or reduce. Livy tells us that its Umbrian

name was Camers,* and Servius that Tarchun changed it to Chlusium or "Chlus," the *um* being a Latin termination. It was the rival of Tarquinia in ambition and power, having less of commerce, and preserving more of the spirit of liberty. Both the state and the city were influential, and Servius† says that it was the seat of the Etruscan kings before the Trojan war, i. e. in the days of Tarchun. It stands upon the river Clanis, and the lake of Clusium, and must always be interesting as the capital of Porsenna, though now only a border town in Tuscany.

Rusella, or ראש עילה, Rusoil.h, "the top of a hill," or "the chief on a height." It is near the lake of Castiglione, and the little town of Moscona, and only the walls now remain. Dion. Hal. and Livy give it as the capital of one of the ruling states, and Müller (ii. 1, 2,) calls it one of the most important cities of Etruria.‡

Volsinia, now Bolsena, and, on the coins, Felsuna. It was a town famous for mechanical arts and hand-mills,§ hence its name פול צנע, Ful-z.n.a, means "the mechanical tribes." From Volsinia, in Greek Ουολ-σθονιον,|| the Romans took 2,000 statues of bronze.¶ It was near, but not on the site of the present Bolsena, and was famous for its Kalender-Temple of Nortia,** the Tursene Fortuna.

The learned work from which we have taken

* Lib. ix.

† Æn. x.

‡ Like Vetulonia, its site was chosen close to hot mineral springs, which are still known as the Bagni di Roselle.

§ Plin. xxxvi. 18.

|| Müller ii. 1.

¶ Plin. xxxiv. 7.

** Livy vii. 3.

these names, gives many more, but these may surely suffice to show the inherent Assyrian elements in the Etruscan tongue. We may be told that the examples given are eastern, no doubt; but that they are Hebrew, and not Phœnician. St. Augustine, however, tells us that the Punic, or Phœnic, or Phœnician language spoken in his day, when it was still a living tongue, was very like the Hebrew, and that the Canaanitish was a mediate tongue, between the Egyptian and the Hebrew—a singular testimony. We can prove that the Hebrews, Assyrians, Syrians, Chaldees, and Phœnicians, all derived their alphabets from one common original, and hence it would seem that all these languages were branches and varieties of one Semitic tongue, even as Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, may be called varieties of one Oscan tongue, i. e. Latin.

The ancient history conceives Faleria and Fescennium to be Etruscan names, though Pelasgic towns before they were conquered; and Falisci also, from its prefix of F.l or V.l, was probably an Etruscan name, the appellations being changed upon the re-edification and re-occupation of those places by the conquerors. Falisci and Falerii in old authors, both Greek and Latin, are constantly confounded. Gell seems to have proved that they were one and the same people; but that Falisci signified the state, whilst Falerii designated only the town and its domains, hence all Falerians were Faliscians, but all Faliscians were not Falerians. Fescennia was a large town in the state of Faliscia, famed for its metrical

and pantomimic verses, and the whole state, including Veii, was in a peculiar manner under the protection of Juno. Virgil calls the Falisci, "Equi Falisci." Strabo, p. 226, speaks of "Equum Faliscum." Faleria is now Citta Castellana. Zonarus tells us of the war against the Falisci, and the siege of their strong city, named Φαλεριοι Falerioi. From Livy (v. 27) Müller gathers that Faleria was divided into Upper and Lower, which is made still more indubitable by the Falisci of the lower part being called Equi Falisci, or Falisci of the Plain. Falisci,* i. e. Falerii, was founded by Halese the Etruscan, who also founded, that is to say, re-adorned and rebuilt Alsium,† or Al-se, the "um" being a Latin termination. This Halese is termed the Son of Neptune, i. e. a Sea-king, or great Etruscan admiral.

Thus, as genuine Etruscan names of towns or states, we have the large list beginning with Fel, and meaning lord or tribe, Felathri or Volterra, Felsuna or Volsinia, Velce or Vulci, Felsule or Fiesole, Faleria, Falisci, or Halese. Also, as genuine Etruscan derivatives, we have Pisa, Cortona, and Perugia, so called for local reasons; Tarquinia, named from Tarchun himself; Alsium from Alese; and we may add Nepete, which Winning derives from Napate in Egypt. Nepete‡ and Sutri were among the oldest towns in Etruria, as were also Luna and Aurinia,§ afterwards Saturnia.

* Servius *Æn.* vii.

† Silvius Italicus, l. 8. Vide Dempster.

‡ Müller, vol. i.

§ Dion.

The boundaries of Etruria Proper were, the Apennines to the north, the river Macra and the Tyrrhene sea to the west and south, and the Tiber to the east. Or, as expressed by the Roman Archæologia, "Etruria Proper extended from the Portus Veneris and Luna, to Ostia, the Tiber, and Rome." Strabo,* Dionysius,† Livy,‡ and Servius,§ inform us that this territory was divided into twelve dynasties, each being governed by its own prince, while Tarchun was acknowledged as king of the whole. We have nowhere a perfect list of these dynasties in any ancient Latin historian, none of them thinking it necessary to inform an Italian reader of what he knew so well, any more than an English writer, though he might say much of York, Newcastle, and Warwick, would think of enumerating to an English reader, the fifty-two counties of England. We are accordingly only informed that the number of states was twelve, whilst the great towns which sent members to the Diet, or which rose into consideration at different periods, varied, and probably the seat of government varied with them. Veii, for instance, which made so great a figure in the decline of Etruria, was merely a colony of Volterra at the commencement; and though it became a royal residence, was probably, for many years previous, a secondary town, or mere fort, in the state of Faliscii.

The names of the twelve chief cities of Etruria, which we gather from Dionysius, Livy, Virgil, Ser-

* Lib. v.

† vi. viii.

‡ iv. v. vii.

§ xi.

vius, Strabo, and Plutarch, are the following: Volterra, Clusium, Cortona, Perugia, Arretium, Falerii, Tarquinia, Volsinii, Rusella, Vetulonia, Agylla or Cere, and Veii. All these twelve were, at different times, the residences of princes, and the seats of government. But from the most remote period of which any of the writers here quoted, treat, Vulci had been a ruling state also, and continued to be so to the end. It was not, however, influential, and has been, therefore, little noticed, though the *Fasti Consulares* for the year 472 of Rome, grant a triumph for the reduction of the *Vulcientes*.* Vulci, from its situation between Tarquinia and Volterra, must have been one of the very earliest of the Etruscan conquests, and a member of the confederation before Cere was conquered, or Veii founded. Polybius calls this town *Ολκιον*, *Olkion*, or, as a Latin might pronounce it, *Uulki*. It is situated in the *Piano di Vulci*, and presented, in Cluverius's day, a very considerable mass of ruin. It is interesting now from the beautiful objects of art which are continually drawn from its sepulchres. This example, and that of *Vulsinia*, show us that Etruscan *F* or *V* were sounded in Greek *ou* or *o* short.

It follows as a consequence that if the original number of the states was twelve, we must find two that are not included in the enumeration above given, such as *Vulci* and *Lucca*,† or *Pisa*, or *Saturnia*, or *Alsium*. We do not believe that the states at any

* Vide Müller, ii. 1, 2.

† The learned Dempster, in his *Etruria Regali*, gives *Lucca* as one of the original twelve.

time, consisted of fewer than twelve, for that seems to have been the fundamental and sacred number; but they may have consisted of more without a nominal increase. We have examples of this in the Swiss Cantons and the United States of America, amongst the moderns; and in the tribes of Israel, and the college of the apostles, amongst the ancients. Because twelve was the sacred number of these latter, we find Ephraim and Manasseh comprised amongst the tribes, and St. Paul and St. Matthias amongst the apostles, without altering the reputed number. Müller (ii. 1) deduces from a very curious inscription dug up a few years since in Italy, that the states, even to the second and third centuries of our era, kept up their union, and that the religious bond was preserved among them, though the political one was dissolved. This inscription will be hereafter given. It is a doubt whether or not Tusculum was included amongst the original dynasties. Müller decides that it was clearly a Tyrsenian State; and Cato says that the town was founded three generations before the Trojan war; thus attributing it in loose chronology to Tarchun. But if it had been in the original number, the name would have continued amongst the Etruscan deputies, though the territory was gone, and this does not appear to have been the case; therefore we prefer the alternative of its having been at a later period an Etruscan colony amongst the Latins, and choosing rather to associate itself with them, than with the mother country, of which it was not permitted to be a ruling state. This may the more easily be believed, because the faith of

Tusculum was in all essentials Etruscan, even after we find its name on the lists of the Latin confederation. Lycophron calls the Tusculani "Turrheni Pelasgi."*

Tarchun is rightly said to have founded the dynasties, because we do not know that the Pelasgi and Umbri had any dynasties, and he is with equal propriety said to have founded the cities which he renamed, and around which he erected the almost indestructible Etruscan walls. "These walls were consecrated, (says Varro,) that the citizens might feel more courage in dying there in defence of their country." If they triumphed, it was under the banner of their patron gods; and if they fell, it was on holy ground.

From coins in the Jesuits' Museum in Rome, and from several passages in the Latin poets, it appears that each ruling city had three or four smaller or inferior cities in dependence upon it, or in peculiar relation and alliance with it.† Hence we can discover a certain prominence in many cities that never were ruling, as Populonia and Cosa, because they supplied the chief means of defence, or were the chief marts of commerce to their principals; and it is even possible, in a few instances, that when they became in

* Livy says that Mamilius of Tusculum, the friend of the second Tarquin, was the sone of the founder, and that his family had been long princes amongst the Latins. In the same sense he might have said that the family of Tarquin had been long princes amongst the Romans.

† Virgil *Æn.* x. 202, speaking of Mantua, says:—

"Gens illi triplex populi sub gente quaterni."

wealth and size, or even in public convenience, very superior to that principal, they then took its place.

We know the names of at least nineteen or twenty municipia or distinguished cities in Etruria Proper, viz. Cortona, Perugia, Arretium, Volsinia, Tarquinia, Clusium, Volterra, Rusella, Vetulonia, Pisa, Fæsule, Veii, Cære, Falerii, Aurinia, Caletta, Vulci, Salpinum, Lucca, and Luna. Dempster, in his *Etru. Reg.* iv. 8, selects from these as the ruling twelve, the following: Veii, Tarquinia, Faleria, Vetulonium, Populonia, Corytus, Volsinii, Cære, Clusium, Fæsule, Luna, and Lucca. Cluverius* names Cære, Tarquinia, Rusella, Vetulonia, Volterra, Arretium, Cortona, Perugia, Clusium, Volsinii, Faleria; and Veii. Niebuhr names Cære, Tarquinia, Rusella, Vetulonia, Volterra, Arretium, Cortona, Perugia, Clusium, Volsinii, Veii, Capena, and Cosa.

In later days it is certain, either that Cære or Veii supplanted other sacred towns of smaller consideration, or that they were added to Tarchun's league, and still the number was only called twelve: indeed no other number is ever assigned to them throughout the Italian history. We cannot form an idea of the relative importance of these states from any passages in the Latin authors, for whatsoever list we examine, we shall always find some one, or two, or three, omitted of those which we know to have been, even to Sylla's time, essential and dominant members of the original league. We have not in any known author, an enumeration of

* Cluv. lib. iii. c. 26.

the twelve states of Etruria ; and in order to obtain them at any period of her history, we are obliged to collect all our authorities together. Virgil divides the states that ranged themselves under Tarchun into four bands, exclusive of Tarquinia, which of course followed its own chief. He places under one general, Cosa and Clusium ; under another, Populonia and Ilva or Elba ; under a third, Pisa with the troops of its dependencies ; and under a fourth, Cære, Pyrgi, and Gravisca. At the same time, he represents the Falisci as independent and allying themselves with the Latins, along with Fescennium and Capena. Virgil selected towns which had for ages been of importance, without pausing to examine their relative antiquity ; for in the days of Tarchun, Cosa, Populonia, and Pyrgi, would be little more than watch-towers, Elba was scarcely known, and Capena had not one stone of its walls or temples laid upon another, being a later colony of Veii, which itself was merely a border fort till Volterra became over-peopled.

On the whole, from the evidence of names, and the incidental testimonies in the case of various cities, to their very high antiquity and long-continued power, we shall presume the following to have been the twelve dynasties founded by Tarchun, and left in full communion with each other, and all subject to the same laws and institutions at the time of his death. 1. Lucca, including Luna ; 2. Volterra, including Pisa ; 3. Vetulonia ; 4. Arretium ; 5. Cortona ; 6. Perugia ; 7. Clusium ; 8. Rusella ;

9. Felsini or Vulsinii, including Salpina; 10. Vulci; 11. Tarquinia; 12. Faleria or Faliscii. Each of these states had a capital of its own name, besides ports and harbours and many dependent towns.

It is natural for us to inquire if there are any signs by which we may still distinguish, or ever could have distinguished, an Etruscan city from one which was Pelagic or Sikelian. Now, throughout Etruria Proper, there is one style for every great city—and indeed for every city, great or small, which was ever founded by Tarchun, or according to his laws. They are all upon a height, all surrounded by walls, which are built of immense blocks of stone, cut in parallelograms, and laid together without cement. Sometimes in alternate courses,



thus: and sometimes with one course lengthways, and the next endways, all of prodigious thickness and strength

with square towers at certain distances, usually about fifty yards apart, with lofty gates, either arched or square, and with a citadel and a temple; Dempster de Etrur. Reg., says that each had a theatre, a circus, and an amphitheatre, and certainly no Etruscan city has been found without these characteristics. Each had its burying-ground beyond the walls, laid out according to the size of the city, each had baths, and each had one or more common sewers, like the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, of an architecture so beautiful, and upon a scale so vast, as to strike the mind of every observer with amaze-

ment and wonder, even at this day. The walls, the towers, and the Cloacæ, are to be seen still, in almost all the Etruscan cities, or in their ruins, and are open to the examination of every one who chooses to visit them; and, from the evidence which they give of the wealth, the power, and the moral force of those who could construct them, Niebuhr is led to assert, that the people who laboured in them must have been slaves; and that the might of conquest and the hand of tyranny alone could have raised them, or have caused them to be raised.

This is a strange sentence from a man who was aware that tyrants consult their own gratification chiefly, and not the public good; that they love to magnify their own consequence—to swell in the strengthening of their own pride—to blaze in the dazzling of their own vanity—to call places and lands by their own names—to have tombs like the Pyramids, gardens like those of Babylon, and commerce like that of the pacha of Egypt; but all to the utter contempt and neglect of the people, and to the gratifying of that *little self*, which lives to posterity as a corrupted head, fit only to ruin, and not to rule the members, a scorned and cursed thing.

The grand distinction between the Etruscans and every other ancient people is, the noble public character which is stamped upon all their works; and this Niebuhr himself acknowledges. Every thing was for utility—the utility and benefit of all; the poor as much as the rich, the plebeian as much as the noble. The common religion, the common

improvement, the common security, the common wealth, and, we had almost said, the common comfort. This is the stamp—the distinctive mark of all their remains; and they bear in character such a vastness—such a solidity—such a grandeur, and such a skill, that it has been, till within very late years, too incredible, and too stupendous for the minds of scholars or travellers to fathom. Yet, if we believe this people to have come out of Egypt, there is nothing in the most extraordinary or gigantic of their works, but what we might previously have expected, and might, indeed, have wondered if we had not found. The traveller may pass from Cortona, Arezzo, and Tarquinia, to Karnac and Luxor upon the Nile, and he will find the self-same architecture. He may compare the beautiful gates of Volterra and Perugia, with the arch of the same construction, formed of concentric layers and with a key-stone, as at Thebes; or the roof of the Galassi tomb at Cære, with the many arches of a similar formation, made of approaching courses, that are to be seen amongst the palaces and tombs of the Pharaohs.* He may find the so-called Tuscan pillar and Tuscan portico in the tombs of Beni Hassan, dating 1700 before our era, especially that of the family of NAHRE.†

He may also compare the prodigious hydraulic

* Those who cannot travel, may see the arches alluded to in Belzoni or Rosellini's Egyptian Views, and in Micali's Plates of the Antiquities of Italy.

† Vide Rosellini Monumenti Civili on tombs.

operations of the two people, and he will be struck with their identity of character. The same may be said of the striking similarity of the gold ornaments, the armour, the bronzes, the sculpture, the painting, the pottery, and all that we know of the arts and sciences of both people; with this exception, however, that what existed in Egypt sixteen or seventeen centuries B. C., did not appear in Italy until three or four hundred years later. The Etruscans were not the inventors, but the importers of these things, and were the originators of civilization to Italy, only as a colony, from Asia or Asiatic Africa.* This is a far more rational and probable origin of the knowledge and refinement of early Italy, than the idea that civilization should start forth from ignorance and barbarism. In the one case, we must presume inspiration, and in the other the more natural course of tuition. In the one case we produce Minerva from the head of Jove, and in the other, Jove himself is made to spring from the bosom of chaos and eternal night. Too mighty a generation for aught but almighty power; and not to be attributed to the sons of men.

There are three descriptions of primitive, cotemporary architecture existing in Italy. First, the Etruscan, with its regular quadrangular stones, either with or without cement; second, the Pelasgic, also massive and without cement, but polygonal; and third, the Cyclopean, consisting of huge stones of all

* Lybia was Phœnician Africa, and Egypt was reckoned by the ancients in Asia.

forms and shapes piled together, and having the interstices filled up with small materials. These two latter are described by Pausanias, lib. vii., in Greece, whilst the former alone is found in Egypt, and is not unfrequent in Asia Minor. The order of chronology in which these three styles of masonry are to be reckoned, is not as if the most barbarous were the most ancient; but, on the contrary, as if a priority in antiquity should be assigned to the most refined. This is proved, because the people who knew how to make bricks, (which are found all over the world with regular angles, and which are, in their oldest form, quadrilateral,) were the most likely to use squared stones, and to have gradually substituted them for a greater quantity of bricks, in order to save time and labour, and to increase, as they would think, durability. It is sufficient to add, that there are Egyptian bricks in the British Museum which date 1800 years B. C.; and that the Scripture informs us that bricks were used by the builders of the Tower of Babel.

For this reason we might have been sure, *a priori*, that we should find quadrangular stones used by the Egyptians, and by the colonies and natives of Babylon, R.S.N, and Nineveh; and not only do we find them there, in fact, but those monuments and walls in Hindostan, which are of immemorial antiquity, are also in this style. Indeed, we cannot doubt, that the brick-like quadrilateral and regularly cut stone, is the oldest form of architecture in the world, and that it is derived from the early

patriarchs, who were carefully educated, large-minded, and long-experienced men, living in the records of tradition as giants, in order to express their powers, both of mind and of body, which we have inherited in a much more feeble degree, and for a much more limited period. The polygonal, is a less skilful form of masonry, though it is still artificial; and implies that the builders who used it had both tools and measures. The Cyclopean is the rude imitation, not so much of a better style of building, as of the things built. The men who used it were men of energy, but destitute of skill or art, and not as yet possessed of tools. Its origin is the most recent of the three; and it has been used by wild men ever since man went wild, which was not until centuries after he was civilized; not until after the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of Babel. The Cyclopean architecture in Greece, is that of the natives after the arrival of the Phœnicians, as we gather, because those natives who first fled from them to Italy could not build. The Cyclopean architecture in Italy, on the other hand, is that of the Sikeli, after the arrival of the second Pelasgi, and before they had better models from the Etruscans. Hence in many Italian provinces, formerly subject to the Pelasgi, we find Cyclopean, Pelasgic, and Etruscan walls of the same age; and in very many we find a mixture of Etruscan and Pelasgic, or even of Etruscan and Cyclopean, where the Etruscans have rebuilt upon the foundations of conquered Pelasgi or Sikeli, or have assisted them to fortify their own

cities. These remarks concerning the comparative antiquity of squared polygonal and Cyclopean walls refer to general examples, rather than to those of Italy in particular. For in that country it is probable that the polygonal is older than the square stone, of the really more ancient style, which was not introduced until after the arrival of the Etruscans. The Cyclopean walls were probably a rude cotemporaneous imitation of the other two styles.

Whoever wishes to see the Etruscan style in its native country, and in modern perfection, should visit the Pitti Palace in Florence, which has been erected with admirable taste, by the princes of Tuscany as their national residence; as if to show to the eyes of all men, that such works can be erected by freemen, and by the subjects of monarchs, whom they love, and revere as fathers. Works of vast solidity, stupendous size, and massive grandeur, can never prove that the men who laboured in them were slaves. Our British railroads, of the self-same architecture, our harbours, and our tunnels, are not the performances of slaves. The great military works of Napoleon, his galleries and passes through the Alps, though planned and effected by a great despotic chief, were not the labours of slaves. And no historian or statesman will dare to assert, that the reason why other nations, either ancient or modern, have not executed works equally great and equally lasting with the Etruscan, was either want of arbitrary power in the rulers, or want of inclination to exert that power when possessed. The reason

has been, because other nations have not had genius to conceive of things so mighty, nor skill to erect an architecture so beautiful. They have not been educated under laws which made public interests sacred. The people, whether conquered or native, have, under most governments, been ground to pay taxes, and starved, and tasked, and brutalized; but they have not, with the exception of the military, been set to any labour which could raise themselves whilst they executed it, or which, at the same time, that it gave bread to the hungry mouth, caused fertility to the countryman's field, and security to the citizen's home.

The great public works of Etruria were her pride and glory under Tarchun, and are her pride and glory still: and whilst we gaze upon the walls which he built, and which testify to his existence, and proclaim his wisdom and his power; the mind refuses to believe in their remote antiquity, by reason of their very perfection. Our ignorance has not been able to comprehend his knowledge, nor our feebleness to measure his might.

In arguing, however, against the strength and solidity of the Etruscan walls being an evidence of slave labour, we do not mean to assert or imply, that they were constructed upon the voluntary principle, for their unity of plan and vastness of structure are a positive proof to the contrary. They were raised by law, according to one standard, sacred in the eyes of those who imparted it; and by a race who understood the benefit of labour and

the necessity of security, and who had no wish to disobey the noble chief who was their lawful head. They were, moreover, assisted by a conquered tribe, who, though not enslaved, were yet forced to do as they were commanded, and to learn what they were taught. Both Pelasgi and Umbri had sense enough to know that it was their best interest to submit to a people, whom they could not resist, and who studiously preserved, as joint lords or joint tenants of the soil, all who would bow to their dominion, or accept of their merciful laws. How the great walls of Etruria could be so built, we learn from how Rome was rebuilt by the Romans after its destruction by the Gauls.* It was somewhat in the same manner as our works by the piece, or our military labours, which are never considered slave works. The magistrates imposed it upon the citizens as a duty, that they should rebuild and re-inhabit Rome within three years, each man being answerable for his own share of the labour, and in like fashion, the Etruscans must have appointed to each man his own portion of the work, until the whole was finished.

Before proceeding with our account of the Etruscan towns and states, and in order fully to comprehend them, we must now mention the most extraordinary act of Tarchun's life, and the manner in which he promulgated his code of laws, and fixed the institutions which were for ever to form and rule his people.

* Vide Niebuhr.

CHAPTER VII.

TAGES.

CICERO relates* the tradition, that whilst Tarchun was ploughing at Tarchunia, most probably ploughing the sacred foundation of its walls, a genius arose from the deep furrow, with a child's body and a man's head, who sang to him the unalterable, eternal, divinely-inspired laws, of his future government, and then sunk down and expired. This is a most beautiful legend, and among so unimaginary a people as the Etruscans, implies the common, and therefore well-understood, eastern mode of using familiar allegories to state great truths. 1187.
B. C.

Tages was not seen, and he had no occasion to be seen, in order to be obeyed by the Rasena. It was enough that his laws, fresh from heaven, should be communicated to the chiefs, through their acknowledged head. The laws of this able ruler were not promulgated as the laws and will of Tarchun, but as those of Tages, whom Cicero calls "the Son of

* De Div. ii. c. 23, 38.

Jupiter," and who was as much superior to Tarchun, as he to the meanest of his vassals. Tages, the genius of Etruria, was the same with Phœnician Tanates, or Tauates, and Egyptian Thoth; the Coptic word, which expresses hand, and the man who was the first and greatest scribe, the deified writer and law-giver of the wisest of nations. Tages, appeared with the head of a man and the body of a child, fit emblem of the governors and of the governed, showing forth that his laws, full of mature wisdom and sound judgment, were yet of infant date to the land of Tarchun. He was not "Tages transplanted from Egypt," but "Tages born again in this new country." He belonged to the Rasena, notwithstanding his grey hairs; he rose from their soil, and whilst he appeared as the ruler of all their chiefs, he was adopted by the nation as their own child. He embodied himself in their spirit, he adapted himself to their situation, and he bade them live henceforward as a new people, in the land which God had given them. They were no more either Egyptian or Assyrian, though whilst they assumed a new face, they might look back without forgetfulness to the Ludin and the Lybia, whence they issued forth.

Cicero and Censorinus say, that Tarchun received the genius in his arms, learned his laws, which were delivered in verse, and then wrote them down. When written, and therefore neither subject to change nor liable to mistake, Tarchun called around him the chiefs and princes of his people, named Lucumoes, or La.u.ch.me, from the Hebrew לַחֲמֵי,

L. ch. m, captain or leader; he rehearsed to them the wonderful event that had taken place, and read to them the laws of Tages as adapted to the colony of Tarchun. The chiefs approved, for the greater part of them were such laws as they had always revered and been subject to; they learned them anew from Tarchun, sang them, wrote them, and in turn, each ruler made them the unchangeable laws of his own state. All these men knew, that without a religious sanction, human legislation could have no stability; that power, in order to be lasting, must have a sacred foundation, and that "the powers that be, unless ordained by God," cannot endure. It seems also that they believed no wisdom to be worthy of reverence, but what came from above, and that though they had learned many idolatries, they had not yet learned the worship of human reason; for they dreaded the weakness and fallibility of man's judgment, so as to place no trust in any ordinances but those which they conceived to be divine.

With what holy reverence the laws of Tages were received, and how diligently they were copied, and how vigilantly they were guarded, we may learn from their having endured, and maintained their ascendancy in Italy, until supplanted by Christianity. Tages was to the Italians, the same as Menu to the Hindus, and Moses to the Jews, and Müller (ii. 1, 1) calls his institutions the "Leviticus of the Romans." Servius* says that a nymph received Tages before he disappeared; this subject is sometimes represented

* Ad Æn.

upon ancient gems, but it is a mere continuation of the allegory, and refers to the Priestess Bygoë, who after the death of Tarchun, wrote a commentary upon some part of the laws of Tages, and is therefore said to have received him, and to have nourished him, and to have sung to him.

These laws, so wonderful in their contents as to be almost incredible, if we did not believe the greater part of them to have been derived from much older Eastern codes, treated, according to Festus and Dionysius, of tribes, curiæ, and centuries, or the manner of dividing and classing the Etruscan people; a division which though obsolete in Rome in the time of Cicero, continued in force throughout Etruria, because the laws of Tages, unfringed, had been guaranteed to the Etruscan states by the municipal alliance. They were written in three volumes,* to which many others, in the same spirit, were afterwards added, but none were ever held in equal honour. These three were the Libri Fatales, the Libri Tagetici, and the Sacra Acherontica, of which the latter, or at least the doctrine which it taught, was known to Homer; and it is from his descriptions, that Sophocles places Avernus in Tyrsenia. These and many other Etruscan books were translated into Latin in the days of Lucretius, and were collected in fifteen volumes, with comments by C. Labeo,† and at length, many of the Romanized Etruscans in the times of the empire, could only read their institutions in the Latin tongue. Cicero de Divinitate

* Müller.

† Micali Italia ii. xxii.

quotes from translations of the “*Libri Etrusci*,” “*Chartæ Etruscæ*,” “*Libri Tagetici*,” “*Disciplina Tagetis*,” “*Sacra Tagetica*,” and the “*Liber Terræ ruris Etruræ*.” Pliny* says that these books had pictures in them. Servius tells us that in the days of the Father of the Gracchi, the Augural books and the *Libri Reconditi*† were translated from the Tuscan. Festus informs us that the “*Rituales Etruscorum Libri*,” told of consecrating altars, temples, cities, walls, and gates; the levying of armies, and the government of the people, besides the division into tribes, *curiæ* and *decuriæ*. Consequently they treated of debtor and creditor, the rights of parents, obligations of marriage, and laws of property.‡ “*Property*,” says Varro, “is under divine protection. Jove has appropriated to himself Etruria, and to restrain the covetousness of men, has ordered every possession to be marked by boundary stones, which none may move without the anger of the gods.”

Cicero§ says that Tages, i. e. Tarchun, introduced augury, and that augury and divination were called the “*Ars Etrusca*,” and “*Disciplina Etrusca*,” which treated of sacrifices and lightning; and Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses*,|| affirms that Tages was the first who taught the Etruscans to see into the future :

“*Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Etruscam,
Edocuit gentem casos aperire futuros.*”

* Plin. xxxv.

† Müller.

‡ Micali.

§ De Div. 1.

|| Met. xv. 533.

Servius* celebrates the useful arts which Tages taught. And Tarchun is said to have built a hedge round the house of Tages, and to have placed there a boundary stone; † another beautiful Eastern manner of expressing the inviolability with which the original Etruscan laws were invested by public opinion.

Cicero and Censorinus say that Tarchun wrote these laws, and there can be no doubt that commands so sacred and so important to the well-being of the government in all its departments, and in each separate state, would be immediately engraved on bronze or stone, and would have impressions of them taken off in wax, in order to be distributed amongst the princes and pontifices, and in order that each town might have its own copy. We need not stop here to prove to any one conversant either with the Scriptures, or with Eastern antiquities, that writing and engraving were old and common arts, long before the Rasena entered Italy. We will therefore proceed to say a few words upon each head treated of in the laws of Tages, in order to have a clear idea of the source of civilisation to Italy, and of the life and times of Tarchun.

Tages taught the Lucumoes how they were to consecrate walls and temples, fortresses and gates. We find these and many of the laws of Tages in Cicero de Div. books i. and ii.; in Servius on the *Æneid*; in Vitruvius; in Cato de Orig., and in various other authors. But the best compendium

* *Æn.* viii.

† Müller.

of them all is in Müller,* from whom chiefly we shall quote. Every city was founded after the same manner as Tarquinia. The augur chose its site, and marked the foundations with a plow, which the heads of the colony followed. Many of the Etruscan cities were four miles in circuit, and as nearly square as the lay of the ground would admit, occupying all the surface which crowns some rocky height; and the burying-ground was upon the height opposite, having a valley, and a brook or river between. Each town had one national temple dedicated to the three great attributes of God, strength, riches, and wisdom, or "Tina, Talna, and Minerva." The Etruscans acknowledged only one supreme God, but they had images for his different attributes, and temples to these images; but it is most remarkable that the national Divinity was always a triad under one roof, and it was the same in Egypt, where one supreme God alone was acknowledged, but was worshipped as a triad, with different names in each different Nome.†

Every city might have as many more gods, and gates, and temples, as the inhabitants pleased; but three sacred gates, and one temple to three divine attributes was obligatory, wherever the laws of Tages were received.‡ The only gate that remains in Italy of this olden time undestroyed, is the "Porta del Arco," at Volterra, and it has upon it the three heads of the three national divinities, one upon the keystone of

* Müller's Etrusker.

† Vide Egypt by the Christian Knowledge Society.

‡ Serv. Æn. i. 422.

its magnificent arch, and one above each side pillar ; and though now they are so effaced by time as to retain upon them no distinguishable features, yet they impress the mind of the beholder with an indescribable feeling of majesty and greatness. This gate is the pride of Italy, and has ever boasted that it was old, (even more than 400 years old,) when Rome was founded. It is as old as the walls, and the walls are as old as the foundation, and the foundation is coëval with Etruscan domination, which, according to Virgil, was firm and established when Æneas landed 1180 B. C. If the model of this gate can be found at Thebes, three hundred years older, it is evidently quite immaterial, as a question of the progress of science, whether it was introduced into Italy by Tarchun, the eastern prince, or by some of his early successors. It is only less wonderful that great works should be introduced by those who grew up familiar with them, than by their children born in a new country, where no models of high refinement or architectural skill, had any previous existence. Many antiquaries suppose, from this beautiful gate, that all the Etruscan towns had the chief gate adorned with the three sacred heads of Tina, Talna, and M. n. rfa. The great gate at Perugia is a restored Etruscan arch of almost equal beauty, and has no heads ; but this may be accounted for, because the original gate was destroyed by Sylla, and the present one is a restoration by Augustus, who might not desire to keep up the old and dangerous nationality.

The ruins of an Etruscan temple may still be seen on the Monte Capitolino in Rome, where, in the grounds of the Palazzo Caffarelli, there are many massive remains of the ancient one of Jupiter Capitolinus, founded by the Etruscan kings. It will be said, that as this temple was twice* burnt and twice rebuilt by the Romans, it is ridiculous to suppose that we look upon Etruscan remains. But this temple never changed its form, that being solemnly prohibited by the augur, who, if not an Etruscan by birth, was at least as much Etruscan by necessity, as an English Roman Catholic is Roman by his religion. When the Romans wished to enlarge the temple, and to change its form, the augur answered that "Jove neither changed his form nor altered the bounds of his habitation." † At Rome we do, therefore, look upon an Etruscan work, and we know the plan and symmetry of the Etruscan temples, (which were all after one and the same model, prescribed and written down in the books of Tages,) from the coins of Vespasian and Domitian, on the reverse of some of which, the temple of Etruscan Jove Capitolinus is represented. Dionysius Hal. ‡ gives us the description of it, and says that it was two hundred feet long by one hundred and eighty-five broad, with three rows of columns in front, and two rows at the sides. Müller thinks there was only one row at the sides. The body of the building consisted of a nave and two aisles; the three holy shrines standing side by side at one end, and in the

* Vide Tacitus, Hist. iii. † Tacit. iii. 71. ‡ Lib. iv. 61.

exact centre there were folding-doors which entered into the sanctuary.

The most holy of all the Etruscan temples would of course be that of Tina Tarquiniensis, in Tarchun's own city of Tarchunia, where he either was by necessity, king, priest, and augur, or he chose his own augur amongst his princes, for he is said to have introduced augury, and the power of the augur was the highest in the state, and even superior to that of the king.

“Augury,” says Müller, “was considered as a covenant between God and man, where each must act his part; and the augur, in those early days, firmly believed that his thoughts and words were inspired.” Tarchun, then, having measured off the ground for his temple, placed it in the highest part of Tarquinia, close to the fortress, for this was always the chosen site, in order that the one might sanctify and bless, and the other protect and defend the city. Tarchun next obtained his omen, which might be a flash of lightning drawn by himself from a cloud, as he introduced the discipline of lightning, and Müller proves that the Etruscan augurs had complete power over the electric fluid. He then pronounced with a loud voice, in the presence of a multitude of his people, these solemn words, in the name of Tina of the Rasena :* “My temple and my sacred land shall extend as far as I please to make it holy, and to dedicate it by the mouth that now speaks. That — holy object (tree or some other limit named)

* Vide Müller on the Etruscan temple, vol. iii, also Varro.

“ which I name, shall bound my temple to the east.
 “ That —— holy object which I name, shall bound
 “ my temple to the west. Between them I limit
 “ this temple with the drawing of lines. Having
 “ surveyed it with the sight of mine eyes, after reflect-
 “ ing thereupon, and establishing it according to my
 “ good will and pleasure.” The augur then drew
 with his lituus upon the ground, and was silent.

This is probably what Plutarch and Tacitus call the prayer of consecration, and it took place whenever the augur was called upon to make ground holy; for the Etruscans could only consult the gods in a spot previously consecrated, and any spot so consecrated was considered a fane or temple, even without any building upon it,* whilst, on the other hand, no building was a temple, in their eyes, which had it not. The Etruscan lines both upon the ground and in the air were in this form \perp , and were named *cardo* or meridian, *decumanus* or horizon. The four regions marked out by these lines were called “*cardines*,” and hence our word *cardinal*, and our denomination “*cardinal points*.” Each region was again divided into four, so that the ground occupied by the building contained sixteen points, each giving its peculiar augury; of which the north-east was the most fortunate, and when the augur was consulted or officiated, he placed himself in the position of the gods, who were supposed to inhabit the North.†

When the augur consulted by lightning, which

* Niebuhr.

† Müller, iii.

was at once the most solemn, the most revered, and the most manageable way, the answer denoted different meanings in each point through which it passed. Lightning would in all cases testify as to success or defeat, would answer "Yes or No," and signify which god was to be honoured or appeased, each god having a separate point devoted to him : but lightning could not answer in numbers, as in the case of the Roman and Etruscan *secula*, unless the number were previously fixed, and then the god consulted upon it ; which in these cases was not likely, because national pride would have taken a wider range than either twelve *secula* or ten. It is for this reason that we have supposed birds to have been the probable omen for the length of the Etruscan dominion, and lightning for the acceptance and blessing of the Etruscan temple. We find from Livy that the augur might name his own sign.*

After the dedication of the ground was completed † the foundations which were marked out for the temple were surrounded with fillets and crowns, and then the soldiers who had happy sounding names went in, and threw into the inclosed space branches of olive and other sacred trees. Then came the Vestals, and the children whose parents were alive, and they bathed the place with fountain and river water. Tarchun then sacrificed a bull, a sheep, and a pig, and laying the entrails upon the grass, he prayed to Tina, Talna, and M.n.r.fa, to bless the place. Then he touched the garlands in which the sacred corner

* Liv. i. 18.

† Tacitus, Hist. iii. 72, &c.

stone was bound, and raised it by a cord, whilst all the people shouted and helped him. They then threw in metals both worked and raw, of gold, silver, and copper, which were not dedicated to other gods, or rather to other attributes, and the ceremony was ended. There are ruins still remaining at Tarquinia,* which are either those of this temple, or of the fortress close to it; if of the latter they must of necessity be older, for the Rasena could not have kept their city without a fortress, whilst for their worship and augury they needed only consecrated ground.

To be sure that this ceremony, quoted from Tacitus, is rightly applied to Tarchun, we need only say, that it is prescribed by the same books, the "Libri Tagetici," which prescribed the ceremony of a city's foundation; and to be convinced how little priestly ceremonies, when once written down in letters or pictures, change, we need only compare the Romish ceremonies now, with those found in illuminated MSS. of the ninth century, A. D. Were the Jews at this moment to rebuild their temple, they would do it according to the records of the days of Solomon 2850 years since.

We have said that the Vestals were present when Tarchun consecrated his first temple. We believe that the Vestals were introduced by Tarchun; and the command of Tarquin the first of Rome, that if they broke their vows they should be buried alive, is a purely Etruscan punishment. We know of no Ves-

* Vide Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria, chapter on Tarquinia.

tals in Italy before the times of the Rasena, but we know of them in Egypt, whence their origin is to be sought. Nofre-Ari, the Ethiopian queen of Amenoph the first, whom Rosellini places 1536 B. C., was the foundress of the vestal virgins, and was on that account ever after, held in peculiar honour by the Egyptians. Two of her daughters were Vestals, and none but women of the first rank, generally princesses, were ever admitted into this order either in Egypt or in Italy. The Egyptian Vestals are mentioned by Strabo,* who says they were the same as the Palladi, and dedicated for a term of years to Jupiter Ammon, and their names, titles, and dress of office, may be seen in Rosellini's plates of the paintings in the tombs of Egypt.

When, in after times, the Latin Vestals were driven from Rome, they took refuge and found welcome in the Etruscan city and state of Cere. The first Vestals in Italy were probably the sisters, or nearest female relations of Tarchun, and he introduced into European society that principle, which alone can give stability to civilisation, viz. the rendering of honour to women, and the making such an education for them necessary, as shall fit them to maintain that honour. Where women are educated, men must be manly, and society must be refined.

The Pontifex Maximus, i. e. the king, had always the charge over the Vestals, who were virgins expressly brought up to take charge of the sacred fire,

* L. xvii.

which was considered as an emblem of pure divinity. In Egypt, this fire burnt in the temples of Ammon; in Tyre, in those of Hercules; and in Etruria, in those of some other divinity, or perhaps in any temple. The priestesses served until they were thirty, and one was held to be the proper preceptress of another. They were dedicated from their birth in many cases, for they were bound to employ ten years in learning, ten in exercising, and ten in teaching their office; whilst they were entitled to marry after the age of thirty; and it is not unlikely that it was a dignity which belonged of right to the daughters of the reigning sovereign, who alone was capable of ordering any chastisement to be inflicted upon them. They were independent of all other authority, made their own wills, reprieved the criminals whom they might meet on their way to or from the temple, and had the fasces carried before them when they appeared in public. They had lands appropriated to them, and were given the chief place at all festive and sacred meetings, at the circus, and in the amphitheatre.

If the sacred fire, which these virgins were obliged to keep always burning, should by any accident be extinguished, it must be drawn from heaven again, which the Etruscans alone knew how to do when this fire was first lighted in Italy, and which was doubtless drawn from an Italian sun, as an additional consecration of the newly-acquired soil. Macrob. i. 12, tells us that a new fire was lit every year on the first of March, which was the first day of the civil year throughout the East. "The month Abib, the beginning of months."

To return to the great national Triune Temple of the Etruscans. The pillars in front and at the sides of it were of that order called T.R.S.N, or Tuscan, which name the order will bear in Europe to the end of time, because it was first introduced by the Tuscans; and for many centuries it was the only one used in our quarter of the globe; but the original of it is to be found in Egypt, dating centuries earlier, and may be seen in the tombs of Beni Hassan in Lower Egypt, some of which, according to Rosellini, are as old as 2200 B. C. We find these pillars, in the Etruscan and Egyptian tombs, generally square, without base, and with a fillet and abacus for the capital; but in the temple architecture they were probably round, as they are round in the Temple at Thebes. The round and square pillars seem to be of the same age; or, if there is any justness in the assertion that the idea of a pillar was taken from the trunk of a tree,* then the round pillar must be the older of the two. There are round Doric pillars in the vestibule of Nevoth.p.h.'s tomb at Beni Hassan,† and the Doric is presumed to be second, in order of time.‡ to the simpler Tuscan style. The columns which still remain in the excavations under Mount Zion in Palestine, which were built by Solomon, are of the Tuscan order, and are square. They are nearly two hundred years subsequent to Tarchun, but may

* Pausanias.

† Vide Rosellini.

‡ Vide Müller on Etruscan Architecture.

be seen now, and are specimens of the Phœnician architecture in Solomon's days.

We do not know the size of Tarchun's great temple, but only its proportions, its divinities, and its form. We think, however, that it was most likely of the same size with the Roman Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, because that was laid out by a Tarquinian sovereign, who would naturally copy the pattern of his own city, and to whom no ideas of a colossal grandeur are ascribed, but simply those of a good and wise sovereign in the spirit of his times. In like manner, we do not know how long Tarchun was in building his temple; but we suppose it to have been a work of peace, to which he could and would devote all his energies; and that it was built in honour of that supreme power who had given him possession of the land.

We think, then, that a very few years, perhaps five or seven, would be sufficient to complete the building, as Solomon was only seven and a half years* over his temple, which was the wonder of the world, and that of Jupiter Capitolinus only took four years † to rebuild by Vespasian. We presume that Tarchun dedicated his own temple; because had he not done so, it would have been reckoned a singular misfortune in his life, and would probably have been remembered in some legend. Also the great honour of the dedication, and the immemorial custom derived from Egypt, ‡ of inscribing the dedicator's §

* Vide 1 Kings vi.

† Tacitus, Hist. iii.

‡ Rosel.

§ Plutarch in Public. and Tacitus.

name in front of the temple, would have preserved the name of his successor to posterity. It is only when all events proceed in their quiet and ordinary channel, that they excite no attention and generate no fables.

We suppose Tarchun, then, a few years after the grand ceremony of the foundation, once more, and perhaps for the last time, to have assembled his Lucumoes and people at the full moon,* in September, which was the beginning of the Etruscan sacred year. The civil year began in March, and the sacred year in September, which was also the custom of the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and most of the eastern nations. Tarchun, at that time, in presence of a great multitude, being the king, the high priest, and the augur of the Etruscans, took a large nail, many inches long, examples of which may be seen from Pompeii in the Naples Museum, and struck it into the side door-post of the temple, after saying a prayer and offering sacrifice. It was doubtless at this awful and exciting moment, the beginning of their æra, that Tarchun proclaimed to the Etruscans, that Tina had given them the land of the Umbri, in so far as they had conquered and colonised it. And it was doubtless then that he named that land Eture, or Etruria, after the old country of the Rasena, on the continent of Ludin, which we now call Asia.

From that day forward he, doubtless, appointed a periodical ceremony, to be held at Tarchunia

* Plut. in Public.

every Lustrum or five years, when the moon was full,* and when the people being assembled, the king, in their presence, would strike a new nail into the temple, to witness that another Lustrum or sacred year had passed.†

As amongst ourselves, the kalendar is calculated by the wise men and astronomers; and the results, without the labour, are made known to the people; so it was amongst the Etruscans. Their commonalty knew no better than our own, how their moons were reckoned, nor why their year consisted of 365, or any other number of days, or their Lustrums of five years; nor did they even know what a year meant. But they knew, whenever they were gathered together in the cities of Etruria, to witness this ceremony, that another Lustrum had elapsed; and they could count their sæcula by the nails, twenty-two of which made one sæculum.‡ This is an eastern custom, referred to in scripture as exercised only by rulers, and as denoting, besides the lapse of time, also the sign of things fixed and irrevocable.§ It was carried forward into Rome, and existed to a very late period in the Temple of Nortia|| at Bolsena. It is most likely that, in the beginning, whatever took place in Tarquinia, would be practised in every other city of the league,

* Livy, vii. 3.

† Plutarch in Publicol.

‡ Vide Niebuhr on the Sæculum.

§ Nail, see Eccles. xii. 11. Is. xxii. 23. Ezra, ix. 8. Müller, iv. 6.

|| Vide Müller and Livy, vii. 3.

though differences may have arisen from various causes in minor points afterwards.

The agreement between the sacred period of a lustrum, the Etruscan method of reckoning time, with the Greek sacred period of an olympiad, is very remarkable. The first ascertained olympiad begins 776 B. C., that is, in the eighty-second Etruscan lustrum, at the very time when Etruria first became generally known to all the Greek colonies of Sicily and southern Italy, and at the period when she carried on an active commerce with many parts of Græcia Proper.* With Cuma, and with some portions of Greece, especially Corinth and Argos, this commerce had existed for two centuries; and as Etruria, according to Plato, influenced the Greeks in many customs and religious ceremonies, we cannot help suspecting that this sacred celebration of the great year was one of the customs borrowed from them.†

We believe that the dedication of the Temple of Tina Tarquiniensis is the grand epoch from which we are to date the sæcula of the Rasena, viz. 1187 B. C., which would bring their close to about the year 666 of Rome, the time when the Etruscan Augur, as mentioned by Plutarch, proclaimed the approaching end of the national day. This was the solemn celebration of the new land being made their own by possession, occupation, and consecration; when Tages was their sole and divine law-giver, and Tarchun their sovereign and acknow-

* Vide Plato de Leg. v.

† Müller, vol. ii.

ledged head. It may well strike an unlearned person with wonder, how it comes to pass that, amongst the nations of antiquity, almost all of whom have a fabulous and incredible origin, the Etruscans alone should be so matter-of-fact and so unmarvellous as to proclaim a date so fixed and recent. All authors make them older, by nearly a century, than they make themselves. Their well-instructed Augurs proclaimed that they did *not* rule Turrhenia further back than 434 years before the foundation of Rome.* How is it that they have no imaginary kings, with unnational names, like the cities of Greece? No purposeless wanderings out of the land and into it again, like the fabled Pelasgi? No marriages with the gods? No miracles worked to produce their towns and populate their states? Simply because the Turseni were neither an imaginary nor an imaginative race. They had no kings and heroes before they had alphabets and numerals. They neither descended from the clouds nor sprang upwards from the dust; but they settled and dwelt in the land which they had conquered; and they had, from the very first, all the knowledge which was necessary to enable them to record their great events with accuracy and truth. Niebuhr speaks of the deep and extensive mathematical and astronomical knowledge of ancient Etruria, which he says was far more profound in her earlier than in her later days.

Of the fortresses we have only to say, that they were built close to the principal temple, and were

* Varro ap. Censorius, 17. Plut. Nieb.

strong and turreted, of the massive and compact Etruscan masonry, able to resist long sieges, and unassailable, probably for ages, to the tribes of Siculi, who, under different names, dwelt to the south and east of the Rasena, and but few of whom had any walls or fortifications. The walls, with their square towers, and parapets, and sentry walks, and often double gates, may be seen in many parts of Italy still. In the ruined Rusella, in the excavated Pompeii, and in the lonely Pæstum; which last, whether Etruscan or not, is built upon a purely Etruscan model. Such, according to the plates of Rosellini's great work, were almost all the cities of the continent of Ludin; such were all the great cities of Egypt; and such, according to the Scriptures, were all the royal residences in the land of Canaan. The Italian models, alike of armour and of military appointments, of battle array and of battle forts, were drawn from the countries of the East. Concerning the gates we shall merely observe, that they were both single and double, with a square fort on one or both sides; and that they usually consisted of one large entrance for carriages and waggons, and one smaller, at the side, for foot-passengers. They were of three forms; first, the arch, with its keystone, upon the principle of concentric stones, which, like Volterra and Perugia, seems to have been reserved for works of extraordinary splendour and solidity; secondly, the arch composed of stones approaching each other in courses, which was the less skilful and more ordinary form, and is that of

many of the Tuscan Emissarii, of the Pyramids in Egypt, and of Mycenc in Greece; and thirdly, the enormous flat lintel stone, also an Egyptian form, and which may have been used where gates of the Pelasgi or Umbri had existed before, or where less labour than the arch was thought sufficient.

The houses, within the walls, must have been many stories high, to contain the population, which we know to have been included within given limits, as at Veii, where there were 100,000 souls when it was destroyed; and part of that space, which is well defined around a precipice of rocks, was, by their sacred laws, left unbuilt upon, as Pomærium. In the representations, which have been preserved to us in plates of the seventeenth and eighteenth Egyptian dynasties, before the days of Tarchun, we have fortresses three stories high. And, indeed, besides what we are told in profane history, of the many stories of the Tower of Babel, we should suppose, reasoning from analogy, that the first built houses after the flood would be three stories high; for the ark was built in three stories, and that must necessarily long have remained a model for houses, unless it was destroyed by miracle. When Canaan was invaded by the Israelites, the people lived in houses upon the wall, and these walls are described by the spies, who had seen the walls of Memphis, to be great and high, and reaching up to heaven.* The only one whose height we actually know, i. e. Tyre, was 150 feet in altitude; and the account of the quantity of men and cattle contained in the citadel

* Numbers.

of Carthage, at the time of its destruction, is almost incredible. Yet it goes to prove that the Asiatic colonists did dwell in stone houses many stories high, and that in this way immense multitudes were able to crowd into a comparatively small space. The walls of Carthage were thirty cubits high, with parapets and towers, each tower having four stories. The walls were arched and divided into two stories. They lodged 300 elephants, 4,000 horses, and 20,000 soldiers, and contained granaries of food for all. The population of Cathage, at the time of its destruction, was 700,000 men.* Nineveh† had 1,500 towers in the walls, each 200 feet high, and these walls were broad enough for three chariots to drive abreast. Diodorus Siculus‡ says, that the oldest houses in Thebes, in Egypt, were four and five stories high, and that they were large with thick walls. The usual height, however, of Egyptian houses was two stories.

The age of each city in Etruria was known from the yearly founders' feast, at which the age was proclaimed and commemorated. This feast continues at Rome still, to celebrate the founding of the city, by Etruscan rites, on the day of Pales, the ETRUSCAN god of shepherds, on the 21st§ of April, 753 B. C. Hence these feasts are called Pallilia.¶ Scaliger could trace the date of some cities in Umbria

* Ancient History.

† Diodorus Siculus, and Ancient History. ‡ Lib. i. c. 45.

§ Vide Ancient History, article Rome, and Plutarch.

¶ This festival must be known to many of our readers as the great feast of the artists in Rome.

founded in this manner by inscriptions, and especially that of Interamnia of the Tusci, and Ameria of the Umbri, which, according to Cato, were founded 964 before the war with Perseus, i. e. 381 before Rome, or 1134 B. C. Gruter gives the Interamnian inscription, and its epoch is that of the founding of Interamnia. Hence the founder's feasts and inscriptions served each state and city as marks of its own time, independently of the national kalendar; and Tarquinia would boast her "Annum Urbis Conditæ" 434 years earlier than Rome.*

The ruins of Santa Maria di Falleri, the ancient Fescennium or Fallerii, as described by Gell, in his work on the environs of Rome, are a very interesting specimen of an Etruscan town. About sixty towers are still remaining in the old walls, and they contained chambers above the walls, having doors which opened out upon the parapet, and admitted of an uninterrupted walk all round the battlements. Nine gates, all arched, opened from so many different roads; and the two principal were what are now called Porta di Leone, on the Sutri road, and Porta Puttana, or Di Bove, with an ox's head upon it, which probably conducted to the burying-ground. By this gate, the walls are still fifty feet high, and some of the stones six feet long by two broad. The principal street led from a gate in the centre of the east side to the Porta di Giove on the north. And here are the ruins of the theatre, and mounds supposed to cover the remains

* Pliny, iii. 14.

or mark the sites of the forum, basilica, and temples. The Porta di Giove is a solemn and imposing arch, and has the head of Jove remaining upon the key-stone. Near the walls are many large tombs, some rock sepulchres, some pyramidal tumuli, and some excavations with arches and porticoes.

There was doubtless, in each city, a temple to the patron god; and the names of some of these patrons have been preserved to us. For instance, Pales, patron of Rome, an Etruscan minor god; Nortia, goddess of Fortune, the patroness of Vulsinia and Vulterra; Viridianus of Narni; and Valentia of Oriculum.* Without the city were placed the† temples of Venus or Aphrute, Mars or Maurs, and Vulcan or Sethlans, and Ceres. But it is probable, from this very circumstance, that these divinities, with the exception of Sethlans, were regarded as strange gods, patrons of the nations with whom they were in alliance, and not provided for by Tages, as his laws were delivered to the Lucumoes by Tarchun. Sethlans was a sort of guardian god of the boundaries; and, in the Etruscan altar in the British Museum, is associated with Terminus, in the prayer that he would ward off evil and fire. Others explain the circumstance of these temples being situated without the gates thus: that Venus was placed without, in order to show that licentiousness was not admitted; and Mars, in order to show that war was deprecated; Ceres, because the proper

* Vide Ancient History.

† Vitruvius, i. 7.

field for agriculture was in the open plain; and Vulcan, for the purpose of defending the boundaries both without and within.

It is scarcely necessary to debate whether the Rasena, at this early period, had or had not images. We think it very clear that they first introduced them into Italy from Ludin and Egypt, where image worship had for centuries been established, although the inhabitants, both of Ludin and Egypt, acknowledged only one supreme and almighty God. Colossal figures of the lion-headed or hawk-headed divinities of the land of Ham, long prior to the days of Tarchun, may be seen in almost every museum in Europe. Laban the Syrian, 1745 years B. C., had idols. The Israelites could not refrain from them when Moses brought them to Mount Sinai. The Moabites and Ammonites had them; and we know the form of Dagon, the maritime god of the Philistines. We have already said, that many of the traits of Virgil's Æneas were probably taken from the life of Tarchun; and Æneas is made to bring his Lares with him from Asia.

Doubtless the Rasena brought their Lares, perhaps an image of the father of each princely colonising family, and of the three national gods; and from these the larger temple images would afterwards be made. The Rasena must either have invented images, or have brought them; and as, though there were numerous false divinities, there do not appear to have been any images in Italy before their day, nor amongst the native tribes for six centuries

afterwards, we conclude, both that they introduced sculptured forms into Etruria, and that they did not propagate them beyond their own governments. In the Galassi tomb opened at Cere in 1837, which is regarded as the oldest sepulchre known in Italy, lines of small images were found, no doubt of ancestors and lares.

The Etruscan cities were laid out in straight and regular streets, ending in the gates, and running in lines parallel to each other, and every fifth street was a broad one. Many of these streets* may still be traced by the old common sewers, which are visible in several of the Italian towns, and which ran directly under them.

We will now suppose all these cities to be built and inhabited, and we will proceed to a more interesting ordinance of Tarchun, namely, the yearly meeting of the princes at the fane of Voltumna, in the state of Turchina.

* Müller on the Temple, vol. iii.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOLTUMNA.

THERE is in Etruria a valley, or rather an assemblage of valleys, now called "Castel d'Asso," in the state of Tarquinia, near the town of Viterbo, and near Norchia or Erkle.* These valleys formed the grand public cemetery of the Etruscan nation, for kings, and priests, and heroes; and there the names of many of them remain at this day, deeply engraved upon the front of their strange rock sepulchres. It reminds Egyptian travellers of "Biban El Mulk," the burying valley of the Theban kings. We do not know the age of any of these tombs, because sharp engraving upon hard stone, does not retain the trace of time, so as to give evidence of the work being more or less early; and the productions of

B. C.
CENT.
XII.

* Norchia was the ancient Etruscan "Erkle," as we learn from manuscripts in the Vatican. The name is spelt in Etruscan inscriptions ERKLE, and in the annals of the Archæological Society we have a letter written in the ninth century by Pope Leo the Fourth to the Bishop of "Urcle," now Norchia.

men, who died three thousand years ago, are often more finely polished, and more delicately touched, less rubbed in their edges, and less injured in their substance, than those of our own middle ages, or of the Roman lower empire. This is demonstrated by multitudes of Egyptian statues, obelisks, and pillars, some of which may be seen in every museum in Europe.

As the Etruscans would not require such a burying place, until their heroes became somewhat numerous, we shall suppose the earliest sepulchre to date about 200 years before Rome, and the latest perhaps 90 or 100 years B. C., when the Etruscan nationality was destroyed by Sylla. These tombs are known to have belonged to warriors, because, when first opened, the sarcophagi found in them contained quantities of brazen armour; (see Gell;) and they are known not to have been used in later times, because no tomb has been found containing any Latin inscription; and after the union of Etruria with Rome, Latin became the court language, and is found of a very old date, in many of the sepulchres in the municipia elsewhere. It would, besides, have been a sort of profanation to bury the Latinized Etruscans in the holy ground of their old, independent, and triumphant warriors.

In this district, near these valleys, and either between Viterbo and Castel d'Asso, or, as many think, on the ground which Viterbo now occupies, Tarchun dedicated a temple and district to Voltumna—F.L.T.M.N., or Baal Temuneh, as in some dialects

it would be pronounced, the goddess of National Union and Concord. There,* once every year, all the twelve sovereigns of the twelve dynasties, and the governors of each town, and whoever might be considered as the princes and heads of the Rasena, were solemnly bound to meet, in order to celebrate their common origin, and their bond of union under one common law. This was their high court of parliament, beyond which there was no appeal; and here all national questions were discussed, and all grave complaints settled. Their first act was to choose a high† priest to offer their common sacrifices for the common weal; and their next was to elect a head, an Imperator or “Embratur,” or “Meddix Tuticus,” (whence magistratus,) as it was called in the Oscan language, a dictator, or an absolute sovereign, for the time being; under whose sole command they marched forth in times of war.‡ In circumstances of great exigency this high officer, Lar of the Lares, seems to have kept his power for life, or until the purpose for which he was elected was accomplished. Tarchun had no equal during his existence, nor had Porsenna, from the time he comes before us, as espousing the cause of his countrymen, the Tarquins, in Rome, until he saw fit to abandon that cause, after Rome was prostrate. In other cases the office was probably annual, and may have gone by lot, or rotation, or seniority, amongst the twelve sovereigns.

* Vide Liv. iv. 25.

† Livy, v. 1.

‡ Dionys. iii.

It is also not unlikely that, in times of peace, the high priest may occasionally have been the augur as well as the sovereign for the year, because each Lucumo was eligible to all these offices; but such a case would seldom occur, because every free people is jealous of the accumulation of power in the same hand; and in all our accounts of the Etruscan kings, augurs, and priests, though they were invariably men of the same class, they were generally different persons. The king is either represented as summoning the augur, or the priest as commanding the king to sacrifice; yet, though this was the rule in offices for life, the annual Pontifex Maximus and the annual chief magistrate in each state was usually, if not invariably, the same. As soon as this pontifex king, or Lar of the Lares was chosen, each of the sovereign princes did him homage, and each presented him with a lictor, to form his body-guard, bearing the sceptre to rule and the rod to punish; both of which emblems, we find from Rosellini, were borne by the kings of Egypt, and which intimate the duties of a ruler, "to whom the sword is not committed that it should be worn in vain."

This meeting took place always in the spring, very probably in memory of the first spring,* when the Rasena landed in Tarquinia, and a great fair was held at the same time, which reminds us of the political annual meetings and fairs of the Hyksos kings in Avaris. It is supposed that merchants

* Liv. iv. 25.

from far distant shores,* even from Asia and Africa, were present at these fairs, where the northern and southern states of the only trading nation of Italy used to meet together. The Greeks originally were not there, because their vessels dared not appear in the Turrhene Seas, and many writers† suppose that Scylla and Charybdis, are merely figures to intimate the dread in which they held the Etruscans, and may be the names of some of the little images, used by that people on the prows of their vessels. Greek ships were regarded as interlopers on the west coast of Italy ages later, even so late as the time of the Phocian engagement in the year of Etruria 654, i. e. in the 220‡ of Rome, and the carrying trade before this period was confined to the vessels of the Tyrseni themselves, the Carthaginians, and the Egyptians.

The merchants probably lived in tents during the time of the meeting; and though there was no town at Vultumna, Niebuhr§ has proved that there must, at all the fairs, have been inns and places of refreshment. Multitudes of people flocked here, as they do to all fairs, to buy and sell and get gain; but the voices in the deliberative council were those of the princes only.||

Here and at this time, were made all common laws, here were remedied all common evils, and here were decided the grand questions of peace or

* Vide Müller on Etruscan commerce.

† Müller in Cuma, quotes Palaphates a Greek who asserts this.

‡ Fasti consulares. § Vide Niebuhr in Feronia.

|| Liv. vi. 2.

war. No dynasty, without permission from this council,* could make a separate peace, or carry on a separate feud, and each member of the League had here a right to demand assistance from the whole. One state might be required to defend alone its own quarrel, the council not thinking that its cause justified the embroiling of the others, or one province might, for particular reasons, be excused, whilst all the others were bound to act together in an enterprise. Thus, upon one occasion, Livy† says, “All the people of Etruria took up arms except the Arretini;” and thus Veii, when she asked assistance against Rome, was, from a mistaken policy, refused.

There can be little doubt, that the twelve bound up fasces of the lictors represented this league, so strong in union, and that the fable of the man, who broke each separate stick of the bundle before his sons, when he had loosened the cord which bound them, was suggested by this very polity. Rome adopted and retained the twelve rods without any regard to the meaning of them, each one representing a tribe. They remind us of the twelve rods, each conveying the same meaning, that is, each representing a tribe, which, three centuries earlier, the Hebrew‡ princes had by God’s command laid up in the tabernacle. The grand council of Voltumna could ordain, that a state should defend itself, or could command the assistance of so many of the others, or of the whole

* Liv. v. 17.

† ix. 32.

‡ Numb. xvii.

body to be given to it; and every separate town in Etruria of a certain importance, could, when it pleased, call a meeting of this council. This we find from Veii and Falisci at different times exercising the right.*

The parties required to be present at these meetings were only the princes of Etruria, the Augurs, the Aruspices, and the Feciales, each of whose offices we shall presently explain; but the parties whose presence was permitted were, whoever desired to celebrate the feast, or to attend the fair. Deputies from the allies of Etruria were doubtless expected, and representatives from the states of their own blood in the north and south, after those states had an existence. But North and South Etruria, though equally governed by the laws of Tages, never formed one polity with Etruria Proper, and never were incorporated in her government. They acknowledged their origin, and looked up to their mother with reverence, gratitude, and pride, but they were not subjects, they were not even fellow-citizens, and when they joined in battle, or in an enterprise, with those from whose houses they had sprung, they did so as equals and allies, we had almost said, as foreigners. That the Italian allies were at this meeting we know, because Livy† names the Samnites, and because the Gubbio tables acknowledge the common sacrifices of the Umbri and the Etruscans.

This meeting of course became a model to the

* Livy, iv. 23.

† x. 16.

native Italians, when they, in the lapse of years, held friendly communication with their polished neighbours, whose institutions they wisely imitated, and who appear to have stamped with order and refinement every mark of their footsteps in Italy. Hence we have the "Fanum Feroniæ" of the Latins, and the "Fanum Artenæ" of the Vulsci, and the "Fanum Lucinæ" of the Sabines, all upon the same system, and all (because called *Fanes*) attributed by the ancient history to the Etruscans.* Our word "Fane" is derived from the same source, and means the same thing, i. e. "a sacred spot;" and inscriptions in some of the larger and finer of the Etruscan tombs at Tarquinia and Chiusi, inform us that many of the distinguished sepulchres were also fanes.

As the place of meeting in the plain of Viterbo was called "Fanum Voltumnae," and not either "the Temple," or "the City" of Voltumna, and as Feronia and Artena, had neither of them grand temples, so we imagine the holy fane to have been an inconsiderable square building, containing a small symbolical statue; and some large hall supported upon Tuscan pillars, might possibly be near it, as the seat of council, where the princes deliberated upon state matters, apart from the people, and far from the bustle of the merchants and the gathering of the multitude. The valley of Castel d'Asso, called by the Romans "Castellum Axia,"† was protected by a strong fort, and as the valley leads onwards, it comes to a small shrine now dedicated to "San Giovanni di

* An. Hist. vol. xvi.

† Vide Cicero.

Bieda," where there is an annual fair. The habits of the Italians make it probable, that this fair is but the continuation of one, which has been held in the same spot, from time immemorial, and that the shrine of S. Giovanni, has only succeeded some other shrine, once in heathen times held sacred. It is thus possible, though we lay no weight upon the idea, that we may still discover and mark the spot, where Tarchun, the man who introduced augury into Italy, first retired at this solemn meeting, to inquire by lightning what was the will of the gods with regard to the League of the Etruscans, and by what means he could best promote their present security, and cement their future union.

Doubtless this meeting was commanded by the laws of Tages, or it would not have lasted so long, for Müller* thinks it was never dissolved, until those laws were superseded by Christianity. That able historian deduces the idea from various Italian inscriptions, which he transcribes, found at Perugia, Arretium, Bolsena, and other places, some of them dated in the reigns of the later Cæsars in the third and fourth centuries, A.D., in which the "Praetores Hetruriae XV. Populorum, and the Praetores Umbriae XV. Populorum, are mentioned with reference to the "Sacra Etruriæ." Thus showing that the Umbri were probably, in three tribes, joined with the Etruscans. These tribes may have been Sarsinati, Piceni, and one other. Some Italian antiquaries, as Reinesius, have wished to alter the number XV.,

* B. ii. 1—6.

fancying that it must be an error for XII., but if these inscriptions relate to the common sacrifices of the two people, their united numbers must have exceeded XII., and we are surprised to find them so limited as XV., considering how small the separate governments of the Italians usually were. We see in these inscriptions the justness of Cato's description, that Umbria was "Pars Tusciæ." At this meeting the augur in all cases settled disputes and confirmed judgments, by declaring the will of the gods upon the matter in debate—a tremendous power in the hands of an artful man.


Livy says that the festival was kept with music and games,* and upon the election of the common monarch, especially when that monarch was to head the League as their Dictator in war, he was dignified with the ensigns of sovereignty, which, as Tarchun introduced them into Italy, so he must have brought them with him from the country of his birth. The Etruscans, according to Diodorus Siculus, v., gave their king a throne of ivory,† and a purple toga which was worked in gold stars and palm leaves:‡ also a golden bulla filled with perfumes to keep off

* Liv. v. 1.

† This was certainly obtained from or through Africa, and confirms our belief in the intercourse of the Etruscans with that continent. It was from thence that Solomon procured his ivory.

‡ Rosellini, vol. iv., says that the palm was a common ornament of the Egyptians upon their dress and furniture during the reign of the 18th dynasty, and that it signified Lower Egypt, which was so long in possession of the Assyrians.

infection and evil influences. He had a golden crown upon his head, and a sceptre in his hand, with twelve lictors, who stood behind him and bore each an axe and a bundle of rods. The sceptre was in time surmounted by an eagle, and in Tarchun's days it probably had a vulture, the Egyptian symbol of victory. The crown was probably the corona Etrusca of oak leaves. Thus, no doubt, was Tarchun dressed, and thus was he seated and guarded when he took his place at Voltumna as the leader, lawgiver, sovereign, and head of the Etruscan people.

Near this peculiarly sacred ground, there existed very lately, and perhaps may exist still, the two finest specimens known of Etruscan temple architecture. They are at Norchia, the ancient Erkle, and are façades hewn upon rock temples, or fane tombs. They have four square pillars in front, with an entablature and triglyph ornaments, over which is a pediment in the usual form , filled with figures, but too much defaced for the subject to be traceable. Plates of them may be seen in Inghirami's Etruscan Antiquities, and they are interesting and curious specimens of Etruscan taste, though we do not refer them to the early period of this people in Italy; and even as a testimony to the sacredness of Voltumna, they have no reference to the times of Tarchun.*

* The authorities for this account of Voltumna are: Livy, ii. 44; iv. 23; v. 17 &c.; vi. 2; x. 16. Dionys. iii. 61. Diod. v. 40. Proved from Müller, B. ii. 1. See Müller on Pomp. Diod. Sic. v. Festus, Pliny, and Dionys.

CHAPTER IX.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Augur—Aruspex—Lucumo and Noble—King—Senate—Clans
—Feciales—Boundaries—Women.

B. C.
CENT.
XII. WE will now proceed to give some account of the powers of king, augur, and priest, which were necessarily exercised by Tarchun in his own person, although generally divided in those of his successors; of the Feciales, the Lucumoes, the clients, and the several classes of the Etruscan people.

The first and highest power in Etruria, as afterwards in Rome, was that of the Augur, who in the case of Tarchun, Romulus, and many other founders of states, was the same with the king, though ostensibly his power related to sacred things only. If Tarchun introduced augury, then all the Italian augurs and all the earliest augural institutions must derive from him, and hence we refer to him the facts relating to their office, which are preserved to us in the narratives of others. The Augur was, in plain

words, the representative of the Divinity upon earth, the absolute and despotic declarer of the divine will, whom it was blasphemy to contradict, and rebellion to disobey. The Divine Being, however, whom he represented, and in whose character he must act, was pictured as the constant father and protector of his people, with his eyes ever upon their actions, his heart ever alive to their interests, and his ears ever open to their prayers. He cared for the least of his children as much as for the greatest, punishing equally their crimes, rewarding equally their virtues, and rendering it obligatory upon them all, from the sovereign to the peasant, to walk by one law, and to observe one rule. The augur expounded the will of the gods, consulted it himself according to a written code, and declared it to the people. Without him there could be no election to any office, and in Etruria every office was elective, though many were for life. Without the augur there was no king, no dictator, no pontifex, no ruler, no vestal, no fecial, no priest. The Etruscan maxim was, that "there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," and therefore alike in the meanest, and in the grandest and most important, of their deliberations concerning the public weal, the *will* of the gods was consulted.

The person of the Augur was sacred, and his office endured for life, in order to raise him above fear in the discharge of his duty; and he was supported at the public expense, that he might have no temptation to bribery. He was always a Lucumo, no man of low

caste being eligible, and he must have been possessed of a competent knowledge of military affairs, for no general could cross a river, or a frontier of any kind, or fight, or divide among his soldiers the conquered land, without the augur's permission. There could be no marriage, nor adoption in the lucumonal houses, and no meeting, either of themselves or their vassals, without him. There could be no public function without auspices, and the auspices must not be consulted if the augur forbade. He could dissolve any assembly, and nullify any election, by declaring, however untruly, that he heard thunder; and the only bounds to his power, or check to his subtilty, was in the equal power of the other augurs his co-partners. Such a multitude of affairs would necessitate, at the very least, one augur in every great city, and there were probably three or four, according to the population, and the extent of labour which devolved upon them. Romulus appointed an augur to each tribe, to interpret dreams, oracles, and prodigies, and to tell whether the thing decided upon, by them or for them, should be fortunate or not. In Rome, Romulus elected three besides himself, and it is not unlikely that Tarchun may have set the example, and have left it as a rule, that each tribe in every state and city should have one augur.

When this great officer died, his place was filled up by the remaining augurs, either with or without the Lucumoes. Tarchun established colleges for these men, and in the early days of Rome, the patri-

cians filled the vacancy if one died, by electing another in concert with the actual augurs, who might reject the person chosen by vote, if they pleased. Should an augur, touched with human passion, pronounce a decree which was evidently self-willed, and injurious to the public interests, another augur might oppose him, and by lightning revoke his decree; otherwise it must stand. As not above three instances of this kind occur in history, we gather from it, that the augurs were always men, diligently educated, to understand their science, and to govern themselves, and that they were carefully chosen from amongst their equals, as the persons who were supposed to understand best the public interests, and to care most for them.

This institution maintained its influence in Italy for many hundred years, whence we presume that there was much reality connected with its foundation, that its members had a real belief in divine guidance, and that they were usually upright and skilful in the exercise of their office.*

Augury, as the science, or rather as the art of divination, is rife at this day in India. The word, as we have said, in Hindoostanee, means a temple, and in Latin "augurium" has reference to the augur as officiating. Both Müller and Niebuhr agree, that the whole of the ceremonies used in Italian augury, were Etrus-

* Authorities for Augur. Cicero de Repub. ii. 9; De Nat. Deo. ii. 3, 9; ad Fam. vii. 16. Plin. viii. 28; xxviii. 4. Liv. x. 6—9; iii. 32. Dionys. ii. 22; ii. 6. Varro R. R. iii. Servius.

can, and that the distinctive mark by which the Etruscan faith might be recognised and separated from every aboriginal religious rite, was the necessity of consulting the divine will in a temple, i. e. on holy ground. It was the augur's office to see into the future, to keep up discipline, i. e. the authority of present laws, and to decide every state dispute. He could never be disgraced or degraded, and disobedience to him was death. There was a college of augurs at Tyre, and an ancient author mentions that Pygmalion, the priest of Hercules, was not one of the augurs; meaning by this observation, that it was the common practice for the ruling prince in Tyre to be an augur also.

The Haruspex was a different person from the Augur, and very inferior to him in dignity, though of the same class; for he also must be a Lucumo, or at least noble. The word is supposed to be derived from *ara specto, aris aspiciendis*,* to look at the altar, or to inquire by it. But, if it is, as we believe, an Etruscan term, this is not its derivation, though it may be a good explanation of its meaning. In general the haruspex offered up the victim, and then consulted the entrails, to tell, by their appearance, the answer which the gods made to the sacrifices. At other times, the priest offered up the sacrifice, whilst the haruspex inquired by lightning, or told the meaning of thunder, earthquake, the flight of birds, the fall of meteors; or of any other sign that might have happened. Every magistrate

* Vide Cicero de Div.

was an aruspex in virtue of his office, but not an augur; nor dared he to take the auspices, if the augur forbade.* In Rome, and probably everywhere else in Italy, the aruspices lived in colleges, under one head or master; and Cicero tells us,† that they were instituted by Tages, and that the Romans used to send their children into Etruria,‡ to be instructed in their discipline. Wherever, therefore, we find, in Italian history, mention made of Augurs or Aruspices, there we trace the influence of Etruria, to whatever nation the men might belong, or whatever slight diversity there might be, in the signs they used, or in their national feelings. Just as whenever we meet the Roman Catholic, we see the influence and the headship of Rome, though the man himself may be a Briton, an American, or a Chinese, and though they may differ from each other in many points of ritual and ceremony. It was a proverb amongst the Romans, “Haruspex, Tuscus semper,”—not that the man was always Tuscan, for the Roman magistrates were usually Latin, but that the office was. Women§ of rank exercised this art as well as men, for Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquin, interpreted the signs for her husband; Bygoë|| wrote a book upon the *Ars fulguritorium*, which became one of the statute books of Etruria, and Plautus speaks of the *Haruspiciæ*, or *Lady Haruspices*.¶ This science had fixed principles, or it could

* Cic. de Leg. iii. 3. † Div. iii. 23. ‡ Div. i. 41.

§ Livy, i. 34, 39. Dionys. iii. 47.

|| Servius apud Æn. vii.

¶ Müller, b. iii.

not have continued so many ages, and under such altered circumstances, to command respect, and to influence the minds of men : whatever these principles might be, they seem to have remained as a treasure and mystery in the hands of the Etruscan princes ; and, like the almanac, to have been communicated in their *results* only to other nations, and not in their elements ; otherwise we should not find the Romans constantly sending for Haruspices and Diviners into Etruria, rather than into Sabina or any other part of Italy.

The cradle of this science is doubtless to be sought in Egypt and Assyria ; the latter country alone using augury by the flight of birds, which the Hebrews were forbidden to study, and by lightning, which does not exist in Egypt, though some learned persons imagine that electricity and magnetism were much practised by the Egyptian priests, and even believe that in some of the temple scenes, found depicted at Thebes, one man is producing sparks from the body of another. Not to enter into this discussion, we have scripture authority for the extraordinary knowledge of natural phenomena, possessed by the philosophers, both of Egypt and Assyria, throughout a succession of ages, under the name of magic and divination, practised by “ magi and diviners, or wise men.” The king of Egypt, in the days of Joseph, was an Assyrian, and his philosophers were probably learned men, both of Assyria and of Egypt ; whilst the Pharaoh of the time of Moses, with his wonder-working literati, were all Egyp-

tians, and possessed of knowledge which enabled them to exercise powers not as yet attained by us. On the other hand, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, with their learned council, were all Assyrians. From the honourable position of these men, and from Moses, the adopted son of the Egyptian princess, among the one people, and Daniel, the young Hebrew prince, among the other, receiving their style of education, as being the best and the highest that could be bestowed upon them, and from the Scriptures mentioning it as praiseworthy and honourable, that they were skilled in all this wisdom, we gather that the magi of the east, like the Augurs and Aruspices of the Rasena, belonged to the class of the nobility, according to the continental idea of that term. As they were often called upon to interpret only, whilst the priest sacrificed, we learn that they did not supersede the priests, and were not, like so many of them, the hereditary servants of any particular divinity.*

We have intimated that the Augurs and Aruspices were all noble, though they might not be equal in rank to the Lucumoes. Now, upon the continent of Europe, we have, in a great measure, the same divisions of classes which existed in Egypt, in Ludin and in Etruria, in the days of Tarchun. We have the sovereign hereditary, or, as it lately was in Poland and Germany, and is now in the Papal States, elective; and we have, next to him, the greater and

* Livy, v. 22.

lesser hereditary nobility, by whom alone it is fitting that all the court offices, and highest magistracies in the realm, should be filled. This nobility comprises the whole gentry of the country; all of them, and them only. Upon the Continent there cannot properly be said to exist such an institution as the British peerage, or such a class as that to which we English are accustomed to limit the term noble. In foreign kingdoms there can be no sons of dukes who are accounted commoners, and no grandsons of dukes who, as with us, sink undistinguished into the body of the people. On the contrary, they continue to be marked with the family titles, *ad infinitum*, and although multiplied by tens and hundreds, all the branches of a foreign house are as noble as the head: noble merely meaning a man of gentle blood, entitled to wear the family arms, and descended at some period more or less remote, from an ancestor whom the sovereign had raised to the ruling class, or on whom he had conferred a title. On the Continent, this descent or title is common to all a man's posterity, and in virtue of it they are eligible, if educated, and not in other respects unfit, to all places of trust and power, to all situations in the court, and to all posts in the army.*

* To compare the British gentry with the continental nobility may seem foreign to a history of the Etruscans, and may require some apology as a digression. Yet we cannot help remarking, that while the primogeniture which keeps titles, estates, and lustre in the elder branch, is doubtless a most beneficial institu-

The Etruscans had these Nobles, including the knights and gentry, and besides them they had, like ourselves, a peerage called "Lucumoes," who formed, as our peers do, the standing council of the sovereign, and the hereditary senate of the state. Their eldest sons, and the other branches of their families, were not their equals as long as they lived, and until they became Lucumoes, were not eligible to the sovereign power, neither were any foreigners, however high their rank or great their consideration, capable of bearing magisterial offices in Etruria,

tion to the nation, the more remote branches of titled families and the ancient gentry who never have enjoyed titles, are unmindful of their proper place, when they allow the immediate scions of the peerage to monopolize the name of nobility in its continental sense. Mr. Howard of Corby, an English commoner, is, according to continental judgment, as noble as his chief, the Duke of Norfolk; and "Mr. Dundas of that ilk," a Scottish commoner, is, in like manner, as noble as his cadets the Earl of Zetland, Viscount Melville, and Lord Amesbury. And yet both, unless they possessed more acquaintance with the subject than most Englishmen do, would be in danger, on the Continent, of being confounded with the Bourgeoisie, because both are commoners, though the one is a cadet of a great ducal house, and the other has enjoyed the rank of gentleman since the Heptarchy, with various peers for his younger branches. From not understanding the meaning of the word "noble," in the mouth of a foreigner, the wife of an Edmonstone, whose family twice in the 14th century, matched directly with royal princesses, would now very likely give place to the wife of a new made Bavarian baron. There is as much folly in losing one's rank, as in assuming too high a tone, and our countrymen on the continent are often unfortunate in falling into both errors.

unless they were first created Lucumoes. From the continuance of this order in numbers even to the latest dates in the sepulchres, there can be no doubt that the king or Lar, possessed the power of filling up vacancies in his Senate, occasioned by the extinction, in process of time, of the original great houses.

The Lucumo, or peer, was in Rome called Senator; though it may admit of a question, whether the term Lucumo was common to all the peers, or belonged only to the chief and captain of the peers. He may possibly have been the Decurion of his Curia, or we believe at all events, that there were distinctions among the men of lucumonal rank, as there are grades in the British peerage. There were many privileges and offices which no Etruscan could enjoy who had not this rank, whilst all who had it, possessed amongst themselves a perfect equality of civil rights.

This was the state of the world at the time of Tarchun's birth, and he did not change it. He is said himself, to have been the son of a king of Ludin. But this king was probably only a Lucumo, having some greater authority over him, for Tarchun did not, as the son of a despotic monarch probably would have done, establish despotism and hereditary power. We have examples in Etruscan history of one great family, as the Tins in Perugia, and the Cecinas in Volterra, by preponderance of influence in its own senate, maintaining the rule in one state; and Tarchun's children, if he had any,

would doubtless have been selected by the voice of common gratitude to succeed him in Tarquinia. But the constitution of his government was the absolute dominion of law over all, and, consequently, the superiority of office united to the equality of men. The king was supreme, and for life; but the king must be elected by the Lucumoes, and from amongst them. The augur was the highest of earthly powers, yet the augur must be elected by his brethren.

All the princes of Etruria were Lucumoes. They were the chief landholders; and in them, as a body, consisting of one head and many members, resided the whole power of the state. The younger branches of a Lucumo's family were Aruns, and the head lucumo or king was "Lar," declined by Larth and Larthia, &c. &c. Lar is probably derived from the Hebrew שר, Sar, a prince or chief. Livy latinizes all these ranks as principes, whilst Plutarch continually gives the term "Lucumo," without understanding its meaning.

Tarchun, in the name of Tages, commanded that all the kings of Etruria Proper should be elected by the Lucumoes of the several states for life; each king being pontifex maximus in his own dominions, and absolute whenever not restrained by law. When he died, his son might be elected to succeed him; but he had no more right to the succession than the heir of any other family of his tribe. A plurality of votes decided; but if the senators could not agree, as to

who should be their head, each chief *lucumo* reigned a certain number of days, until the succession was determined. Livy says, each senator reigned five days. Plutarch in Numa says, only twenty-four hours, whilst Niebuhr thinks that each reigned during ten days, or perhaps longer, by rotation. The king originated every new law, and proposed it to the senate, who approved or rejected, amended or advised upon it, but could originate nothing. At the same time the king could establish no law without the senate's consent. The king was the sole and absolute judge, to absolve or to punish, in civil and criminal causes; he appointed all the great officers of state; was head of the nobles, father of the people, protector of the kingdom, general of the army, and sole declarer of peace and war. The king, says Niebuhr,* was inaugurated by consulting the gods, and all the tribes must agree upon his election. He was probably examined by the pontifices, as to his fitness for office, because he was himself to be *pontifex maximus*; and it is in imitation of this Assyrian custom of uniting king and high priest in one person, that we find the kings of Israel so frequently presuming to take upon themselves the high priest's office.†

The king fined and punished; and was absolute without the city and in war; but within the city there lay an appeal against his sentence from every

* ii. 352.

† 1 Sam. xiii. 9. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

citizen, or, at least, from every Lucumo, to his peers. The king* had lands appropriated to his dignity, called demesne lands, and a determinate portion of the spoil and conquered territory† in war, consisting of one-third. He could assemble the senate or the people, or the senate and people together, whenever he chose; he had the care of all the public money;‡ and it was his duty, every ninth day, i. e. the day following every eighth day, to give audience, and to show himself to his people in the gate, or in the forum, in order to hear their complaints, to decide quarrels, to redress grievances, to receive their salutations,§ and to announce to them the feasts for the following week, and the changes of the moon, which regulated their kalendar. Those who know the Scriptures, are well aware that this custom of sitting in the gate|| to give judgment is eastern; and it implies that those who hold the sovereign power should be careful publicly to acknowledge the sovereign's duties. The prince was hereby reminded that he was to rule for the benefit of his subjects; and that it was his province to maintain the peace, to prevent robbery, and redress wrong. Whilst the people acknowledged that the prince was their constituted protector as well as ruler, first in justice as first in power; and they became acquainted with his person, not only as the representative of law, but as their father, and the object

* Arnold from Cicero.

† Cic. de Repub. v. 3.

‡ Dion. i. 84, 85, 87.

§ Macrob. Saturnal. i. 15.

|| 2 Sam. xix. 8. Jerem xxxviii. 7. Prov. xxxi. 23.

of their obedience and affection. Macrobius* says, that every week the Etruscans greeted their king, and asked after his health, at these patriarchal meetings.

The king was elected by the senate. This senate Tarchun caused to consist in each separate state, of Lucumoes or peers only; and, being once introduced by him, on a principle of government agreeable to the genius of the Italians, the senates were gradually adopted in every little capital of every petty tribe in communication with the Rasena, until, at the time when Rome was founded, Niebuhr asserts that there was no city on the Mediterranean without them. Livy chiefly mentions the senates of Etruria, as, for example, Arretium and Perugia, Falerii or Falisci, and Veii. Zonaras and Appian name Volsinia; and we shall find the senates of the various Latin, Greek, Umbrian and Samnite towns occasionally quoted from ancient authors, in the progress of this work.† The senate consisted of all the Lucumoes or peers, and with them, as with our own House of Lords, their rank was hereditary, their class the same, their political privileges equal, but their degrees of rank were different, the first ten being higher than the others, and probably having a right to the curule chair, which appertained either to high rank or office. We read of curule Ediles in Rome; and we find, in the Etruscan sepulchres, curule chairs of different materials, on which images

* Saturnal. i. 15.

† See Livy, ix. 6; v. 27.

of departed greatness have been seated, both male and female. The female we must suppose to have been the wife of the sovereign only. But the male, being sometimes of stone, sometimes of marble, and sometimes of wood, we think, may denote Senators of merely different degrees of rank, or wealth. One of these chairs is to be seen in the Corsini palace in Rome.*

Each Lucumo was equally eligible to become the prince of his people, or head of the whole league. Each was a sovereign in his own house, and master of his own dependants; and each had a check upon the acts of his king or Lar by the power of the auspices, which each was competent to consult, and by the appeal which every chief might make to his own peers. Each might declare that what his prince proposed was unlawful, and could hold an assembly of his equals to try the question, as we learn from Attus Nævius, who opposed Tarquin. Not only every Lucumo, but every Etruscan citizen, might change his place of residence as often as he pleased, and become the denizen of any other state or city; but the great families never did change their localities, except by banishment. They had large tracts of land allotted to them, in perpetuity, like the Highland clans, which always remained in the same house, as we learn from the many generations found in the same sepulchres, and from the rivers and districts which they have called by their names, and upon which, if we may

* Vide Niebuhr.

judge from similarity of nomenclature, a descendant here and there is supposed to linger still.

Tarchun's first colony consisted of these men and of their families, i. e. of the $\square\eta\lambda$ L.ch.mes or chiefs, the princes of whom were eleven in number, and himself the twelfth and the one supreme head; and along with them, of their followers, called vassals, or clients, or clansmen. These followers, the country being once settled, consisted not merely of the original Rasena, who came with their lords from the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, but of all, of every description, who chose to live under their protection; whether from having been the former proprietors, as Umbri and Pelasgi, they chose to remain as tenants upon the soil which they had once called their own; or whether emigrating from foreign tribes, they desired to establish themselves upon the property, and join the vassalage of some powerful chief in Turrhenia.

This species of social government was not only fairly represented by the Highland clans in Scotland, but it was probably called by the very same name, the word "clan," susceptible of this explanation, being found in the Etruscan sepulchres,* and being afterwards Latinized into clientes or clients. Wherever Italy was civilized, subsequent to this period, there we find the government of Houses; and the government of Houses is no other than that of Clans. In Rome each man took the name of his chief, as in

* Vide *Archæologia Romana* for 1837. Orioli in Tifone, vol. vii.

Scotland, and formed a Gens; the name being possibly derived from CLNs. In Etruria, each man kept his own name, but formed, quite as inalienably, part of a particular Clan. The bond between clansman and chief was the strictest that can be conceived between man and man; the Lucumo everywhere representing his people, and being considered as their protector and head.

The Lucumo, as we learn from Dionysius, was bound to help his vassals in time of need, to do and obtain for them justice, and to give them a right in all the land or spoil which conquest, by their aid, might bestow upon him. From Dionysius* and Livy† we learn that it was his province to arm them, and to call them forth to war when required. The clansman who deserted his lord, and the lord who broke faith with his clansman, were equally devoted to the infernal gods. The chief could adopt into the Clan as many strangers as he pleased; but only those of the same blood could share the same grave.‡

Varro tells us, that when the Romans required help from the Tuscans, they applied to the Lucumoes. Plutarch says, that the Lucumo and his men helped Romulus; and Servius, that the twelve states of Etruria were each governed by a Lucumo, (i. e. Lar,) of whom one was chief. Virgil, a Mantuan by birth, confirms to us that the Lucumo was the usual name of all the chief peers, and not of the sovereign

* ix.

† ix.

‡ Cicero de Leg. 22, 55.

only; for he says that Mantua was divided in twelve *Curiaë*, with a *Lucumo* over each.*

The *Lucumo*, as we gather from *Livy*, was the governor, judge, priest, and general of the people.† The clansmen, on the other hand, were the members who supported the chief; they laboured for him, traded for him, and fought for him. The glory of his house was their glory, and the misfortunes of his family were their misfortunes.‡ They paid his debts if poor, ransomed him, if prisoner, and followed him into banishment, if exiled. This we know from the fate of *Tarquin* and others. They found their well-being in him, and he found his well-being in them. The connexion between them, like that of every primitive people, was patriarchal; and they had even their share in the government of their country, by voting on his side.

Men who despise, as slavish or degrading, the relation of patron and client, should visit, with eyes and ears open, the mountains of Scotland. There they may still witness the hardy independence and intrepid daring, the warm affections and the generous impulses which grow up as the fruits of such a system. It is consoling to know that romance, when it exhibits and works up the noblest feelings of our nature, has its elements founded in truth. It is gratifying and delightful to our better minds, though it may be humbling to our pride and selfishness, to see amongst the poor Highlanders, the contempt for

* *Servius*, *Æm.* x. 202. † *Livy*, x. 13; ix. 3. ‡ *Dion.*

all that is mercenary, the value for all that is elevated, the refined tone of feelings which marks the poorest cottage, and the spirit of self-sacrifice and sublime magnanimity, which will display itself in word and action, the moment that chord is touched, which lies deep in the Highland heart, of the connexion between the clansman and his chief. This spirit is not yet quite extinct; and oh! that it never might be! There are still districts in which the old bond has not been broken; where poverty can walk erect, and be warmly welcomed in the houses of the great, if it bear but on its front the ancient badge of integrity, fidelity, and courage. Throughout the British empire, and, indeed, throughout Europe, we can find men who will give, and proudly give their heart's blood for the man or the principle they love. But in the Highlands we find the poor and uneducated, who will give it from depth of filial sentiment, without faction, without bigotry, without self-interest, and who have not learned, and never will learn, to sell either their minds or bodies for the price of gold.

This spirit of lofty honour and profound affection, though doubtless, in some respects, the result of peculiarities in the Highland temperament, yet, from having been so general, proves itself also to have been the effect of the Highland institutions; and where the cord has been loosed, or the tie dissolved, it has in no instance, been on the side of the people, but on that of the alienated chief, who has been brought

up for himself, with foreign feelings in a foreign land.*

In the beautiful words of the Edinburgh Review, No. 152,—“The social affections, if concentrated within a well-defined circle, possess an intensity and endurance unrivalled by those passions of which self is the immediate object. The emotions with which the Spartan and the Jew have yearned over the land of their fathers, are emotions stronger than appetite, vanity, ambition, avarice, or death.” And these are the emotions which the Rasena felt for the country of their adoption, the original princes of their blood, and the sacred institutions of Tages.

The reasoning Lowland Scotchman, and the calm phlegmatic Englishman, who consider all these feelings as visionary, will no more believe that they existed of old throughout the land of Etruria, than that they are to be found in the Highlands now. Because they find no such devotion in themselves to their highest or first of kin, they cannot credit it in others, not considering that their state of society is differently ordered, and that their institutions do not call such emotions forth. Where

* We know of one mighty potentate, who, but for the devotedness of his clan in former times, would now have been the insignificant laird of a little tower; and who, of late years, when asked what was to become of the poor cotters whose black turf cabins he was destroying, replied, with a sneer, “Lochdhu is deep enough for them all.” Towards such chiefs the Highlander’s heart is cold, and the throb of his pulse is low.

the head boasts of caring nothing for the body, as in England, the body, in return, will care nothing for the head ; but in Etruria no man lived for himself, he lived for his country and his kindred. And this is as free and as happy a state as the bulk of a nation can ever know ; for amongst the Clans any continuance of domestic tyranny was impossible, the good will of the people towards the chief being even more necessary than the good will of the chief towards his people ; and there can be no doubt that, if a tyrant did arise in Etruria, he was put away for the next of kin more worthy, even as has occurred in various instances amongst the clans in Scotland.* We shall find examples, as we proceed in this history, which show that the Etruscans, though patient, peaceable, and orderly, were no more enduring of unjust wrong, than brave men have been in any other climate, or under any other form of social life.

We have dwelt upon this matter, perhaps somewhat long, and somewhat wide of the purpose, yet it was impossible to describe the Lucumoes without also describing the clients, through whose adhesion and numbers they became Lucumoes, at least in the first instance ; and no doubt every chief at Voltumna had also with him chosen followers of his own Clan—followers whom he treated neither as servants nor as slaves.

We have said that, besides the King, the Augur, the Aruspex, the Lucumo, and their vassals, the

* See Stuart's Highlands.

presence of the *Feciales* was requisite at the council of *Voltumna*. The *Fecial* was a very remarkable Etruscan institution. He was an officer to watch over and preserve the public peace, to take away the reasons for war, and to repress the spirit of vengeance. *Servius* (viii.) tells us, the order was derived to Rome from *Falisci* or *Ardea*, and it shows us that the *Rasena*, though brave, armed, and disciplined, were a people who had no delight in battle or in blood. *Tarchun* founded colleges of these men; they were all noble, and their office sacred; and hence, whilst officiating, their persons were inviolable. There were several of them in each state, and their character was something between an ambassador and a herald. Like all the *Lucumoes*, they were priests, and could take auspices; but they were not hereditary. If one tribe offended another, the *Feciales* were sent in a dress of ceremony, and crowned with vervain,* to the Senate of the state against which complaint was made. Doubtless they rode in chariots, each drawn by two horses, richly caparisoned, as we see represented in the sepulchres, and attended by a small guard of armed and resolute men. Arrived and admitted into the senate, where state causes were heard, the *Feciales* named the grievance of which they complained, and demanded redress within thirty days, or, as some authors say,† within

* A plant sacred to the Phœnician god of citadels.—A. His. xvii. p. 225.

† Niebuhr.

ten days, repeating the demand thrice, so as to give three truces to the offenders, of ten days each, or thirty days in all. At the end of this time, if their representations were not attended to, they took Tina and the other gods to witness, that they had performed their duty, and that it was now for their country to decide upon the event. On their return home, they announced to their senate that war was now lawful; and, if it was resolved upon, they returned to the limits of the hostile state, and there, casting a spear across the frontiers into the enemies' territory, called the gods to witness against the want of justice in that people, and their obstinacy in refusing reparation.

The confederation of the social war is represented on the Samite coins, by a Feacial clothed in a tunic, sacrificing a pig,* this being the prayer of imprecation: "May Jove strike the breaker as the Feacial strikes this pig."† Virgil (viii.) represents this ceremony as consecrating every warlike alliance, and it is a common subject upon ancient gems. The Feacial must equally sanction by his presence every treaty of peace, and alliance of friendship, and on very solemn occasions the head of his college, called by the Latins "Pater Patratus," was himself obliged to attend.‡ It is conjectured that the chief reason why no man could be head Feacial who had not both

* Varro. Cicero.

† Livy. ix. It is remarkable that this sacrifice and prayer are to be found unaltered amongst the gypsies.—See *Borrow's Gypsies in Spain*.

‡ Livy i. 24.

a father and a son living, was that these ties might bind him in the strongest manner, to wish for peace and to deprecate war with its certain evils and uncertain successes.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus places the *Feciales* amongst the earliest institutions of Italy, and calls them by the name of *Spondophorai*, a Greek heraldic office, no doubt imitated from them. The *Feciales*, like most other Etruscan institutions, gradually found place amongst their neighbours, and give us a most interesting view, of the moderation and sobriety which marked the indelibly eastern character of the *Rasena*.

After *Turrhenia* was conquered, and her boundaries fixed, *Tarchun* established the *Feciales*, and encroached upon his neighbours no more. It was in his time, and probably is still, a fixed notion among the people of the East, that God has given a certain portion of land to each nation, either for perpetuity, or for a certain number of centuries. That during this time he will help them to defend their land, and will render them victorious over those who attack them; but that he will not give them the land of others, nor bless them in any attempt to usurp foreign rights and properties.* We have the most convincing evidence of these ideas in many parts of the Scriptures. St. Paul tells us, speaking to the Greeks at Athens, that God who made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood

* Deut. ii. 5, 19, whole chapter very strong; Josh. xxiv. 4; Judges xi. 24.

all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitations.* And Moses says that when the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people, according to the number of the children of Israel. In the Book of Numbers, the Israelites are encouraged to fall upon their enemies, because "their defence" (that is, the protection of God during their day) is departed from them. We cannot say that the Israelites had *Feciales*, but between Egypt and Canaan we find them once, twice, and even thrice, sending some of their nobles as ambassadors of peace to the kings of the countries they passed through, to Moab and Ammon, Edom, and the Amorites; and every war and every peace amongst them was always solemnized with sacrifice.

The institution of the *Feciales* proves to us that might with the *Rasena* was not held to be right, and that their great gods were considered as the foes and punishers of unjust war. In consequence of which maxims, the Etruscans conquered far, and colonized, and allied themselves, and diffused their influence still further. Yet they never considered the twelve dynasties of Etruria Proper to extend beyond the bounds originally fixed by Tarchun, i. e. from the Po to the Tiber, and they looked upon war as so great an evil, that even when just and necessary, it required an excuse, and time to

* Acts xvii. 26; Num. xiv. 9; Deut. xxxii. 8; Judges xi. 12.

be given, both to the offending and offended, for passion to cool and reason to resume her sway. The *Feciales* were a college appointed to watch over the public peace,* and their ceremonies were called in Rome the *Jus Feciale*.

Besides these magnates, whose presence was indispensable at *Voltumna*, there must have been other classes whom we shall notice afterwards, such as naturalized strangers, merchants, and slaves. Probably there were no women of the upper classes at these meetings, for the Etruscan women, though much honoured and carefully instructed, and eligible even more than the English women, to offices of responsibility, but seldom came forward in public life. They were doubtless educated in the bosom of their own families; they ruled in their own houses, for they kept all the keys, excepting those of the cellar; † they headed their husband's tables, as we see in the representations of feasts in the tombs at *Chiusi* and *Tarquinia*. They rode in chariots, had places of honour in the public games, and were admitted both to the throne and to the priesthood. It is even possible that they occasionally fought in the army, from *Virgil's* episode of *Camilla*, queen of the *Volsci*; as *Virgil* would not have put into his poem anything that would have revolted the common opinions or traditions of his countrymen, as to the state

* Authorities for *Feciales*:—Müller; Niebuhr in *Loco*; Cicero; Varro; Livy i. 24, ix.; Plut. in *Numa*; Dionys. i.; Serv. vii.; Virg. *Æn.* x. 14; vii.; viii. 641; ix. 53.

† Dempster, de *Etru. Reg.*

of women in the early days of Italy. But whether they ever fought or not, they never voted in the senate, nor had any voice in making the laws, nor any influence in the general elections, and they never came forward as a public body. One superior female mind may be found in every large society at all times, equally fit for self-government, and the government of others. There are few men of extensive acquaintance who could not name, and perhaps even agree upon one such woman, in whom they could repose confidence, and to whom they could render admiration. But an assembly of such women, firm in character and wise in council, a democracy, or an aristocracy, or even an oligarchy of such women, is a phenomenon which the world has yet to witness, and which has never been fabled even amongst the Amazons, nor tried even amongst the Radicals.

CHAPTER X.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Division of the Land, and Classes of the People.

B. C.
CENT.
XII.

“THE laws of Tages, promulgated by Tarchun,* treated of the division of the people into tribes—Curiāe and Decuriāe, the apportionment of the land, and the constitution of the army.” It is surely interesting to have some clear idea of the form of government which Tarchun established over Etruria, and of the manner in which he settled the twelve tribes of his people in their new land, along with its former possessors, and this prompts us to ask, by what rule, or if by any, he divided amongst them the conquered country? We shall say upon this point, and upon all other subjects of civil polity, as much as we think necessary for the perfect comprehension of the subsequent history, and no more; as each article must be treated of in detail, when we come to the chapter upon the manners and customs of the Etruscans.

“The Rasena were divided into tribes,” and a tribe in all cases of colonizing amongst the later

* Cicero de Div.

Italians was represented by one thousand men, this thousand being again represented in the Senate by a hundred. The number of the tribes when the Rasena landed, was probably twelve. But as on their location in Etruria, each of these twelve occupied only one state, and we know that the Senate in each state consisted of more than one tribe, and that the Etruscans incorporated with themselves the Umbri, the Pelasgi, and in some places the Siculi also; so in each state, the senate probably was composed, as we find it afterwards in Rome, Fidene, Mantua, and in other places, of the hundred families of the Rasena, who represented the thousands of their tribe, and of an equal number of Umbri, Pelasgi, or whatever other nation they associated with themselves. Each body of senators was again represented by ten chiefs —the *L.ch.mes* or *Lucumoes* of the Etruscans, and the *Decuriones* of the Latins; and the tribes composing the senate were so far not equal, that the votes of the first in order, were always taken first, and those of the second next, and the majority of votes decided; so that, when these two agreed in opinion, the acquiescence of the third was of no consequence, and excepting for form's sake, their votes need not have been asked. This, however, was not the case upon the election of a king, when all the tribes must be agreed. Every city of the Rasena, established by Tarchun, or between his time and that of Romulus, when submitted to criticism,* has been found to consist of three different elements, viz. (1)

* See the remarks of Müller, Niebuhr, Arnold, Gell, and

Etruscan, (2) Umbrian, or Sabine, and (3) Pelasgic, Latin, or Sikelian, i. e. of any other native tribe of Italy; and as the Romans took their laws and religion,* (which we shall afterwards more fully prove,) their forms and ceremonies from the Etruscans, so we must suppose what we find in Rome of later days, to have been only a copy of that which previously, and from the beginning, was practised in Etruria. If Tages gave rules for tribes, then the tribes were an ordinance of Tarchun, and indeed that they were so, is further proved, because all the land throughout civilized Italy was divided with a special reference to the tribes, and all authors and critics are agreed, that the Italian division of land was derived from Etruria. The senate, composed of three tribes, agrees with all the ordinances and superstitions of the Etruscans, and with the three great gods, the three holy gates, the three classes of priests, warriors, and people, with masters, vassals, and slaves, and even with chiefs, clans, and strangers, which made up the whole population.

In each Tarchunian city, the tribe was represented in the senate by one hundred peers: each peer standing for ten registered houses, of which he was captain, or לַחַם, L.ch.m. These captains were again divided into ten each, forming a curia, and over every curia was a prince, called in Latin a Decurion, commanding one hundred warriors. Hence the ten Decurions of the chief tribe were the princes Micali, upon any of the towns in the vicinity of Rome with which Romulus and Tullus Hostilius were at war.

* See Dionysius, Livy, Festus, Servius.

of the Senate, whose votes were upon all occasions taken first, and it is not unlikely, that as each of these princes voted, so the nine under them would consider themselves bound to vote, and as the sovereign would probably belong to them, and vote with them, and the majority of votes decided, if ever a senate consisted of two tribes only, these ten first would virtually rule. All throughout Italian history, we find these "first ten," these princes of the Senate, distinguished beyond their co-senators.* It is also very likely that, provided the Decurion or great Lucumo was in his place, the presence of the other members of the curia might not be thought indispensable, and their absence might be little regarded. This is probable, because the senators voted in curia, and therefore every ten counted only one vote, and was represented by the Decurion, though the majority decided the sense of the whole.

We presume then that each nation which submitted itself to the constitutions of Tages, was really represented in the senate by ten of its chiefs or Decurions, though the actual number of men was one hundred, and the proportion of influence which each bore in the original government would be like the proportion between Normans, Saxons, and Celts, under William the Conqueror. One hundred and twenty Etruscan Lucumoes in twelve different Senates, might possibly represent one hundred and twenty thousand, or any lesser number of souls, whilst a hundred and twenty Umbrian or Pelasgic chiefs would represent many millions. The votes of the Umbri would not

* Niebuhr on ten Princes of Italian Senates.

be taken until after those of the Tuscans, and those of the third class, that of the Pelasgi or Sikeli, would have little chance of any weight, excepting when the other two disagreed, or when the caprice and favour of the king, for which there was small room, raised to undue influence some chosen individual. The justice and equality of the Etruscan rule, whatever it might be, are demonstrated by the perpetual fidelity of the Umbri, whilst, nevertheless, Tuscany did not become a part of Umbria, but Umbria, says Cato, "*pars Tusciæ.*" And the inferior weight of the Pelasgi to either of the others is demonstrated, in that we know of no chief and no laws bearing their name, nor indeed of anything relating to them, excepting that their descendants continued to dwell undisturbed and contented in several towns of the Umbri and Turrheni down to the days of Augustus.

Our ideas of this composition of the Senate are derived partly from the reasonings of Niebuhr upon the Latin states; but chiefly because all the senates of which we have any detailed accounts were actually so composed. That of Ardea consisted of Latins, Siculi, and Tuscans; that of Cere of Tuscans, Pelasgi, and Siculi; that of Tusculum, of Tuscans, Latins, and Siculi; that of Fidene, of Tuscans, Sabines, and Latins, and so on. We may doubt whether in the towns which the Umbri had previously conquered from the Pelasgi, this last race retained any shadow of rule or not, but it is most consonant with Etruscan policy that they should have done so, and we therefore believe the

senates of Perugia, Cortona, Pisa, Falleria,* &c. to have consisted, like the others, of three tribes. The word tribe everywhere throughout Italian history, denotes a nation, or the distinct people of some small district. A tribe was represented in towns by congeries of tens, and in the Senate by *curiæ* and *decuriæ*. In the state, i. e. throughout the country, these tribes were divided into centuries or hundreds, the names denoting things rather than numbers, even as our land division in England of a hundred has long ceased to signify a numerical district or relation.

That reckonings in round numbers were of this loose sort amongst the easterns, we may learn from observing, first, that the men of a certain age only were reckoned, not including women, children, or followers; and, secondly, from many examples in the Scriptures. For instance, in numbering the children of Israel in Exod. xii. 37, 600,000 are put for 603,000, and in Exod. xxxviii. 26, and again in Numb. i. where this enumeration is repeated, it is expressly said not to include the Levites, who, with their male children, amounted to 22,000 more, (Numb. iii. 39,) doubtless leaving out odd numbers. In Exodus and Galatians the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt is said to have continued 430 years, (Exod. xii. 40, Galat. iii.); and in Gen. xv. and in Acts vii. it is called 400 years; and so we find of almost all the symbolical and round numbers when subjected to criticism. Thousands and centuries, therefore,

* The senate and curia are described by Plut. and Dion. Hal.

amongst the Etruscans, were conventional, and not real numbers.

The centuries were districts of land which were divided between the chiefs, the clients, and the Plebs or natives, this last being an order of which we have not yet spoken, and of which we do not know the Etruscan name. The Plebs were natives, or subjects, either so born, or so made by agreement or by conquest, who were amenable to the laws, and claimed the protection of the state, but none of whom were peers, and consequently none of whom, of whatever rank, had any share in the public offices, nor any seat in the senate of the country. Müller* says that patron, client, and plebs, tribe and curia, were all Etruscan institutions, and that either the names or the things or both, were derived from Etruria to Rome. King Servius the Etruscan, separated the Roman centuries into tribes, i. e. into the different nations of which they were composed, and it is probable that he only introduced into his new kingdom, the customs long established in his native land. The centuries had votes as well as the curiæ, but of immeasurably less weight, and the proportion between them was most aptly expressed by the body of the child to the head of the man, at the same time that the possession of even a portion of a vote, satisfied with some notion of dignity, the Umbrian or Sabine noble, numbered amongst the Plebs, who submitted to the Etruscans. The centuries chose the magistrates, had a voice in questions of war, and confirmed the laws which were accepted by the Senate, and proposed by the king.†

* Müller ii. on Vulci.

† Ancient Hist. vol. xi.

According to Niebuhr,* every government by houses or chiefs of clans must necessarily have Plebs, that is, free and native subjects, who are not within the pale of the chiefs and their prescriptive rights. They served in war, inherited lands, had their own privileges and rights, and took part in the common laws; but they could never sit in the Senate, excepting by adoption into one of the original houses, or by the gift of a peerage from the king: a right, the exercise of which was always viewed with the utmost jealousy, and which in later times was probably never exercised.

Each peer, or senator, or member of a curia, had of course his house and establishment in the metropolis of the state, and Dionysius† tells us that (according to the laws of Tages) each curia had one hundred portions of land allotted to it, each man's portion being two jugera‡ or four vorsì, which he was bound to cultivate; one jugera for corn, and one for orchard, besides the common pasture. Hence each curia possessed four hundred vorsì of land, called its "Fundus," and each Senator was answerable for the cultivation of the forty vorsì, and for the conduct of the ten soldiers' houses which he represented. In the country centuries, each soldier's portion was reckoned by the same measure, and half this portion was given to the plebeians. Müller calls the curiæ by the admirable name of town parishes, so that we may say each city tribe was divided into ten parishes, or Curiæ, and each parish into ten magis-

* Nieb. vol. i. 442, ii. 506. † Dion. ii. 7, p. 82. ‡ Plut. in Rom.

tracies, or senators' jurisdictions, and every magistrate was bound to furnish ten men to the militia or national guard of his country.*

Each Curia or parish had its own priest and temple, and most probably this office appertained to the Decurion who was priest amongst his brethren, for his and their retainers; and when the house of any Decurion became extinct, another house would be elected to take the priority in its place. In this view, the ten princes of a tribe would also be the ten priests, to take auspices and offer sacrifices, to register births, deaths, and marriages, to see that military discipline was preserved, and to exercise inspection over the conduct of the others.† Many of the curule magistrates, perhaps most of them, had large possessions in the country, besides their senatorial property in the towns, and they might be chiefs of the centuries, as well as holding, under a light tax, a large portion of the common land, which they gradually came to consider as their own. The country proprietors and the peasantry first located in the centurial districts, may have consisted of one

* All this will be found admirably explained in Arnold's history of early Rome, from Livy, Varro, and Cicero; and we need only to bear in mind that not only the first Roman, but the first *Italian* institutions, were all Etruscan. Dionysius, who wrote the Etruscan history, now lost, is the author who gives us the fullest account of the tribes, curiæ, and centuries, though they had ceased to exist in Rome two hundred years before he wrote, and he says that they were all Etruscan in their origin.

† Müller says the Decurion was priest, captain, and magistrate of the curia.

hundred families, or of an unlimited number of families under one hundred names, upon one hundred portions of that district; the portions being determined by varying circumstances, as in the case of the Latins afterwards, whose land was divided according to the limits of their conquests, and therefore in some districts the portions would be much larger than in others.* This land, once inscribed in the Agrimensoral books as "a century," continued ever after to constitute it in the eye of the law, and some of these old Etruscan, and perhaps Tarchunian, centurial fundi, can be recognised at this day. Niebuhr† names two close to Ferentinum, "Roiana and Ceponia," now called "La Roana, and La Cipollara."‡ No doubt, Italians themselves are acquainted with many more. These districts are ascertained from old records, old inscriptions, and the Pandects. The land of the centuries might be sold or bequeathed; but however often it might change hands, the proprietor was always reckoned as belonging to the same century with the land. §

The century, in its original, certainly referred to persons, as one hundred families, or one hundred soldiers, with their kindred; and the measured portion of land assigned to each century was called

* Niebuhr.

† vol. ii. p. 708.

‡ Lands took the names of the tribes. (Plin. xviii. 3.)

§ All this account of the centuries is taken from Niebuhr. The centuries, according to Livy, were patricians, clients, and plebs, altogether. They had ceased, long before his day, in Latium.

“Fundus.” The curia or hundred warriors’ houses, in the town, doubtless imaged the century or hundred warriors’ houses in the country; and in counting a house, it is possible that the establishments, or the cabins of one man’s father and grandfather, and of another man’s seven sons, may have been reckoned as one only, he being the effective head, and therefore standing in the militia roll for one house.

For an instance of how families and households were calculated in eastern reckonings, see Joshua vii. 17, where Achan is drawn by lot from the tribe of Judah, compared with 1 Chron. ii. “Joshua brought the *family* of Judah, and the Lord took the family of the Zarhites: and he brought the family of the Zarhites, man by man: and Zabdi was taken. And he brought his household, man by man: and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, was taken.” Achan is made the grandson of Zabdi, and Zabdi the grandson of Judah. Four generations are given as the result of 470 years, for Judah himself was an elderly man, when he went down into Egypt. The tribe of Judah at this time, numbered 76,500 fighting men in round numbers, all above the age of twenty, and these in Chronicles, where we have the numbers most in detail, are ranged in three branches, under *sixteen households*. Again, we have an example of households in Josh. xxii. 13 and 14, when the two and a half tribes send Phineas the prince of Levi, and ten princes with him, as a sort of Feciales to their brethren, “of each chief house a prince, each one, head

of a *house*, among the thousands of Israel ;” or, as we might say, “each one a Sar and L.ch.m among the hundreds of thousands, of the children of Jacob.

When new laws were made, the Senators announced these laws to the people assembled in centuries, and these centuries were entitled to meet every ninth or market-day,* though, in fact, they probably only met when desired to do so, or when it was important for them to know the great feasts or periods which occurred in the month, such as the time to reap, or to sow ; or the new ordinances agreed upon after some council at Voltumna. The clansmen (clients or gens) could only vote in curia, that is, as belonging to the city parishes of their patrons. Besides the portion of each citizen senator, for vine and corn land, each city had a district assigned to it upon its foundation, called “Agger,” which was never afterwards enlarged, and in which were built the suburbs. All the measured land beyond, was pasturage, and belonged to the Senators only, for the use of them and of their clans. This land was limited, and its boundaries were carefully marked, and placed under the perpetual care of twelve nobles, representing the twelve Etruscan tribes, all Aruspices, and called Arvales, or by the Latins “Fratres Arvales,” when the same establishment was introduced into the Latin cities.

The Arvales were men who placed the boundary stones which were held sacred, and it was their duty,

* Müller.

once every year, to keep a feast, with hymns and processions, pacing round the boundaries, to see that they were preserved uninjured. The word "Arvales" is probably Etruscan from its great likeness to "urvare or arvare," which Festus and Varro tell us was the Tuscan for "surround, inclose." The processions of the Arvales were called Arvalia and Ambarvalia, (ab ambiendis arvis,) and the sacrifices offered at them were a pig, a sheep and a bull, all purely Etruscan. The brethren walked three times round the boundaries, crowned with oak, the "corona Etrusca." These men decided all controversies with respect to boundaries and divisions of land; they held their dignity for life, and they took care of all public funerals, and of the monuments to illustrious patriots. As Romulus* was one of this order, we presume that the prince of the people was often, if not always, at their head; and as they are by some authors called Augurs, it is likely that the Augurs also, by right, belonged to their body; but Latin authors so constantly confuse together Augurs and Haruspices, that we cannot trust their use of the word, without collateral evidence. Pliny† tells us that the Arvales were crowned with corn in honour of Ceres, which cannot refer to processions round the agger, since it was wholly pastoral; but to Ambarvalia in the agricultural centuries, throughout Etruria and those parts of Italy which adopted Etruscan civilization. As Rome introduced the Arvales from Laurentum, the Latin states are proved

* Plut.

† Plin. lib. xviii. 2.

to have adopted them before Romulus; and as the first Arvalian funeral honours in Rome were performed for Tattius, the Sabine king, the Sabines are proved to have adopted them also. The first *Sodales* in Rome, i. e. *Arvales* in a funeral capacity, were the "*Sodales Titii*." *

Terminus was the god of boundaries, and therefore we cannot but suppose that sacrifices were offered to him, and that hymns were sung in his praise, as well as in that of the patron saint, which last would vary in each place. The Roman *Carmen Arvale* which has come down to us in honour of *Mars*, seems strangely incongruous for a procession of peace, and so does the Sabine *Carmen*, mentioned in Latin authors in honour of *Ceres*, were it ever used, to celebrate the limits of what was strictly reserved for pasture land. None but the Senate had any right in this land; and therefore no stranger, however noble, and no merchant, however rich, though both might be naturalized, could have any portion in it. It was the state or government property, and therefore no man could have any share in it unless he formed part of the government. †

The great Niebuhr ‡ says that the *Agrimensores* or land measurers, under whatever name we may find them, or with whatever dignity their office might be combined, were undoubtedly as to origin, Etruscan, and that by this, we may trace the Etrus-

* Authorities for *Arvales*: Virg. *Geor.* i. v. 339, 345; Tib. 2, *el.* i. v. 19; Cato de *R. R.* c. 141; Varro de *L. L.* 4.

† See Niebuhr on *Agger*.

‡ *Ib.* ii. p. 698.

can settlements throughout Italy. Indeed he, Sir Wm. Gell, and other modern writers, have in this manner of late years discovered the introduction of Etruscan institutions into the Greek colonies in Campania and South Italy, where it had not before been even suspected. "The agrimensoral or arvalian measurement," says Niebuhr,* "was older than the foundation of Rome, and it survived the empire for five hundred years. The elements of it were Etruscan mathematics, applied to Etruscan astronomy." Its grand work was the templum of square measurement, with *cardo* and *decumanus*, and we need no more repeat that wherever we find the templum, there we trace the Etruscan augury, and that the first Etruscan Augur was the Ludin Prince "Tarchun of the Rasena." He commanded the division of the land according to the tribes of the people, as part of the laws of Tages, and we learn the sacred nature of the landmarks from a fragment of the *Lib. Vegojæ*,† now in the Vatican, and from the refusal of *Terminus* to move his bounds even for *Tina*, when the multitude desired to extend beyond them his metropolitan temple.‡

As the Etruscan land, in the first instance, was all conquered, and, in the second, all colonized, so we must believe it to have followed the laws which Tages laid down for conquered lands and colonies in general: whether his people originated these laws by their example, or whether in their conduct,

* ii. p. 697.

† *Ap. rei agr.* p. 258.

‡ *Plut. in Pub.*

only they acted according to previously known and written precepts.

By the law of conquest in Etruria Proper, the whole of the land belonged to the conquerors, so that all dwelling upon it were reckoned Etruscans henceforward, whatever they might have been before, and one-third of this land was restored to its old possessors, subject to a tax of one-tenth of the produce, to government.* The remainder was again divided into three, of which one part was apportioned to the army, one to the priesthood, i. e. was reserved for religious and public purposes, and one-third was for the crown or senatorial government, but it does not appear that these divisions were equal. The land for the army was portioned off in centuries, each taking the name of the Centurial chief, and the allotment was two jugera per man for the Etruscan or Curial soldier, and one for the Plebian or non-curial soldier.

An Etruscan lot in the century, according to Niebuhr, † whether in Etrurian Umbria, or in the colonies of Campania and of North Italy, measured ten rods of ten feet each, making one vorsus, and one of these lots was the legal award of each independent or Plebeian soldier, four of them being the due of each Patrician. Each vorsus, therefore, contained one hundred square feet, and each full ‡ century ten thousand, being one hundred feet every way.

* Niebuhr.

† ii. p. 705.

‡ We have already stated that many of the centuries were not full measure.

All the centuries, whether in town or country, were limited, that is, were measured off by the Augurs in this manner \perp , and within the *cardo* and *decumanus*, auguries might be taken. This land was as sacred to the century, whether patrician or military, as the gates and walls were to the city. The limits were drawn round it by the plough, according to the old Phœnician custom recorded of Carthage, with ridges; and the corners were marked by boundary stones, which were numbered with the letters of the old Ogham alphabet, i. e. with Etruscan numerals. Cicero says,* when a colony had once been settled in this manner, its lands throughout Italy were holy, and could never be resumed, neither could any other colony ever be settled in its place. As the Arvales divided the land, and appear to have consecrated it, which last was the office of the Augur alone, we infer that the Augurs or some of them, necessarily formed a part of the Arvalian College.

The Latin measurement of these portions was larger than the Etruscan, being one hundred and twenty feet square,† instead of one hundred; hence we learn that the size of the lot was decided by some consideration external to it, such as a difference of sacred numbers amongst the people, or certain numbers being sacred to certain gods. Niebuhr says that twelve Etruscan rods made ten Roman. The Roman portion in the century, therefore, was measured like the Etruscan, ten rods square, and the difference of size would result from the rod of the one being longer than

* See Nieb. p. 701.

† Varro de R. R. i. 10.

the rod of the other, whilst both were supposed to represent one measure. As, for instance, the Scotch pint is double the English, but an Englishman giving a receipt to a Scotchman, and not aware of this, would cause him to use wrong proportions. A Scotch acre is larger than an English, which would cause a mistake to Englishmen in the sale and value of lands; and if Scotland adopted as a military rule from England, that each soldier's portion should be one acre, the Scotchman's portion would be larger than the Englishman's, though both were supposed to express the same, and though the former nation took its rule from the latter.*

Our knowledge of the exact sizes of these allotments enables us in Italy to trace, concerning certain centuries or aggers, whether they were laid off by Romans or Etruscans, Müller names some tables lately found at Heraclea in Calabria, which give the

* The pound Scot also differs from the pound English, the former reckoning 20*d.* and the latter 20*s.* Ignorance of this difference, by English lawyers, once occasioned a curious piece of good fortune to a Scotch family. James VI. owed a sum, say 5,000 pounds Scots, to a man of the name of Callender, which being unpaid when he ascended the English throne, the man sued for it in London; the king accordingly ordered his debt to be paid, and the Exchequer delivered to him £5,000 English, with which he bought the estate of Craig Forth, now enjoyed by his family. It is evident that 20 weights, in its origin, represented a lb., and the lb. Scot being much heavier than the English, consisting frequently of 20 oz., it is likely that 20 copper pieces in the one country were equivalent to the same nominal weight with the 20 silver in the other, and were imagined to be the same thing.

division of the temple land after the Etruscan fashion. The cardines are called Automai, and show that Etruscan fashions were also adopted by the Greeks according to the testimony of Plato de legibus, v.

The profound Niebuhr* says that the Sabellian sacred number is four, and the Latin, three and ten; and that twelve in Rome, expresses the union of three multiplied by four, i. e. of the Latin and Sabine tribes. The Etruscan number, he says, is ten, which, if it means to limit Etruscan sacredness to that number, we can by no means understand, since it is certain that three and twelve were equally sacred in the Etruscan kalender. Three great gods, three holy gates, three classes of people; twelve tribes, twelve fasces, twelve lictors, &c. &c., twelve, and three, and four, in their numismatic system, as well as ten in the number of their seculæ, and in the division of their people. We are, therefore, inclined to attribute the introduction of all these numbers amongst the native Italians to the Rasena, even as we must attribute to them the numeral characters by which they are noted. The fact of each of these different numbers being sacred, united with the fundamental rule of Etruscan theology, "to take away the worship of no native god," would admit of a diversity of measures amongst the different tribes, though all might be governed by one and the same grand ruling principle. We know, from the history of the Jews, the Egyptians, and the Hindoos, that these numbers of four and twelve, three and ten,

* Nieb. vol. ii. p. 95.

were prevalent and sacred in that part of the world which was the centre of primitive civilization;* therefore we are again inclined to trace back even the holy numbers of the Etruscans to an Assyrian origin.

Need we here allude to the Eastern origin of landmarks? to their necessity in Egypt, where all the land was every year overflowed, and where without landmarks, no man could have reclaimed his own when the waters retired, or to the many laws and precepts concerning them scattered throughout the Scriptures? Need we mention the measure of the Hebrew pontifical agger of two thousand cubits,† which is prescribed to the priestly cities in Israel, or the reference which is made to it, as a universal custom of Ludin in the days of ancient Job? “Some remove the landmarks, (from the pastoral lands, perhaps a patrician agger,) and they violently take away the flocks.” The Etruscan Curial agger with its landmarks, was pastoral, whilst all the rural centuries were agricultural, being measured out for corn, which was cultivated in Italy before all history, and found there by the Rasena, and for the vine, which their first king is said to have introduced, as we shall see hereafter.

* The twelve tribes of the Hebrews, from the time of Moses down to the Babylonish captivity, were divided into tens, and fifties, and hundreds, and thousands.

The ancient Hindus were divided into governments of one town, ten towns, twenty towns, one hundred towns, and one thousand towns.—*See Sir W. Jones.*

† Numb. xxxv.

Moses, the Egyptian Hebrew, who came out of the Avaris, the Assyrian part of Egypt, either supposes that land-measuring and landmarks were customs that must have obtained amongst all civilized nations, or he knew that it was the order of the country throughout the wealthy and populous Palestine. In Deut. xix. 14, he says to the Israelites, giving them laws for their future settlement, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which *they of old time* have set." (The old time is mentioned before the new time had commenced. Moses quotes antiquity!) "Which *thou* shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee, to possess it." The landmarks amongst the Hebrews were sacred; and as if the Arvalian College of twelve men had also been an institution of Egypt, or of the patriarchal times, with some significant meaning, Moses commands that one prince out of every tribe should divide the land by inheritance.*

Both with the Hebrews and the Rasena, the land of the tribe and of the century was divided by lot; † because the extent of a single portion was the same, whether the land were good or bad, and the person to whom the lot fell, in both cases, referred the event to his god. Amongst the Etruscans, all was referred to Tina, or to Nortia, the Goddess of Fortune, or to the patron saint, they being sought by sacrifice; and amongst the Hebrews we all remember the wise

* Num. xxxiv. 18.

† Lots : Numb. xxvi. 55; xxxiii. 54; xxxiv. 13; Josh. xv.

king's sentence, "The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is from the Lord."*

When the century was measured off and divided into one hundred parts, these were numbered, and one hundred tickets,† also numbered, were put into an urn. As each man drew out his number, his name was inscribed against it, in the public land register, and it became his possession. The remainder of the land was common or crown land, and a large portion was sometimes bestowed upon individuals for eminent services, but more commonly, it was given only for life. Limited, i. e. measured-off portions were let to the people for pasturage, and the unlimited belonged to the Lucumoes, subject to a tax of one-tenth, until reclaimed by the state at the death of an individual, and then given away upon the same terms to his heir. The pasture lands were relet every five years, i. e. every lustrum. This constitution had for ages obtained all over Asia and Egypt,‡ and being once introduced by the Rasena, it became common to every people in Italy. Will any man say that the Rasena from Ludin learnt this system from the barbarous Italians, or semi-barbarous Pelasgi? If they did not originate it, from whom did they adopt it, and how came the elements of it in Italy to be always theirs?

The conquered people who did not belong to the

* Prov. xvi. 33. See further on this subject, Levit. xxv. 10, 23, 25; Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10.

† Niebuhr.

‡ See Josephus; Herod. ii. 168; Nieb. ii. p. 152; Gen. xlvii.

chiefs, with seats in the senate, and land in the agger, were, as we have said, called plebs, or plebeians, such, at least, is the word in a Latin form, which, according to Müller, represents a caste amongst the Etruscans. The plebs* comprehended all, whether noble or simple, whether great or small, who were neither senators, nor the clansmen of senators; they were conquered subjects and naturalized strangers, only connected with the senatorial houses politically. They had property and votes in the centuries, municipal rights, commercial liberty, state protection, and domestic privileges; they shared the public burdens, paid taxes, and fought in the army, but they could not marry with the senators' houses, and hence the misalliance of a Lucumo's daughter with the Greek chief, Demaratus; they belonged to no city tribe, or curia; they had no Etruscan peerage, and therefore they could have no share in the government, nor in the state property.† So devoted were the Rasena to order and discipline amongst all classes of the people, that in the cities, the non-noble of this class, were divided into corporate trades and colleges of art. Niebuhr conceives the nine corporations of Servius to have been Plebeian.

* The Plebs ought never to be confounded with the *populus* or people of which they were only a class.

† The land was allotted to the plebs in centuries, and the plebeian soldier had half the share of his officer. In all divisions, limits were kept for the highways. Each tribe, or separate people in centuries, had its chief and temple, its arable and its common or pasture land, and the pasture alone of the plebeians was taxed. Niebuhr; Müller; Plin. xxiii.

When new lands were conquered and the natives received one-third back as their own, they were subjected to a tribute of what Niebuhr calls the Etruscan sacred number, of one-tenth to government; and if they were allowed to retain their own lands altogether upon submission, (which, beyond the bounds of Etruria Proper, seems always to have been the case during the dominion of the Rasena,) then they held them in use only; the state being, as in many European countries, perpetual lord paramount of the soil, and in legal fiction entitled to resume it, or portion it out for colonies, whenever it chose. The pasture land at all times paid the sacred tax to government, i. e. the tithe, of the young, of wool, and of cheese. This tithe was doubtless a sacred tribute with the early patriarchs, and amongst all the first great Asiatic nations, for Jacob* vows the tenth of his substance to the Almighty. Abraham gives Melchisedec † the tenth of his spoils, and the curse of heaven was said to have fallen upon the Phœnician tribes when they were obliged to wander, because they withheld the tenths from their gods.

That part of the lands which belonged to the government, or which, in the case of conquest, was neither appropriated to colonists, nor yet returned to the old possessors, was let out to the senators, and cultivated by their clansmen. Honours were conferred upon the clever husbandman, and a lazy cultivator was considered a defrauder of the state, and disgraced by his name being struck off the land

* Gen. xxvi. 22; B. C. 1760. † Gen. xiv. 20; B. C. 1913.

roll, so that he lost his place, and all his landed rights in the tribe of his fathers.* All these lands paid tithes, therefore if not fully and properly managed, the state received less than was fairly due; and as these tithes in kind were often commuted for a sum of money, the state was clearly defrauded when they were sold at so much per modus of produce. The rent of the agger, wholly patrician and lucumonal, the Romans called "fructus," and this fructus was always sold every year at a very low valuation.

In the portion of land, appropriated to religious purposes and public buildings, the Vestals, the Augurs, and the Colleges, had all fixed allotments assigned to them, the fruits of which they might sell for a lustrum, or for a longer period, and which were paid at a fixed rate, termed "Vectigal." Vectigales have therefore a religious import.†

* Dionys. ix.

† Niebuhr, ii. 311.

CHAPTER XI.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Army—Seculum—Political Relations.

WE now come to the relation which the subjects, of which we have just been treating, viz. the division of the land, the arrangement of the various classes in the cities, and the decimating of the whole population, bore to the army. Tarchun's colony must by necessity have all been military, and the chiefs were evidently warrior, priest, and magistrate all in one. Their followers, the clansmen, were, and in every country must be, soldiers, and the Rasena only differed from other clansmen in this, that they were well armed and regularly disciplined, when they first accompanied their lords from the east into Ausonia. It is almost superfluous to repeat, that the discipline and military tactics of Egypt and Assyria, (or Ludin,) consequently showed themselves forth in them, and in all their warlike arrangements; so much land being bound to arm and to furnish so many men.

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We learn from Plutarch that Rome was founded upon the ritual of Etruria, according to the code of Tages; and these laws limited the pomærium, as well as the enclosed city, by the plough. In the pomærium, two jugera, or a double measure, was allotted to each soldier-citizen, one for vines, and one for corn, each jugera containing two vorsì, and each curia had one hundred of these allotments, forming the patrician century enclosed in Etruscan limits.* Every house of each curia gave one man to the legion, i. e. one hundred per curia, and each curia gave ten men to the cavalry, or one man per decuria. Every member of the curia, dying without heirs, left his estate to the curia in general, for the land being sacred as a patrician century, would never be alienated, and each curia was always obliged to furnish the same number of men to serve the state, and to be obedient to the officers of the state, besides the private forces of the clients, which each chief might raise according to his pleasure. All the land, in Tarchun's days, throughout Etruria, and afterwards throughout the nations of Italy, was held by feudal tenure and military service.

The first legion of Rome answered to the city tribe of ten curiæ, and consisted of one thousand foot and one hundred horse, and such must have been the Etruscan legion, because Tarchun's whole colony was divided into companies of tens, one thousand of which, according to early eastern nations, was considered the band of a L.ch.m. or Lucumo. This we find from

* Varro, i. 10.

the Hebrews upon their quitting Egypt;* and in tracing out the constitutions of Etruria, we are justified in quoting examples from Rome, tested by the practices of the Phœnician and Egyptian colonies or tribes, because it is the testimony of ancient authors, corroborated by the criticisms of Müller and Niebuhr, that the Roman and all the primeval Italian military discipline was derived from the Etruscans. This division into tens, was observed by Moses, the ancient Egyptian general, as long as he held the command of the Hebrews. His officers were over tens, and hundreds, and thousands,† nor were they ever reckoned after any other order; and we have a curious proof of this being the genuine Egyptian discipline, from a tomb of the 18th or 19th dynasty, visited by Rosellini at Gurnah, where in one chamber, nine men are following their corporal, and in another, nine are enrolling themselves with their captain or prefect. It was also the division in the land of Canaan. In 1 Sam. xxix. 2, the lords of the Philistines make their men pass on by hundreds and by thousands; in xvii. 18, David is sent to the captain of his brother's thousand; and xviii. 13, David is himself made captain over a thousand by Saul.

The Etruscan infantry was divided into three ranks, which have come down to us as "Principes"‡ or first men, "Hastati," or spear bearers, "Triarii," or third rank, and which were differently armed.

* Numb. x. 4.

† Deut. i. 15.

‡ Liv. viii. 8.

The first row, Müller says, was too few in number to consist of clients, and too many to be composed of nobles, therefore he judges them to have been the burgers or free peasants, and all paid. Every one of these men gained new land or booty upon victory over external foes. Besides these three ranks they had the Velites, a body of light armed troops, so called by the Latins, because their first regiment of these men came from Velites, a town in Etruria. The light iron spear which distinguished them, the "Hasta Velitaris," was called by the Greeks an Etruscan invention, because derived from "Velites,"* or "Veles," an Etruscan city.

The Etruscans we believe also to have had Celeres, or the body-guard of the prince, i. e. the cavalry raised in the metropolis, which was afterwards called "Celeres" in Rome, because the first captain was † "Celer the Tuscan." ‡ We cannot now decide whether these Latin names were Etruscan also, as the English militia is Latin, or whether they were only Roman denominations for Etruscan things; but the three ranks, § with the velites and the cavalry, make five classes of troops, which is the number Livy attributes to Servius the Etruscan, who introduced his own military discipline into Rome. The cavalry was divided into

* Müller on Army. Origen, xviii. 54. Isidorus. † Plut.

‡ Ancient Hist. vol. xi. says, that the Celeres were the king's body guard, all horesmen, and that each curia gave ten.

§ Liv. i. 43.

bands or *turmæ*, ten in each row; and as every senatorial tribe must contribute an equal number of men, the legions of the *Rasena* would probably consist of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, for every ruling city which reckoned three tribes; and the same number would be imposed upon every corresponding district in the country; i. e. every rustic century answering to the *curia*, would be bound to contribute one hundred men to the infantry, and ten to the cavalry, when called out. Each ally must furnish the same proportion; and for this reason, when Rome took the place of *Etruria* in her dominion over Italy, whenever her citizen force was three thousand, her allies, supposing they were ten in number, would be obliged to support her with thirty thousand, and theirs would be the loss and the brunt of the battle. From the Roman history we conceive one hundred of these men (in Latin a *Manipulus*) to have been under a captain, and one thousand under a prince, or chief, or *L.ch.m.* Each regiment had its own standard, and each *manipulus* the same repeated, as we see in *Rosellini's* pictures of Egyptian warfare, and as we find in the description of the encampment and marchings of the children of *Israel* under *Moses*.*

It is probable that the whole arrangement of the Roman armies, previous to the time of *Camillus*, was derived from the *Etruscan*, because it was settled by *Etruscan* sovereigns. *Mastarna* divided the Roman conquered country into tribes, and all the tribes

* Numb. ii.

were plebs only. A tribe in this sense was a town and its district, such as Crustumerium, &c., which did not admit a Roman colony. Each of these tribes furnished only one man to each division of the legion, which occasioned the numbers in a division to vary much and often. When Rome had thirty plebeian tribes, each division of the legion contained thirty men; and when she had only twenty tribes, as after the war with Porsenna, each division of the legion had only twenty men. No doubt this was the regulation of the Etruscans with regard to their plebs, and it must have occasioned a permanent diminution of their army, after the fall of Veii.* A freed slave might become a citizen, but never a member of one of these tribes. Varro says that both the plebs and the libertini were Etruscan constitutions.

The cavalry usually was stationed on the wings of the infantry, and the whole army consisted of centuries of horse and foot in legions, the numbers in which, varied with different epochs, but always according to some fixed rule; and the phalanx was the whole body in compact order ready for battle.† The century of horse or foot means the number which was furnished by a century, and does not express a hundred men, but the men which each hundred was bound to furnish. The model of the phalanx, i. e. compact bodies of serried warriors

* Niebuhr on Army.

† Phalanx Etruscan, Nicias ap. Athen. Deip. vi. Dempster iii. c. 44.

marching in battle array, may be seen in Rosellini's Egyptian plates of the 18th dynasty, where we may find all the Italian forms of armour; the helmet and cuirass, shield and spear, sword and battle-axe, bow and arrow, javelin and sling.* The difference which strikes us is, that the cavalry of the Rasena answer to the chariots of the Egyptians, a change which was forced upon them by the necessities of things, for they could command horses before they could have time to make chariots, and horses would be infinitely more convenient than chariots, in their first warfare through the roadless and mountainous Italy. The Tuscan cavalry were all noble, and answered to the *decuriæ*, and each trooper had a mounted slave provided by the state to attend upon him. The idea doubtless was derived from the notion that each cavalier represented the Egyptian or Assyrian noble driving his chariot, where every man must be accompanied by his charioteer.

The infantry was attended by the light-armed soldiers called the *velites*, a body of reserve, a band of carpenters who were held in high esteem, a baggage

* See Dempster de E. R. The Galen, Cassis, Plumes, and gemmed armour, were all taken by the Romans from the Etruscans, or as Dempster terms it, were "invented" by them, i. e. were introduced by them into Italy. Livy names as theirs the brass *aspis*, shield, and *scentum*. Dionys. ix. 19, ascribes to them the Roman lances, short spears, arrows and slings. The *velites*, and the back ranks of the phalanx, Livy says, used sickles and "gaesa," and these and most other arms were made in Arezzo. Livy xxviii. ap. Müller. All these arms were likewise used by the Syrians and the Israelites. Vide 2 Chron. xxvi. 14.

train, and a number of musicians ; and these, with the cavalry, composed the legion, which Niebuhr says, was an order and institution purely Italian, and in no ways derived from the Greeks.

The original of the Roman phalanx, all authors attribute to Etruria, and the phalanx consisted of the legions drawn up for battle.* The soldiers, even in the first instance, when Tarchun had to defend himself against the Umbri, and much more when he had settled his people, and given them the Tagetic laws, were not *all* the men of his colony, but only a certain proportion. When the Hebrews left Egypt, no man was reckoned fit for war, or counted in the numbering of the people, who was under twenty years of age ; † and amongst the Rasena no one was counted under seventeen complete, i. e. having entered his eighteenth year, nor was he obliged to go out to war beyond the age of 45. ‡ This through the Umbri passed as a law to the Latins, and then to the whole of Italy.

Upon this point, Tarchun delivered to the Lucumoes several precepts of the laws of Tages, concerning the limits of human life, and the various duties allotted to its several ages. He taught that the life of man, as originally bestowed by Tina, lasted for 120 years. Surely this is the patriarchal tradition, as we find it in Genesis, and it points to a time when men were already declining from that

* Athen. Deip. vi. ; Isidorus 18 ; Dempster iii. 44. Ant. Hist xvi. 60.

† See Numb. i. 3.

‡ Müller and Niebuhr.

giant vigour which distinguished the early fathers of the human race. "Now," says Tages, "in these degenerate days, fate has abridged man's life to three periods of thirty years each, (i. e. to the sacred numbers three and ten of the Rasena,) which fortune is continually making less. The half of the first thirty, or fifteen, is the period of childhood, when the noble youth shall wear the Bulla against the evil eye, because he cannot defend himself, and the prætexta shall be his distinctive dress. Upon entering his sixteenth year, (i. e. at fifteen complete,)* let him assume the toga, and begin to practise military exercises, which he shall follow for two full years. At seventeen, he shall be eligible for the army, and to vote at elections; and at twenty-five, but not earlier, he shall be capable of magistracies and offices of trust. Until the half has run of his second period, or until forty-five, he is bound to go forth with the host, when they fight against an enemy, and until his second period is closed, he must bear arms in the service of the state; but the latter half of his second period, i. e. from forty-five to sixty, let him stay and fight within the city, and defend his own frontiers and his father's home."

Ulpian tells us that for twenty-eight years of life, the state laid claim to the military service, and to the mental and corporeal powers of all its members; but at forty-five, the citizen was rated as "senior," and was liable to bear arms, only in defence of his

* In the laws of Menu, childhood always ceases at fifteen years complete, and the property of an orphan until that age, was under the guardianship of the king.

own town or territory, but not to go forth to war. At sixty, he became "senex," and during his last triad, all his cares and duties were supposed to cease, excepting in the case of princes and commanders, and of the equestrian order in general, who were never held to be past the service of their country.*

From this it appears that the regular armies were composed of young men between seventeen and forty-five for the field, and between forty-five and sixty for home service and garrison duty. The foot soldiers were chosen first, out of the whole body of liable men in each Century, and the arms which they used in the legion may be seen in the pictures, vases, and bronzes of Italian museums, or in the Etruscan tombs. They wore magnificent helmets of different shapes, cuirasses, greaves, bucklers of many various forms, bows and arrows, spears, javelins, long broadswords, short swords, and daggers; (specimens of these will be given hereafter;) and Arretium was the state most famed for their manufacture.† According to Müller, the Tuscan Mastarna introduced these military laws into Latium, which lasted till the time of Camillus, and he formed the Roman ranks from his own. The rich and well-armed were placed in front, and the poorer and less armed formed the second and third ranks, and strengthened the first. Athenodorus‡ says that the Romans (that is, the Italians) learnt from the Tuscans

* Niebuhr, Ulpian, Ser. ad Æn. iv. 653; Liv. xliii. 14, Müller on Army, Athenodorus vi. 273.

† Müller. Pliny.

‡ vi. 273.

to fight with lances in closed ranks. Diodorus, in a fragment, tells us that the Romans at first had four-cornered shields, but when they saw the Tuscans with brass aspides, they adopted them. The *Aspis* is the *Clypeus* of Servius's first class.* *Balteus*, the girdle, Varro tells us, is a Tuscan word, so also is *Cassis*, the helmet, so are the *Scuta* and the *Galea*, spoken of by Livy, and so also are *Phalerae*,† a horse ornament, and *Tuba*, the military trumpet. This last is ascribed by Pliny and Dionysius to the Etruscans, as a most useful invention, though, in fact, it had been used in many a well-fought field, by the troops of all the Menephthahs, and of all the Ramseses, ages before Tarchun was born. Brazen and silver trumpets for the host, were in use also among the Israelites under Moses.

The helmet with its ostrich plume, the thigh pieces, the coats of mail, and the scale armour introduced by the Rasena into Etruria, may all be seen in the Egyptian paintings or sculptures of the wars between the Egyptians and the people of Ludin, three centuries earlier than the æra of the Etruscans.

The soldiers, during the time they were in the field, or on service in garrison, always received pay, and this was provided for by a regular tax, to which all orders of citizens were subject. The lands which belonged to the government were let out; and they paid, when arable, one-tenth of the corn, and two-tenths of the wine and oil, for the army: and every man from seventeen to sixty, paid a poll-tax. The widows

* Livy, i. 43.

† Festus, 1, 5.

and heiresses made up the knights' pay of their own Century or Curia, at so much per head, and not more, the deficiency being supplied by the state. The pasture lands everywhere paid one-tenth, and the *Ærarii* or fundholders throughout the country, made up whatever more might be wanting for the payment of the troops.

The heavy-armed soldiers were taken from among the rich, and as they received more booty than the others, so they were expected to be at more expense, and were required to arm themselves, receiving however pay, whilst on service; and as the taxes would be levied upon the centuries, and not upon individuals, so Niebuhr conjectures, that many poor persons would join together to pay one soldier.

Plutarch says that Romulus introduced the poll-tax into Rome, and made both rich and poor pay the same sum. Müller says that Etruscan Servius reformed this mistaken law according to the rules of his own host, and limited the tax to men of a certain amount of property, whilst Niebuhr* adds, that the second Tarquin regulated the proportions of pay between the horse and foot soldiers, his model being taken from his own land of Tarchunia. The first class of Servius was always fully armed, and composed half the legion. The common soldier received 100 asses per month; the trooper 200 per month, and a knight with his own horse 300 per month; the generals received also 300 per month, and the booty was divided amongst them exactly in this proportion of one, two

* ii. 97, iii. 76.

and three, the last representing the *spolia opima*, which, as we may learn from the Egyptian plates of Rosellini, and from the Scriptures, it was the Eastern custom for conquerors to offer to their gods. We find in Rosellini, the Thutmeses, and Menephtahs and Amenophs and Ramseses of Egypt, bringing their prisoners and their booty to Amon-Re; and we find the Philistines* hanging up the armour of Saul, as a dedicated trophy, in the house of Ashtaroth their god.

The taxes for the army were therefore of three kinds. First, a poll-tax upon all ranks of the people;† secondly, a tenth of the state lands; and, thirdly, an imposition upon widows, heiresses, and *Ærarii*. Besides this, the army on active service had a right to the booty, in the proportions of one, two and three, for chiefs, officers and soldiers, and to new centuries of land in the conquered country. The government had always at their command for the payment of their servants, a fund called *Manubiæ*, which consisted of the sale of booty, the profit of lands, and the rent received from individuals for the *Usufruct*. The same arguments which have satisfied Niebuhr and Müller that the troops of *Celes Vibenna* and of *Pursena* must needs have been paid men, will apply with tenfold force to *Tarchun*, who must long have maintained regular garrisons in all his fortified towns, and who derived the custom from *Janias* and *Archles*, the *Ludin* kings, who reigned in Lower Egypt, and who used to visit the *Avaris* yearly, for the purpose of paying their troops.†

* 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

† *Plut. in Rom.*

From the warlike array of Rome being a counterpart of that of Etruria until the time of Camillus, we conclude the knights to have been an order of rank from birth, and not from office; and though they usually served on horseback, even like our own young nobility, and first-class commoners, yet they were occasionally found on foot; as, for instance, L. Tarquitiuſ, a knight, who ſerved on foot at the ſiege of Veii. Tarquitiuſ,* Müller† ſays, is the Tuſcan name “Tarchiſe,” alſo translated “Tarquin.” The knights were the ſame as the continental noble claſs of the Cavallieri, and all their children had the ſame rank as themſelves. A knight’s horſe was different from a common trooper’s, and valued in Rome at 10,000 aſſes, or from £80 to £100, including in the valuation, the knight’s ſlave, and the ſlave’s horſe; but this muſt alſo have been the ſame in Etrurian valuation, for Rome was ſo cloſe to Etruria, that any difference of price would have been immediately equalized, and as the Etrurians were famous for their horſes, and very particular in their breeds, in all probability, the beſt of the Roman cavalry would be brought from them. The government frequently rewarded merit by the preſent to a gallant ſoldier of a knight’s horſe, and this was neither heritable nor ſaleable.‡

After deſcribing the compoſition of the legion,

* Authorities for Army : Nieb. ii. 97, iii. 76, ii. 498 ; Polyb. vi. 39 ; Feſtus ; Plut.

† Tarquitiuſ, a noble, who ſerved on foot, was made maſter of the horſe by the Dictator Cincinnatuſ. Vide Livy, lib. iii. 27.

‡ Nieb. vol. i. p. 459.

and the laws for forming, recruiting, and maintaining the army, we must mention the camp of Tarchun, and the rules he prescribed for its construction, rules of which we have practical examples still remaining, in many parts of our own island, because they were afterwards observed and adopted by the Romans.

The first spot that Tarchun occupied must have been a camp; and some notion of its probably strong fortifications and military form, we may derive from Rosellini's Egyptian Plates. Some idea we may also deduce, from the regular squares observed in the Hebrew encampments under Moses.* We find, accordingly, that in all camps, the Augur, and in this instance Tarchun, the original Augur, marked out first, the holy temple ground 200 feet square, in the centre of which was planted the standard; and divided it by *Cardo* and *Decumanus*. The *Cardo* was the Latin "*Via principalis*," and the *Decumanus* was the broad street which crossed it at right angles. The *Templum* was the sacred *Prætorium*, within which stood the tribunal for judgment, and the altar for divination and sacrifice. Around this, the ground was measured off on every side in squares, according to the divisions of the people, and afterwards of the troops. The *Prætorian* gate was upon the eastern side, the quarter whence favourable answers to prayer were given; and the *Porta Decumana* was on the western, or unpropitious side; the dwelling of the *Dii Manes* and infernal gods, through which gate the criminals and the dead were

* Numb. ii.

led out or carried forth. On one side of the Prætorium was the commissariat, and on the other side, the forum or market-place. Thus the camp was only the mimic and temporary representation of the Tarchunian cities, the first of which was Tarquinia; as in both the dwelling of the Lar, the fortress, the temple, the seat of judgment, and the forum, were all close together. The Etruscan camp was the model of the Roman, always of a square, or at least of a quadrangular form, inclosed in ridges two or three deep, and was considered holy ground.

There is a verse of Propertius which preserves a tradition of the Romans :

“ Prima galeritus posuit prætoria Lucmo,”

or, in other words, the Lucumo who helped Romulus, was the first who taught the Romans how to form a Prætorium. The whole of this is taken from Müller.*

The Augur who was with the host, must either choose the ground for encampment, or he must approve of and sanction it; as the Prætorium, the heart of the camp, could have no existence without him. If therefore, at any time, an Augur had chosen ineligible ground, any other Augur with a better military head, could change it, by declaring that he had received stronger auguries, which marked out for it some better position. Thus the credit of augury itself was kept up, as far as the faculties of men could devise for its support, by an endeavour at all times, to unite the highest power with the largest

* Vide Müller, vol. ii. p. 150.

capacity; and by instilling the warmest patriotism into the breasts of a class of men, whose first and longest lesson it was to govern themselves, and to live in constant obedience to laws, which had been imposed upon them, by powers above themselves, just and upright, pure and holy, immutable, impeccable and eternal. The divine Fallibilities of Greece and Rome were, in Tarchun's days, "things undreamt of and unknown."

When the camp was raised, and the army withdrawn from a hostile neighbour, because of a truce or treaty of peace which had been entered into, such truce or treaty was only understood to last during the lifetime of the princes between whom it was made; and the death of either set the other free, unless the agreement were renewed; even though a term of years had been previously specified. We find constant traces of this oriental practice in the Jewish history; also of the ten-month year, as the time for military service; for the Hebrews as well as the Etruscans, kept the field only from March to the end of December; and we find the regular cessation of hostilities and recommencing of operations, marked in the Scriptures by the expression, "At the time when the kings went out to war."*

We may be accused, in many parts of this account, of giving the Roman military constitution, and calling it Etruscan, and of quoting Polybius, Festus, and Plutarch, and calling their descriptions the laws of Tages, which we refer back to the days of

* 2 Sam. xi. 1, &c. 1 Chron. xx., &c.

Tarchun. To this we answer, did not Tarchun deliver the laws of Tages? Did not the laws of Tages, according to Cicero and Festus, treat of the constitution of the army? And is there anything in their great antiquity which presents a valid impediment to their being known to us through the works of later writers? May we not, from a Scotch statute law book of A. D. 1840, gather the principles of Roman law, as compiled by Justinian? May we not, from a child's catechism, published in 1842, supposing all our Bibles were burnt, know what were the words spoken by the mouth, and engraved by the finger of Deity 3300 years ago, upon two tables of stone, and delivered to Moses at Mount Sinai? It is not high antiquity which can ever present a bar to our knowing what has happened in past ages, upon this young planet of ours; but rather, it is a childish credulity in the progressive advancement of the human intellect, which we have no facts to establish, and an unreasonable estimation of the originality of great minds in various ages; attributing to them, as inventions, things which were merely combinations, or improvements of objects already long familiar. It is this, combined with an ignorance of Scripture, which makes us consider the maxim of Solomon as an old-wife's fancy, when he tells us in the words of inspiration, "The thing that is, and the thing that shall be," is only that which "hath been, and there is nothing new under the sun."*

* Eccles. i. 9.

The most acute, and the most profound of modern critics, have determined, that the Roman kings introduced amongst their soldiers nothing more than the military rules, pay and discipline, which had prevailed in Italy before their day, and that they introduced them from Etruria; and again, when we come to inquire who invented these rules in Etruria, we find them referred back to Tages, or Thoth, as altered and modified by the great leader of the Etruscans, the Ludin Prince Tarchun.

Besides the nobles, with their Clans, and the Plebs, there were three classes who paid taxes to the state and served in the army, known to us as *Ærarii*, *Municipia*, and *Isopolites*; all fully described in Niebuhr's Roman History.

The *Ærarii* were not landholders, and therefore *Ærarii*. were not members of centuries or tribes, and had none of the rights or consequence which are attached in every country to land. They were free, and might be the richest subjects of the government, rich burghers, merchants, peasants, and strangers, but they were not *Rasena*, nor proprietors of the soil. They paid taxes to the army, and served in the field, but they had no share in the booty or common land, and no benefit from war. They swelled the ranks, in return for the protection afforded them by the state, in their commerce and in security of life and goods. All the guilds were *Ærarii*, and so was every man, however illustrious, who was not enrolled in a land tribe or century. For this cause, one of the severest punishments to a lazy client, or an offensive

citizen, or a turbulent noble, was to erase his name from his tribe, as it immediately deprived him of his personal weight and interest in the country. The *Ærarii* were enrolled in the census, and reckoned citizens, and had votes, but only in common with the multitude.

Isopolites.

The Isopolites were the foreign neighbours or allies, with whom Tarchun made such treaties of peace, as were in his day the common fashion of the Eastern nations. Isopolity* meant, a community between independent states, of all things divine and human, so long as the subjects of either, dwelt in the towns of the other; and as they conceded to each other this right of interchanging countries, the mere act of residence constituted them burghers, preserving, in their new homes, the same rank which they had held at home.† They might enter the Senate to attend the debates, and be seated there in the place of honour; they might inherit or purchase land, join in the national sacrifices and feasts, marry with the people on an equal footing, claim a native's exemption from toll and excise, fill offices of dignity and trust, (head the army, for instance, as Coriolanus headed the Volsci,) bring causes for judgment in their own name, and enjoy every legal and civil right; but they could not be Senators. There was an impassable gulf between them and the peers of the realm, and they could never share in the govern-

* Dionys. iv. 225; viii. 538, 542, 544. Nieb. ii. 71; ii. 56, 57, 84.

† Nieb. ii. 72.

ment of that country in which they were Isopolites. This will at once explain to us the situation of Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus; as well as many other difficult passages in the Italian history. Isopolity was an inter-national law and privilege between free and independent states, and constituted "the Italian right of exile," by which a man, when banished from his own country, had yet several others to which he might retire; and he might consider himself the lawful subject and citizen of whatever state he chose to settle in, which stood in this interchange of common rights with his own.

A foreigner, who was not an Isopolite, that is, who came from any country not thus united to Etruria by treaty, though the mere act of settlement made him a citizen, and placed him in the condition of an *Ærarian*, must choose a patron, with whom he became as it were incorporated, and through whom alone he could bring any cause for judgment.

With the Isopolites, the state itself was patron, and if they were not its children, they were its honored guests. Little was required from them; and, excepting the peerage and its inalienable rights, all was permitted. They were welcome to serve in the army, but not obliged.

The *Municipium* was a state of alliance instituted by Tarchun, and the condition of *Municipia* was peculiarly according to the genius of the *Tagetic* faith, which desired each people to preserve its own gods. The *Municipia* are exemplified by the treaty which the *Rasena* made with the *Umbrians* and the *Pelasgi*.

Muni-
cipia.

They had the Isopolity and the right of exile; but, more than this, whilst subject to Etruscan dominion, as the Scotch and Irish are to the English, each municipal people kept its own laws, being simply bound to serve in the army, and to pay the pasture and crown land tithes. The Municipia had their allotted numbers as regiments, and their equal share in the booty, and in the right of colonization; and they had a court of justice of their own, in or near the Forum, where causes were tried by their own officers, and according to their own laws. As the natives of the Municipia could not be peers of the realm, they also had no vote in the Senate, no share in making the laws, and no right to the supreme dignity.

This condition of the Municipia was called, in Rome, the "Jus Ceriti," sufficiently denoting whence it was derived to the Latin colony of Romulus.* Native citizens, who were degraded from their own class and lost their right of voting, were enrolled in Rome, and probably all over Italy, with the allied Municipia.

Colo-
nies.

The law of colonies was also an Etruscan institution, derived from the immemorial customs of the East, and, we are inclined to think, originating in the first great Assyrian dispersion of mankind, when the bond of kindred was so severed by the confusion of tongues, that each family or tribe was forced to take up its own ground entirely inde-

* The *Ærarii*, *Isopolites*, and *Municipia*, are from Müller and Niebuhr.

pendent of all home recollections and former ties. Modern colonies are considered as parts of ourselves, and are subject to the mother country as children to a parent ; but, with the ancients, a colony once gone forth, acknowledged subjection to its parent no more. It became self-existent, with no previous history, but it was the stock of its adopted country, and the origin of its own new race. Such as the Rasena were, from the moment of their settlement in Italy, such was every colony that proceeded from them ; and such, taught by their laws and customs, became every after colony of the Italians. Whether sent out by a Sacred Spring, and the Augur going with them, or whether violently settled in their new quarters, as the reward of military valour, the offset had no connexion, from that moment, with the parent stem. The colony was everywhere free and independent, making peace and war where it pleased, and ordering, without reference to any superior, its own internal government. An open commerce between the old and new states, seems to have been regarded as the only bond of union which remained between them, as a matter of course ; and in the case of colonies by conquest, Dionysius* tells us, that only the third part of the lands was assigned to the colonizers, which implies that a large portion was always left for the ancient inhabitants, as we mentioned on the founding of the Etruscan cities. Niebuhr thinks that the colonizers did not allow of *Connubium* and *Commercium* be-

* Dionys. ii. 103.

tween themselves and the natives until later times.* When they joined the mother state in war, they supplied their own quota of troops; and, like all other allies, they shared in the booty, and in the new lands set apart for fresh military colonization, exactly according to the proportion they had furnished.

We have now enumerated the component parts of Tarclun's government, and the chief classes of his subjects: his Lucumoes, with their Senates and Clans; the Plebs, who lived amongst them and with them; the *Ærarii*, or landless, amongst that denomination; the allied Municipia, the Isopolites, and the Colonies.

Slaves. But there was another class of beings, not enumerated amongst any of these, and yet attached to them all—the slaves. These unfortunate men, who were not few in number, had no protection from mutual interest or public law, no representation in the government, no recognised position in society, no rank or rights to gain, and no character to lose. They found their safety in being the slaves of an Eastern, and not of a Northern people, who, under every form of government, excepting that of the Clans, seem to have had their hearts frozen, in proportion as their heads grew clear. In the East, domestic slavery is compatible with every enjoyment excepting the consciousness of liberty; and it is the loss of freedom, rather than the obligation to labour, or the endurance of suffering. Niebuhr

* See Niebuhr on Colonies, where all the Latin authorities are quoted.

does, indeed, refer all the great and lasting monuments of Etruria to her slaves; but we think we have shown that this opinion is not tenable, and derives not a shadow of support from history or tradition.

Whilst the Pyramids of Egypt were to her people the object of groans and execrations, and the memory of their founders was loaded with opprobrium, the walls and drains of Etruria were ever her glory and her pride, and were referred to the might and wisdom of her greatest hero, acting under the inspiration of her demi-god. The nations whom she supplanted and subdued, the Umbri and Pelasgi, are numbered by succeeding historians, Greek and Roman, amongst the children of her people, and not a whisper has come down to us, that her wondrous tunnels were sacrifices to Manto, or that her gigantic walls were cemented by the blood of men. The same works, carried forward into Rome, and accomplished with the same instruments, when she was under Etruscan dominion, have not branded the memory of the first Tarquin, nor tarnished the fame of the good king Servius, nor diminished, even by the shadow of a stain, the reverence and affection with which the poor and oppressed ever regarded him, as their friend and protector. Indeed Niebuhr himself proves that the Etruscan kings and Etruscan laws, obliged the rich to contribute their full share to every monument of national strength and glory.

After the very first victory, near the heights of

Corneto, the Etruscans must have had slaves, and Strabo (v.) says, that one of the reasons of their fighting was to obtain them ; and in all cases, the slaves consisted either of captives taken in war, or of men who were sold for debt, either from amongst their own peasantry, or from the neighbouring states. The slaves became domestic servants in the great families, who vied with each other in having them handsome in person, richly dressed, delicately fed, and trained to graceful and athletic exercises.*

The slaves were incapable of entering the army, which, for that very reason, was more honoured and respected in the eyes of the soldiery and people. They were degraded as a caste, but might be freed and placed amongst the clients, in which case they could vote in the census, and serve in their lord's own regiment, and exercise all the rights of a clansman. The first-made slave, whether captive by war, or captive by debt, might also be ransomed, and then he resumed his original rank. But, *as slaves*, Tarchun could not, and did not, legislate for them. He left them to public opinion and common custom, and to that humanity which is engendered by clanship, when every man is educated to extend his affections and sympathies over so wide a field of ideal connexion, that he naturally cares for all, whatever their rank and condition, who in any way belong to him, and seeks their welfare from daily unconscious habit, as long as they dwell within his sphere.

* Posidonius. Diod. v. 40. Athenæus, iv. 153.

The slaves had often much education, especially ^{Pea-} in what was ornamental, but the Etruscan peasantry ^{sants.} were uneducated; for Tages had somewhat of the spirit of the English government, and would not so far abridge the liberty of his subjects, as to command that his peasants should read and write. These accomplishments were by no means forbidden; they were merely left to their own good sense and discretion; and the peasantry of happy Etruria, like the peasantry of happy England, saved themselves the trouble, having, unlike our peasantry, the means of gaining a great deal of instruction without any mental exertion or intellectual fatigue.

Tages fixed the sacred times of his people, which ^{Kalen-} Lar, Lucumo, and Velthur, every prince, governor, ^{dar.} and magistrate, was obliged to learn; and which on each market day he must proclaim to those who assembled at the place of meeting.* Tages instituted one great year, which he called a secle; hence our word "cycle;"† and it was to consist of one hundred and ten minor years, divided into twenty-two Lustrums, or twenty-two periods of five solar years each. A Lustrum was the period for which the state lands were let. The minor years were either civil or sacred. The civil began in March, and consisted of 365 days, divided into ten months and two intercalaries; and the sacred began in September, according to the manner of the Egyptians and the nations of Ludin; and it also consisted of ten months only. The ten months of these years were divided

* See Müller on the Kalendar. † Nieb. on the Cycle.

into thirty-four weeks, each week containing eight days, which, like the Jewish days, were probably named in numerical order.

The Jewish week used to be counted "One of the Sabbath," "Two of the Sabbath," &c. ;* and the Tuscans probably called theirs "One of the Feast," "Two of the Feast," &c. ; at least, such is the idea we gather from Varro† and Macrobius.‡ Three of their names have been preserved to us, as Ides, Nones, and Kalends. "Ides" is an Etruscan word, meaning to divide. It was the full moon, and marked each grand lunar division of the year, dividing the month into half. The other two words are just as likely to be Etruscan, and to have been adopted by the Latins. "Nones," means each ninth day, counting from the Ides, "Kalends" was the division of the month, after which it was counted backwards, to the full moon again. This ten-month year was the term of mourning for near relations, of paying portions left by will, of credit for debt, of sale on yearly profits, of all money transactions and interest upon capital, and of all truces, treaties, and engagements relating to war or military affairs.

As this ten-month year was adopted by the Latins, we have traces of it in our kalendar now ; for we call our final months September, October, November, and December, because the Romans called theirs so, after the example of the Etruscans, 2500 years ago.

* See Horne on Jewish Time. † v. 52, 53. ‡ i. 15.

The peasantry of Etruria kept themselves in ignorance and subjection, because the uneducated do not seek for education, and do not desire a knowledge which implies trouble, and the value of which they are unable to appreciate.

CHAPTER XII.

TARCHUN AND HIS INSTITUTIONS.

Written laws—Religious basis—Fate—Education of the Lucumoes—Castes—Coins and Monetary System—Commerce—Roads—Hydraulic operations.

B. C.
XII.
CENT.

IN contradistinction to the peasantry, and their liberty of non-instruction, come the Lucumoes and the whole class of the nobles, who were obliged to a strict and a highly scientific education. Tages was resolved, that if the body of his people should represent a child, the rulers of his people should have the heads of men. Accordingly, as they were the princes, and senators, the generals and judges, the augurs and haruspices, the land measurers and astronomical calculators of their day, they were forced, not only to know the laws of Tages intimately themselves, and to teach them to their children, but they were obliged to acquire all that knowledge, and to pursue all those studies which were needful to make the laws practical and effectual. In this respect, indeed, Tages was as much opposed to

the genius of England as in the case of the peasantry he had been like-minded.

Amongst his nobles, no one was permitted to administer the laws, who did not understand them; and no one might presume to teach who had not himself first learned. He who could not obey might not command; and he who had no religion was regarded as a monster unfit for power. Idle, undisciplined, useless nobles; and chattering, self-conceited, ignorant senators, are phenomena which can never have been seen, nor even thought credible, (though but merely in speculation,) during the first ages of Etruria. The young Lucumoes were educated in colleges, the names of some of which we occasionally read in history; and they were not only obliged to read, write, and cypher, but to possess some competent knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, some tolerable acquaintance with agriculture and hydraulics, some settled state principles, and some instruction in political economy. They were also required to be so thoroughly masters of their religion as to know the laws of Tages by heart, or, in the words of scripture, "to write them in their memories, and to engrave them upon the palms* of their hands."†

The most sceptical of modern inquirers will not maintain that the command from Deuteronomy, just

* Deut. vi. 8.

† Festus and Censorinus say, that the Lucumoes kept and taught the discipline of Etruria, and that the laws of Tages were transcribed by them. See Müller and Dempster de Etrur. Reg.

quoted, was given to the children of Israel, because they could not read or write. They had all been taught to do so, ages earlier than the days of Tarchun; and in the same sense as Moses commanded the chiefs of his people, so Tarchun commanded his Lucumoes, to teach diligently their children, and their children's children.

Niebuhr hints that the laws of Tages, as delivered by Tarchun, were probably not written in his day, but only sung and committed to oral tradition. But as the minds and memories of men are in all ages the same, we cannot admit of such a theory. How, if this had been the case, could they have been known and preserved in purity throughout all the cities of Etruria? So far from a unity of discipline amongst the twelve states, we should have had different versions of these laws, and curious additions to them in various places. In some they would have remained a mere tradition, destitute of all observance; and in others, the most opposite customs would have been founded upon the same ideal commands.

But nothing of this sort ever happened. The laws of Tages were uniform wherever the religion of Tages prevailed; and this could only have followed upon their being written, and upon the writing having been held as sacred. They must have been read as well as written, studied as well as read, known to all the rulers, received by all the people, and believed to be divine, and therefore unalterable. The Etruscans had, in the course of time, other books and

other laws. Pontifical ordinances, kingly institutions, historical records, the sweet songs of the princess Camese, and the holy maxims of the priestess Bygöe. But none of these were ever held in equal reverence, or ever placed upon a level in antiquity or sanctity, with the books of Tages. And why? Because the laws of Tages were written by him who framed and promulgated them. They were a standard and engraved code, which could be known and referred to by all parties, and they were what Müller calls them, the same as their sacred predecessors and cotemporaries amongst the other races of Ludin, the same as the Vedas to the Hindus, and Leviticus to the Jews. It would be a monstrous absurdity to believe that the Rasena alone, of all the civilized nations of the East, carefully educated their nobles, and yet had no written laws.

All the ancient legislators rested their systems upon a religious sanction, and strove to found the institutions of time upon the basis of eternity. Hence they inculcated all the natural and civil obligations of social life as emanations of the divine will; and as such they held to be every sentiment of patriotism, and every exhibition of public courage. The state ritual taught each man his rights and duties, and the prescribed line of his public and private conduct, as that which was pointed out for him by the gods. No one was suffered by Tages to separate the interests of his country, the inspirations of human genius, or the purposes of human rectitude, from the divine guidance or divine will.

No one was allowed to consider this world as the ultimate object of his hopes and desires; and far less was he permitted to regard the applause of his fellow creatures, or his own self-interest, as the measure of his actions or the ruling principle of his understanding.

The will of the gods was, from early education, everything to the Lucumo, and ever present to his imagination.* He consulted that will by sacrifice, when first he took his seat in the senate, and when he delivered his opinion there; when he married, when he went forth to battle, when he put out to sea, when he sowed and when he reaped, when he planted and when he gathered in, when he increased his estate and when he diminished it. He sacrificed, when he desired to atone for his offences, or to satiate his vengeance, to endure manfully loss and disappointments, or to triumph over his foes. He sacrificed and took auspices as a bounden duty, to moderate his exultation in prosperity, to alleviate his sufferings in adversity, to guide his active career, and to cheer his dissolution. The Etruscan noble not only consulted this will upon all occasions, but he met it, when he knew it to be adverse, most singularly, for a child of the East. He met it, not as a fatalist, but as a man. His, was a persevering and unimaginative temperament, tenacious of all which custom had rendered familiar to him, whether from without or from within. His courage was indomitable, his fortitude enduring, his hope

* See Müller on the Religion of the Etruscans.

unquenchable; and yet we regard with surprise, the grasp of his solid understanding, and wonder to see Oriental beings so manly in their sentiments, and so sober-minded in their views. The Etruscan believed in the decrees of heaven concerning human affairs, and that they were predetermined before they came to pass: and his faith taught him that it was vain for man to resist those decrees, when they had once gone forth. Yet he also held that it was sinful to give way to despair and apathy, and that enlightened submission, virtuous, persevering conduct, and continued prayer, might delay, and even sometimes avert, the purposes of fate. He reminds us of the patriarchal faith exhibited by Abraham, when God revealed to him the doom of Sodom. Abraham heard the decree, and he knew by whom it was pronounced, and yet he says, "*If*" there shall be found mitigating circumstances, (fifty righteous, or ten righteous,) wilt thou not reverse the sentence of destruction? And the Lord answered Abraham, *If* these mitigations be found, I will. "If there be found ten righteous, I will spare all the city for their sakes."†

The nobles alone of Etruria were compulsorily educated, because to them alone belonged all the political authority in church and state. The Augurs and Haruspices, who declared the will of the gods,

* See Müller on the Haruspex.

† It is almost equally remarkable that the Augurs taught the impossibility of prolonging human life, after man's last hour was decreed.

must needs have known how to ascertain that will. The Generals who commanded the army, must have understood the maxims of war. The Senators who were to maintain the existing laws, must have been acquainted with their theory; and they who were assembled to oppose or to support such alterations or improvements as the king wished to introduce, according to the spirit of the times, must necessarily have interested themselves in the state of their country. The calculators of the new moons and feasts, the keepers of the annals, the regulators of the kalendar, and the measurers of land, must necessarily have been versed in astronomy and numbers; and Niebuhr, no mean judge, esteems their early knowledge to have been much more deep and profound than that of their later days.

We have said that, amongst the Senators, each Decurial Lucumo was the Priest of his Curia; and as the Lucumo was an hereditary rank, so would be the Decurion, and so also the priesthood attached to that dignity. The priests were not a separate class, though the service of particular gods was hereditary in particular families. As, for instance, the priesthood of Talna or Juno* at Veii, and that which was handed down in the families of the Potizii and Pinarii in Latium,† who boasted a right to administer the sacrifices of Hercules, the Turrhenean god.

The priestly Lucumoes remind us of the Brahmin caste in India, because they were in no way distinguished from their noble fellow-countrymen, ex-

* Livy.

† Micali, Italia, a. d. R.

cepting by an hereditary priesthood ; and when the Assyrians first entered Hindostan, their social relations would appear to have been the same with those of the Rasena. They also probably consisted of “ the man’s head and the child’s body ;” of one class, educated, whose privilege it was to command and to protect, and of the other, uneducated, whose duty it was to defend and to obey. They all reckoned themselves the children of one and the same parent ; the priestly warrior, and the warrior who was not a priest, being each required to read and write, to sacrifice and to give alms. It is evident that the Hindoo priest would neither have obtained nor have preserved the influence of caste, which for so many ages, distinguished him amongst his fellows,* had not his dignity first arisen from some such office as that of Decurion of his Curia, the holiest and the wisest of the warriors. And it is owing to a difference in the temper and surrounding circumstances of the brother tribes of Ludin, dwelling in Italy and in India, that both did not, in the same manner, divide themselves into castes, distinguished by impassable bounds, which became, through the corruptions of time, and the influence of imagination, the case in Hindostan.

Those who are best versed in Eastern history, are most aware that every reformer amongst the Hindoos has endeavoured to abolish the distinction of castes, and to prove, from their oldest records and most ancient statutes, that all the educated were

* Vide Sir William Jones.

equal to each other. In all countries where the priests have not been also military, the army has held a higher rank than the church, and the union of both offices, in the Rasena, and in the Assyrian Hindoos, is simply a continuation of the patriarchal polity, which had for its cradle the land of Shinar.

The four castes of the early Hindoos are thus classified by Sir W. Jones:—

1. The priests, all noble, and capable of every employment and occupation. Necessitated to read, write, and teach. They also measured land, and regulated the calendar; being possessed of very deep and curious mathematical knowlege, the results of which only are known to their successors. These men might exercise both tillage and traffic.

2. The military; who were not priests, but all noble; and who must all read, and be able to sacrifice and to fight.

3. The merchants; who traded, lent at interest, were fundholders, and had herds and flocks.

4. The people; who were the vassals of the two first classes, and might serve the third.

The Rasena, though not distributed into castes so strictly marked, because they had amongst them more of the spirit of liberty, and less imagination, to raise every slight difference into an important distinction, may thus be paralleled with them.

1. The highest class of Lucumoes or Decurions, warrior priests; all noble, all capable of any employment; obliged to extensive general knowledge, and allowed tillage and traffic.

2. Their brethren of the Curia ; who were also all noble, and all military ; and all educated, and all capable of offering sacrifices.

3. The fundholders and merchants ; whether *Ærarii*, *Plebs*, *Municipiales*, or *Isopolites*.

4. The vassals and followers of the noble houses.

The *Lar* in Etruria, we have already said, was *Pontifex Maximus* in each state, a dignity which was hereditary to the office, and not to the man. It was his duty to take charge of the public annals, which were not history, but an enumeration of the leading events in each year, written in the fewest words and in the driest manner possible, upon a whited table, which always* remained in his palace, and whence calculations were made, and the annals and histories of the country compiled. This custom the Etruscans of course introduced into Rome, and all Livy's tenth book is written from one of these historical tables, which were not the less authentic, for being exceedingly brief. The Romans never used them after the days of the *Gracchi* ; and the Etruscans doubtless abandoned them after the fated period, the day which *Tina* had given them, had been shown by these monuments to have run its course.

The most extraordinary invention which Tarchun left to his people, and the most useful and important which can be left to any people, was the art of coining, of which the Etruscans possessed a peculiar method in reference to weights and measures, Coin-
age.

* Cicero de Leg. i. 2.

and to the value of articles of exchange. The Etruscan copper coinage is the oldest in Europe, and the only one of which we have any knowledge, prior to the foundation of Rome. The Jesuits' Museum in that city has examples of no less than forty different mints used by the Italian nations, before the days of Romulus, each one stamped with the head of their patron deity, or with whatever other device they conceived to be the most characteristic. This coinage is, in its origin, Etruscan, and is altogether peculiar to that people, and to those with whom they trafficked, whether amongst their own colonies and the Italian tribes, from the Rhoetian Alps to the straits of Sicily; or whether amongst their more distant allies in Sicily and Greece, and amongst the various colonies of Egypt and of Carthage. Throughout the peninsula, and in every different state, this coinage is marked with Etruscan letters, and is of the same value. Its measure is the bronze As or Æs; the pound Turrhenoi, or as we now pronounce it, the pound Troy, which still preserves its old division into twelve ounces, as delivered to us by the Romans, and by which we measure those things which they most valued, viz, wine and strengthening liquors, healing medicines, and the precious metals. The oldest device upon the As, as far as we can ascertain, is the double head of Janus upon one side, and the prow of a ship upon the other, both types of the Etruscan people. The prow denotes a maritime and commercial nation, and it was with peculiar propriety assumed by the Etruscans, who, Pliny says, invented

the prow; that is to say, they were the first who used it in Italy, having crossed the Mediterranean sea in vessels of burden, that bore most probably, some image or ornament upon their prows, as we see on the Egyptian vessels of Sethos, in the plates of Rosellini, and as we know to have been the Carthaginian custom with their Pataeci, in imitation of the Tyrians. The largest vessels of the Pharaohs were always stationed in the Mediterranean, and it is not unlikely that the Avaris-Rasena had usually composed the best part of their crews.

In any view, the prow was a most appropriate emblem of the Rasena, but in conjunction with the head of Janus, it becomes an historical record, and it is very likely that in this hieroglyphical but most significant form, it first took a place in Tarchun's pontifical tables. It expresses that the coin so stamped is the authorized medium of exchange among the children of Janus, who have come to Italy in prow-built ships. Ovid* says, that the head of Janus on the one side, is in memory of the first civilizer of the Italians, and the prow on the other side, is in memory of the Tuscan vessel in which he landed. Janus, or Janias, the Assyrian shepherd king, we believe to have been the antitype of this coin. He was a double-headed hero, that is, he not only ruled over but he united two people; being the Assyrian monarch of Lower Egypt, and afterwards a demi-god of the Rasena, whose spirit and deeds reappeared in Tarchun, and in whose form he

* Fast. i. 228, &c.

was again the double-headed, uniting the Assyrians and the Italians. Janus of the Rasena was double, in that he looked forward to the dominion of his tribe in their new land, and backward to the times of his government in the land from which they had departed. Janus was an ever-present remembrance to the Rasena, of how completely man's existence is divided between the past and the future.

“Il presente è un baleno
 Che cadde da nulla in seno
 Onde la vita è appunto
 Una memorià, una speranza, un Punto!”

The king who succeeded Janus in Egypt was As or Assith,* and the connexion between Janus and As, gives us the idea of a coin bearing the king's name, as a Jacobus, a Carolus, a Napoleon, or a Louis. If not too ridiculous, we might instance the Scotch bawbee, so called from the baby King James VI., under whom it was introduced. †

“As” may have been the king who first struck the coin, and stamped it with the head of his predecessor “Janus,” or this may be a later thought of Tarchun's. And though we do not know that this coin was ever used in Egypt or in the Avaris, we have no reason to imagine that it may not have been, and we are moreover sure that the double head is the idea of an eastern people. The Etruscan coinage must have been known in Egypt, through a long suc-

* Coins: see Pliny, xviii. 3; xxxiii. 3. Varro de Re Rus. ii. 1.

† Eusebius, Africanus, and Manetho.

cession of ages, during the time that Etruria carried on an active commerce with the ports of Lybia and of the Delta; and therefore we can prove nothing from the absence of such coins in the Egyptian remains.

Coins of various metals and various devices were used in Egypt many ages before Tarchun, and therefore we cannot doubt that he introduced into Italy, in imitation of Egypt, that indispensable method of exchange, to which he had always been accustomed, whatever devices he may at first have assumed; though anything more appropriate than the head of Janus, the hero of his race, and of the prow by which the subjects of Janus's successors were brought into their new country, cannot be conceived.

In one of the painted tombs at Beni Hassan, of the age of Osortasen the Second, that of Menoth.p.h, Rosellini* has found different weights of coin, expressed by different stamps. These are an ox, a gazelle, and a frog, in the proportions of one, two, and three to each other; and these stamps and proportions, he has found repeated in other paintings, without any variation. In this same tomb



gold and silver are weighed in the balances, which are represented of this form, and gold is in small round lumps of equal size, like buttons, neither wrought nor stamped. The objects marked for coin in Menoth.p.h's tomb are rings of silver and gold, but there must also have been a lower coinage of copper, or clay, or of some inferior substance, for the

* Vol. iv. p. 287.

use of the common people, and for the every-day purposes of life. Now if the Egyptians had a coinage so early as 1700 B.C., their neighbours, the Lybians, Nubians, Phœnicians, Assyrians, and all the nations of Ludin, who traded with them, must have had it also, and we have the express testimony of Scripture, that money, "even current money of the merchant," in small pieces of marked and ascertained weight, was used in the land of Canaan in the time of Abraham. When this patriarch bought the cave of Macpelah,* he did not cut off so much of a wedge of gold or silver, but he paid "four hundred pieces of money current with the merchants." When Jacob arrived at Shalem of the Hivites, he paid for his field "one hundred pieces of money," supposed to have been stamped with a lamb. When Joseph's brethren sold him, it was for twenty pieces of silver, paid by the Midianites, who were then on their way to trade in Egypt, and who would doubtless carry with them, the coin that was exchangeable in that country.

Every man who reflects, must acknowledge the necessity which exists, the moment nations begin to trade with each other, of some common medium of exchange, in a small and ascertained weight, coined in those metals which do not lose, in passing from hand to hand. The possessor of a wedge of gold might require to cut it into twenty pieces, and the acquirer of each of these twenty pieces might be obliged to divide them into fifty, in order to procure what he wished to purchase, and then the

* Gen. xxiii.

filings must have been lost, and the awkwardness and the difficulty of such an exchange is too apparent to require any argument. Indeed, the testimony of Scripture, the evidence of the Beni Hassan tombs, and the corroborating circumstance of the laws of Menu, which treat of coin, of debt, and of the rate of interest, render argument quite superfluous. The Egyptians used stamped rings for coin, and so did probably all the eastern people, and all the Phœnician tribes in their earliest days; for when Cæsar landed in Britain he found that the Druids had introduced into our island, rings of brass and iron for money.* The Britons had also small round coins of gold and silver, with strange rude devices upon them, whence it appears that they knew both the flat and the annular forms of money. Both must have been known in Egypt, and both were probably used in Etruria, gold and silver rings being exchanged for things of great price, and the copper or bronze As, with the head of Janus, or with the Egyptian ox, hence called "Pecunia," being current for the common purposes of life. It is very evident that the man who could invent the stamped ring, could also invent the flat small coin; and though we trace back the original idea of coinage from Etruria to Egypt and Ludin, we are not surprised to see a different expression of the thought given to it by the colony of Tarchun, from what it presented in the climes of the East.

In every colony which settles at a distance from

* Bel. Gal. v. 12.

the mother country, we must expect to find, not only the civilization it brings along with it, but also its own peculiar development, and the modifying influence which every man receives, when he is placed in an entirely new sphere. As the Madeira grape has a different flavour in Madeira, at the Cape of Good Hope, and at Bourdeaux, so the child of Assyria will exhibit a different development in his father land, in Hindustan, and in Etruria. The Ludin colony of Tarchun were distinguished for their veneration and their love of truth. Their hearts ever yearned upon their gods, their ancestors, and their kings; and hence we see that the coin of their own devising, bore upon it the heads of Janus and Archles, two of their former kings, of Jupiter and Minerva, the Egyptian male and female Ammon, and of Mercury, who was the same with Thoth,* the messenger of the gods, their Tages or the genius of Etruria.

The coinage of Tarchun, like every other eastern coinage, expressed weight, and the As or pound Turrhenoi was divided into six parts, each marked with as many dots as expressed its division, and translated by the Latins, as one half, one-third, one-fourth, one sixth, and one ounce,—Semis, Tertiens, Quadrans, Sextans, and Uncia. We do not know the Etruscan names, but this is their meaning. The shekel and the talent of the Jews, though coins, were also weights.

Jupiter or *Tina*, which we believe to be a corrup-

* Vide Rosellini.

tion of Atina, or Adonai, the Hebrew for lord, was the same Being with the Egyptian Ammon, and Ammon was the Amen of the Hebrew people, and the one true God common to the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Canaanites, and all the shepherd tribes until the death of Joseph. The great Amen, corrupted into Ammon, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, was equally known in those days, to the Pharaoh of the land of Ham, to the Assyrian Laban, the Arabian Job, the Philistine Abimelech, and probably to the Hindostanee Menu. Egyptian scholars are well aware that this Ammon, in Hebrew "Amen," was the one supreme and eternal God, worshipped in Egypt throughout all generations, even from the days of Abraham, when the Lord visited the Pharaoh in visions of the night, to the days of St. Paul, when the Almighty had given them up to their own inventions, and when they had forgotten that all other gods were merely names for his attributes.

The only modern idea with which Tarchun impressed his coins was the prow, in commemoration of the means by which he gained a footing in Italy; if, indeed the prow was a new idea, and if it be not highly probable that even in Egypt, the Rasena may have been the first to use it. It must, however, strike every considerate person as very extraordinary, that neither Tarchun their leader, nor Tages their lawgiver, should in their own proper forms, have ever been impressed upon the coins. And this is one reason why we assign the choice of the emblems to Tarchun himself, and not to any of his successors; because all the forms were older than his day, and

being once fixed and settled, could not be altered in order to do him honour, after he and Tages were numbered among the demi-gods. Herodotus* says that the Lydians were the first people who coined, and if, as is most likely, he means the Ludin, what he says is highly probable. Homer values Glaucus's armour at one hundred oxen, and Diomed's at ten, meaning apparently the golden ox, the ring coin of Egypt; and scholars still doubt whether this ox or the double-headed Janus was the first stamp of Italy. The learned in general ascribe the first stamped money to Egina, because Strabo† says that gold was stamped there in the reign of Phædon, king of Argos, and that he invented weights and measures. What change or improvement could be meant by this so called "invention," so long after weights and measures must have been introduced into Greece, both by Danaus and Cadmus, and so very many ages after they had been common to every nation of Asia, we shall not pretend to determine. But money may have been first stamped at Egina in the reign of Phædon, 895 B. C., if the word stamped is used in opposition to "cast or fused;" for the money of Etruria, and probably of Egypt, was all cast, and received its impression in a state of fusion. It is almost needless to add, that the coinage of the Rasena was quickly adopted by all the tribes of Italy, and that no other was known, until the year 480 of Rome, when, according to Pliny, in imitation of the southern Greeks, the Romans began to coin silver.

* i. 94.

† viii. p. 376.

No act performed by Tarchun, which proclaims the wise and educated man, ought to excite astonishment in our minds, when we remember the race from which he sprang, and the land in which he was brought up. Yet, though we read without any amazement of Moses, three hundred years earlier, giving rules to the Israelites, concerning the weights and measures, the money and the interest of money, with which they had been conversant in Egypt, we cannot prevent a feeling of incredulity stealing over us, when we read of similar wise financial measures on the part of Tarchun. That he fixed the circulating medium of his country, its die, and its value; and not only this, but that he divided his standard into twelve parts, with reference to his twelve states, and determined the rate of interest at which it might be lent, in that proportion which it continues to bear at this day, throughout the whole civilized world, viz. at from five to ten per cent. per annum. This has been most ably proved by Niebuhr,* and will be detailed when we come to the last part of this work. It staggers our belief, only because we cannot comprehend that man in all ages, has been the same creature, with the same powers of mind, the same mathematical abilities, the same acuteness, the same wants and the same resources. "The thing that hath been, is that which shall be, and the thing which shall be, is that which hath been, and there is no new thing under the sun,"—So says inspiration, and so echoes

* Vide Niebuhr on the Uncialzinsfuss.

the voice of antiquity, and so repeats the page of history, but man will not believe.

We need not apologise for attributing to Tarchun many things, concerning the epoch of which, the records of Etruria are silent. Those records have long since perished in the flames kindled by Sylla. But we have this evidence, that the Etruscan coinage was used all over Italy before the foundation of Rome, and must have been invented or introduced, by some native of the Etruscan race. We, therefore, only increase the wonder, if we refer it to any successor of Tarchun, who had no models to work from. The least extraordinary, and the most reasonable and probable origin which we can give to the coinage, is to refer it to the early hero Tarchun; for the educated man who founds and settles a colony from a civilized country, will in all cases, be the one, to establish its letters and numerals, its weights and its measures, its kalendar and its financial system.

We have slightly to notice three other most important institutions characteristic of civilization, introduced by Tarchun into Italy, before we bid adieu to him and his wonder-working life. We allude to the external commerce, the internal communications, and the extraordinary hydraulic works of ancient Etruria.

Com-
merce.

We have no date for the commencement of the commerce of the Etruscans, but we find them in the time of Homer, masters of the Italian seas, which were known to other nations only by their name, and which were occupied only by their ships ;

the trade of the Pelasgi, and of every other people, being carried on by their sufferance, and, if not in their vessels, at least under their flag. We must therefore carry back this trade to its only probable commencement, the days of Tarchun, when the Mediterranean had been crossed* and explored by him for his new home, when his whole colony were maritime, when the ports of Egypt and of Lybia were familiarly known to his people, and when, by means of the widely spread, and not much differing dialects of Ludin, he could make himself understood, wherever colonies from the north of Egypt, or the west of Asia, had made a settlement.

Tarchun had, doubtless, no knowledge of Greece, and no communication with it; the earliest settlement of the Greeks in Italy being more than one hundred years after the time of his death. Cuma is the oldest Greek colony; and, according to Niebuhr, it was settled by some natives of Chalcis, about 1060 B. C., and for a long time, was a small obscure place without any trade. Thucydides says, that the first colonies of the Greeks cannot be traced earlier than eighty years after the Trojan war; and Diod. Sic. affirms that they were little known to the Italians before the time of Xerxes. Tarchun's commerce must have been with the Phœnician colonies of Africa; and his successors would renew their intercourse with Egypt; whence the ships of Tarchun or Tyrsen, not improbably sometimes confounded with those of Tarshish, would sail in Company to Argos

* Herodotus i. 94.

and to the Ionian Seas, and thus they would begin that trade which they afterwards carried on so briskly with Corinth. It is an extraordinary fact, that we have no tradition of any trade at any period, between Etruria and Phœnicia, but with Egypt and Carthage and with all their colonies, which we look upon as a certain proof that the Etruscans under Tarchun, came from the south, and not from the east of the Mediterranean. The Etruscans were, from time immemorial, a commercial nation; and, for many ages, they were the only commercial and maritime people amongst the Italians. Virgil, in the *Æneid*, represents them as having an active navy at their command, immediately after the fall of Troy, and seems to intimate that, in their early days, their communication by sea was easier and readier than travelling by land; as he brings the troops of Clusium and other inland states in ships, to join the hosts of Tarchun. The foreign articles in which they traded will be treated of hereafter.

Roads. We must not, however, omit to notice the internal communication which Tarchun established throughout the land of Etruria. He who laid out his camps, his cities, and his temples, by the rule of straight lines; he who could measure off and enclose ground to build and plant, who could have a variety of gates to all his towns, and streets of various but fixed breadths, leading from one urban barrier to the other; he who was acquainted with the highways,* the canals, and,

* That highways were general over the East, we learn from the journeyings of the children of Israel, when they asked per-

it may be, even with the railroads* of Egypt; he who could render practicable a yearly meeting, from every state of his dominions, to be held at the Fane of Voltumna,—such a man could not possibly be at any loss to construct roads fit for his horses and his chariots, his waggons and his caravans, to travel upon, and which should lead in whatever direction he was pleased to appoint. The hilly nature of the ground in Italy could present no difficulties to him, for he knew how to tunnel through hills, to quarry stones of every size, to turn rivers, and to drain lakes.

Wherever there are no roads, the land has little commerce, the people know nothing of each other; and this want of intercourse soon converts them, as in the case of the old Highland clans, and the modern Arabian desert tribes, into strangers, and from strangers, into enemies. But Tarchun studiously avoided the interruption of brotherhood amongst his people, and strove to make them not only well known to each other, by constant markets, fairs and meetings, but to the nations in their vicinity, who were welcomed to their feasts. The tribes of Italy, learned road-making, as they did all other civilized arts, from the Rasena; and the Rasena imported it from the still more anciently civilized continent of Ludin. It was possibly to necessitate

mission to pass through Moab, &c., and promised to keep the highways. Numb. xx. 17; xxi. 22. Deut. ii. 27.

* Many writers assert that Sesostrius began a railroad from the Nile to the Red Sea.

inland travelling, that Tarchun fixed upon the very heart of his territory, as the place of his annual meeting; where it was unapproachable by water, and most difficult of access to the inland states of Clusium, Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium. His roads were all paved, and many specimens of them remain; the most generally accessible to tourists, being the Via Sacra at Rome, and the streets of Pompei. These are doubtless of much later date than Tarchun, but they were made after his models, and may as fairly be given as specimens of his style, as any of the Roman roads in England may be given to exemplify the style of Julius Cæsar.

The oldest method of making roads was to dig them two feet deep, and then to lay a quantity of silaria, or a composition of earth and stone, ground to paste, upon beams of burnt wood. Over this was placed a layer of basalt, and the road was completed. This is the construction of the Via Sacra.

Another method was to make a furrow two feet deep, on each side of the line intended, and then to lay upon it, a nucleus of terra cotta and broken stones; over this, a quantity of rough stones; and lastly, a layer of hewn stone, smooth and durable.* Probably the government made and kept up the roads by military labour, as in some parts of the continent, at this present time.

Hydrau-
lic ope-
rations.

The last work of Tarchun's, which we shall enumerate, is the extraordinary drains, tunnels and chan-

* Both these accounts are from the Archæological Lectures of Dr. Meyer in 1838.

nels for irrigation, which he spread from one end of Etruria to the other; and which, coeval with the Etruscan influence, extended themselves over Italy. Before the land was drained by the Etruscans, we are told by geologists, that the plains of Italy were little better than so many vast swamps, the heights upon which the Rasena built, alone being healthy and fit for habitation. But Tina gave the land to those who knew how to redeem it, and to whom deluges of water presented no idea but that of fertility, and of an incentive to industry and watchfulness. The Rasena had seen the Nile every year, spread itself above their grounds, and had hailed and blessed the overflow. In Italy they introduced that system of irrigation to which they had long been accustomed, and which enabled them to defy alike, the evils of a scorching sun and of an arid soil. And when they found that Italy, unlike Egypt, had abundance of rain, and a superabundance of desolating rivers and overflowing lakes, they cut tunnels through the rocky mountains, to make drains for the water, even as they built cloacæ in all their towns, to make drains for the land, and to provide for the health and cleanliness of the dense populations. Many of these cloacæ may still be seen; the models of the Cloaca Maxima in Rome, and the imitation, in all probability, of the same, on a greater scale, at Memphis, Ramses, and Zoan. It was the tradition in Etruria, that these mountain tunnels were first cut, to purify the air, or, in other words, to drain the marshes: and where they have been neglected, the malaria now depopu-

lates the country, and has done so for a long succession of ages—even ever since wars and desolations caused those labours to cease, and the science which guided them, to be neglected and discouraged.

As drainers of the ground, and as managers of the power of water, the Etruscans excelled every other people in the world, excepting only the Egyptians, or Assyrian Egyptians, who were their masters.* They carried off the water where it was superfluous, and increased it by irrigation, where the natural supply fell short. They regulated the quantity as a marketable article, exactly according to their necessities, and managed it in a manner that never would have entered into the minds of men, upon whom it had not been forced by a previous necessity ; even by such a one as the annual overflowings of the Nile in Egypt amongst the ancients, or, as the annual threatenings of the ocean in Holland, amongst the moderns. From Bochart† and, from the Ancient History, we learn that the Tigris, upon which R.S.N was situated, annually overflowed its banks, and had to be regulated in a way, not unlike to that which was observed upon the Nile. The Rasena, therefore, if, as we believe, they came from Resen, would continue to carry on in the Delta, the same water operations to which they had always been accustomed in the land of their origin, and would naturally again transplant their habits of scientific

* Ancient Hist. vol. ii., from Plut. and Diod., says that *Hercules*, i. e. Assyrian, skill and strength drained the waters of Egypt.

† In loco.

and productive industry from the Delta, into their new country. They knew how water could be managed so as to increase the riches and value of their possessions, and how also it could be so employed as to fertilize that land, which before them, no man had ever cultivated. They knew how to multiply the product of what had already been made arable; as well as how to convert the pestilent lurking places of reptiles, into the garden and granary of North and Central Italy.

We do not think that the Rasena first commenced executing these great hydraulic operations, after they settled in Italy, but, on the contrary, that a very high degree of refinement, and long established and uninterrupted habits of previous industry were requisite, in order to make them sensible of the utility of such works anywhere. We are persuaded of this, from considering both the apathy of those who preceded, and of those who followed them; and also because such wonderful operations have ever been, in other lands, the fruit of dire necessity, and not the spontaneous effort of human will, to improve the scanty bounties of nature. Had the Rasena of Tarchun's days not known how to drain and how to tunnel, before they came into Italy, they would have conquered more land, to supply themselves with food and pasture, rather than have laboriously redeemed the marshy swamps of Western Umbria.

In Italy, though prudence and foresight recommend such works; which skill and science alone can execute, and though health and plenty reward

them, yet no absolute *necessity* there, compels man to their exercise. Accordingly, we find that ever since Etruria sunk under the Roman dominion, and ceased to be cultivated by her native lords, the industrious policy of Tages has fled from her councils; and these plains, with their villages, vineyards and corn fields, have been suffered to fall into neglect, becoming in their desolate extent and poisonous atmosphere, a pest, where they once were a blessing.

Besides the purifying of all the towns and the draining of all the marshes, there are few lakes in Etruria, or in the states bordering upon it, which have not had their waters lowered; and few rivers which have not had their channels deepened, straightened, and regulated, by this extraordinary people. Though the only two grand works extensively known, are the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, and the Emissarium, through the Hill of Albano, Italians are constantly finding them in places where they have never before been suspected; and engineers, who alone are capable of appreciating their merits and their difficulties, may trace them now towards Chiusi, at Fiesole, and in the Lakes of Nemi, and Galano. The Lake of Nemi has two emissarj, which have only lately come to light; and a very magnificent one was discovered at Galano, in 1838, by Prince Borghese, in an attempt to drain that sheet of water. Niebuhr was the first who investigated the old under-ground channels at Fiesole, in 1820.

He* says, that the site of Florence was formerly

* Niebuhr, i. 138.

a lake, and that the land on each side the Arno was a marsh, frequently deluged and flooded, because the Gonfalina rock shut up the valley and impeded the flow of the river. The Tuscans cut it through, and the water kept within its banks. At L'ancisa is another tunnel, which formerly conducted water into the Clanis, and diminished the volume of the Tiber. The brook Clanis, the Tuscans turned into a river, draining into it the marshes of the Chiana. In the state of Perugia, and in other parts of Tuscany, many emissarj still remain, by which land was formerly gained, and which continue to do their office at this day, owing to the consummate skill with which they have been constructed, though for ages, they have been utterly neglected.

We need scarcely observe, that the people who Mines. could tunnel, could also work in mines, and, accordingly, it is probable that the mines of Italy were first opened under Tarchun, as their rich ores certainly first became an article of commerce in the hands of the early Rasena. They were wrought by the government; probably by forced, if not by slave labour, and when let, they paid a royalty to the state of one-tenth.

Tarchun is said to have been the first who intro- Vine. duced the vine, and he had learnt the cultivation of it in Egypt; for notwithstanding what Herodotus and Plutarch say, that there was no wine in Lower Egypt, wine always constituted part of the sacred offerings. The Pharaoh who lived at Memphis, in the days of Joseph, had an officer appointed to press the grapes into his cup, and the tombs of Beni Has-

san give us the whole process of the culture of the vine, according to that method which was afterwards followed in Etruria.

Diodorus Siculus (i.) tells us, that Hermes, i. e. Thoth, in Egypt, *invented* the use of the olive, i. e. improved its culture. We are therefore authorized to ascribe to Tages, or Tarchun, the extensive planting and cultivation of the olive in Italy.

CHAPTER XIII.

TARCHUN'S DEATH—HERCULES—SATURN—JANUS.

TARCHUN may well be considered as one of the greatest heroes whom this world has ever seen, and as one of the most wonderful instruments of moral and social improvement, who ever emigrated from one clime to another. Through him, the civilization of Asia, and the arts and sciences of the eastern world flowed easily and naturally into Europe. To him, ancient Italy owed her commerce, her coinage, her weights and measures, the rules of her architecture, her skill in naval science, and the discipline of her army; her roads, the improvement of her agriculture, the introduction of the vine, the working of her mines, the instruction in literature and science, of all her upper classes, the doctrines of her faith, and the gorgeous ceremonials of her religious worship.

XII.
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He brought his Assyrian-Egyptian colony from the Delta, or from Libya, into Umbria, and settling them there, partly by conquest and partly by treaty, he left them as models, to all the tribes around;—“that little but active leaven which leaveneth the whole lump.” He consecrated their great temple, 1187 B. C., and divided them into XII. states,

each one, like the States of America, independent within itself, but yet bound to the other, as part of an indissoluble whole. The interests of each yielded in subservience to those of the great body, whilst the body, on the other hand, was bound to consider and protect the separate interests of each individual member.

Tarchun's people had one common place of annual meeting at Voltumna, where they sacrificed one common sacrifice under one great high priest. They were obliged to obey in common, all the laws of that solemn council; they had one faith in Tina, Talna, and Minerfa, and they were bound to make war under one common general. They had one language and literature, and they were united together by one peculiar and national law. Tarchun, though a successful warrior, had no love for war, and conferred upon his people, as his highest boon, the wise constitutions of Tages; being more anxious that the Rasena should cultivate the healing and beneficent arts of peace, than that they should be known to posterity, as the blood stained conquerors, and haughty exterminators of the hitherto barbarous Europeans. To him we must ascribe the first triumph ever celebrated in Italy, for Appian says, that the king of the Tuscans triumphed one thousand years before the Romans, which means that their first king was the first Italian who observed this pomp. We may therefore imagine Tarchun, after his great, and inviolably kept treaty with the Umbri, going up to the temple of Tina Tarquiniensis in his robes of state,

himself dedicating the first *Spolia Opima*, and making the first rich offerings to his patron gods, in the new land now placed under their protection.

He from that time ruled in peace, and civilized the country between the Gulf of Spezzia and the Tiber, making covenants with the former inhabitants of the land; with the Umbri, and with the Pelasgi their subjects, according to the fashion of all the eastern nations. He called them to his sacrifices and sacred feasts, and he went to theirs. He did not break their altars, nor cut down their groves; but he took their daughters for his sons, and he gave his sons to their daughters; and it is this style of covenant which the Israelites would naturally have made with the Phœnician nations three hundred years before Tarchun's days, if they had not been expressly forbidden by Moses.* The Rasena once settled, made one people with the old inhabitants of the land, and merely maintained themselves as the dominant race.

Tarchun foretold for his people, one day of rule in Etruria to consist of 1100 years, which period, according to historians, was actually granted to them, and after he had so ordered and settled his affairs as to establish his nation in tranquil security, he went down to the tomb in the ripeness of his glory, hal-
lowed in their affections and shrined in their hearts. We presume him to have been at least five and twenty years old, when he landed in Italy, because he was an augur, and his own laws forbade any man to assume the office of augur before that age. It is probable that he died old and full of days, and that

* Ex. xxxiv. 12.

Memorial.

he was gathered to his grave in peace; for had he been cut off in his prime, or had any remarkable circumstances attended his death, we should have had some legend of the tale, and probably some yearly commemoration of so great a national misfortune. Etruria, which kept so strictly and with such lavish honours, the feasts and commemorations of the dead, would have had sacred elegies for Tarchun, and a public mourning, like the weeping for Thammuz, by the women of Syria and Egypt. He must have died so naturally as to have created no national shock, and to have occasioned no national confusion, and his death would undoubtedly be attended by that honour and regret, which in every age and country, follow to their last resting place, the great and the good of the human race.

To us, who are accustomed to Greek myths, and Roman legends, in sickening abundance, it seems passing strange, that Tarchun in his *own name*, should never have been deified, and that we do not find his acts, or his wars, or his original institutions, either painted upon the vases, or sculptured on the tombs. But the Etruscans behaved towards their great founder, as the Egyptians acted towards Joseph, their preserver, and as the Hebrews, towards Moses their leader and their prince. "They taught their children to rise up and call him blessed, and they let his own works praise him in the gates." His name was ever on their lips, whilst his institutions were in their hearts, and formed, as it were, the very atmosphere in which they lived, and moved, and had their being. He needed, therefore, "no

storied urn or animated bust" to perpetuate his renown. He was buried, after the manner of his people, in some rock sepulchre, or in some lofty tumulus at Tarquinia, near the first fortress he had built, and the first temple he had dedicated; and whilst his unburnt, but richly clothed corpse, crumbled to dust beneath its cerements of gold, his spirit for more than 1100 years continued to rule over the land, which his wisdom had settled, and his sword had won.

We may derive a tolerable idea of the manner of Tarchun's burial, from the discoveries which have been made at Tarquinia, in our own day. In the year 1826, Carlo Avolta of Corneto, had a most unexpected glimpse of a Tarquinian Lucumo. On removing a few stones from the upper part of a sepulchre, he looked through the aperture to discover the contents, and behold, extended in state, before him lay one of the mighty men of old. He saw him crowned with gold and clothed in armour. His shield, spear, and arrows were by his side, and the warrior's sleep seemed rather to be of yesterday, than to have endured well nigh thirty centuries. But a sudden change came over the scene, and startled Avolta from his astonished contemplation. A slight tremor, like that of sand in an hour glass, seemed to agitate the figure, and in a few minutes it vanished into air and disappeared. When he entered the tomb, the golden crown, some fragments of arms, and a few handfuls of dust, were all that marked the last resting place of this Tarquinian chief.

According to the fashion of the oldest Etruscan tombs, whether under a tumulus or quarried in the rock, Tarchun's was probably a Fane, where yearly offerings were long made, and where auguries could always be taken. Near his bier might possibly stand an image of himself in a Curule chair, as has been found long prior to his date* in the sepulchres of Egypt, and stretching from his bier towards the altar, would be rows of Lares, in memory of his Ludin forefathers. Near him, would be also ranged vases of an Egyptian form, and with Egyptian lines and figures on them, filled with wine, corn and oil, the fruits of his land. Above him, would be hung his sword and shield, beside him his bow and plished quiver, and upon his head, the double crown of Augur and of King. The sacred ring or Scarabæus on his finger, would probably bear upon it the figures of Egyptian gods, as has usually been the case with those Scarabæi which have been found in the most ancient Etruscan tombs; and we must suppose pomps and Palæstric exercises to have honoured his funeral, as he was famous for the introduction of innumerable games of all kinds into Italy. Indeed, the Etruscans taught the Latins all the Circensian shows, and all manner of scenic and pantomimic diversions, but especially every species of solemn and commemorative Ceremonial and Festive entertainment. We may therefore believe, that on this occasion, the circus of Tarquinia would turn out her chariots and her horsemen, and that all the

* Rosellini.

Senators, and the Vestals, and the rich, and the honourable, would assemble, and would look upon the boxing, the wrestling, and the racing, which were exhibited in his honour, whilst they joined in the deep and loud lamentation occasioned by his loss. These games all had their original in Egypt, and are represented in the Egyptian tombs, many centuries before the Rasena colonized from the Delta to the shores of Italy.

The great antiquity of ceremonial entertainments, whether consisting of horse and chariot races, or of athletic exercises, may be judged of, by the enormous Hippodrome, which a king of the 18th dynasty constructed at Thebes,* and by the court attached to the house or temple of Dagon, built by the Philistines, on purpose for these scenes, where Samson met his death 1120 years before the christian era. Three thousand men and women were assembled upon the roof of this temple, besides the nobles who were inside. The slaves and captives, who were exhibited for their diversion, were in the inclosed court in front, which directly communicated with the great hall.

“It is worthy of remark,” says Müller, “that the Etruscan men of rank never condescended to mingle in the Palæstric games, excepting as spectators, and that they employed in them their clients, their handsomest slaves, and hired strangers; but they would have thought it a degradation to enter the arena themselves. If, as in later ages sometimes happened, a man of family loved athletic sports and

* Rosellini.

“desired to prove his skill in them, he was obliged to go for that purpose, into Greece, in order that, while he gratified his taste, he might still preserve his caste, for there he could carry off the crown of victory from his own equals, which in Etruria would have been impossible.” This will explain the inscription *τοναθενεθεναθλον*, occasionally found on sepulchral prize vases, which had probably been gained by their possessors in Greece, and which were afterwards deposited in their tombs. It is not here indeed asserted that such is the origin of all the vases found in Etruria with this inscription, for some may have been imported from Athens for sale, and the greater part were certainly made in Italy, and were probably imitated from the Greeks, by the Etruscans.

The acts of Tarchun were rehearsed at his interment, and there his praises were sung after the manner of Egypt; and his highest eulogy in the funeral song must have been, that he had been found worthy of converse with the Genius of Etruria, and that he had conferred upon the Rasena the laws and institutions of Tages, and entitled them to the love and veneration of those whom they conquered only to improve.

We will now inquire what were the names by which Italy was known in the days of Tarchun, or in those ages immediately succeeding him, which may be called “his times;” because no other name besides his, during that long period found an echo through the land. “Tarchun” is said to have founded Etruria Nova. “Tarchun” is said to have planted the colonies of the south, ages after the eastern hero

had mouldered in the sepulchre. Tarchun to the Rasena, was the same as Israel to the Hebrews. He, the head, stood for his people.

Italy, in the earliest times, was called, according to Niebuhr, and the authors he quotes, *Uitellia*, or *Sikellia*; *Heraclea*, and *Saturnia*; also *Hesperia*, or the land of the West; and *Ausonia*, or the land of the South; whence by corruption or contraction, or variety of pronounciation in different dialects, *Auruncia*, *Oscania*, and *Opica*. The land of the South, and the land of the West, need no explanation, and *Sikellia*, we have already said, upon Niebuhr's authority, is only another version of *Uitellia* or *Vitellia*, a goddess of the centre of Italy, who has gradually spread her name, though we can trace nothing of her worship, over the inhabitants, and over the country. The *Vitellia* of Tarchun is the *Italia* of our times. There was anciently a small city of *Vitellia*, now *Valmontone*, near *Palestrina*. It is mentioned by *Livy*,* and by *Pliny*,† and its site has been recognised from the numerous sepulchral excavations in the rocks close to it, after the fashion of the *Etruscans*, from whom this style was adopted by the bordering tribes.

What are the derivations of *Heraclea* and *Saturnia*, the two oldest names of Italy? Are they not from *Hercules* and *Saturn*? And whence come *Hercules* and *Saturn*? Are they not gods of the *Phœnicians*? And were they ever heard of in Italy, until introduced by the *Ludin-Rasena*? *Hercules* was a demi-god, a dei-

* ii. 39.

* iii. 5.

fied man ; in poetry, one of the old giants, and the first of a series of five and forty Hercules* who came, in the course of ages, to be renowned in song amongst the Greeks, with as many different adventures. The first and original Hercules† was the strong and valiant Prince who founded Tyre, and who surrounded it with a wall one hundred and fifty feet high. This man had a temple built to his memory, and altars erected to his name, but without any graven image ; for, like Moses and Tarchun, he had an image which sufficed, being graven in the memories of his contemporaries, and in the idealism and creative fancies of his successors. He was worshipped in Tyre as Melek-karta, king of the city, מלך קרתא, and as E.R.K.L, Erkol, ערקל, or the strong. Herodotus‡ says that he, this Hercules, was of the same age with Tyre, and Cicero de Nat. Deo. calls him “ the Father of Carthage,” where he was represented with a bow in one hand, and a club in the other. His image had four wings, and Etruria is the only land in Europe where these four-winged images have been found. He had an oracle in Egypt, and temples amongst all the Phœnician tribes, wherever scattered. He was worshipped in Tartary as the introducer of agriculture, and he was one of the gods of India.

Tarchun brought his worship and name into Italy, and hence the Turrhenian Hercules, or the strength and power of the Turrheni, of whom Tarchun was

* Ancient Universal History, xviii. p. 282.

† Ancient Universal History in loco.

‡ ii. 43, 44.

the head. Through the Turrheni, he was naturally introduced into Latium; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,* finding that he was not indigenous, but brought thither by some strangers, gives that honour to Eleans and Arcadians, whom for that, and for other historical conveniences, he sometimes carries across the sea to the Italian peninsula. There is no image so common as that of Hercules or Erkle, on the Etruscan terra cotta and bronzes; and in Etruscan mythology, he was the husband of Minerva, giving us to understand that absolute perfection, short of supreme deity, was, according to their ideas, the union of wisdom with strength. The Etruscans were the first people of Hercules that ever set foot in Italy; they spread his name across the country, they called after him two of their towns, Erkle or Nortia, and Erkle or Herculaneum; they engraved his image upon their Scarabæi, they stamped his head upon their coins, and we believe that through them the name "Heraclea" was given to Italy in general, as well as to the most southern of their settlements, the town of Heraclea, which they shared with the Greeks in Campania.

But whence had Italy the name of Saturnia? who was Saturn, and what were his feasts, or the Saturnalia, which still have their continuation and image in the Italian carnivals?

The Saturnalia, Macrobus tells us, were feasts kept in honour of Saturn, of his times, and of his admirably civilizing institutions, which changed the face of the peninsula, and the first condition of the original Italians. It is remarkable that Italy does not

* Lib. i. 9, 23, 25.

begin with her age of gold, and then sink to an age of iron. The Saturnalia, on the contrary, were feasts kept in memory of some great reformer and benefactor, who came into the land from some other country, and who was a father and instructor to the people he found, of the same sort as Manco Capac to the native Peruvians. Saturn was not Tina or Jupiter; he had not his seat in the heavens, but he did good amongst men upon earth. His feasts, Macrobius says, were kept, long prior to Rome; and he arrived in Italy by water, for Tertullian* says that he found on his arrival Janus established as king of the Italians, and that he reigned along with him. Diodorus Siculus (xx.) tells us, that Saturn was the same with Kronus, the god of Carthage, and he adds that human victims, sometimes children, and sometimes slaves, were sacrificed to him. For these victims the Rasena afterwards substituted figures of clay and of wax; in the same spirit of rational sobriety and quiet wisdom, which suggested that prayer and unshaken courage might in times of adversity, defer the decrees of fate.

There was an image of this dreadful Demon in Carthage, into which children were thrown and burnt, and the Scripture continually reproves the Canaanites for making their children to pass through the fire to him. From this, arose the tradition of Saturn devouring his own children, which the elegant fancy of the Greeks emblemized into a personification of Time, the destroyer of all men. Saturn was a Phœnician or Assyrian god, brought into Italy by Tarchun, and the same with the

* Apol. x.

Moloch or Bel of Canaan, and the other parts of Ludin, all his names having the same signification of king or crowned one, כֶּרֶן, KRN or Lord.

“The better life” commemorated in the Saturnalia, was the substituting of plenty, by the introduction of scientific agriculture, which multiplies and secures the fruits of the earth; instead of the frequent famines which used before this time, to desolate Italy. It commemorated also the gift of the vine, brought by Tarchun, and the equality which he granted to those conquered enemies, who used before, to be the slaves of their conquerors, and the victims of their pride and cruelty. Previous to the time of Tarchun, the Sikeli had no quarter, and the Pelasgi are reported to have been all enslaved or exterminated. Before him, there was no principle amongst the Italians, of incorporating the vanquished with the victors, of actually conquering and ruling for the benefit of all, and of turning enemies into friends. It is the practice of wild men, in every age and country, to kill or drive away those whom they subdue; and the refinements of municipal rights, Isopolitism, equal alliance and protection, and equal law for the incorporated Plebs, were all Tarchunian or Saturnian, and might well fill those who benefited by them with admiration, gratitude, and joy.

Some ancient authors tell us, that Saturn was the priest of the double-headed Etruscan Janus, and the feasts of the Saturnalia, we believe to have been kept in honour of Tarchun himself, to whom alone the praise was due of all the great changes

which they commemorated. Saturn was the name of a Ludin god, and Janus of a Ludin king. But the feasts of Italy, though they went by their name, were in honour neither of the one nor of the other, but of him, even Tarchun, who very possibly called himself their son, and who was indeed their priest. The Saturnalia were observed for seven days, which we find from the Scriptures, was the usual time of an Eastern feast, whether of the Hebrews or of other nations.*

Niebuhr† says that the Latins “held Janus to be the author of a better way of living in Italy; the teacher of agriculture, and of settled homes.” And who is this but Tarchun, who drained the ground, introduced the Egyptian plough, made deep the furrows, measured off fixed portions of land for agriculture, and first fortified and consecrated the Italian cities? “Janus was the most ancient king who civilized the Italians,‡ and his temple always stood open in war, for mutual assistance.” And who but Tarchun was the first civilizing sovereign, who made mutual assistance a sacred and sworn obligation, both from his own twelve Dynasties to each other, and also from all their allies? The old treaty says, “Neither shall suffer the other to be attacked.” According to Arnobius, Janus presided over gates, roads, and rituals. And who but Tarchun consecrated gates, made the roads, and prescribed the rituals, and who but him first made known the names and attributes

* Esther, &c. † Nieb. in loco. ‡ An. Hist. xvi. 62.

of Janus and Saturn to the wondering and ever teachable Italians ?

There is a passage in Ovid's *Fastorum*,* which seems almost as if it had been expressly written to illustrate the views here advanced. "Tell me," says the poet to Janus, "why is a ship represented on one side of our coins, and a double head on the other? The double head, rejoins Janus, represents me. My temple stood upon the hill, now called Janiculum, and I brought into cultivation, the sandy wastes of Latium, and the land which lies upon the left bank of the Tiber. To the inhabitants, I was known as the god of peace, keeping their gates and ways, armed only with the sceptre of dominion, and not with the weapons of war. The ship denotes the Tuscan vessel, in which I came to these shores, before the scythe-bearing god had wandered over the earth." (Meaning, perhaps, I arrived before the reckoning of time, the epoch of the Etruscans, B. C. 1187, had begun. Tarchun was some years in Italy before his dedication could have taken place.) "I remember Saturn being received in this land, when Jove drove him from heaven. Hence it is called Saturnia, and a grateful posterity have placed a prow on the reverse of my image, in memory of the arrival of Saturn as our guest. I introduced his worship into Italy, and I cultivated all the left bank of the Tiber, (i. e. Etruria Proper,) and had a temple erected to me upon the Mount Janiculum. My land was fertile

* Lib. i. 229.

and arable, when the hills of Rome were pasture for cattle." Might we not suppose the whole of this passage to have been written by Tarchun himself?

Placidis ita rursus, ut ante,
 Clavigerum verbis alloquor ipse Deum.
 Multa quidem didici : sed cur navalis in œre,
 Altera signata est, altera forma biceps ?
 Noscere me duplici posses in imagine dixit
 Ni vetus ipsa dies extenuasset opus.
 Causa ratis superest : Tuscam rate venit ad annem,
 Ante pererrato falcifer orbe Deus.
 Hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum :
 Cælitibus regnis ab Jove pulsus erat.
 Inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen :
 Dicta quoque est Latium, terra latente Deo.
 At bona posteritas puppim formavit in ære
 Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.
 Ipse solum colui cujus placidissima lævum
 Radit arenosi Tibridis unda latus
 Hic ubi nunc Roma est, tunc ardua sylva virebat :
 Tantaque res paucis pascua bubus erat,
 Arx mea collis erat quam vulgus nomine nostro
 Nuncupat, hæc ætas Janiculumque vocat.
 Tunc ego regnabam patiens quum terra Deorum.
 Esset et humanis numina mista locis
 Nondum justitiam facinus mortale fugarat.
 Ultima de superis illa reliquit humum,
 Proque metu populum sine ni pudor ipse regebat :
 Nullus erat justis reddere jura labor.
 Nil mihi cum bello, pacem postesque tuebar,
 Et clavem ostendens, hæc ait arma gero.

OID FASTORUM, LIB. I.

Janus was represented in statues, as a young man. And did not Tarchun come over young, and present to

Italy, Tages new born, with the body of a child? The Ancient History says that Janus fixed monarchical government in Etruria,* and that he was the author of religion, agriculture, and wine,† Macrobius says that he first raised temples and instituted sacred rites. Pliny‡ that he introduced the crown of triumph, and Athenæus that he brought in corn, which means a better method of cultivation, and that he came to Italy in a ship from Asia, i. e. Ludin. Macrobius§ and Servius|| say that he was an Etruscan, and introduced from Faleria into Rome. Servius¶ says that Janus or Eanus was the same as Mars the God of War to the Romans, because he was the author of their military tactics. Now, if we were asked to whom all these acts are to be attributed, and in whom alone they can be said most truly to unite, should we not answer Tarchun? We believe that Tarchun of the house of Janus, and who introduced into Etruria feasts in honour of Janus, and in remembrance of his mother-country, came himself in the course of time, to be worshipped, and kept in honour, under the name of Janus, and that Janus and Saturn, and Hercules, and Turrhenus, and Tyrsenus, as known to the Latins, all meant one and the same person, whose spirit breathed through all their various forms, and that this person was Tarchun. May not Saturnia be possibly only a corrupted pronounciation of Tursenia, and may not the Tursene god have become in the mouths of the Italians, Saturn?

* Vide Arnobius.

† Vide Plut.

‡ xxxiii. 1.

§ Lib. i.

|| vii. 607.

¶ Æn. vii.

CHAPTER XIV.

ÆNEAS AND TUSCAN HEROES.

B. C.
CENT.
XII.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus* tells us that about sixty years before the Trojan war, Evander, an Arcadian, left his native country, that he took ship, coasted Italy, and sailing up the Tiber, established himself upon one of the small heights which crown its banks. That he was well received by the inhabitants, to whom he brought literal characters, agriculture, and music; and that soon after, Hercules also left Greece, and came with a colony of Arcadians and Eleans, to join the settlement of Evander, and to share his popularity and his newly-acquired power. After the death of Evander, Hercules had a temple erected to him on the hill, now called Janiculum, and near this games, were kept in his honour, and in remembrance of the many benefits of peace, cultivation, and good order, which his arrival had conferred upon Italy. Now this is merely a Greek

* Lib. i. 20, 21.

version of Ovid's Latin story, that Hercules, the club-bearing god, and Janus were one; that Janus received Saturn, who arrived in a Tuscan vessel, that he reigned with him upon the Janiculum, and that his reign was an era of peace and unmixed good to the Latin tribes. Ovid's story again, is only a Latin version of the Tuscan tradition, as related by Herodotus, that a foreign colony arrived in Western Umbria, afterwards Etruria, near the mouth of the Tiber, under an enlightened and wise king, about sixty years before the Trojan war; that they introduced the worship of foreign gods; that they settled the peace of the land by good government, rather than by force; and that they introduced musical instruments, religious feasts, and an improved system of agriculture.

From this, it appears that, according to Latin and Greek belief, Italy, and especially Latium, was civilized by foreigners from Tuscan vessels, at a time when the Greeks had no vessels. This we infer, because these events happened coeval with the Argonautic expedition, when, according to their own testimony, the Greeks had but one vessel; and the Eastern strangers introduced with them the worship of Saturn, a Ludin god not known in Greece. The Latins, according to this account, were like the Umbri and Pelasgi, enrolled amongst the Municipia, of the Rasena, and the small Tuscan town, or fort upon the Janiculum, was Isopolitan with Latium. The height of Saturnia near it, afterwards the Mons Capitolinus, was probably the spot where the Turrhenian or

Tarchunian games of Saturn were celebrated every year. The Janiculum, being within the Tiber, was a possession of Etruria Proper, and was conceived to belong to the Rasena, as the gift of Jove; but the Tuscans soon pushed forward a colony into Latium, and settled in that part of the Alban hills, called Tusculum, where they were independent of the mother state, and where probably their Senate consisted of Latins and Tuscans, in equal proportions, and upon perfectly equal terms.

During the latter years of the life of Tarchun, Virgil brings Æneas into Italy, a Phrygian prince, who, escaping through the flames of the burning Troy, carried his father upon his shoulders to a vessel in the harbour, and there being joined by his son and a few followers, he contrived to stow away his household gods, and set sail with one hundred men and a single vessel, to seek his fortunes in another country. As he had no mortal mother, we need not wonder at the marvellous adventures of this extraordinary man. He landed at Carthage three hundred years before it was founded, and was most kindly welcomed by Queen Dido, whom he caused to die of a broken heart, three hundred years before she was born. The goddess, his mother, desired him not to waste his time in Africa, and he accordingly sailed on to Italy, six centuries before Greek vessels dared to navigate the Tyrrhene sea. He landed at Laurentum, where he was hospitably received by King Latinus, and married to his daughter Lavinia, though she had been promised to the

king of the Rutuli, a small Latin tribe close to Laurentum, the whole of whose country now belongs to the Duke Cesarini Sforza.

As Æneas had been driven into exile by the Greeks, who had just slain all his kindred, and wasted his native home, he could not have been much delighted to find himself close to a nest of these foreigners, who, consisting of Eleans and Arcadians,* had in some marvellous and unexplained manner, transported themselves to the Palatine hill in Rome. They, however, spoke peaceably and comfortably to him; told him that they had heard much of his valour, and that they sympathized in his misfortunes, and would help him against the mighty Rutuli, and against all other who ventured to attack him. Tarchun, the wise and the brave, was so penetrated with the merits of this new stranger, that he brought his polished bands to help him, and called out in his behalf all the forces of all his twelve dynasties. He ordered troops from Mantua, before a Tuscan had ever crossed the Po, and from Volturnus, or Capua, before this city had had one stone laid upon another. He exerted all his talents in the service of Æneas, suspended his patriotic improvements, and involved Italy in a general war, to do him pleasure. He chastised such of his own people as refused him submission, and finally offered to acknowledge him as sovereign of the Turseni, and to resign to him his own Etrurian crown. Æneas, the goddess-born, with the magnanimity of one, who knew of higher things than the

* Dion. i.

crowns and sceptres of this world, refused his offer, bade him keep his little day of dominion to himself, and disappeared in the Numicus, no doubt gliding down its stream into the arms of his sea-formed mother.

It was not until a hundred years after the arrival of Æneas, that he and the Laurentini, according to Livy, founded Lavinium, a city which always continued to be considered as the colony, or daughter, of Laurentum of the Latins. Laurentum is now Terra Paterno. Again, thirty years after the foundation of Lavinium now Pratica, this city sent out a colony and founded Alba, on Mount Albanus, above the beautiful Alban lake, where vestiges of it may be still seen.* Those who believe the story of Æneas, ascribe the foundation of Alba to his son Ascanius, whilst those whose imaginations are more material, believe that it was founded by Sylvius, captain of the colony from Lavinium, because they find that it was governed by a dynasty of Sylvii, for some generations, and these Sylvii are descended from, or connected with, Latinus, Sabinus, Faunus, and Picus, all names indigenious to the Italian soil.

Virgil did not invent the fable of Æneas, but only embellished what was so fixed in the belief, and so agreeable to the fancies of the Romans, that it would have been vain for him to have investigated the truth.

* Rome was founded B. c. 753. Alba 300 years before Rome, or B. c. 1053. Lavinium 30 years previous to Alba, or 1083, and Troy fell B. c. 1184. Æneas is therefore made to land in 1180, and not to found Laurentum until 1083 B. c.

Æneas was a personage almost unknown to Homer, and thoroughly undistinguished throughout the Trojan war, but his name comes forward in some old histories, as a connexion of the royal family of Priam, and as having made his escape when Troy was consumed. Cephalon, in his history of Troy, quotes an author who wrote in the 330 of Rome, and who says that Æneas founded Ænea in Thrace from his own name, and that he died at Pallene, being succeeded by his sons, one of whom reigned in Thrace after him. Another ancient author, quoted by Niebuhr, says, that he collected the remnant of the Trojans, after the death of Priam, and ruled over them, near the site of old Troy. Stersichorus says, that he sailed for Hesperia, and the writers who followed him, consequently landed Æneas in the country, towards which they supposed him to have sailed. Sophocles makes him wander about in the neighbourhood of Troy, and the less correct and later Greeks say, that the Palladium, which Æneas bore away with him, was taken to Siris in Ænotria, an inconsiderable town of South Italy.

The story of Æneas being the ancestor of Romulus, and the founder, by himself or his son, of Alba, was first worked out in Lycophron's Cassandra, about the year of Rome 500, and it was from this time forward, adopted, and more and more adorned, by every succeeding writer, until it blazed forth in the poem of Virgil, and received the stamp of immortality.

When the Greeks first became acquainted with the Iliad, their very delight in it made them sorry

that it was finished, and they naturally inquired what had become of the heroes who had survived the war, and where were their children? They were glad to answer their own question, by the invention that Diomed had led one colony, and Glaucus another, and Antenor a third,* into Hesperia, or the country to the west; and they were still better pleased, when they could give to this country "a local habitation and a name," and declare that Hesperia meant Italia, though the only portion of it known to their forefathers, was that governed by the Turseni. The Romans, on the other hand, were very much delighted with the legend, which made them from their earliest original, as good as the refined and imaginative Greeks. They were flattered that Homer should have sung of their ancestors, and proud to find that they were equally the adversaries of Greece before Troy, and the conquerors of Greece afterwards. Even the Etruscans were seduced into adopting and patronizing the fable, which brought Dardanus from Corytus in their own territories, and which therefore still kept to them the praise of being the civilizers of Italy. They henceforward could consider all the heroes of the painted vases, and all the episodes of the Iliad, as having reference to themselves; and the Greeks took care not to alarm their vanity, for they exempted them from the charge of barbarism, which they brought against the other nations of Italy; and they stiled them the lovers of

* Plato ridicules them for this vanity, by the mouth of the Egyptian priests.

art, the *φιλοτεκνοι*, from whom, according to Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, they acknowledged with gratitude, that they themselves, had learned and adopted many religious ceremonies and useful arts. Athenæus, speaking of them, says “*φιλοτεκνων οντων των Τυρρηνων.*”

Homer states Æneas to have remained in Phrygia, under the protection of Neptune; and Strabo* adopts the same account, and says that the sons of Hector and Æneas reigned long afterwards in the Troad, and were always distinguished amongst their countrymen. Festus, quoting Agathocles, tells us that Æneas was buried in Berecynthia, near Troy; and Nicolaus Damascenus and Stephanus of Byzantium say that Ascania, in Phrygia, was built by the son of Æneas, and therefore bore his name. All these accounts have on their side, antiquity and probability, and agree with the known facts of the Greeks and Trojans having had no ships equal to long voyages, and of no Greek colony having arrived by sea, in any part of Italy or Sicily, earlier than eighty or a hundred years subsequent to the destruction of Troy. The Pelasgi either coasted, or entered by land from Illyria. The navy of the Greeks at the siege of Troy, had to be drawn upon the shore every night, and the inventions of the anchor, and of the prow, are ascribed by all the ancients, to the Etruscans. Æneas therefore, as Virgil wisely observes, could only come to Italy by the immediate help of the gods, and when he disappeared in the

* lib. xiii.

Numicus, he seems to have returned to the Troad, for the purpose of being buried in his native soil.*

Ascanius, with similar heroic sentiments of magnanimity and patriotism, according to Latin authors, leaves Alba to the Lavinian family of the Sylvii, and their half Etruscan descendants, and returns to Phrygia, where he builds Ascania, and where he reigns and dies, leaving this little kingdom to his son, and showing the Peloponesian Greeks, that though they had overthrown the city, they had not annihilated the dynasty of Priam. Ascanius appears to have taken all his gods back with him also, for when Alba was destroyed, and her temples were spared by Tullus Hostilius,† they are enumerated as those of Janus, Minerfa, Maurs, Vesta, and Carna, three of them Etruscan, and one of them a Latin deity. Besides these, we only know of the great temple of Jupiter Latialis, which belonged to Latium in general, rather than to Alba in particular, and which is said by antiquarians, to be in form and structure, an Etruscan work. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that Ascanius was drowned, and that Alba was founded, thirty years after his death, i. e. one hundred and twenty years after the date at which Virgil brings Æneas and his grown-up son to Laurentum.

After the criticisms of Niebuhr and Müller, we have no occasion to prove, that Æneas never landed in Italy, and that Evander and his Arcadians are a creation of those, who required their assistance to make up a story. Nevertheless, Virgil in his epic

* See Ancient History, vol. iv. p. 499.

† Strabo v.

tale, works up old Italian traditions, and these at least are worth examining. Virgil informs us that in the days of Tarchun, that is, during the time of his supremacy in Italy, between the settlement of Etruria and the foundation of Rome, the Tuscans had many brave chiefs, whose names old songs or old annals had preserved to his day. Virgil, in order to give life and reality to his poem, takes the oldest names of all the ruling families in Italy, and brings them to the aid, either of Æneas or of his rival Turnus, just as our supposed author of the poem of Arthur, might bring Ina of Wessex, and Offa of Mercia, to fight against King Arthur, whilst he invited Fingal and Ossian from Scotland, to come to his hero's assistance.

Virgil gives us Abas of Volterra, who leads the troops of Populonia and Ilva.* Massicus of Vulci, who brings a thousand warriors† and their followers from Alsium and Cosa. Osinius of Clusium‡ with a third band, who, like the chiefs of the maritime states, sends his troops by sea, though his shortest road would have been by Voltumna; and Messapus of Falescii, the son of Neptune, i. e. king of the people of Falescii, or Halesus, the naval hero of Etruria, who is always called the son of Neptune. Messapus brings his men, from the lake Ciminus near Voltumna, and from Feronia, near the fort of Veii. And old Halesus, himself, is made to extend forward his existence and dominion, and to come from Vulturnum in Campania with the Sidicini, the Auruncii, and the Massici, intimating that Vulturnum or Capua,

* Lib. x.

† x.

‡ x.

was colonized from Falescii, and that it ruled over those tribes, which Halesus is said to have brought with him. Halesus, the founder of Alsium and Falisci, and the son of Neptune, was the last of a princely family, and a very favourite hero with the Etruscans.* We hear often of him, because Falisci bordered upon both the Latin tribes, of the Romans and of the Rutuli.

Astur, the first Etruscan prince of Cere, commands the troops of Agylla, Pyrgi, and Gravisca. Ocnus is a hero who comes with his men from Virgil's own Mantua, because Ocnus of Perugia, was said to have colonized Mantua. Auletes, a Cortonian or Perugian, who also colonized across the Po, the brother chief, and rival of Ocnus, is, for the same reason, said to have headed the troops of the Benacus and the Mincio, or the Lago di Guarda. The territory of Auletes must not only have been wealthy and populous, but he must have been possessed of some port on the Turrhene sea, as he is made to bring with him one hundred ships.

Asylas, the renowned chief and Augur from Pisa, is made to come with a Lucumo's band of one thousand men. It is not impossible that Romulus may have dedicated his place of refuge to the Asylean god, with reference to this Asylas, though we cannot fix his date, and know so few particulars concerning him. Most learned men consider the Asylean god to have been Jupiter, because Dionysius says that in his day, the Roman asylum was consecrated to Jove; and as asylums were old religious institutions

* Dempster.

common in Italy at the time of Romulus,* they may, with great probability, have owed their origin to Asylas, who, being an Augur, would give the command to dedicate them, as from Jupiter, and they would throughout Italy henceforward bear his name. Though asylums, as far as we know, first obtained amongst the Jews, who had sacred cities set apart for the unfortunate,† the idea of instituting them would naturally come into the minds of merciful and reflecting men, especially Augurs, wherever social hardships, such as slavery for debt, &c., seemed to require them; and it is a very common thing for pious minds, when any thought unusually wise or great, presents itself to them, to attribute that thought to inspiration, or, in Asylas's language, "to the gods," without any intention to deceive or to impose upon their fellow-creatures. Livy‡ mentions the asylums of Tibur and Præneste.

Virgil gives us further, amongst the old heroes, the names of Acron, king of Cortona or Corytus; Aulestes, Tarquitiuſ, Seculus, Rhoetus, Antæus, and Aruns, and he represents the Umbrians as faithfully supporting the Tuscan side.§ Umbro, the priestly warrior, leads to the battle his band of Manubians, from which we might be led to imagine that Manubiæ was an Umbrian word. Rhamnes, (an Etruscan name, according to Varro,) a king and Augur, Virgil represents as against Æneas, and so also was Mezentius the Etruscan rebel and tyrant. Along with

* Micali Storia. L. iv. i. 8.

† Livy xii.

† Numb.

§ Æneid xii.

these, he ranges Clausus of the Sabines, the supposed ancestor of the Claudian family; and Camilla queen of the Volsci, with several of her female companions, which gives us a curious tradition as to the condition of women amongst the earliest Italians. We think this must be referred to the Etruscans, because there are instances of their women going out with the troops at a later period of their history, and because they pre-eminently, if not alone, amongst the Italian nations seem to have regarded women from the very first, as the partners, friends, and companions of men. Camilla of the Volsci may have been some queen of the Vulci, of whom Virgil records the eccentricity and courage, and she wears the purple mantle, which the Tuscans introduced. But supposing Virgil not to mean the Vulci, but the Volsci proper, they were early and very long subjects of the Rasena, and during that period, it is even more probable that their kings and queens would have been Etruscan.

It is plain that if Æneas never set foot in Italy, Abas, Asinius, and Asylas, could not go forth to meet him; but it is not therefore plain, that these men had no existence, and that their memories and their deeds of valour, were not familiar in the mouths of their countrymen, and were not inscribed in the annals of their respective states. They may very likely, have been generals of the League, at various periods prior to the foundation of Rome, and they may have figured in the wars of Laurentum, and Lavinium, and Turnus, (which Niebuhr believes to

have been a town of the Rutuli,) and Ardea; and they may have fought both for and against them, long prior to the time when Alba sent forth her last colony. The songs of Ossian and the Percy Relics, in our own country, show us how the memories of local heroes remain embalmed in the hearts of the people, though no trace of their fame, and no record of their deeds, are to be found in general history. There is an old song, now in vogue amongst the peasants in Normandy, which proves, notwithstanding the desolating ravages of the French Revolution, and its attempts to sweep away all that was monarchical and time-honoured in the land, how ineffaceable are the sacred feelings of natural and national gratitude, in the breasts of the common people, and how enduring and unquenchable are those feelings, when they spring warm from the national heart.

“ Le bon Roi Dagobert
 Mettait ses culottes à l’envers,
 Le bon St. Eloi, lui dit mon bon roi
 Votre Majesté est mal culotté
 He bien ! lui dit le Roi
 Donne moi les tiens, et je les mettrai,” &c.*

It is a truth, that those who never heard of Louis Seize, and of the miseries which their fathers suffered

* The peasant who sang this song, containing a long history of the reign of Dagobert, knew of no revolution excepting 1830, and of the remaining French monarchs, who preceded Napoleon le Grand, he only knew of the existence of Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Henri Quatre, and Louis XIV.

before him, and after him, can yet sing of Dagobert, his poverty, his benevolence, and his weakness; and of the counsels of his minister, le bon St. Eloi, all true to history. Those, in like manner, who never heard of Manlius, may have known the acts of Abas, and Osinius, who were not further removed from their times, than Dagobert from the present French.

The Etruscan kings, excepting as the founders of cities, or as generals of the League, could be but very little known to Italian history in general, unless it were here and there some Augur, like Asylas, far renowned for wisdom, and therefore requested to visit the other states, either as an umpire or a councillor.

Virgil mentions two Etruscan princes who lived at this period and who were cotermporaries, Mezentius and Astur, the one of whom colonized Ardea of the Rutuli, and the other Agylla of the Pelasgi; and they probably flourished not many generations after Tarchun. Niebuhr and Müller agree that they were native heroes, and that Virgil gives the correct Italian tradition respecting them. Mezentius was a Tarquinian who rebelled against Tarchun, i. e. against his laws, being unable to submit his proud and turbulent spirit to their absolute and equal rule. Such a man could not have arisen in the lifetime of Tarchun, or he would have made a house divided against itself; nor was he likely to arise, until the chiefs felt too equal amongst each other, so as to require a strong hand

to keep them in their proper places, and a real as well as a nominal head.

Mezentius, it would appear, claimed or attempted to usurp the sovereignty, and was therefore expelled from Tarquinia, upon which, he and his clan retired to the Isopolitan, independent, and neighbouring state, of Agylla. The town was walled, and the sentries were keeping their watches, when Mezentius and his band appeared. Strabo relates* that when he spoke to the soldiers, they answered "Kaire;" and if they were Greeks, it was a most natural salutation to a body of supposed friends, and it was equally natural that they should allow him to enter the city without fear, as he had a right to live in it if he chose. Mezentius, however, most unlike an Etruscan, came not in the spirit of peace, but in the lust of dominion and with an arrogant thirst for power. He seized the government, and forced the Agyllans to fight his battles against the assembled Tuscan forces. In this point of view, he comes down to us as the first of those turbulent and restless spirits who by their pride and lawlessness, brought on the ruin of Etruria, and, therefore, in so far as Virgil records tradition truly, he must have lived some generations later than Tarchun.

After he had seized Agylla, he allied himself with the Rutuli, the Sabines of Amiternum and Tetrica, and the Falisci; who, as Messapus their chief is called the nephew of Turnus, may possibly have had many Rutulian families mingled

* Strabo v.

with the first Etruscan colonists, in the Senates of their chief towns. Mezentius had also on his side, the tribe of Rhamnes, which was probably Etruscan from its name (according to Varro, iv.) and the troops of the Vulci. He was personally opposed by Acron, king of Cortona,* whom he is said to have killed, and by Astur,† whom we presume to have been the prince of Gravisca, because we find the men of Gravisca under his command, and afterwards associated with his new subjects in Cære. Mezentius was a bold and daring warrior, and seems to have been the victor in many a well-fought field. Whilst prince of Agylla, he took prisoners, men against whom he burnt with the fiercest indignation, and he tied the living to the dead amongst these miserable captives, a cruelty which the people never forgot and never pardoned.

It is probable that he used in this manner, some of the Agyllan Senate, for had he done it to his enemies only, his new subjects would have been little excited about the matter. But as it was, they rose against him, burnt his palace, and drove him, his son Lausus, and all his clan, out of the city, and took as their protector, Astur of Tarquinia, who was in all likelihood lying before the town with his troops. They admitted him, and three hundred Graviscan families into their city, and from this time, joined the Etruscan League, and proclaimed themselves the people of Tarchun. It is indeed very possible that Astur, after expelling Mezentius, may have left

* Virgil.

† Ibid.

them no choice as to whether they would remain independent or become Etruscan; but however that might be, Caere, from this time forward, was united to the twelve states, and continued to be so, until the day of the Rasena was closed. Virgil says, that

“Agylla was torn by the Lydian, from the Tuscan race;”

but as the Ludin were the Tuscans, and Tyrrhenus the captain of these Ludin was Tarchun, we can attach no weight to this line of poetry. Virgil* in several parts of his poem, calls the Tuscans Lydians.

Though at the time of this war, or not long after, Latium, Sabina, and Etruria, were so thickly peopled, that in many districts, there was not more than two miles from one walled town to another, each containing many thousands of people, and including several square miles of territory;† still Mezentius's name might never have been remembered beyond the bounds of Etruria, had he not, when driven from Caere, attacked the Laurentini, and joined Ardea and Turnus in their quarrel against Lavinium.‡ Mezentius took the command, gave the Laurentini battle, and was victorious, slaying the Latin king; after which, as the terms of peace, he imposed upon his adversaries a tribute of all the wine of Latium. The young king, whom Virgil calls Iulus, was re-

* Æneid. vii. &c,

† Gell.

‡ As Lavinium was not founded until 100 years after the dedication of Etruria by Tarchun, Mezentius must have been at least by so many years posterior to him.

solved not to submit to so unjust an imposition, and dedicated the tithe of the wine to Jupiter, sending for answer to Mezentius, that he could not yield, to make peace with man, that which would make him at war with heaven, for that the Latin wine belonged to the Latin gods.

Lausus the son of Mezentius, encamped near Lavinium, meaning to attack it, but being surprised by a night sortie,* he was routed and slain. Mezentius, who does not appear to have been an Augur, was perhaps terrified at this, and may have been afraid of lightning striking him, if he persisted in his demand, and therefore he granted more reasonable terms, and concluded a peace, which fixed the Tiber as the bounds of Latium towards the east. This boundary we find remaining in the days of Romulus, and all historians agree that it marked to a much later epoch, the limits of the Tuscan territories, though Virgil says, it was fixed by a rebel who had deserted from them. Mezentius, according to the custom of the Tuscans, changed the name of Agylla, and called it Cære, the C sounding hard, and the authors of the Ancient History think that in Etruscan, it may have meant the same as Keri, כְּרִי a city, by way of eminence.

Mezentius† after this, retired with his followers,

* Dionysius.

† Cato (in Macrob. Satur.) says that Mezentius was impious because he demanded the tribute of the wine. The story of Mezentius is taken from Livy, Virgil, Dion. Hal., and the Ancient History.

called in round numbers 1000 men, to Ardea, and gave that city the strong Etruscan character which marked its refinements, and its peculiarities. From Virgil's poem we judge that Ardea was frequently the ally of the Falisci, Ceriti, Tarquinii, and Vulcii; from Pliny* we know that it was renowned for painting and sculpture, before the days of Rome, and from Livy we read of its almost inaccessible fortifications, and immensely strong walls, which are built in parallelograms, after the Tuscan fashion, and where some of the old right-angled streets may still be distinguished. The present town occupies only the ground of the ancient citadel, and is one-sixth of its former extent. Virgil† calls the inhabitants Argives, and again in the same book, speaks of them as Rutuli, Aurunci, and Sicani, whom Gell considers to have been all the same people, i. e. tribes of Latins. No doubt Mezentius died in exile at Ardea, where Virgil says, he killed himself.

Though his life is marked by not one virtue, yet as it is distinguished by several great events, he has every right to appear before us, as an historical character. In his day, Agylla changed its name, and was added to the Tuscan League. Ardea was civilized, and settled by a large Etruscan colony. Wine, introduced by the first king of the Tuscans, was abundantly cultivated in Latium. Lavinium was founded, and the boundaries of Etruria Proper to the east were fixed, being in truth the boundaries of Falisci and Cære on the side of Latium.

* xxxv.

† Ænd. vii.

Though Virgil says that Mezentius changed the name of Agylla to Cære, it is much more probable that Astur was the person who changed it, when he incorporated the town and territory with the other members of the League. The authors of the Ancient History think that the name comes from the Hebrew *keri* כְּרִי, a city, and though we find it mentioned in history by both names, even so late as the Phocian war, yet the Etruscan state never appears in any catalogue of the dynasties of the League, excepting under the name of Keri or Caere. Virgil says that Astur was distinguished by his skilful horsemanship and beautiful armour.

Both Niebuhr and Müller agree that Mezentius was a real personage, and though his field of action was not large, he has left a name like other men of his stamp,

“ At which the world grew pale,
To point a moral and adorn a tale.”

He was self-willed and lawless, sacrilegious and cruel. These qualities go together, for those who do not venerate the gods, will not respect the rights of their fellow-men. The Tarquinians, though subject to despotic power, and though he strove to govern them by means of armed foreigners, perhaps paid Latins or Pelasgi, would not endure his tyranny, but drove him away and banished him for ever. Men who are governed by law must be essentially free, though their sovereign may be called absolute, just as men who live without law must be slaves, even though their government should be called

democratic. This has been proved by every revolution, and is in the nature of things. Slavery and degrading dependence, are submission to arbitrary despotism, not to absolute power, and no man lives in the dignity and security of a rational being, who is not subject to fixed principles, and to known and inflexible laws.

The authors of the Ancient History consider Agylla to be a genuine Etruscan name, as well as Cære, and derive the word from גלל, G.L.A or Gylla, a spring, to which add the Heemantee letter נ; or again, from גולה, of the same pronounciation, which means "emigration or expulsion," and if to these letters נ be prefixed, it gives us "Agylla," the very name in question. Agylla and Cære may as easily have been confounded together by the Greek and Latin historians, as Falisci and Faleria, which is continually done. Cere lies upon the "Aquæ Ceritanæ," or springs of Ceri; and "Emigration," might intimate, that the inhabitants who settled in that place had come to Italy from some distant land. As this state could not have been known to the Greeks, excepting through Tuscan vessels, and after it had become subject to Etruscan dominion, there is reason to think that with them, it long continued to bear both names; Agylla, very possibly signifying the territory, and Cære the city; and the latter name may have gradually taken the place of the former, because the city of Cære comes prominently forward in Latin history, and the "Jus Ceriti" is the name by which its municipal relation with Rome is always

expressed. In common with Jerusalem and Salem, York and Eboracum, &c. it may for ages have been distinguished by either appellation indifferently.

Strabo (v.) says that Agylla was first built by the Pelasgi, who were driven out of Greece by the Hellenes; and though this is merely a guess, it is not impossible. It is certain that the ships of Agylla or Cære, had much earlier and more advantageous commerce with Grecia Proper, and with Magna Grecia, than any of the other Tuscan states, which occasioned an amity and alliance between the Agyllans and the Greeks, greater than between the Greeks and any of the more northern maritime states, who probably disliked and despised them, and who therefore seized their vessels, and long baffled all their attempts to penetrate further up the Turrhene sea. For this reason, the Greeks describe the Agyllans with peculiar favour, call them more just than their countrymen, and say that they not only abstained from piracy themselves, but repressed it in their neighbours, for they were bound by the laws of Tages to protect their allies, and "not to suffer them to be attacked." Doubtless upon this account, the Greeks were glad to associate the Agyllans with themselves in Delphi, and to find out that they were originally of the Thracian stock, even as they afterwards discovered that the Romans were descended from the royal house of Priam, as soon as it became indispensable to regard them as a race worthy of historic celebrity.

The Agyllans, Strabo says, had a treasure at Delphi before the time of the Phocian war; and this, Dionysius states to have been a thank-offering for the expulsion of the Siculi, and refers it to the days before the fall of Troy,—a manner of expression with Greek writers, like our own “before the memory of man,” and which merely means that it antedates written history. The Pelasgi and the Rasena of Agylla were gratified to find a temple, with which they could identify themselves in the land of Greece, and if we presume alliance and Isopolity to have existed between them and any town near Delphi, such as afterwards certainly took place between Tarquinia and Corinth, the Agyllans would naturally join at the shrine of Apollo, or perhaps in those early days, of their own Neptune, and would celebrate along with the natives, the great festivals of the Grecian people.

The Pelasgi of Agylla had been so long familiar with Etruscan usages, when they were conquered by Mezentius, that in receiving Astur, and in joining themselves indissolubly to the Etruscan league, they may rather be said to have provided for their future peace, than to have sacrificed their existing freedom. They simply guarded themselves against that conquest and tyranny, which it was at any time, at the option of Tarquinia to exercise, and they enlarged their power without any balancing infraction of their independence, or diminution of their dignity. They kept their own gods, and their own customs, as before, only superadding to them, those of their

neighbours; and it is highly probable that Cære was the state through which Etruscan civilization first took deep root in Rome, and that the Cerites owned for sovereigns Janus and Amense, a king and a queen of the Rasena, afterwards numbered amongst the demi-gods of the Latins.

Pyrgi, now San Severa, is usually considered to have been the port of Agylla, though Gell doubts if they were not different places, because Strabo (v.) says that the port of Agylla was fifty stadii distant from Pyrgi. This place was towered and fortified, and possessed a harbour crowded with ships, and a castle, on the site of which San Severa now stands, and which in ancient days, protected the rich and holy temple of Eluthya, the Goddess of Victory or Delivery, answering to an Egyptian divinity of the same name, in the Thebaid. Aristotle ascribes the temple of Pyrgi to Leucothœe, and both of the names express Greek versions of Etruscan stories; either concerning the Rasenan Goddess of Delivery and Victory, or, as is more likely, of the nymph Bygœe, who, Servius says, received and nourished Tages; or else of the royal muse Camese or Carmenta, the goddess of married women, for the Latins translated Eluthya to mean Bona Dea, Mater Matuta, and Lucina. Bacchus, who was nursed by Leucothœe, was not known in Etruria until after both Eluthya and Pyrgi were in ruins. Indeed Cære itself perished with all that made it powerful or renowned, as soon as it sank under the dominion of Rome, and this is probably the reason why only the translated

and not the native names have been preserved to us, of the more ancient, and to Latin writers almost unknown, temple of Eluthya and town of Pyrgi.

From the Agyllan goddess Eluthya being called also Leucothœe and Ino, it is supposed that she was a maritime divinity; but this does not follow, any more than that the Virgin Mary should be maritime, because churches and shrines are erected to her honour upon the sea shore. It is sufficient for the allegory, that Camese and Bygœe were both princesses of a maritime people. Ino, according to the Greeks, was the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia, i. e. she was descended from an Eastern and Ludin ancestry, and was renowned for her poetical or musical talents, and both of these attributes will apply to Camese and Bygœe of the Tuscans. Both Cære, and Falleria the capital of the next state, were long renowned for oracles which delivered their answers in verse.

Virgil mentions Messapus, the L.ch.m., Lucumo, or captain of the men of Feronia and Ciminia.* He is said to have given his name to that part of Calabria, filled with Etruscan towns, called Messapia; and this may either mean that Messapus really headed the Faliscian colonies, when they settled in Calabria, or that these colonies came from the country and dominions of Messapus, and therefore called their new territory by his name. Virgil deals with Messapus as with Dido, and honours him by making him worthy to measure swords with the intrepid wanderer Æneas, and the valiant hero Tarchun.

* Æn. vi. 691. viii. 6. ix. 27.

Evander, the Arcadian Greek, who welcomed Æneas, appears to have been a Pelasgic Sabine, who wandered with his cattle, from the little town of Palantium,* near Reati, and built a small village on the Palatine Hill, above the Tiber.

In the days of Evander, of Messapus, Mezentius and Astur, i. e. in the uncertain but earliest period of the Rasena, we must place Janus, Camese and Bygöe, three noted Etruscan heroic characters of the very olden time. King Janus is said to have been an Etruscan prince, who had a palace, and afterwards a temple,† on the Janiculum, which was named from him; and he is said to have introduced into Latium wine, and the games of the Saturnalia. He was fond of agriculture, and took much charge of the vineyards, oliveyards, and cornfields, like king Uzziah of Judah,‡ who yet did not belong to a very primitive people. He was much beloved by his subjects, and yet was killed by them in a drunken§ tumult, because, when the wine mounted to their heads, they fancied that their prince, whom Plato calls a benefactor to Italy, had poisoned them. All this may refer to the institutions of Tarchun merely, and may convey in allegory, that wine makes men mad, and that drunkenness and licentiousness render noxious, the otherwise innocent joy of commemorative feasts and public carnivals. But, on the other hand, there is nothing improbable in a Tuscan Lucumo named Janus, having a country

* Gell.

† Pliny, iii. 5. Ovid. Fast. i.

‡ 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

§ Plut.

seat, or large farm, upon the Janiculum,* the very outskirts of Etruria, and of his being a benefactor to the Latins, the Sabines, and the Pelasgi, in his immediate neighbourhood. As Janus is said to have been introduced into Rome from Falisci, this Janus, supposing him to have been different from Tarchun, was either a sovereign of the Faliscii, or some Faliscian prince, who built a temple to Janus upon the hill above the Tiber, which hill was hence called Janiculum; and it is not unlikely that, on some occasion of the Saturnalia, he may have offered sacrifices here, and have been killed in a drunken frolic, which occurred during the games.

Janus, according to the Ancient History,† married Venilia, who bore him a son named Fontus,‡ in honour of whom, yearly feasts were kept amongst the Romans, called Fontinalia. Besides Fontus, he had four daughters. Others say that he was the father of Tiberinus, King of Veii, who was succeeded by Vertumnus or Vadimon, and then by Aunus. Yet Janus's sister Camese, and none of these descendants, ruled immediately after himself. There can be no doubt that the acts of Janus and of Tarchun have been often confounded together, the one being the first king of Etruria, and the other, perhaps, the first transplanter of Etruscan civilization beyond the Tiber. In popular songs, and traditionary history, the acts of twenty

* Story of Janus, given by Cato, Cicero, and Festus; also Antient History and Plut.

† xvi. 64.

‡ Arnob.

different Januses would all be melted into one, and it is vain for us, at this distance of time, to attempt to distinguish them. Fontus, the son of Janus, may have been a man, a town, or an institution. The succession of his sister Camese may mean her succession from a sister state. Tiberinus or Deheberis, the king of Veii, and a general of the league, may have been descended from the original Janus, in the sense of being an Etruscan, or from the secondary Janus, in the sense of being a Faliscian. Vertumnus, the god of orchards, naturally springs from the great improver of Latin horticulture; and Vadimon, from whom the Vadimonian Sea received its name, we find again in the territory of Falisci, and in that sense, he may have been the son of any former Faliscian prince. We see this figure in the Scriptures, where the king of Judah is always called the son of David. The four daughters of Janus, after the same figure, may mean any four towns colonized by the Faliscians.

Anus, or Anius, according to Alexander Polyhistor, was the grandfather of Latinus, the king of Laurentum, in whose days Lavinia was founded. Probably Latinus, like Vejo, and other names of that class, means simply a prince of the Latins, of any name or date whatever. Livy, Virgil, and all the writers of their time, give the legendary predecessors of Latinus, as descending from father to son, but the early Italian successions were by election, and not by hereditary right; therefore, in all probability, none of these princes, admitting them to have been

real men, and to have followed each other, were of the same family.

After Janus we find in ancient history, next in order, the Queen Camese or Camense; a name which reminds us of the Egyptian sovereign Queen Amese* or Amense. She is said to have been the sister of Janus, and to have succeeded him. It is probable, from the territory about the Janiculum having been called after her name, Camasene, and having been dedicated to her, that she was at the head of the vestal virgins, like the revered Egyptian Queen Nofre-ari. She seems to have been the same as Camæna of the Latins, or Carmenta, or Carmina, the muse of song, the undying Sybil, the oracle of justice, called also Tethys;† and no doubt her talents for song, and her fame for wisdom and justice, gave to her cotemporaries the impression of inspiration, and therefore both raised her to the throne, and kept her upon it. Romulus is said, by Plutarch, to have consulted the Tuscan oracle, "Tethys or Themis," which is the same as Carmina or Camæna; and this could be no other than the oracle of Camese, the sister of Janus. Her shrines were honoured by the Latins, the Sabines, and the Tuscans; and, as she is the only sovereign priestess we read of amongst the Rasena, it may have been her tomb which was discovered at Agylla-Cære by General Galassi, and the Arci-Prete Regolini, in A. D. 1838, in which case, she only received the honours which were her unquestionable due. She

* Rosell.

† Plut. in Rom.

had pre-eminently a right amongst Etruscan women, to engrave upon her cups "Mi Larthia," for she was gifted with genius and virtue, as well as with exalted birth and talents. Amongst her strong-minded but unimaginative countrymen, Camese had a claim to the golden breastplate and the priestly crown, to the bracelets and the girdle, the silver censers and the heaps of perfume, which were found in that most ancient and most honoured grave, the name and fame of whose inhabitant, her nation vainly fancied, could never—never be forgotten.

It is, indeed, humbling to the pride of man, that the wisest and the greatest, the most revered and the most godlike of our race, must mark his last resting-place with the same care, and in the same manner, as the most insignificant, and the most contemptible, if he would have it kept in remembrance amongst his fellows. Beauty, wit, genius, talent, knowledge, glory, power, and virtue itself, leave us, and may walk and dazzle in other worlds; but the dust in which they shone here, the once half-worshipped dust, mingles again with its kindred clay, and soon cannot be distinguished from the soil beneath our feet. Alas! knowledge shall fade away; power shall become impotent; genius shall be heard of no more. What then can last? What can endure the wreck "of elements and crush of worlds?" Even such fame as finds its record in the hearts of a grateful nation, for those who have been, in their day of power, the consolers and improvers, as well as the commanders of the people.

Carmenta, the Tuscan goddess, consulted by Romulus, had feasts in her honour called Carmentalia; she gave oracles in verse, and she became the goddess of married women, being the chief of matrons, which does not at all militate against her, having been the chief of the Vestal virgins previously. Numa, the Sabine, who honoured and adopted the civil and religious institutions of Janus, according to Plutarch, consulted Camene, who could be no other than this same person.

Cato (*de Origin.*) calls Camese the brother of Janus; but this we take to be a version of the same sort with Alexander Polyhistor, who, when speaking of the Hebrews, calls their leader "Moso, a woman!" Macrobius, in the *Saturnalia*, says, Camese was a foreigner, placed upon the throne by Janus. Athenæus and Servius make her his sister and his wife; i. e. she lived near his time, and was one with his spirit.

Next to Camese in feminine renown, comes the priestess and Sybil Bygoë, who was doubtless a princess and a Vestal also, and who wrote a commentary in verse* upon the laws of Tages, and a treatise upon the science of lightning. To none but a woman of the highest rank and most commanding powers, would the Augurs have intrusted a knowledge of this art, and only from such a one would a treatise upon religion and a commentary upon civil government have been suffered, much less have been received with respect. She was

* Servius vi. 72.

deeply instructed in natural history, otherwise she could not have written upon lightning; and she was well versed in the genius of Etruscan rule, or she would not have been said, as Servius affirms, to have received Tages and to have nourished him. We know nothing positive of her beyond these few facts, but it is evident that she lived in the earliest ages of Etruria, and many have supposed her to be the same with Carmenta, because they could not understand how so deeply revered a woman should not have had oracles and shrines erected to her honour. She is sometimes represented upon antique gems with Tages in her arms, and has thus, as we have observed already, been confounded with the nymph Leucothoë, who received Bacchus. If Bygoë were ever worshipped and semi-deified in Etruria, it was no doubt at the great Etruscan temple of Elythia at Pyrgi, which Aristotle calls the temple of Leucothoë, the name he would naturally have given to the shrine of the nymph who received and educated Tages. As Bacchus was unknown until nearly the extinction of the Etruscan dominion, we have no occasion to prove that the rich temple of Pyrgi was not that of Leucothoë.

The verses of Bygoë were taught in the Etruscan schools, and without question, the fair rhymes and useful maxims of many an after minstrel, came to be incorporated with them, and were ascribed to her, as this has ever been the case with ancient poets of celebrity, and with names preserved in national popular songs. Bygoë and Camese were in Rome,

soon confounded with the other Sybils, and their verses served to augment the treasures of the sybilline books. These books were usually made of the leaves of palm trees,* like those of the Burmese now, or of linen, or of tablets of wood covered with a thin coating of wax, and they were written upon, with a small pointed style of bronze or of iron.

No dominion is ever ascribed to Bygoë, but that of mental superiority and sanctified wisdom; and though she usurped not power, which was more rightfully lodged in the hands of others, tradition says of her, that she once killed an ox by whispering in his ear† the name of the Holy One, which probably means, that she awed some strong and stupid, and perhaps brutal Lucumo, a *Front de Bœuf* of the olden world, by her quiet and unmoved vindication of the superiority and reality of inspired laws and divine superintendence.

One ancient hero shines forth like a spectre from the mists of antiquity, to whom the actions of several others have no doubt been attributed. We mean Malœotus, king of Tarquinia and Cere, called also King of all the Pelasgi in that part of Italy; a man who carried on commerce and intercourse with Greece, who lived near Gravisca, at the spot afterwards called Regis Villa,‡ who made a voyage to Athens, and who, as some say, died there. Malœotus may have been a general of the League, which would occasion his name to be remembered in Italy, or he

* Virgil. Symmachus. Livy.

† Müller in loco.

‡ Strabo v. 225.

may have lived in the days of Homer, and have been heard of in Greece, through ships that came to Argos or Corinth, from Tarquinia or Pyrgi, over one of which states he may have been prince, with a very different name from that, by which alone we can identify him. As general of the League, he would certainly rule all the Turrheni Pelasgi, and as head of any of the maritime states, he would encourage commerce, and may, by his ships, have visited Athens. His name has so few incidents attached to it, that we can but mention him and dismiss the subject, observing that the Pelasgi had no princes, and no commerce, before the arrival of Tarchun, and that after his arrival, Tarquinia and Gravisca owned no rulers but Etruscan.

Meleus of Pisa, is a Lar or General mentioned by Virgil and Pliny, who ruled all Turrhenia, and to whom they ascribe the invention of the trumpet, which may perhaps mean its introduction into Latium. Clusius, whom Virgil calls an Etruscan monarch, we are inclined to think, is only a word expressing, in the Latin manner, the imperial general from Clusium, and we believe that it does not designate the name of any particular individual.

CHAPTER XV.

CIVILIZATION OF CENTRAL AND NORTHERN UMBRIA.

WE must now proceed to give an account of the general colonization and civilization of Italy by the Etruscans. This they commenced by the founding of certain cities, some particulars of which have come down to us, and we shall take them as far as we can, in chronological order. The first on record is "Ameria of the Umbri," consecrated according to Etruscan rites, and keeping a yearly founder's feast. Its date, according to Pliny and Cato,* is 964 years before the war with Perseus, consequently fifty-three years after the dedication of Tarquinia, 1134 B. C.; and in Roman times, it used to boast of its great antiquity, though we are acquainted with no other claim which it could make to distinction. It was probably governed entirely by Umbrians, as it is always called "Ameria of the Umbri." Spoleto is said to be of the same age, and we may also refer to about this time, Ikuvine or Gubbio, Tutere or Todi, Nocera, Interamna, Nequino, Sarsina, Sen-

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* Pliny iii. 14.

tinu, and Mevania,* all of which are said to have been founded by Tuscan rites, and some of which occasionally come before us, as "Pars Tusciæ," though all in Umbria. Sentinu reminds us of the Sentinate, whose sepulchres are now found at Chiusi and Tarquinia.

In Etruria Proper, Fiesole is the only colony, the date of which we know with any accuracy, and it is said in round numbers, to have been founded 1000 years before Florence, which Sylla built to take its place, and to prevent its ever again rising into consequence. This makes the æra of Fiesole 1090 B. C., and the Etruscans prosecuted here the wonderful waterworks which they had first tried with such signal success, farther south. They confined the turbulent Arno within deep straight banks, and made on each side of it, such channels as we now see regulating the waters in Holland, thus enabling the inhabitants either to irrigate and drain their fields, or to lay them all under water. At Fiesole, they lowered the lake which surrounded it, and gradually drained it off into the Arno; and they made for this purpose, tunnels through the hill upon which the town stands, which still exist and which may be visited at this day. Fiesole or Felsole was not improbably a colony from Felatria or Volterra, and stands upon an eminence equally inaccessible and striking. Volterra peopled also the great town of Populonia, which was increased at various times, by emigrations or importations from other quarters,

* Micali Storia, l. v. p. 74.

especially from the mines, as it was the great mart for all the ores from Ilva, or Elba, and Corsica.

Volterra must have been the mightiest and most populous town of Etruria, and was continually sending forth colonies, apparently because the circumscribed bounds of her rocky height, did not admit of a sufficient enlargement of her suburbs. Propertius, one of the kings of Volterra, is said by Servius, to have sent forth a colony southwards into the territory of the Faliscii, to the boundary fort of Veii, perhaps then a custom-house and station for waggons, (for *Veja* in Etruscan means a waggon.) Here, they drew the sacred furrow, and raised the stately walls of Veii, having, as it would seem, a domain ceded to them by the Faliscii, in whose country Veii was originally situated, and bounding themselves on the east by Cære, and on the south and west by the Tiber. Veii is said to have been founded by Halesus, as well as by Propertius, because Halesus founded the dynasty of Faliscii, and therefore gave his name to all the works and all the colonies of his people. The city of Veii took for its patron, Talna or Juno, the patron of Faleria, and dedicated a particular family, most likely that of one of the original Senators of Faleria, to be her priests. As Virgil makes no mention of Veii amongst the cities that helped Æneas, antiquaries have inferred that it rose into eminence subsequently to Tarquinia, Agylla, and the other states which he does mention, and that it was founded between the death of Mezentius and the colonization of Rome.

As Veii was often engaged in disputes with the Latins and Sabines, we know several particulars of its history above what we know of the other northern states. Its senate and people, like the other Etruscan dynasties, consisted of more than one race, and the population, Müller thinks, was composed of Sikeli and Etruscans. The Sikeli may mean Latins or Sabines, it being the name of every native tribe. Veii was ruled by a number of wealthy and luxurious sovereigns, all kept in our remembrance by some one remarkable act, but none succeeding each other in the relation of father and son. They were elected from amongst the Lucumoes of the Senate, and had all different names, each being the Head of a different family. This we judge, because all the Etruscan families had their own surnames, like the English, descending from father to son, as is proved by their sepulchral inscriptions; and this enables us to distinguish between the different families.

In fragments of popular songs or stray quotations, we find mention made of the kings of Veii, Morrio, Vejo, Meralus, and Deheberis or Tiberis. King Morrio was author of the Morris Dancers,* i. e. founder of the Salii, a band of priestly warriors, all noble, who danced a kind of sword dance in procession, in honour of Mauors, the god of battles. His altar was on the top of the Monte Musino, surrounded by three terraces which are still visible. The Salii consisted of twelve men, one to represent each

* Servius ad *Æn.*

Etruscan state, and their order was adopted by Pre-
 neste and Tusculum, in imitation of Veii. Morrio
 is called the son of Halesus, and therefore probably
 was a Falliscian. He* is said by some authors to
 have founded Alsium, because he is confounded
 with Halesus, who was the founder both of Alsium
 and of Faliscii, and in Eastern phrasology, he was
 the founder also of all the towns that proceeded from
 the colonies of either.

In the days of Morrio, according to Servius from
 Cato the men of Veii made the vow of a sacred
 spring,† and sent out a colony eighteen years after-
 wards, with an Augur, to build Capena; a city upon
 this account, perfectly independent in jurisdiction, but
 ever most faithfully and affectionately attached to the
 fortunes of its mother state. It is now called Civita,
 and the remains of its walls are in the usual Etrus-
 can parallelograms, and give us an idea of the im-
 pregnability which Livy‡ attributes to Capena.

King Vejo means the king of Veii, when elected
 chief of the League without any proper name.
 King Meralus was probably also a chief of the
 League; and king Deheberis, Latinized into Tiberis,
 may have been a real person, who gave his name
 to the Tiber, his boundary stream. This river he
 may very possibly have navigated, and in it he is
 said to have been drowned. Before Deheberis, the
 name of the Tiber was Rumon, and to us it is
 known equally as the Rumon or Roman River, and
 the Tiber. Tiberis ruled over Alba, therefore must

* Vide Dempster.

† Niebuhr. i. 127.

‡ v. 24.

have conquered the Latins, and is called the son of Janus, which means that he was a Tuscan. His time was so remote, that some authors make him cotemporary with the Argonauts, by whom he was killed;* but if he ruled Alba, he could not have reigned until after Alba was founded, and Silvius its first king was dead.

In the government of Veii, lay the Septem Pagi, or the seven villages, so long the object of contention with Rome. It is not easy to account for the greatness of Veii, as it was situated upon no navigable river, and was near no great lake, but it was probably the medium of communication between Pyrgi and Clusium, through Faleria and Volsinia, and it possessed manufactures of bronze and clay, famed for their superior excellence. It would naturally become warlike from being a frontier city, and it probably established both its territory and its power at the time the Tuscans ruled in Latium.

It seems likely that Veii founded Fidene, in the same manner as Capena, for Fidene appears ever to have looked up to Veii, and to have expected succour from her as a mother, whilst at the same time, she always returned to her the affectionate support of a daughter. Dionysius calls Fidene an Alban colony, which may have some reference to its foundation in the days of Tiberis, who ruled Alba. Pliny calls it Sabine, which would lead us to believe that Sabines were admitted into its senate. Livy† tells us that it was Etruscan, and that only a portion

* Dempster.

† i. xv.

of the inhabitants could speak Latin ; and when the Romans wanted a spy upon Fidene,* they procured a man from Cære, who understood the Etruscan language and writing, and who did not feel himself, as the Faliscians and Veientes would have done, betraying his own blood. The site of its ancient citadel is now Castel Giubileo.†

One other large town which grew up about this time, was Cosa, the port of Vulci, far more wealthy and better known than the elegant but small metropolis of the Vulcientes. It traded, like Tarquinia, with the ports of the north, and with those of Egypt and Carthage, which may account for the very extraordinary Egyptian relics of high antiquity, which continue still to be found in the sepulchres of Vulci.

The Tuscans of Etruria Proper, after having fully Coloni-
zation
of
Rhœ-
tia. peopled their own country, and the province of Umbria, which formed its eastern boundary, still continued to increase in their population, until their numbers became too great for the country to support, and the twelve dynasties agreed, each to send forth a large colony, which should possess and redeem the Padus country, i. e. the vast tract, afterwards possessed by the Gauls, lying upon each side of the Po, and extending from about the 44th degree of north latitude to the Alps. As all this land, bounded on the East by the Veneti, and on the West by the Ligurians, belonged to the Umbri, according to Pliny,‡ we need not wonder that the

* ix.

† Gell.

‡ iii.

Rasena found no difficulty in arranging with them the terms of their settlement, and met with no opposition. The decision of the twelve dynasties must have been concluded at one of the great meetings of Voltumna, and it is probable that they colonized simultaneously, as their movement is called by the Tuscan historians, Flaccus and Cecina, "Tarchon crossing the Po, and founding Etruria Nova."*

The colonies thus planted, were all upon the model of the mother country. Each metropolis was marked out by the plough, and blessed by the Augur; each had its threefold temple, and its three dedicated gates, and each had its massive walls, its garrisoned citadel, its theatre and amphitheatre. Each had also its Lucumoes and Senate, its Plebs and its slaves, its ruling Prince or Lar, and its patron god; and all of them without exception, were subject to the laws of Tages, and gloried in being the people of Tarchun, and in considering themselves as twelve members of one whole. From this it follows, that the northern Etruscans, also had their Voltumna, or place of general meeting, and their feast of brotherly union, though whether dedicated to the same goddess or to another, we have no means of knowing. It is to be presumed that they often sent deputies to Voltumna n Tarquinia, and that the twelve mother states frequently sent deputies to them, but there was no obligation for the one to attend the meetings of the other, nor was there any such bond

* Servius *Æn.* x.

between them, as to make it needful for the one to be acquainted with the councils of the other.

Like all the colonics, of all the people of Ludin, "Etruria Nova" was wholly independent of the country whence she sprung; she carried forward with her the domestic manners, the national modes of thought, and the civilization of Etruria Proper, and she was bound to it by lasting ties of gratitude and affection, but never of subjection. She was the friend, but not the servant of Tarchunia; her child, but a child gone out into the world to seek fortune for itself, and consulting no more the authority of home. As the Rasena who settled in Western Umbria, called their country Aturia, or Etruria, in memory of the land of their forefathers, and Turrhenia or Turchunia, in memory of their great chief, so these second Rasena probably called their part of Northern Umbria, "Rasena," in remembrance of their ancient race. It has come down to us in the corrupted form of Rhœtia,* and is said to have been named from Rhœtus, one of their colonizing kings. We can but go upon probabilities, and faint gleams of light in our researches into Etruria Nova, because its very existence is first made known to us at the period of its downfall. Livy first mentions it in the reign of the Roman king, Tarquin the First, in the year of Tarquinia 560, and we scarcely hear of it again, until the fall of Melpum, one of its largest and greatest cities, which was destroyed at the same time with Veii.† It is certain that all the land

* Livy v. 33. Pliny iii. 20.

† A. R. 358.

which remained to these Northern Rasena, after the conquest of the Gauls, was called Rhœtia,* and was divided into upper and lower ; the first extending from the source of the Rhine to the Leck, and the second from the Leck to the Inn, comprehending the country which is now the Tyrol and the Grisons. Their towns in this space were Curia, now Coire, Tridentum now Trent, Belumen, and Feltria. These four were not unlikely spelt Keri or Cære, Tr.t.n.te. Vel.m.ne, and Felatri, whence we are inclined to attribute the founding of Feltria to Volterra or Felatri, of Curia to Cære, of Tritente to Tutere of the Umbri, united with the men of Faliscii ; and of Velumen or Velumne to some of those Northern States, in which we now find the sepulchres of the family of Velumne, one of the chief Magnates of Etruria.

In after ages, the northern Rasena were confined within the space of Rhœtia Proper, where they lost their commerce and their maritime character, and where they had no neighbours, but the Germans on the one side, and the Gauls on the other ; they then forgot their pristine refinement, and became comparatively poor and savage, retaining, as Livy† says, “ no traces of their original, except their ancient language, and even that corrupted.” Many Etruscan bronzes and inscriptions have been found within the last fifty years, in this district.

* Servius on Georg. ii. Strab. iv. Plin. iii. 20.

† v. 33.

The eight* rich cities conquered by the Gauls, with which these four in their happier days, were in full communion, were Adria, Spina, Kupra, Fulsinia, Melpum, Mediolanum, Verona, and Mantua; and of these, the two last keep their ancient name. Mediolanum is Milan, though under the Tuscans, it must have borne some other designation, perhaps *Met.lun*, Mediolanum being Gallic. Melpum was so rich and powerful a city, that its loss caused the ruin of all the others, and it was regarded by the northern Tuscans, in the same light as Veii by the southern. Felsina, called also Bononia, and now Bologna, is described by Pliny as the capital of northern Etruria, and along with Mantua, it comes prominently forward in Latin history. Felsinius, mentioned by Virgil, was probably the ruler of this city, and general of the northern league. It was in all likelihood founded by Felsune or Volsinia, (the tribe of artists,) which it so much resembles in name.

Kupra, near the modern Ripra Santone, was the city of the great and universally venerated Etruscan goddess, Juno. It may be a doubt whether Kupra did not signify Juno in the Egyptian or Lybian form only, in which she was worshipped at Veii, and in which she appeared, when she stood alone as the object of adoration, whilst Talna might be her name as the wife of Jupiter, and as one of the great Triad.

* Authorities for these cities, &c.: Livy v. 33; xxxix. 55. Strabo v. 214—218. Pliny iii. 15, 16, 19. Scylax.

Both names are given to Juno in the bronze specchj, and the thought is suggested, because the female form of Egyptian Jupiter is "Tamon," which form standing alone is Neith, or Minerva; and it is not unworthy of remark, that Lanuvian Juno, the only remaining statue which we have, representing the Etruscan Juno, and which Dionysius says is like the Argive Hera, is Juno in a dress which might be mistaken for that of Minerva. This statue is to be seen in the Vatican. Temples to Kupra, the Tuscan warlike Juno, seem to have abounded in all the Tuscan settlements.

Adria* and Spina† were both great commercial towns upon the coast, and the former gave its name to the whole gulf of Venice, called by the ancients, the Adriatic Sea. At Adria or Hatria, the houses were all built with a court, universal to the Tuscans, but called by the Latins from this town, Atria. Varro tells us, "Atrium appellatum est ab Atrialibus Tuscis," i. e. from Hatria. Its name upon the coins is Hathri and Tah. We have already quoted the testimony of Pliny,‡ as to the whole district of Adrianus having once belonged to the Umbri, who upon first entering Italy, conquered it from the Siculi.

Mantua, the birth-place of Virgil, was founded from Perugia, and he relates the tradition that Bianor, the son of Manto, named the city after his mother.§ Antiquarians believe this Manto to have

* Adria Tuscan: Plin. iii. Varro, l. v. † Müller, 3, 4.

‡ iii, 14.

§ Servius Ænd. x. 198.

been simply the God of the shades, and that Bianor dedicated his town to the manes of his mother. As he was a son of Ocnus, in the sense of being a Perugian, he is often confounded with Ocnus, one of the reputed founders of Perugia, and Ocnus is consequently said to have done that, which the colony of Ocnus achieved under Bianor. He seems to have been one of the greatest of the Etruscan princes. Virgil* says that he was buried between Mantua and the little town of Andes, and that his sepulchre was visible even in his (the poet's) day. Bianor, in the usual eastern phraseology of the Tuscans, is called the son of Tiberis, and of Manto the daughter of Tiresias. In other words, Bianor came from the Tiber, the beautiful river of Perugia; he was, at the period his tomb was erected, the son of Mantu; and Mantu was the god of death, or of disembodied spirits, to the Tiresians, or Tirseniensians. Auletes appears also to have been a very ancient and powerful king of Mantua,† as he is represented heading the troops of the Benacus and the Mincio, and joining his brethren with one hundred ships.

Virgil‡ mentions the mixture of races in the Senate of Mantua; and it is superfluous to dilate upon the necessary and all but obligatory mixture of the Umbri with the Tusci, in all the new cities which were founded in their unconquered land; and throughout every apportioned district which was measured off in their allied and friendly territory.

* Eclogue ix.

† Æn. x. 207.

‡ Servius on Æn. x. 201.

All the north, which had been Umbrian, was henceforward considered Rasenan or Rhœtian, and the old native rulers must have shared equally with the new governors, and, it may be, were even alternate with the kings; for where marriage was lawful between the houses, and the laws, religion, and civilization were wholly Tuscan, we can easily perceive that the name of Umbrian would quickly merge into that of the dominating power. Müller* says, that a great many small towns in Rhœtia, bore the same names as those in Umbria Proper, in Etruria, and in Etruscan Campania; such as Acerra, Laus Pompeja, and Vulturnia, all near Cremona, and noticed by Cluverius.

Ravenna† was one of the great northern Tuscan cities, which remained to the Rasena and the Umbri, and was not conquered by the Gauls. Pliny says, that all the Padusland, without any exception, as far north as the Alps, was Umbrian; and Livy, that it all became Tuscan, excepting a small portion round the head of the sea, belonging to the Veneti, afterwards the republic of Venice. These Veneti may have been, like the Siculi, straggling colonists from Illyria, who had not strength to push themselves further southward; but Niebuhr thinks that they also were Etruscans, or at least, that their country was included in the Etruscan dominion, and that we do not hear of them as united with the others, because they were cut off from the main body by the Gauls. It is most likely that they were Etrusci, Umbri, and

* Etrusker Einl. iii. 3.

† Müller Ein. iii. 4.

Siculi, all mixed together in different proportions, but the two last greatly preponderating, possessed of no large city in their territory, and being under the rule of no great family; and therefore, after the dreadful revolution occasioned by the Gauls, they were allowed to remain quiet and forgotten. They present all the marked features of the native, unimproved Sikelean character. They were neither military nor maritime, neither savage nor polite. They neither injured others, nor appear themselves to have been injured. They existed in the same locality through a long succession of ages, and managed during the whole time, to maintain themselves in honourable peace, and most respectable insignificance.

We presume these Rhœtian colonies to have been founded at least 1090 B. C., about one hundred years after the full and quiet settlement of Etruria Proper, which would leave time for those rock-girt cities, that could not safely enlarge their boundaries, to become over peopled, and also for the improvers of the ground by water husbandry, (i. e. draining and irrigation,) to cast a wistful eye upon the luxuriant but useless meadows of the Po. Here the Tuscans directly commenced operations, with their characteristic vigour and perseverance, on a gigantic scale, and in an enduring manner; yet here, again, we have no tradition of sighs and groans; no oppression of Umbri, or Sikeli, or enslaved Pelasgi; no sacrifices to Saturn or to Mantu; and no hecatombs of their brother men. It was the

Tuscans who laboured in these works, rather than the Tuscan slaves; though, without doubt, the slave helped his master. Nowhere in Europe have we parallel works, except in Holland, the freest and the most unconquerable of lands.

In Rhoetian and Padusian Etruria we find no tunnels, because sagacity did not there counsel their construction, nor did prudence and foresight require that the mountains should be bored through, for the plains of the Po were enough and to spare. The Rasena accordingly, raised ditch banks (if we may be allowed such an expression) along the sides of the river, managed its waters so as either to drain, to irrigate, or to flood, and made it their mightiest defence against their foes, and the most powerful benefactor to themselves. They conducted its stream through the lake Comacchio; and thence by seven canals, known as the "Fossæ Filistinæ," into the sea, at the point now called Brondolo. They turned the swampy and unhealthy Milanese into a well-watered land, "like the garden of the Lord, like Egypt." They restrained the sea itself, and formed the harbour of Adria, now destroyed: and in short it is not for an unlearned person to undertake to describe, the immensity and variety of their works, the very traces, remains, and ruins of which, are filling the learned and scientific at this day, with inexpressible wonder and admiration.

The ports of Adria and Spina, so early as the time of Hesiod, sent ships into Greece, even the vessels of "the mighty Tyrseni, who lived in the days of the

demi-gods ;”* and they carried thither, amongst other things, amber, called by Hesiod and Homer *elektrum*, which the Greeks referred to a port of the Eridanus, i. e. Spina, and believed to be the gum of a tree which grew upon the banks of the Padus, a river of these same Tyrseni. Theopompus says, that the Greeks procured tin also from the Tyrseni, which came from an island in the Eridanus, or Po. It is supposed that the Tyrseni received this tin at Marsiglia, and shipped it from Greece, for Atria or Spina.†

We are almost afraid of being accused of substituting some fairy tale for history, when we state, what is evidenced to us by the Tyrsenian commerce in amber more than 900 years B. C., and when we do so without stopping at this place, to demonstrate each fact from ancient authorities. It proves to us that the Tyrseni, had not only colonized as far as the Alps, but had crossed them in their insatiable spirit of adventure ; that they had traversed Germany, (Müller thinks through Pannonia,) in the character of merchants, managing to keep peace with all the tribes, the Boii, the Catti, and the Angli, through whom they passed ; and that they had reached its utmost bounds, even upon the shores of the Sarmatian sea,‡ whence in those remote ages, they brought their precious gum. In the chapter upon the arts and sciences of the Tuscans, we shall return to the “sacred road,” which was the name

* Thucyd.

† See Müller on Tuscan trade.

‡ Sarmatian or Sinus Codonus.

given to the Tursenian highway, that crossed from the Alps to the Baltic.

Corinth
1074,
B. C. It may not be uninteresting here to remark, as it follows in order of chronology, that Corinth, formerly Ephyra, with which Tarquinia traded largely, was founded in 1074 B. C. by Aletes, who conquered the town, and changed its name. It henceforward, according to Strabo, became the emporium between Asia and Italy. It had all the trade of Greece in its power, and Thucydides says, was wealthy even in the days of Homer, from the commerce of its inhabitants; and it is mentioned as wealthy by the prince of poets himself.* Its two great colonies were Syracuse in Sicily, founded 732 B. C., about twenty years later than Rome; and Corcyra, now Corfu, in the Egean Sea, thirty years later, in 703 B. C. The inhabitants, with whom the Corinthians united themselves in Corcyra, were Pelasgi or Egyptians, from Colchis, who had settled there some centuries earlier.

Greeks
in
Italy. In 1060 B. C., exactly 127 years after the settlement of Etruria Proper by Tarchun, the first Greeks entered Southern Italy, subsequently, as we believe, to the colonization of Rhœotia. In this year a very few families, probably blown by contrary winds and in distress, arrived at a spot ten miles north of the present town of Naples, and built a village which they called Cuma,† whence some authors believe them to have come from Cuma, the capital

* Iliad, ii. 570.

† Thucyd. vi. Livy, viii. Dion. vii. 419.

city of Eolis ; whilst others say that they came from Chalcis in Eubœa, and had probably intended to settle in some of the Ionian Islands. Pliny always calls them Chalcidian. They were joined by but few of their countrymen for many ages, and made a most inconsiderable progress in Italy, being, as Müller* thinks, prevented from extending themselves, by the Tuscans. In the course of 300 years, about the epoch of Rome, they ventured to send out a colony, which founded Zancle,† now Messina, in Sicily. Before that time, they had only crept a few miles along the shore, and founded Dicearchia, Naples, or Paleopolis and Neapolis, and Pithecusa. Their countrymen, who followed them in small and timorous companies, did not feel inclined to venture even so far as they had done, and kept to the little islands of Ischia, Capri, Procida, and Nisida, in the Bay of Naples.

We may judge how circumscribed the Cumeans were, from the testimony of the Greeks themselves. Sophocles calls the Lake Avernus, in their immediate neighbourhood, Tursenian ; and, in the Drama of Triptolemus, he says, that between Œnotria, i. e. South Italy, and Ligustica, now Genoa, there was nothing but the dominion of the Tursenians. Pausanias‡ calls Dicearchia, Tursenian ; Stephanus says, that the Turseni were masters of Puteoli ;§ and Dion. Hal.|| tells us that Umbri and Etrusci formed part of the population of Cuma itself ; whilst Poly-

* i. 4.

† Thucyd. vi.

‡ iv. and viii.

§ Vide Pliny.

|| viii.

buis,* who doubts and depreciates the power of the Etruscans, yet gives as part of their territory the Phlegrean fields described by Homer.

The Greek colonies from Asia Minor first settled in Sicily, at a considerably later period, and they did not come in any numbers even into that part of Italy, which from them was termed *MAGNA GRECIA*, until the tenth century B. C. We cannot but think that Hindostan might with far more propriety be called "Magna Anglia," than Southern Italy "Magna Grecia," as the Greeks nowhere, and at no time, spread themselves inland: and never civilized the native Italians or Siculi, who continued to occupy their country as before, only removing a little further from the sea, and there enjoying, without interruption or change, their pristine rudeness. When we look at Magna Grecia in a map, we fancy it to have been a paradise, with a people revelling and luxuriating in all the elegancies of life; but, when we come to analyse it, we find that the whole of the interior, where civilized, was occupied by the Tuscans, and that, where not occupied by them, it either degenerated into barbarism, or sunk into insignificance. We read upon the Magna Grecian coins, to our amazement, Oscan words upon the one side and Greek upon the other; so written, in order that they might pass current and be understood within a few miles of the shore. And the more we examine into the subject, the more does truth force us to confess, that the Greeks traded gladly and con-

* ii. 17.

stantly with those whom they found in Italy, natives in all points, equal, or superior to themselves, and also with all the various towns in Italy, Sicily, and Grecia Proper, of their own blood; but that we can nowhere trace them as being, either by accident or interest, the civilizers of any rude tribe of the native Italians. The Greeks were most apt to learn, most elegant and fanciful to improve, but they were not patient to teach, and they had no romantic ideas, when they came to colonize in Hesperia of benefiting any but themselves.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONIZATION OF CENTRAL ITALY.

B. C.
XII.
& XI.
CENT.

WE now come to the civilization and colonization of the rest of Italy, and to the overwhelming influence which Etruria, naturally and necessarily exercised upon the Central Italian tribes. We have already shown that from the Alps down to $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. Lat., i. e. to Reati, almost the whole land belonged to the Rasena, and to their allies the Umbri. But south of this, we meet with nations who, though governed by them, and inhabiting the country with them, were always distinguished from them; we mean the Sabines, the Latins, and their numerous offsets. Micali, in his "Popoli d'Italia," proves that every one of the tribes of Italy came from the same stock, that is, the Sikeli, whom Niebuhr calls Itali, or Osci, which is the same with the Ausoni, or the dwellers in the south land. Hence these people are called Oscans, Opicans, Auruncians, Œnotrians, Italians, and Sikelians, each signifying the same

thing, as is well known to those who have studied this matter; and the wearisome names of the different tribes, some of whose territories did not exceed a highland estate, only signify the designations of their leaders, or the localities in which they settled, or the various bands in which they colonised.

If we cast our eyes over a map of ancient Italy, we shall find its chief divisions southwards, to consist of Sabina, Latium, Samnium, Campania, Lucania, Bruzzi, and Apulia, (besides Magna Grecia,) and every one of these tribes was an offset from the other, according to Festus and Servius; chiefly through the observance of the Sacred Spring, an institution introduced by the Rasena. According to the rules of this system of migration, each colony went forth with its Augur, as a religious and peaceful settlement, and consequently was received, not only without dislike or terror, but as a holy thing, by the original Sikeli, whose uncultivated lands they came to till, and whose thinly peopled districts they helped to occupy.

First among these colonies, we find the Sabines. Sabines. We have already said, that when Tarchun entered Italy, Reati, commonly called the stronghold of the Sabines, was, according to Zenodotus of Trezene, the chief town of the Umbri. A colony of these Umbri, Zenodotus says, left Reati (very possibly immediately after the union of the Umbri with the Tuscans,) and wandering further south, they built Cures, now Correse,* a large unwalled village, where their chiefs met every year for council, in imitation of the

* Gell.

Etruscan Voltumna, and where their ceremonies were commenced by raising a spear.* The marked difference between the Sabines and their parent Umbri, seems to have consisted in a more resolute love of their ancient customs, and a less patient tolerance of strangers, even though these strangers might be benefactors. Whilst the Umbri gladly learnt to wall and fortify their towns, to go forth to battle, and to share in booty with the Rasena; whilst they worshipped at the same shrine, and voted in the same Senate; the Sabines would have no walled towns, and shared in none of their expeditions. They made a league offensive and defensive with the victorious Turrheni. "Neither attacked the other, nor suffered the other to be attacked;" but they did not colonize with them, and they seem to have had no wish so much at heart, as to live with them in peace, whilst they continued to observe amongst themselves the old customs of their forefathers. They were agricultural as well as pastoral, yet we do not find in their country, the great drains or tunnels of the Etruscans; and they were not commercial, and therefore were behind their neighbours in the luxuries and refinements of life.

It is greatly to the credit of the Rasena that they never attacked the Sabines, nor interfered with their order of government, as nothing could have been more easy for them, than to have burnt the unwalled villages, overrun the country, built forts amongst

* Dion. Hal. says on this head "Umbri, mutatoque cum sedibus nomine, Sabinos fuisse appellatos.

them, and forced them to become tributary. But history has no such tradition, nor does it ever record of the Rasena such a breach of public faith. The Sabines adopted much of their civilization, received their letters, numbers, weights and measures, their order of battle, manner of burial, and style of dress, but did not adopt their many images, nor accept of the laws of Tages, nor establish their manufactures, nor imitate their buildings. Except, however, in these particulars, the influence of Etruria upon Sabina appears to have been most powerful. Plutarch tells us that Numa the Sabine, honoured the laws and institutions of Janus (or Tarchun,) he therefore knew and had studied them. The Sabine great gods were Jupiter and Juno Cures—their demi-god and genius Sancus, whom Varro makes to be Hercules, but he was most probably no other than Janus with the club, and the Ancient History says, that he was derived to the Sabines either from Etruria or from Umbria. St. Augustin* asserts, that the government, laws, arts, manners, and religion of Sabines, were the same with the Etruscan. An assertion that must, however, be taken with many limitations.

The country of Sabina, is perhaps at this moment, better known to the peasantry than to the aristocracy of Rome. In the minds of the people, it still remains, bordering upon the Eternal City, but quite apart from it; and the arms and ornaments, vases, bronzes and sarcophagi, found in the sepulchres of Sabina, are so similar to those of Etruria, as only to be distin-

* Di Civitat. Dei xxiii. 19.

guished by their locality, as may be seen in the interesting work, and yet more interesting museum of the Cavaliere Campana in Rome.

The Sabines seem to have multiplied fast, and to have endured many famines or other calamities, which occasioned them with great frequency to observe the sacred spring. It is in this way, that they sent forth the Piceni, the original Latins,* the Rutuli, Hernici, Equi, Volsci, Marsi, Campanians, and above all, the Samnites, a fierce and warlike race, who became the stock of Southern Italy, and who were in most characteristics, very unlike their progenitors. Colonies, as we have said before, take with them to their new homes, not only the education they have received from their immediate ancestors, but a development of natural disposition under new circumstances, which must proceed from themselves. These colonies all consisted of men who had been in a greater or less degree, under Etruscan influence, and who went out with that education, to fix themselves amongst the uneducated of their own race, (the Sikeli,) who were spread, or rather who had been dispersed through the land before them.

Sam-
nites.

When the sacred colonies left their native soil, they were glad to catch at omens, as signifying the will of the gods, whither they should direct their steps, and the Samnites are said to have been conducted by a bull to the territory they afterwards occupied amongst the Osci. This bull they very properly stamped upon their coins, in token of

* Prisci Latini.

gratitude for the excellent pastures to which he had led them. They went in three bands, and the third band passed the Silaris and originated the Lucani.* Whilst some divisions of the Samnites dwelt in villages like the Sabines; others took a bolder flight and built cities with walls and towers, having Forums, Curiaë, Comitia, and magistrates, and each of these more polished states had its own internal government, subject to a general diet modelled from the Etruscan. The warlike pomp of the Samnites was carried even further than that of the rest of Etruscanized Italy. They wore mantles of the most beautiful colours, and like the Syrians of Zobah mentioned in the book of Samuel,† their resplendent shields were inlaid with gold and silver.

Of all the Sabine colonies, the one most interesting Latins. to us, and next to the Umbri, the most influenced by Etruria, and the most mingled with the Etruscans, was the Latin, including besides Latium, the Volsci, Equi, Rutuli, and Hernici. Latium Proper was no very splendid domain, being circumscribed between the Sabines and the Rutuli, and comprising, according to Cluverius, a district of only thirty-five miles by twenty, from Tibur now Tivoli, to the sea; and from Ostia to the Mount Albanus or Monte Cavo, in which space all the land about Laurentum, Ardea, Anxium, and Lavinium, is described by Virgil and Strabo as full of marshes.

Nothing shows us more strikingly,

“How great events from smallest causes spring,”

* Plin.

† 2 Sam. viii. 7.

than that all these places should acquire importance, and Latium itself be kept in remembrance by the pre-eminent success of one small town, within its limits, which rose like a grain of mustard-seed, compared with the long established and wealthy cities of the Rasena.

The Latins are supposed to have been Sabines from Mount Velinus,* who united with the Siculi and Pelasgi, and who were conquered in various degrees,† and at various times, by the Turrheni. Laurentum, according to Virgil, was the cradle of the Latin kings, and Lanuvium was the city next to it, in age and dignity, and both were probably small, though strongly walled and fortified. Lanuvium, according to the manner of the Etruscans, with whom vowels were indifferent, was often spelt Lanivium, whence Lavinium‡ the name it now bears; and to it rather than to Lavinia, Müller attributes the founding of Alba, one of the most interesting cities in Italy. Whichever of these two towns we may prefer, whether Pratica, the old Lavinia, or Lanuvium, which assumed the name of Lavinium in later times, one of them was undoubtedly the mother of Alba, and the daughter of Laurentum. This Lavinia, according to Livy, was founded in the year B. C. 1083, a century after the union of Umbria and Turrhenia, and thirty years before the colony which she sent forth to establish Alba upon the Mount Cavo.

Lanu-
vium. Lanuvium or Lanivium gives very striking evidences of Etruscan civilization, and of her princes having once been the sons of Veii, Faliscii, or some

* Gell.

† See Niebuhr.

‡ Gell.

neighbouring and Turrhene state. Lanivium was a walled and fortified city, boasting a theatre, an amphitheatre, and a temple of the square Tuscan form, with pillars in front, dedicated to Juno Sospita, i.e. as Livy* tells us, to Juno with the spear, like the Argive or Lybian Juno, with the attributes of Minerva. Her statue is now to be seen in the Vatican. The town or this temple contained paintings, according to Pliny, older than Rome, similar in style to those of Cære and of Ardea. Lavinia or Lanuvia, along with twenty-nine other towns and villages, sent out each, ten families to build Alba, under the command of Silvius of Lavinia, who was their captain and prince. These families, from thirty different towns, will easily account for the original tradition, that Alba was the mother of thirty colonies, and that these thirty colonies met every year, to celebrate their common origin, at the Temple of Jupiter Latialis; for this would have been true, had none but the Senators of Alba assembled there. In process of time, this tradition was confused, by adding to it the modern idea of colonies, as meaning emigrations from the city itself, of which sort Rome was the youngest, and in all likelihood the tenth.

Alba was built, according to Livy, only 300 years before Rome; and deputies from thirty cities of the Latins met here every year, to sacrifice and to keep a feast of union, like those of the Rasena at the fane of Voltumna. Here also the allies of the Latins joined with them, as we find from mention being made in

* xxi. 62.

Livy of the Sabines from Amiternum.* The sacred place of assembly was the great Temple of Jupiter Latialis, which antiquarians now affirm to have been constructed in the Etruscan form, and after the Etruscan manner. We suppose, therefore, without venturing to assert what we have not examined, that it was a square building with columns, erected in honour of the Triad, and that its architecture was the same with that of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome.

We have some reason to think that thirty years, the space between Alba and Lavinia, was the usual date of an Italian colony in time of peace. It is the period of a generation, when a young population usually doubles itself, and when a walled city must throw off its swarm, to seek another hive. In this case, Alba might send out ten colonies in 300 years; and we know the names of more than ten cities, which have their origin attributed to her; but the idea of any town sending out a fresh colony every ten years is surely absurd, excepting in so far as the colonies of the ten first might again be referred to the same original. Alba, as soon as she became the metropolis of the Latins, would naturally be translated as the mother of them all; and as naturally would her daughter cities, in the sense of those who acknowledged her headship, be called her colonies. Each of these cities had their own senates, their own princes, and their own independent governments, and Alba was no further superior, excepting

* See Gell.

as the place of the common diet, and in so far as her princes might, more frequently than others, be chosen to head the Latin league. It is for this reason, that we are acquainted with the names of so few amongst her sovereigns, and that we, whose notions of colonies and metropoleis is so different from the old Italian, cannot comprehend how Gabii, and Preneste, and Ardea, and Antium, and others, should be fighting their own battles, and making their own terms of peace with perfect independence ; and choosing their own allies, and sometimes attending the Alban meetings, and sometimes not, as if Alba had nothing whatever to do with them.

As we have, in no author, an enumeration of the twelve united Etruscan dynasties, so we have in none, a list of the thirty Latin cities, which used to celebrate a common origin upon the Mons Albanus. Their youngest metropolis was Alba, most beautifully situated upon the shores of a large volcanic lake, whose waters at that time, stood 200 feet higher* than the present level; and the city, the ruins of which may still be seen, was a mile long, the walls being built of large quadrilateral blocks of stone, and the citadel, as usual, placed upon the highest point, which was an eminence at one end. Two of the gates, namely, the Tusculan and the Lavinian, may still be traced. It had many temples, as we have already mentioned, dedicated chiefly to the Tuscan gods ; and it claimed as its pride the

* Gell. Livy.

grand Temple of Jupiter Latialis, which, as it towered above it on the summit of the mountain, was probably visible from every point of Latium, so as originally to have conveyed the idea that the Divine Eye was continually upon that country.

The Latins, as we have said, were Sabines, Sikeli, and Pelasgi, civilized and often ruled by Etruscans. Of this, their language is the certain evidence, the basis of it being Oscan, its terms for common and sordid employments Greek, and its words of command, especially for war and hunting, taken from the Rasena.* The Greek and Tuscan roots hold the same place in Latin, that the Saxon and French do in English. The name Alba, "Alpum," is itself Tuscan, and means white and high. It is probable that Alba and its several colonies were founded with Etruscan rites, as we find them all with walls, and gates, and citadels, and temples; and the walls of many, if not of most of them, were built with the quadrangular stones, which was the favourite method of the Tur-rheni. Varro says,† "Oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multa;" or, many cities in Latium were founded with Etruscan rites; which we must suppose to refer to towns of name, otherwise an historian would not have thought them worth his notice.

Ten of the cities of Alba, with the names of

* Niebuhr, i., gives the words for house, field, plough, oil, milk, ox, swine, sheep, apple, &c., as Pelasgic; and Duellum, Ensis, Scutum, Hasta, Sagitta, &c., as Tuscan.

† Lib. iv.

which we are acquainted, are Rome, the youngest of them all; Mugilla, and Politorium, on the Alban River, which are probably the oldest; Bovilla,* Preneste, Tibur, Gabii, Nomentum, Crustumerium, and Fidene. These three last are said to have been founded† by three brothers, meaning by the expression, very possibly, three brother nations, i. e. the Latins, Sabines, and Tuscans. And, indeed, whilst the two first towns were both Latin and Sabine, the third, Fidene, is ascribed by different authors to each of the tribes; and Dionysius makes it Alban, conquered from the Siculi, and in glory in the days of Romulus. Livy‡ says, that Fidene was Etruscan, that its people did not understand Latin, and that it was, in all likelihood, founded by Veii. It was much connected with Veii and Alba together, at the time the two governments were united.

The most eminent of the early Alban colonies were Gabii, Presneste, and Tibur, all of them powerful and wealthy cities, capitals of their own small states, and each having four or five inferior towns in dependence upon them. Gabii, on the borders of Etruria, exhibits very much of Tuscan culture, and certainly enjoyed Isopolity with the cities of the Rasena in its neighbourhood. It had adopted the Tuscan dress, for the Romans took the Tuscan toga from Gabii. It was independent, for it frequently refused to join in the confederation of all the other Latin states; and it had its own prince and senate, and was powerful to make war by itself alone, as we

* Cato.

† Gell.

‡ i. 15.

shall find in the sequel. It was strongly fortified, having walls built of parallel stones after the manner of the Rasena, and it was a city always peculiarly favoured and protected by the Etruscan princes. Livy* says, that when the Tarquini were expelled from Rome they had two countries to which they might retreat, Cære and Gabii. Pliny tells us that it had a mint for the As, graven or stamped, like the Etruscans, and that it used their letters. The great temple of Gabii was that of Tuscan Juno, or Kupra in her warlike Lybian dress; and this temple possessed the Tuscan character of being built square, with pillars in front.†

Gabii had also a theatre, a forum, and a celebrated college, at the head of which latter, about the year 760 B. C., was Tanctius the Tuscan, who, according to Macrobius (i.) educated the young Latin princes Romulus and Remus. Indeed, upon this head, tradition is copious; for Plutarch, Strabo, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Diocles of Peparethus, all say, that Romulus and Remus were sent to Gabii to be educated, and to learn the polite and philosophic foreign language, which was in their age, thought necessary for the ruling class of the Italians. This language Plutarch and Strabo naturally call Greek, though we know from Cato, Cicero,‡ and Livy ix., that during the first five centuries of Rome, her noble youth and chief citizens were sent into Etruria for their education. Plutarch and Dionysius tell us that the religious auguries of the Gabinians were

* i. 50.

† Gell.

‡ de Div. i.

the same as those of the Tuscans, and that Gabii taught the Tuscan discipline to the Sabines and the Marsi.

Dionys. ii. says, that at one time, Greek was better understood than Latin, in Gabii and in many other Latin cities, "because they were all founded by the Greeks!" as a proof of which, he states that the Romans, in early ages, employed the Greek character. He here evidently mistakes Greek for Tuscan.

Servius says, that Gabii was a city of the Prisci Latini built by Alba; Strabo, that it was Greek; and Solinus, that it was a town of the Siculi founded by two brothers, Galatios and Bios; which is about the same sense as if we English were to affirm that Pekin is a town of the Tartars, founded by two brothers, Peter and Kinloch! In sober truth, the Siculi first owned, or rather occupied, as shepherds and hunters, the lands of Gabii; the Latins from Alba more recently, founded the town upon Etruscan models, and the Tuscans and Latins inhabited it afterwards together. It was a ruin and desolate in the days of Horace. The breath of Rome was malaria to all the other states; and her dominion was death to theirs.*

Tibur, or Tivoli, had very strong walls built with regular blocks, which looks as if the builders had been Tuscan. Stephanus calls it an Alban colony; but, as his is the only authority for this parentage, Gell thinks it very doubtful whether Tibur were originally Sabine or Latin. Its first name was

* Authorities: Gell, Müller, iii. 122, Plut., Strabo, Dionys.

Siculetum, or the stronghold of the Siculi ; and its second name was Tibur, which being coupled with its ascription to Alba, inclines us to think that it may have been built when the Tuscan king, Deheberis or Tiberis, ruled Alba. Solinus viii. makes its founder Tiburtus, a Greek ! who came over with Evander, and who expelled the Siculi ! Dionysius says, that it was a town of the Aborigines, i. e. the Siculi ; and Gell thinks, that it may owe its origin to Evander the Sabine, who may have made it a resting-place, when he journeyed forth from Pallatium, the village near Reati, towards the Tiber. The Greek founders of almost all the towns and states in Central Italy, such as Ausonius, Ænotrius, Latinus, Tiburtus, &c., are exactly the same sort of persons as we might place in our histories, if, without any regard to ancient names and other consistencies, we chose to affirm that London, York, and Lincoln, were founded by Londonus, Yorkius, and Lincolnus, three chiefs who came over before Julius Cæsar ; or that Wessex derived its name from Wessexius, a Roman general.

Tibur contained a splendid temple to Hercules, the Ludin demi-god. Pliny does not name the Tibertini, in his enumeration of the Latin tribes who sacrificed at the temple on Mons Albanus, and Gell thinks that they were perhaps too mighty to mingle on an equality with the other tribes, or to allow of the headship of Alba. But it was not the custom of the ancient nations to measure an acknowledgment of brotherhood, or a common participation in the

same worship, by an equality of power. It was not upon this principle that the Tuscan sovereigns subsequently wished for the sacrifices of Jupiter to be made in Rome, or for the meeting of the Latins to be held there ; but because they rather wished the Great Divinity of the Latins, their Jupiter, to be under the protection of Turrhenia, which was in all probability, his birthplace, than that Turrhenia in her Tarquinian colonies, should be under the protection of Jupiter Latialis. They anxiously wished to make Rome more Etruscan than Latin, and like most of those who strain the chain too tight, they by this very conduct, caused it to snap asunder, so that it could not be joined again. Tibur, according to Livy,* had four towns dependent upon it, and contained an asylum for the unfortunate slaves and debtors, the origin of which we attribute to Asylas the Tuscan.

Palestrina, or Præneste, we have reason to think, was a state and city even more powerful than Tibur, for Livy† tells us it had no less than eight towns in its dependency, one of which was Vitellia. Like all the other towns in the heart of Italy, it first belonged to the Siculi, and according to Cato in Servius, was founded by Cæculus (Siculus), a robber, i. e. a barbarian. According to Gell, the founder was Prænestus, a Latin ; but the plan and style of the place are Etruscan, though the walls are built with the polygonal masses of the Pelasgi. The strongly fortified citadel stood twelve hundred feet above the city, and three of the ancient gates in the

Præ-
neste.

* See Gell,

† vi. 22—30.

circuit of the wall are perfectly traceable, corresponding with the three separate roads, the via Labicana, via Gabina, and via Collatina, which, according to Gell, must have been in use before the foundation of Rome. Virgil* supposes Præneste to have existed in the time of Æneas, and causes Herilus, its king, to be slain, defending his country against the Latins of Latium Proper. The great divinity of Præneste was the Etruscan goddess Nortia, or Fortune, whose temple Cicero says, existed prior to the building of Rome, and in which the "Sortes Prænestinæ" were drawn. This temple, Gell says, was built of a square form, with quadrilateral stones, in regular courses, and having six columns in front. Livy tells us, that Præneste, like Tibur, had its sacred asylum, and Servius says, that like Veii and Tusculum, it had a college of Salii before this brotherhood was introduced by Numa into Rome.

Crustumerium

Crustumerium is now the green "Monte Rotondo," near the "Monte Sacro, situated a few miles from Rome. Its name in Oscan, means "a round knoll," but the ingenious and ubiquitous Greeks derived it from Clytemnestra, a lady whom they invented, on purpose to relieve the public mind from any dilemma as to its founder.

Kings. The names of the Latin and Alban kings which have come down to us, are Capetus, Latinus, Sylvius, Julus, Tarchetius, Cluillius, Numitor, and Amulius. We have indeed a list of thirteen other names in Livy, of some of which Niebuhr remarks, that

* Æneid.

they are most clumsily put together, and that several of them were quite un-Italian. Livy is said to have taken his list from Polyhistor, a client of Sylla's, and to have added to them, the names of the chief families, or the "*principes*" of the Latins, which he found in the old annals. Now Plutarch gives from Polyhistor, and from Aristides Milesius, an anecdote of Anius or Annus, an old Etruscan monarch who had a beautiful daughter Salia, with whom Cathetus or Capetus, one of his Lucumoes fell in love, and as her father refused her to him, Cathetus carried her off. Capetus fled into Latium, and Anius pursuing him was drowned in crossing a river, which after his name was called the Anio. Salia had two sons, Salius and Latinus; the one a governor of the Latins, and the other a ruler of the Tuscans.

This story, though a mere legend, shows that the Italian Greeks had traditions amongst them of the Latins having been in old times, subject to the Tuscans, and having been governed by Tuscan kings. Salius must surely have succeeded Morrio, and have been at the head of the Salii in Veii. How well this tradition accords with the story of Deheberis of Veii having been the ruler of Alba! Dionysius says that Capetus, king of Alba, reigned twenty-six years, and was the father of Deheberis. This name is Latinized into Tiberis, and then made the same with Latinus, and Hesiod (*Theog.*) states that Latinus, i. e. Tiberis, was a king of the Tyrseni, or, in other words, a king of the Rasena, who ruled in Latium.

Sylvius, a native of Lavinia, was the undoubted

founder of Alba, and Julius, not improbably, was amongst his successors, because Bovilla was a colony of Alba, and the chief family of Bovilla was the Julian,* therefore we presume that Julius was Prince of the Bovilla band, when it went forth from Alba, and that he was the young scion of a great house there.

Tarchetius is beyond doubt, an Etruscan name, and the manner of expressing a Tarchunian sovereign. Perhaps he was some arrogant Lucumo from Tusculum, and it is not unlikely from the hatred attached to his name, that he was haughty and tyrannizing, like Mezentius in Cære, and Tarquinius Superbus afterwards in Rome, despising all but his own race, and persuaded that the world was made for his peculiar service. Plutarch in Romulus tells us that he was an imperious king, and was drowned. There is also a legend that relates concerning another imperious and wilful king that when he was sacrificing to his household gods, Jupiter struck his palace with lightning, and that the rock on which it stood, broke off, and fell down into the lake. At that time, according to Livy,† Alba Longa was not much above the lake, and a river flowed from it, and discharged its waters into the sea, having four towns built upon its banks, all afterwards destroyed by Tarquin.

King Cluillius, Niebuhr adopts as a genuine Latin, and believes to have been as much a benefactor to his country as Tarchetius was a curse. Whether we are to refer to him the operations in the immediate neighbourhood of Alba, or whether

* Gell.

† v. 16.

they belong to former or to later kings, we cannot determine, but he was the author of the prodigious drain, called the "Fossæ Cluiliæ," which after the foundation of Rome formed the boundary of the territories of Alba towards the west; which made arable the marshy swamp through which it was conducted; and which Niebuhr considers to have been one of the noblest works ever executed by man. Its character is entirely Etruscan, and as Rome, the latest colony of Alba, for more than two hundred years, sent for all her artists into Etruria, we cannot doubt but that the directors of it were from that nation. The Etruscans, though so admirable in many things, seem to have had great jealousy in imparting their knowledge to others, and as we have said, it was the effects, and not the causes, which they communicated; the results, but not the principles; therefore the Latins might copy their works, and labour under their direction, but were utterly unfit to manage the scientific part of any vast undertaking. Besides this work, the Alban Mount has, at some very early date, been artificially cut, in order to make a deeper channel for the river; and Dionysius tells us, that the water was conducted from the lake (or river) by means of sluices, so that it could be distributed over the plain below.

The *brothers* Numitor and Amulius, mentioned by Plutarch and Livy, were probably brother Lucumoes or Patricians, each in his day, king of Alba; and Rea Sylvia, the vestal virgin, the mother of Romulus, is said to have belonged to the ancient

family of the Sylvii, and to have been nearly related to them. The pasture lands of Alba in their day, reached the Tiber, where their territories joined those of the Sabines and Tuscans, with both of whom they were in Isopolity. The young princes, Romulus and Remus, the sons of Rhea Silvia, and grandsons of Numitor, were brought up at Gabii, as we have already said, under Tanctius, or Tanquiti-
us, the Tuscan, who was at the head of the chief college there.

Virgil and Ovid give the genealogy of Latinus, or of the Latin sovereigns, thus: Picus, the first king of Latium, married Venilia or Velinas, and was father to Faunus, and Faunus was father to Latinus, who ruled in Laurentum. Now Picus* was the son of Sabo, the Mars or Janus Quirinis of the Sabines, and all of these heroes, Picus, Faunus, and Mars, were the sons of Saturn. Saturn and Janus, then, the Turrhene hero and the Turrhene god, stand at the head of this list, and from them or their allies, go forth the Sabines from Mount Velinus, and become Latins. This agrees with the results of the most acute modern criticisms, and we believe to be the truth.

During this period, that is, subsequent to the settlement of Etruria, by Tarchun, and previous to the entire civilization of Italy, in the year 1016 B. C. Solomon built his magnificent palace and temple at Jerusalem, by means of artists sent from Tyre; and as Tyre certainly did not excel Egypt, and constantly traded with it, the costliness and skill of the temple

* Picus was Mars of the Marsi.

workmanship will give us a fair idea of the state of art in the East, a few years after the building of Alba. They also give us a tolerable notion of the models to which the Etruscans always had access, and of the science and refinement with which they were in constant communication, by means of their commerce with the Delta, and the Phœnician colonies in Lybia.

We know not at what period the Tuscans crossed ^{Volsci.} the Tiber, and extended their dominion over the country of the Volsci, but at the time Rome was founded, Volscia seems to have been very long in their occupation, and not only was the whole coast as far as Circe, (now Terracina,) reckoned theirs, but Apollonius says, that in the days of the Argonauts, Circe itself was Tyrrhene or Etruscan. We need not therefore point out the necessary influence of the Etruscans upon the Volsci, in whose cities it is probable they were for ages settled, as the clan of Mezentius was in Ardea, and whose polity was in consequence, a mimic Etruria. The Volsci were a very warlike tribe of Latins, dwelling to the south of their brethren, the Equi and the Marsi; and they possessed a long line of sea coast. Their chief towns were very numerous, and their country commercial. Their armour was distinguished for beauty of form, and richness of material, and they were seldom at peace with Rome. The number of independent Senates amongst them, mentioned in history, shows us that their government was on the same model as the Etruscan, consisting of many members, which com-

posed one whole; but the secret of a necessary and continually enduring head, and of one, and only one, firm central government, seems to have been discovered and acted upon by Rome only.

The mighty drains in the country of the Volsci, doubtless executed whilst this people were under Etruscan dominion, vied with those upon the Po. They made the Pontine marshes not only healthy and fertile, but the very garden of Italy, supplying with wine, and fruit, and corn, three-and-twenty cities, which then flourished upon what are now wide and hopeless plains.* The Volscian letters and numbers, kalendar, &c., it is almost needless to say, were Etruscan, and so were very many words, and perhaps idioms, in their language. Pliny† mentions the proficiency of the Volsci in the plastic art; and specimens of their excellent bassi relievi in the Etruscan style may be seen in the museum of Naples.

Ancient remains of art, all after the manner of the Tuscans, and at times with Tuscan inscriptions, are found at Velletri. If the masters of the Volsci were the Rasena, we need not wonder that the disciples should give evidence of their school.

Cities. The principal cities of the Volsci were all built upon heights strongly walled and fortified with citadels, forums, and temples. Such were Cora, Segni, Velletri, Corioli, Antium, Sulmona, Arpino, Sora, Anxium, Terracina, and Interamna on the river Clanis, now the Garigliano. Livy‡ speaks of the strong defences of Antium, and Dionysius calls

* Livy vi. vii.

† xxxv.

‡ vi. 9.

it a splendid city of the Volsci. It had a celebrated temple to the goddess Nortia or Fortune, in which were drawn the Sortes Antiumnæ. It is now Castel d'Anzo; and Nettuno, near it, where antiquities abound, was once Cerium, the port of Antium.

Apollonius makes Circe to have been Turrhenian in the days of the Argonauts, and so does the ancient scholiast upon Homer.*

Virgil calls many of the Volscian cities Etrurian. Cato ap. Servium,† says “Gente Volscorum, quæ etiam ipsa Etruscorum potestate regebatur;” and Diodorus‡ tells us that all Volscia and Campania, “Volscos et Campanos omnes,” were once subject to the Etruscans.

* l. 32.

† xi. 567, 581.

‡ See lib. v.

CHAPTER XVII.

CAMPANIA AND MAGNA GRECIA—CONCLUSION.

CENT.
 XI. & X.
 B. C.

THE quotation from Diodorus Siculus,* with which our last chapter terminated, viz. that “the whole of Campania was once subject to the Etruscans,” naturally leads us to the third general colonization of the Rasena. This is the last emigration upon a grand scale recorded of them in ancient history, and will conclude what we have to say upon the head of their being the first civilizers of Italy, and consequently of Europe.

It appears that, after the colonies of Rhoetia and the Po had become great and flourishing, the twelve original Dynasties of Central Etruria again found themselves over peopled, and again the Lares and Lucumoes met at Voltumna, and took the resolution of sending forth another Etruria, to migrate southwards, and to settle in the half-occupied lands of the Ausonian Siculi. Here, according to Strabo,† they formed twelve new states, and established themselves exactly upon the model of their mother country; but, like the Northern Rasena, their go-

* v.

† v. 242.

vernments were perfectly independent of her. We know as little of these twelve southern Dynasties, as of the twelve northern, because the Greeks settled amongst the Campanian Rasena too late, and were too much afraid of them, to be able or willing to give us any account of their early history. The Greeks imagined that this people had always lived where they first found them, or, at least, that they had done so, since the Trojan war; and they never had a further wonder concerning them, excepting as to which of the Phrygian or Argonautic heroes might have been their ancestors. The Romans, on the other hand, could know nothing of them before Rome was founded; and Southern Etruria was too remote from the scene of action, to influence Latium more than any other foreign country.

Our knowledge is therefore limited to the Etruscan towns which the Rasena founded in Campania, and to the extent of country in that region which, beyond controversy, was in early times and for many ages, theirs. And though, under more favourable circumstances, we might have been able to redeem from oblivion, some heroes, whose deeds must now be unknown for ever, and to tell of feeble resistances offered to them in some few places, quickly to be overcome; yet it is not likely that we should have had much of incident to relate, even had the lost histories of Claudius and Dionysius, of Aristotle and Theophrastus, of Flaccus and Cecina, been still extant in our libraries. No Umbri or Pelasgi were to be conquered here. No people proud of their independ-

ence, or endeavouring to improve upon a half-civilization. The inhabitants of Southern Italy were the Sikeli, who had already fled before each of the conquering races, and who were continually joined by new refugees or captives, barbarian men, who had run away, to escape barbarian slavery. The Siculi or Ausoni would fear the Rasena the less, the better they became acquainted with them, and we may say the same of the Sabine offsets, who came amongst them, about the same æra, bearing the peace-speaking branches and garlands of friendliness which betokened them the children of a Sacred Spring. The Rasena associated the Southern natives in their governments, as they had before done with regard to the pristine owners of the North and of the Centre; and whilst they proclaimed the laws of Tages to be the sole code for the children of Tarchun, they allowed the natives to keep their own gods, and their own laws, as far as ever they pleased.

The Greeks could give disturbance to neither party, whether contending or agreeing together, for there either were no Greeks in the country, when the Turrheni first colonized Campania, or else they were so few in number as to have no influence. Now, as we have presumed the North to have been colonized three generations, or ninety years, after the full settlement of Etruria Proper, that is, about 1090 B. C., thus allowing time for the Rasena to have possessed towns there with well-furnished arsenals, and well-filled harbours; and for an extended and

flourishing commerce to have spread itself, north as far as the Baltic, west, to Marseilles, south, to Lybia and Egypt, and east, to the Ports of Corinth and Argos, in the days of Hesiod, about 910 B. C.; so we may suppose that three more generations, in a wealthy and fertile land, blessed with a profound peace, would again over-people them, and that, about 1010 B. C., they might once more be constrained to sally forth, each Dynasty disburdening itself of its superfluous population. As Cuma was founded 1060 B. C., this would bring them into its neighbourhood, whilst yet in its infancy, and would overawe the settlement, before the Greeks had time to become in any way, numerous or powerful.

Müller* thinks that the Rasena first came into Campania by sea; and it is very probable that Virgil's account of the great gathering of the twelve people to assist Æneas, almost all of whom join him in ships, may be part of the tradition of the Etruscan exit towards Southern Italy. Dempster de Etruria Regali gives the authority of Janus Parrhasius for asserting that Campania was subject to the Tuscans 500 years before Rome, i. e. at a very remote period. The towns which they founded upon the coast directly south from Circe,† were Puteoli, Herculaneum,‡ Pompeia, Stabiæ, Salernum, Phlistu,

* Etrüsker on Cuma.

† Apollonius calls Circe Tyrrhene or Etruscan, in time of the Argonauts, that is, in the earliest period of history.

‡ Strabo, v. 246.

and Velia.* Inland, they built the towns and cities of Nola,† Vulturnum, Casilino,‡ Calazia, Suessa, Acerra, Trebella, Caleno, Abella, Venafro, Atella, Nuceria,§ Alfaterna, Compulteria, Liturnus, Blera, Acherontia, Anxia, and Heraclea. Müller gives also Marcina and Sarraste, on the Sarnus.||

Which of these towns were capitals, and by which state they were founded, we can in most instances, only guess. Müller conceives Salernum to have been the first general metropolis, and Vulturnum the last. Salernum, now Salerno, was famed for its Etruscan temple, according to Pliny, dedicated to the Argive Juno, i. e. to Kupra of the Rasena. This temple, said by the Greeks to have been built by Jason, was probably attributed by the Rasena to Janus, or to the tribe of Janus, which the Greeks metamorphosed into Jason, and transferred to the days of the Argonauts.

Vul-
turnum.

Vulturnum was not founded until fifty years before Rome, according to Velleius (i. 7) from Cato, and yet he says that Vulturnum and Nola were illustrious *before* Rome was built. These two accounts cannot both be true, but, as the history of Cuma, and the attribution of various places to the Tyrseni, in the days of the Argonauts and at the arrival of Æneas, argues the Tyrseni to have been in possession of the country very long before this late period, and as even many passages in the Iliad and Odyssey name places

* Stephanus.

† Vell. Pater.

‡ Micali, Antichi Pop. i. xiv.

§ Serv. vii.

|| From Pliny, iii.

on the coast as Tursene, at the time of the Trojan war,* we may either suppose Vulturnum and Nola, like Veii and Capena, to have been the latest of the Tuscan establishments, and merely in their origin colonies from some of the other southern capitals; or that Cato means, by the epoch of their foundation, the dedication of their great temples, which might take place many years subsequent to the foundation. Müller justly observes, that fifty years is too short a time to allow for a place to become rich and illustrious.

The great and wealthy city of Vulturnum, was ^{Capua.} afterwards Capua, and Capua was another Etruscan word signifying, according to Servius,† “a hawk,” probably the cognomen of the Samnite general who captured it.

Those who built Vulturnum were, according to Virgil, the sons of Halesus, or, in other words, the descendants of the people of Faliscii; and Müller has found a strong confirmation of this tradition, in two small towns close to it, both named from the cities of the Faliscii, viz. Falernum, from Faleria, and Stellatina, close to Capua, from Stellatina, close to Capena.‡ Near Sutri, Müller says, a Tuscan inscription has been found containing the name of Vulturnum.§ At the time Vulturnum, (i. e. Capua,) fell under the power of Rome, it was said by Cicero to have vied with Carthage and Corinth in riches. Its ruins may now be seen at Santa Maria in Corpo, a few miles from the present Capua, and consist of

* An. Scholiast on *Odyssey*, i. 32.

† *Æn.* x. 145.

‡ Müller, b. i. v. 2.

§ Müller, *Einleit.*

an amphitheatre, seven gates, and portions of the old wall, which once comprised a space five miles in extent. The present Capua is on the site of the ancient Casilino.

The name of Pompeia, spelt in inscriptions, according to Micali, Pumpniian, naturally refers itself to the Pumpu as its founders, the great Magnates whose sepulchres we still see at Tarquinia. Acherontia, named from the Tuscan Acheron, reminds us of Mantua, which was named from Mantu, by its Perugian founder Bianor. Perhaps some later Perugian chief may have consecrated Acherontia to the Shades themselves, in imitation of Bianor, who had dedicated his city to the Shade-ruling deity. Blera has its counterpart near the Fanum Vultumnæ in Etruria Proper. Anxia speaks for itself, as a colony from Anxium, of the Volsci and Etrusci, and was doubtless settled by both nations. Strabo (v.) mentions Campanian, Acerra, and Nocera or Nuceria,* cities which were named, in compliment to the Umbri, from their towns so called in the north, the men of which, according to the laws of Tages, would form just such a proportion in the colonies, as they shared in the means by which they were acquired. According to the unalterable words of the treaty, "They shall share one common danger, and divide one common booty;" and therefore the men of Umbrian Acerra and Nocera, when they joined with the troops of their neighbours, the Rasena of Arretium, Cortona, and Clusium, would divide with them the new States founded in Campania. These

* Plin. iii. 5.

towns of Acerra and Nocera are called by Pliny* Umbrian, and by most other authors Tuscan; Valerius Maximus† speaks of the strong walls of Nuceria.

Strabo‡ says that Herculaneum and Pompeia were Pelasgic and Turrhene; which, no doubt, means that they were founded by the maritime wanderers or strangers, the Turrheni; and Polybius§ tells us that the Phlegræan fields were Turrhene. According to Micali,|| the names of several of these towns have been found in the old Tuscan writing, thus spelt:—Compulteria, “Kupelturnum.” Nuceria, “Nufkrinum.” Alfaterna, “Alataternum.” Abella, “Achterl or Athellanum.” The stone of Athella records one solemn annual feast, which was kept in common by Abella, Abellino, Trebella, and Nola, and was called the Tancinud.

Puteoli, which Stephanus of Byzantium and Pausanius (iv.) call Tursene, Pliny says, was a colony of Dicearchia, founded by the Greeks of Cuma; whence we infer that Puteoli was colonized by Greeks and Tuscans in common, the latter being in early times, by far the most polished and learned race of the two, and therefore teaching and civilizing the former.

We find the tiny settlement of Cuma, which for Cuma. 300 years, scarcely ventured to increase its territories, and which had no ships, except for trading with the Tuscans, quite surrounded and inclosed by this people, in their peaceful but ever-advancing

* iii. 5.

† ix. 6.

‡ v.

§ ii. 17.

|| An. Pop. xiv. 307.

career of dominion and colonization. Cuma was bounded by Tuscan Puteoli and Avernus on the north, by Nola and Vulturnum on the east, by Stabiæ, Salerno, and many inferior towns on the south, and by the sea upon the west, where the Tuscans then ruled the waves, even as the British now rule in the English Channel and in the Northern Ocean. Such, for 300 years, was the condition in Italy, of MAGNA GRECIA; and we need not be surprised to learn, from Dion. Hal. (viii.), that half the population of Cuma was Umbrian and Etruscan; neither need we wonder, when we find that an intimate commerce was in the course of ages, established between Tarquinia and Cuma, and between Rome, (whilst it was under Etruscan rule,) and Cuma, and that Tarquin the Second was in Isopolity with that city, and there exercised his right of exile, and retired to end his days.

Near Stabiæ, is the Promontory of Sorrento, which was surmounted by a celebrated temple to Etruscan Minerva, of which Statius says,*

“ Est inter notos nomine muros,
Saxaque Turrhenæ templis oneratæ Minervæ.”

Herculaneum on the west coast, and Heraclea on the east, are both named from the demi-god of the Rasena, “ Erkle ;” a god who was adopted by the Greeks, and who had many shrines and many towns named after him throughout the Greek settlements. Heraclea, upon the Gulf of Tarento, we are told by Theophrastus, † was Turrhene;

* Silv. ii.

† Ol. 116. Vide Müller.

and though this assertion startled Müller, the old Greek had every probability, and without doubt tradition also on his side. Modern authors are astonished to find him ascribing Heraclea to the Turrheni, because, in his day, this town was chiefly inhabited by the Greeks of later times, and was reckoned one of the cities of Magna Grecia; but the Maritime Rasena from Etruria Proper, at the period when they first colonized Southern Italy, would naturally extend themselves to this point, and stretch their settlements in a line from sea to sea. It is at Heraclea that the temple lands are found measured off, according to the Etruscan rules, with the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*.*

We learn, from the Scholiast upon the *Odyssey*,† that “*Elea*,” afterwards conquered by the Greeks from the Lucanians, and then by the Samnites from the Greeks, was at first, a Tuscan settlement; and “*Elea* or *Velea*,” opposite *Paestum*, is almost in a right line with *Heraclea*, and has a chain of small towns with genuine Tuscan names, which were stations, as it were, between them. *Velea* did not become Greek till the 61st Olympiad, and was Tuscan long before the Olympiads had begun. It was, as a Grecian colony, first settled in the days of *Cyrus*,‡ by Ionians who fled from the tyranny of the Persians, and who, after a skirmish, were not improbably received by treaty, and upon equal terms by the commercial Etruscan *Velians*, to whom *Cuma*,

* See Müller's *Etrüsker*, iii. 6, 13.

† i. 32. Vide Müller.

Sicily, and *Grecia Proper*, had long been familiar. The Tuscan stations between *Velea* and *Heraclea* were *Vulci*, the *Vultur* mountains, *Lucus Minervæ*, *Blera*, and *Acherontia*, which no man can doubt to have been Tuscan, and the *Vultur* mountains retain their old name to this day. *Dr. Daubeuey*, in his late tour in this district, visited the *Monte Vulture*, the country of *Volca*, the *Grotta Maina*, and the *River Aufidus*, all names of the ancient *Tusci*.

As far as *Cape Garganus*, not much to the north of *Heraclea*, the *Tuscans* had, from the days of *Tarchun*, possessed the command of the sea, and the choice of settling wherever they pleased in the land, because this country belonged to their allies, the *Umbri*, who suffered all their possessions to be received as "*Pars Tusciæ*." The *Ager Picentinus*, extending from *Sorrentum* to the *Silarus*, *Pliny** tells us, became *Umbrian*, that is, was shared by the *Umbri* with the *Turrheni*, at the time of their southern emigration and conquests; whilst again, he asserts that "*Ager Picentinus fuit Thuscorum*," because he considered the *Umbri* and *Tusci* as one. *Stephanus of Byzantium* says, that the "*Πικεντία*" was *Tyrrhene*. Many authors believe the *Silarus*, a small river running between *Salerno* and *Paestum*, to have been the boundary of *South Etruria*; but, if *Elea* was *Tuscan* in very early times, then it seems impossible that *Paestum*, or *Phistu*, (or *Phistius*, or

* iii. 5.

† iii. 9. See on the *Tuscan Campanian cities*, *Müller's Etrüsker Einl.* 4, 2.

Pistelel, or Sistlus, for it is spelt all these ways,) lying between it and the Silarus, should not have been Tuscan also.

Phistu boasted, as its oldest ornament, one of the strongest marks of the Tuscan people, viz. a temple to the warlike Juno, which, being a sacred shrine of the tribe of Janus, was as usual, referred by the Greeks to Jason, before the time of the Trojan war and during the lifetime of Tarchun. Paoli remarks upon this, that such a reference at least proves the belief of the Greeks, that its date was too ancient to be ascertained.* The common story of Paestum makes it to be founded by the Sybarites, the date not given, and *reconquered* by the Lucanians in the u. c. 400,† who restored its ancient name. Now the Sybarites were a colony of Achaians, according to Aristotle, who did not appear in Italy at all until 800 B. C., and who, when they possessed themselves of Paestum, did so by conquest from the Lucanians, the youngest colony of the Samnites. This occurred about the time that the Samnites and the Tuscans were struggling for the upper hand in Campania, when the rich city of Vulturnum had just fallen by treachery into the power of the Samnites, according to Livy,‡ u. c. 332; that is, B. C. 421.§ The Sybarites

Paestum.

* See Paoli's great work on Velea and Paestum.

† Micali, A. P.

‡ iv. 37.

§ Hence it appears that Paestum or Phistu was founded by the Rasena, and continued long under their dominion, probably for four or five hundred years. It was first conquered by the Lucanians, and taken from them by the Sybarites, from whom it was again reconquered after a short possession.

consequently did not take or found Paestum until ages after the erection of the great Temple of Juno, and this may be the same as the temple now called that of Ceres, the type of whose architecture is to be seen in the pillars of Nevothp.h.'s tomb at Beni Hassan, dating at least 1700 B.C., and which was probably well known to the early Rasena.

We have no light whatever, neither by inscription nor by tradition, as to who built these wonderful and magnificent temples yet standing in silent ruin, where once the busy hum of men made cheerful the now lonely and deserted plains; where commerce smiled, where Ceres and Bacchus are said to have made their home, and where agriculture abundantly brought forth her golden stores. It is however tolerably certain, that had the Greeks raised these mighty piles, their names would not have slept in such uncaring oblivion; for it was not the fault of that people to leave their own vast and sublime creations without notice or renown. Their beautiful works in Lycia, lately visited by Mr. Fellows, though not named by historians, have each their own inscriptions, to say how they were founded and by whom. But Paestum is silent as the grave, and was erected by those who believed, with the careless grandeur of the East, that their temples needed no storied monument, for that they spake the language of all mankind, and could not cease to be had in everlasting remembrance. The style of the temples is called Doric, but no such Doric buildings have been found in the land of the Dorians, nor can

any traveller who knows Egypt, afterwards visit them, and not have his thoughts carried back to the tombs of Beni Hassan, and the temples of Thebes, when he looks upon the ruins of Paestum.

We see in these buildings, the massive stones, the low and heavy style described by Vitruvius, the baseless pillars somewhat diminishing upwards, and even the triglyph ornament of the Tuscans; and these noble monuments of voiceless antiquity and unrenowned skill, strike the unlearned eye, as if they were a later improvement upon the oldest native Tuscan style; just such an improvement as long intercourse with the great architectural structures of the wealthy cities in Lybia, and the Memphaid would naturally produce. When the Sybarites took Pistulis, we believe them to have surprised a walled and towered city, such as we see still occupying its ancient consecrated ground. We believe that it had Tuscan gates, a Tuscan citadel, and a Tuscan amphitheatre, a forum and a temple, all probably repaired and adorned by the Greeks, and doubtless used by them in the service of other gods, as they were afterwards governed by other masters, and filled by other votaries.

Phistu presents us with all the characters of the Turseni, excepting a Tuscan site, which would have been more appropriately found upon the mountain behind it; but the southern Tuscans having, at the time of their settlement in Campania, an overwhelming power in their own countrymen to back them, against the uncivilized Siculi; and having, as

their earliest neighbours, the Samnites and their offsets, whom they looked upon as their children, or their brethren; seem to have abandoned the lofty and peculiar sites of Etruria Proper, and to have thought only, or chiefly, of safe harbours and fruitful fields. The greater number of the Campanian towns were situated in plains, though walled and fortified, like those of the north. The site of a town was a circumstance left to their own discretion, and though uniform wherever they had to contend with warlike adversaries, was not one of the requisites prescribed by the laws of Tages.

Nola.

The town of Nola was one of the latest of the Tuscan cities, built, according to Velleius, at the same time with Volturnum, and bordering upon the Greek settlements; and it contained the most beautiful kind of Etruscan vases that have ever been excavated, with a polish and varnish quite peculiar, and a grace of form which is the Greek refinement upon a Tuscan original. As to the shape of these vases, it is needless to say, that they are all originally Egyptian, and most of them may be seen in Rosellini's plates, copied from the tombs of those Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th dynasties, which were sealed up at least 1500 B. C., and five or six hundred years previous to the period about which we are now writing. In Egypt these vases, for various uses, were of gold, silver, and bronze, as well as of clay. Such we find them also amongst the Hebrews under Moses, and consequently under succeeding rulers, and such we still

find them in the tombs of the Rasena.* The inhabitants of Nola, as we might naturally conjecture, were partly Greeks and partly Tuscans, though the Tuscans appear always to have remained masters in the town, and were without any doubt its original founders. The strong towers of Nola are spoken of by Livy† and by Silius.‡

We know little of the other cities enumerated from Müller and Micali, beyond their names, and that Tuscan inscriptions, or coins, or tombs, are occasionally found in their vicinity. Micali§ states that the names of Maisius, Vesius, Veltineism, Purnia, &c. have been found in the Etruscan burying-places in Campania, all names familiar amongst that people in the northern states; whilst, on the other hand, “Larth. Campanu,” a “Lar of Campania,” has been found added to names in the sepulchres of Perugia. Several small rivers in South Etruria went by the name of Clan and Clanis, particularly the Liris and the Uffente. The Chiana, near Clusium, bore the same name originally, the “Clanis,” or the river of the great Clusium Clan.

About one hundred and fifty years after Cuma was founded, i. e. about 910 B. C., Homer came in his wanderings, to this small Greek settlement, probably in an Etruscan vessel from Egypt. This extraor-

Home^r.
B. C.
910.

* The vases of Nola, are the same in style and subject as those of Chiusi and Tarquinia, but treated with more grace, and made of a finer and more lustrous clay.

† xxiii. 44.

‡ xii. 162.

§ It. av. Rom. ii. p. 19.

dinary man, whose name, birth, and parentage, are not known, is said to have been the son of a schoolmaster in Smyrna or Chios, and to have travelled into distant lands that he might gain knowledge in countries more advanced than his own.* In acting thus, he pursued the same course with every Greek of superior intellect and attainments in those early days. The countries particularised as those over which he travelled, are Egypt, Africa, and Spain, or in other words, Egypt and the Phœnician colonies to the west and north of it, substituting Etruria for Spain, because we know that he visited the one, whilst we have not the slightest trace of him in the other. After he arrived in Egypt, he is said to have found the account of the Trojan war in the library of Ptha, at Naucratis, and he was so struck with the waste of heroism, of blood, and of treasure, that had been occasioned by a mistake regarding Helen, which arose from the ignorance of events, which must ever follow between distant countries, when the intercourse between them is limited and unfrequent, that it fired his mind and kindled his genius, to render it into an epic poem.

In this, besides instructing his countrymen in a great moral and political truth, he wished to make known throughout all the Greek tribes, an event in which all their chiefs had been engaged, and yet the remembrance of which, because it had happened one hundred and fifty years before, and had no chronicler in Greece, was then sinking into obli-

* See for Homer, Herodotus, and Strabo.

vion. The destruction of Troy, because the wife of Menelaus was erroneously supposed to be detained within her walls, was indeed known, as well in Grecia Proper, as in Egypt and in Asia Minor; but the names of the heroes, with the exception of two or three, and their deeds, had no distinct or lively remembrance in their native land. It was the custom in Egypt, in Assyria, and in all the Assyrian and Egyptian colonies; and probably amongst all the nations throughout the southern and eastern world, for a man's deeds to be recounted at his funeral, and for songs to be composed in his honour, in order to magnify whatever could be remembered in the acts of his life, which was heroic or praiseworthy. These songs, when they related any striking incident, were preserved in families, and sung by the bards, or the poets, or the chiefs, after supper, and Homer soon found that his poems were of that attractive kind, which made him universally acceptable. When in the Memphaid, he would doubtless strive to obtain information concerning all the dispersed colonies of his countrymen towards the west, and through the Turrheni Campanian merchants from the immediate neighbourhood of Cuma, he would hear of the few establishments of the Greeks who were settled in that town, and in the islands of the Bay of Naples.

If Homer read the account of the Trojan war in the library of Ptha at Naucratis, then it is probable that the Rasena in his day, had a factory at Naucratis, for they were a great commercial people long

before the Greeks, and in the year two hundred of Rome, Egina had a very large establishment for the Greek merchants at this place. Aristotle says that in the reign of Amosis, the Greeks there possessed four hundred and seventy thousand slaves!!

The great poet, on his arrival in Italy, seems first to have visited Cuma and its neighbourhood, where he learned the gloomy doctrines of the Tuscan Acherontia, and whence he travelled into Turrhenia, in which land, tradition says, he unfortunately caught a fever which occasioned him to lose his eyes. Doubtless at Tarquinia, Cere, or wherever else he might travel, he would sing those bewitching lays, which told of Priam's death and Troy's fall; and in this manner, the Iliad came to be known in Turrhenia, as ancient authors assure us that it was, before it was known in Greece. The poet, when he returned blind to Cuma,* expected sympathy and assistance from his own countrymen, but though they admired him as other men had done, they were too like the world of the present day, to part with their money for an old song, and they called him Omeros, or the blind man, and said that the charitable funds of Cuma were not intended for the *ομηροι*, or the blind.

The songs of Homer at Cuma seem, however, never to have been forgotten: the Phlegræan fields, he is supposed to have described from nature, and the Lestrigoni are the Cumean notion of those Sikeli who dwelt to the south of the Greeks, and amongst

* Tiraboschi quotes Heraclides Ponticus for the tradition that Homer lost his sight in Tyrrhenia.

whom they did not dare to venture. These songs may have been either written down in Turrhenia, or they may have been learnt and repeated by successive bards, for as ancestral songs were ever in mode amongst the Tuscans, those who sang them were sure to be men of quick parts and retentive memories. We have reason to believe that Homer's tales were translated into Tuscan, and constantly repeated at the supper tables, but that they were not written down, because the vases show us that the Etruscans had different versions of them in different provinces, and that they added to them various ideas and customs peculiar to themselves. In short, they put Homer's poems into an Etruscan dress, which they would not have done, had they translated or transcribed them from a written original.

Homer, or the blind man of Cuma, returned to Asia Minor, and in Chios married, and there died. His poems were all written out in fragments by the Asiatic Greeks, and Lycurgus the great lawgiver of Sparta,* first heard them when he travelled into Ionia. He was so delighted with them, and thought them so well fitted to aid the tendency and design of his own laws, by inspiring the Greeks with patriotism and courage, that he had them collected together, and introduced them into Sparta,† but they were not generally known in Greece, nor arranged as we now have them, till long afterwards, by Pisis-tratus, 560 B. C. It is no marvel if some corruptions should have crept into the copies of the

* B. C. 840.

† Plut.

Iliad, seeing that those copies were first perfected three or four centuries subsequent to the age of Homer.

Carthage,
B. C.
890. The next great event, which had an after and enduring influence upon the fortunes of Italy, was the foundation of Carthage, in the year B. C. 890, by a small colony from Tyre, who followed the fortunes and were under the command of Elisa, or Dido, a widowed princess of that city.* It is said that she asked leave of her brother Pygmalion, the reigning king, to depart for Chartaca, or Kartaca, or Kartaca, a small sea-port town near Tyre, now Acre, where she wished to live in retirement; and upon his granting her request, she put to sea, and made sail for the well-known friendly harbour of Utica, then a great city and powerful state in Africa. The governor of Utica, Justin says, received her, and settled her and her followers at a small town at no great distance, where he procured for her a grant of land, and where he and the Lybians helped her to build the citadel of Bursa, or Bozrah, which in time, uniting with the town, became the Kartaca, or Carthage, to which she retired. Ancient authors occasionally call Carthage by the name of Tyre, and its inhabitants Sidonians; and Eusebius says that, according to Philistus of Syracuse, it was built by Zorus, (i. e. Tsur or Tyre,) and Charchedon, (i. e. the little town of Chartaca.)

* The date of Carthage, according to Petavius, is 137 prior to Rome. It was destroyed in the year of Rome 606, at which time, according to Solinus, it was 737 years old.

Solinus says that Carthage consisted of three different parts, Megara, Bursa, and Cothon, built at three different times, and that Bursa, or the citadel, was the only one erected by Elisa. This might be ascertained in old times, because the Carthaginians kept with great solemnity their founder's feasts, and there may have been three such in the great city, which resembled London, Westminster, and Southwark, the three names gradually becoming lost in that one which was most warlike and important. The territories of Utica and Carthage were divided from Numidia by the river Tusca. Virgil is supposed to have derived his knowledge of Dido from the Carthaginian annals, fragments of which were preserved, though most of them, along with those of the Lybians, were destroyed by the Romans. Pygmalion was the Priest of Hercules, in whose temple the perpetual fire was kept at Tyre. He consulted the Augurs as to whether or not he should pursue his sister, and they forbade him to molest her. She settled near the Barcae, who were probably Phœnicians as well as herself, and their prince is called her *brother* Barca, by Strabo and Pliny. The Carthaginian nobles were merchants; they consulted the flight of birds, and carried Pataeci, that is, small images of gods or heroes, on the prows of their vessels, which they imagined to be the patrons of seamen,* and they for a long while, sent, every year, tithes and free-will offerings to the temple of Hercules at Tyre. The

* Carthage, Ancient History, vol. xvii.

Rasena doubtless became acquainted with the Carthaginians through the Uticans.

Greek
cities,
B. C.
800.

In the year 800 B. C., the great cities of Crotona and Sybaris were founded in the south of Italy by Achaians, who carried on a commerce with Græcia Proper, and besides this, they necessarily soon came into some communication with the Etruscan colonies in their neighbourhood. Locris* was founded a few years later, and from this time forwards, the Greek vessels ventured to coast from the Umbrian Garganus, to Salentinum, and from Pæstum or Phistu to Reggio, but they seldom if ever, ventured north of Naples. Their earliest commerce with Etruria Proper seems to have been that of Cuma† with Pyrgi and Tarquinia, and perhaps also with Antium and Cosa. The dialects spoken by the Greek tribes who settled in Italy, were the Dorian and the Eolian, the only two now found upon the Etruscan vases, mingled with words of Tuscan, because the two people spoke each other's language, and dwelt in each other's cities, wherever they were borderers. For this reason, the Noctes Atticæ‡ say, that if there is any Greek to be traced in the Tuscan tongue, it is Eolic, though the oldest Tuscan language is like the Hebrew.

Crotona, Temesa, Taranto, Messapi, Brondisi,

* Müller says that Cortona, Sybaris, and Locris, were at first only fortresses, and that all the oldest towns of Magna Græcia, excepting only Cuma, were situated on the gulfs of Locris and Scillace.

† Müller.

‡ xi. 17.

and Metapontus or Metabo, were all places *conquered* by the Greeks, about this period, from the Siculi, who had villages upon their sites. Crotona has often been confounded in its traditions, with Cortona or Cortyus, in the centre of Etruria Proper.

The founding of Taranto is ascribed to Tarens or ^{Taranto.} Taras, the son of Neptune, who is represented as riding upon a dolphin, an Etruscan emblem, which signifies one who crosses the ocean. The dolphin has beneath it a star, called by the Rasena "the guiding sign," the star by which they steered at sea, probably the polar star, but which some have thought to represent the compass, an Eastern invention, the origin of which cannot be traced. This device of Tarens riding upon a dolphin above his own star, formed the ancient arms of Tarentum. There is an old tradition, that Taras came from Tarquinia, and scarabæi with his image have been found in the Tarquinian sepulchres.* Tarentum was not colonized, as a Greek city, until 707 B. C.

Messapi reminds us of Messapus the Etruscan, whom Virgil brings to the assistance of Æneas, though all we can infer from this coincidence is, that Etruscans may very probably have formed part of the population of Messapi, as they

* There is, in the possession of the author, a remarkable scarabæus with an intaglio of Taras riding on a dolphin. And it is distinguished by the unique peculiarity of having the back of the scarabæus fashioned into a human face with an Egyptian headdress.

did of Cuma and Heraclea. The Greeks, who were capable afterwards, of telling us that their colonies founded Rome and all the seaports of northern Italy, were capable also of telling us that they were the originators of cities, which in the commencement, they only shared in common with the Rasena and the Siculi, and only dwelt in by their sufferance.

Zancle. In the eighth century before Christ, Cuma sent forth her colony to build Zancle,* now Messina, in Sicily, and about the year 760 B. C., colonies of Dorians from Chalcis and Asia Minor formed also settlements along the Sicilian sea coast. In the fifth Olympiad, a few years before Rome was founded, the Greeks began to venture into the Turrheneseas, where they peopled Naxos, in Sicily,† Megara, and other towns, and from Sicily they first came in numbers to Italy. Müller thinks that the Campanian Greeks were very little known in Etruria before this period.

Rome, B. C. 753. In the sixth Olympiad, Rome was founded, and we have therefore brought our history down to the close of its first division. We have shown how Western Umbria in early ages and barbarous times, first became civilized under the Rasena, who spread themselves through the wide territories of the Umbri, north and south; and we have also shown how, by their influence upon the Sabellian tribes, which all derive their origin from the Umbri, they gradually spread their own institutions, but not the reasons and groundwork of those institutions, throughout Italy.

* Thucyd. vi.

† Müller.

This unworthy jealousy on the part of the Rasena, which led them to conceal their first principles of government and science, lest the multitude should share in the knowledge of the few, and lest the limbs of the child should grow into proportion with the head of the man, has deprived Etruria of the gratitude of posterity. She is indeed the origin of civilization to Europe, and of almost every important and useful institution which blesses and preserves our present order of society ; but as the tribes of Italy were ever in danger of falling back into their Sikelian barbarism, as soon as her guidance was withdrawn, we cannot help perceiving a selfish policy in her Magnates, and in her aristocratical governments, unworthy of the pristine genius of her faith, and of the noble and exalted public institutions given to her people by Tarchun.

We think we have proved that the power of Etruria both extended over Italy and blessed it, before the Greeks had any power, and before the name of Rome had been heard amongst mankind, and we will adduce a few conclusive sentences from ancient authors to show that we have only explained at length, what they in brief, have uniformly asserted.

Dionysius Halicarnassus* says that the Rasena were the first inhabitants of Italy who fortified their towns, and that they were a brave and skilful nation, who taught the Pelasgi navigation and military discipline ; also that they were the earliest, and long

* lib. i.

the only, people known to the Greeks, for that all the extent of Italy which the Latins called "Italia," the Greeks only knew by the name of Turrhenia.

Diodorus Siculus* speaks of Etruria as the source of all learning and philosophy to the other Italians, and says that the Turrheni excelled in courage, lived in wide and fruitful lands, built many and celebrated cities, were powerful in ships and ruled on the sea; also that "Volscos et Campanos omnes" were subject to their sway.

Pliny † and Athenæus ‡ speak of their having invented the anchor and the shield, and excelling all their cotemporaries by sea and land.

Heraclides Ponticus says, that the Turrheni shone in the arts and sciences, and Varro that they taught religion to the Romans.

Livy § affirms that before Rome had risen into power they had filled Italy with their riches and their fame, which spread from the Alps to the sea.

Strabo (v.) tells us that the Romans took from them their consuls and magistrates, lictors, fasces, secures, and triumphs, their gods, sacrifices, divination and solemn music.

Diodorus Siculus || again says, that the Turrheni were amongst the first in letters, in the investigation of nature, and in the knowledge of thunder and lightning. They were the first who gave the ensigns of sovereignty to their chief. They cultivated their fields, and made their hills arable, and they

* lib. v.

† vii.

‡ Deip. xii.

§ lib. v. 33.

|| lib. v.

were luxurious in their feasts and their apparel. They wore woollen garments, which were flowered all over, (with crimson, with purple, and with gold, as we learn from the tombs,) they used silver cups, and they were fond of many servants and slaves, who were gaily dressed, delicately treated, and well instructed. The Romans took from them their magistrates, lictors, curule chairs of ivory, purple toga, and atriæ or porticoes to their houses, to keep off the crowd of attendants. "In this age, about the 710 of Rome," adds Diodorus, "they dine or sup twice every day, and they have fallen from glory to gluttony."

Plutarch in *Mario*, says, that the Turrhenian, the Ionian, and the Adriatic seas, were all in early times ruled over by the Tuscans, and he and Servius say that the Latins were tributary to them.

Homer in the *Odyssey*, and Herodotus in *Vit. Hom.*, ascribe to them extensive dominions, commerce, and power. Aristotle* says, that "the Indians ruled in the east, as the Etruscans in the west."

Cato† says, "in *Thuscorum jure, pene omnis Italiæ fuerat.*"

Servius, in his commentary upon *Virgil*,‡ asserts "Nam constat Thuscos usque ad mare Siculum omnia possedissee."

We have now proved the *Rasena* to have been an Asiatic or a *Ludin* colony, and we think that they

* *Orat. in Bacch.*

† *Servius Æn. xi.*

‡ *Georg. ii. 533.*

prove themselves to have passed, like the Jews, a long sojourning in Egypt, and to have come from Egypt or Lybia, into Europe.

Let us, as an illustration, suppose an English ship to arrive suddenly and unexpectedly to-morrow, at an island in Polynesia never before heard of. The crew are amazed to find a people there, who write the old black letter of our forefathers, and who speak a jargon of German and French, which when analysed, proves to be the English of the days of Chaucer. This people inform them that the name of their island is "Anglia," and that they themselves are "Londoners," a colony from Normandy, who arrived in ships at their present home five centuries ago, under "Sir Hubert." Their metropolis is named Hubertstown, their great lawgiver is St. Louis, their patron saint, St. George, and one of their towns is Georgeville, because, as they allege, George's land was the earliest name of their country. Their great and rich temple is "Notre Dame;" their kalendar is the old style of Europe; their towns are built with walls, gates, and fortresses, and their cathedrals are like those of Normandy and Britany. Their religion also is the Roman Catholic, such as it was before the decrees of Trent had fixed it in its present dogmas, when much liberality and much diversity of opinion were allowed to exist amongst its members, upon difficult points of faith, though there was a general agreement in doctrine and worship.

Though this strange people might say that "God

had given them the Polynesian Anglia," even as the Rasena said that Jove had given them Etruria, and though they might preserve no trace of their history previous to their settlement in Polynesia under Sir Hubert, yet could we doubt as to who they were, or whence they came? As a colony of Londoners and going through transitions, such as we have imagined, they could in truth have no history to relate, but would resemble the American emigrants in the days of Elizabeth and Charles. Yet should we not say that they needed no records, that their language and customs told their own story, and that not all the annals of corroborating narratives, could make the truth more evident, as to their having been originally a colony from London, the capital of England, at a time when it had been in intimate relation with France? Should we not deduce with equal confidence, that this colony had dwelt for a time in Normandy, that they had been protected there by St. Louis, whose laws and memory they in consequence held in reverence, and that some strange accident, perhaps persecution following upon his death, or war, or famine, had driven them across the ocean to the New Anglia, in which our ship is supposed to find them?

Let us imagine still further, that this people had impressed upon their standard coin, called a sovereign or suzerain, the head of William the Conqueror doubled, in order to express that he had been their lord in two countries. Suppose that on the reverse side, was a ship, in memory of their

having been driven from their earthly heaven, the French home, which had at first received them, and of their having found, upon being forced away from it, refuge in another home in the East. And suppose that they had introduced amongst the native islanders, the saint-worship of this William of their coins, with whom they were continually confounding Sir Hubert, in tradition, because in Normandy, they had been called the people of William, and Sir Hubert as the head of this people, when they colonized, naturally represented in the new country, the man who had been their former head and symbolical father in the old;—would not this aid us, as an additional light, to trace the period during which they had dwelt in France, under the kings between the dynasties of William and St. Louis? Historical testimony, however clear, could scarcely convince our understandings more strongly, as to the origin and adventures of this people, though it might relate the details of their story more circumstantially.

To apply this parallel to the Rasena: a tribe from Resen, the capital of Aturia, in the land of Assyria, which the Egyptians called Ludin, having ruled for some time, in the Memphaïd, are driven away, and taking ship, come into Umbria under Tarchun, or Tirhaka. They call themselves R.S.N.a, from Resen; their new settlement Etruria, from Aturia;* and their chief town Tarchuna, from Tarchun their

* Servius xi. 596, calls Turrhenia Etruri. Strabo xvi. names Tarchun as the Etrurian chief.

warrior head. Tages or Taautes, their lawgiver, is the same as Egyptian Thoth, and their land was called Heraclæa, from their patron-saint "Erkle." One of their towns near the Temple of Voltumna bore the same name; and we deduce it from Erkol the princely demigod of Tyre, or from Archles the Assyrian king of Lower Egypt. Their great temple of Eluthya was dedicated to the same divinity as Eluthia of the Thebaid.* The image on their coins was that of Janus, who was the ancient chief and ruler of the Assyrians in the Avaris and the Memphaid; and one of whose tribes came in a ship to Italy, the coin itself bearing the name of "As or Asith," Assyrian Janus's successor. The style of the Rasenan buildings and the genius of their religion was Egyptian; their letters were Phœnician, and their numerals were the remains of an Assyrian alphabet, which, if not cotemporary, preceded the Phœnician. Their writing continued from first to last Oriental, being read from right to left, often leaving out vowels, and generally using them indifferently, one for another. This of itself proves that they neither learnt from the Greeks nor copied them, or they would have changed their mode of writing and fixed their sounds after the Grecian manner. All that they adopted from the Greeks in the course of time, was the O, and some of the letters which express double sounds. Their original alphabet seems to have been the same with the Egyptian, the Assyrian, and the Chaldee,

* Pliny ix.

and had in it, no medial letters, no B, D, or G, and no C. The B was expressed by V, the D by T, and C by S or K. It is from the use or omission of these letters on inscriptions, that we are often able to guess their date, as preceding or subsequent to, the foundation of Rome. Their language is a dialect of Assyrian, their astronomy Chaldean, their alphabet Semitic, their numerals arrow-headed, and their religious usages, manners, and customs, are a mixture of Egyptian and Phœnician, identical with neither, but partaking of the nature of both.

We need not ask reasoning men whether this people are or are not Assyrians? Whether we should believe their own tradition, that they originally were driven by famine, or some other calamity, from Ludin, and sailed to the west and north, taking with them arms and followers, tools and furniture: or whether, according to the conjectures of learned dreamers, they were animated portions of the Italian soil, who, in the progress of time, by some marvellous and hitherto unexperienced and supernatural development; or by contact with Pelasgi, who could neither build, nor sail, nor fight, became, with the sudden force of inspiration, a learned and powerful, a great and civilized nation? We apprehend, as the governing rule of this world, that effects must have causes equal to produce them.

This appears to us the most convenient place for criticising a parallel which was drawn in the chapter on the Hyksos, p. 33, between the Egyptians and the

Rasena, where Egyptian Eluthya is named, as containing a temple to the same goddess who was worshipped at Pyrgi, and where "Ransni," a scribe and general is mentioned as having been buried in the Eluthyan necropolis. Also we would make some remarks upon a passage of Diodorus, according to which one race of the Hyksos lived for three hundred years in a portion of Egypt near Ethiopia, in a town called Esar, which is the Etruscan word for a demigod.

Eluthya was a town in Upper Egypt, mentioned by Pliny.* Strabo (v.) describes it as rich and noble in appearance, and says that it contained a temple to the goddess of delivery and victory, which temple, Rosellini informs us, was adorned by the sovereign Queen Amense, and by the Pharaohs Moeris and Memnon. In proof of its high antiquity, Rosellini† gives the prenomen of a king prior to the 16th dynasty, who was buried here. Now this temple was certainly known to the Hyksos, because the part of Egypt in which it is situated, was devastated by them, and if a Hyksos general could find a place there, or if the Egyptians, like the Romans, ever took the names of those whom they conquered, such as "Asiaticus," "Africanus," &c., Ranseni, who died in the reign of Sethos, has every chance of being such a man. The Rasena, we believe to have left Egypt either when Sethos was a child,‡ and Ranseni may have been a veteran soldier, or they left it a few years previous to his reign, which would still correspond with the youth of Ranseni. It may be

* ix.

† vol. i. p. 144.

‡ Bunsen's dates.

urged that *Eluthya* is the Greek, and not the Egyptian name of the goddess or temple of which we are speaking. Its name has indeed, within the last few years, been discovered by the hieroglyphics to be "Tsuán," but we may with equal truth, argue against the temple of *Pyrgi*, the name of which we only know through the Greeks, and the vernacular of which, could it be found, would more probably be some Syro-Egyptian sound, like "Atsuara or Atsuana." Tsuan being the Egyptian, and *Athara* the Phœnician name for *Eluthya*. In both cases, the Greeks conceived the temple to be dedicated to the same goddess, and the names in Etruscan and Egyptian, to signify the same thing. This is further confirmed by *Plutarch*, who says that *Athuri* is a title of *Isis*. *Athyr*, according to *Rosellini*, is *Venus*, i. e. she was one of the great goddesses of Egypt.

Winning says that the four-winged Phœnician figures are *Athara* or *Eluthya*, the same with Egyptian *Isis* and the Greek *Io*.* With the Egyptians, the vulture was the emblem of victory, and the hawk of sovereignty, which two were represented in Etruria by the very same birds, latinized afterwards into a vulture and an eagle.

The tomb of *Ranseni* is one of four painted sepulchres, all in the same place, and in his tomb are the representations of agricultural processes, music and dancing, exactly similar to the Etruscan remains in the sepulchres of *Tarquiniæ*.

Esar, the Hyksos town of *Diodorus*, was situated

* *Winning*, in *Brit. Mag.*

seventeen days to the south of Meröe, according to Pliny.* Wilkinson says that Esar means in Arabic, the "left hand," but it is surely not so probable that any people should have given to their capital the sinister name of "Left-Hand," as that, according to the custom of all the ancient Asiatic tribes, they should have called it after the name of a greater or lesser god. At all events, Esar was a Ludin name, given to the town of a Ludin colony, from the Avaris, and Esar also is the name of blessed or deified spirits amongst the Etruscans, and was given to some of their rivers, and with great probability to some of their smaller towns also.

The inventions† ascribed to the Etruscans, by Greek and Latin writers, are the trumpet, the shield, the phalanx, and the science of fortification,‡ Tuscan columns and architectural proportions,§ the prow and anchor,|| mills,¶ atria or house courts, plays and theatres, horse races,** the golden crown of triumph, paintings,†† Fictile vases,‡‡ and coins. The meaning of "invention," as applied to these and many other things, we have before observed, simply indicates that

* vi.

† The authors from whom this list is taken may be seen all collected together in Müller, Micali, and Dempster. They are Varro, Festus, Tertullian, Tacitus xiv., Isidorus, Athenæus Deipnosophist vi., and Pliny vii. 36, xxxvi. 18, xxxv. 2.

‡ Isidorus and Vitruv. § Deip. vi. || Plin. vii.

¶ Pliny, xxxvi. 18. ** Tacitus, xiv. †† Plin. xxxv.

‡ Isidorus.

the Rasena were the first to use and introduce them into Italy.

The Romans took from the Rasena the method of founding and consecrating cities, of constituting the senate and government, and of ordering their colonies. From them, they learned the construction of walls, forts, and pomœria; the reckoning of time, literal characters, numerals, and coinage. From them, they also learned the worship of Janus, Hercules, and Saturn, besides other gods and heroes; the forms of declaring war, and of making treaties; the use of augury, and of religious ceremonies; of military music and accoutrements; of chariots, trumpets, Circensian games, crowns, sceptres, curule chairs, togas, ornaments of dress, and fasces; the institution of Vestals, Feciales, Salii, and lictors; of colleges for different brotherhoods of men, of Arvales, Agrimensores, and Haruspices. From them, they also learned the science of cultivating land with agricultural instruments, the culture of the vine, the arts of statuary and architecture, the fabrication of pottery, the science of navigation, the construction of ships, magazines, and armaments, the method of keeping their annals,* and the useful practice of singing at feasts the praises of their ancestors. Livy says, that in the year 389 of the city, the Romans introduced from Etruria, dancing, playing, scenic amusements, and repeating of verses. Nevertheless, the verses which recorded the praises of ancestors were repeated long

* Justus Fontanus.

before this period, because one of the laws in the Twelve Tables commands that when this is done, other men are not to be disparaged.

The wonderful similarity between the Rasena and the Egyptians in religious dogmas, in the form of their furniture and pottery, their apparel and ornaments, their architecture and painting, their division and measurement of land, their military customs, arms, and discipline, but above all, in their funeral rites, has been frequently touched upon in this volume, and will be referred to more in detail, when we come to treat of the manners and customs of the Rasena. Such are the painted cavern, the sculptured image, the yearly feast in memory of the deceased, the praises sung at his funeral, the Lares, the vases, the scarabæi and bronze specchj buried with the dead; the sacred flower of the Lotus painted on the walls of the tomb, the Tutulus as a mark of dignity, worn upon the head, the emblems of the Hippocampus, the Tiphon, and the sacred geese: the illustrious men, distinguished by red painted faces, and the women of a fairer and paler colour; the very name of the god "Mantu," and of the demons Charon and Tifon. All of these, which were not the separate and simultaneous inventions of two different and widely distant nations, but which were derived from the one people to the other, we shall treat of more at length, hereafter.

It is almost equally interesting to remark the strong brotherly likeness between the Etruscans and the Hebrews, that other Assyrian or Ludin race, which, like themselves, found a long tem-

porary home in the Avaris, and came out thence, between two and three centuries before them, to settle as a separate nation, in another country. The resemblance between the two people is so strong, arising from an identity of circumstances, in many respects, that the Jews, when they became acquainted with the Etruscans, believed them to be the children of Esau, the brother of Jacob, and called them a race from Edom.* We observe, however, this great difference between the two,—the Hebrews, an unwarlike race, went into a warlike and highly civilized country, the inhabitants of which were continually influencing them to adopt their customs, though to their own hurt. Here they seem to have lived under a continual impression that the Canaanites were a superior people to themselves, and that in their land, they could learn much more than they were ever able to teach; though they alone were the people of the Most High, and though they alone possessed that truth, of which every rational notion in Palestine was but a corruption. The Rasena, on the contrary, went forth a warlike and bold race, into a land where they had no equals, and where consequently, to their misfortune, they taught all and could in return learn nothing.

We find amongst the Jews, these strong points of resemblance to the Rasena. They adopted the Assyrian letters and dialect, their weights and measures, their coins and established rules for wages,

* The rabbis have a tradition that the Etruscans were the children of Esau. Vide Winning, in *British Mag.*

usury, and debt; their system of land-measuring and agriculture, their cultivation of the olive and the vine, their strict division of the people into classes, and the distinction, in matters of government, between dominant Hebrews and plebeian Canaanites, which was ever kept in view, and ever carried out into practice. We find, moreover, a civil division of the people into households, and a military division of them into tens and fifties, hundreds and thousands. We find amongst the Hebrews, the Assyrian law of female inheritance, the institution of asylums, aggers, walled cities, gates, and forts, the building of many storied houses, the custom of counting a man for a family, and, in numbering the people, of reckoning the warriors only. We recognize amongst them the poll-tax and tithes, the keeping of pedigrees, the prohibitions for a man to be a priest (answering to an Augur) before he was of considerable age, the use of highways, and the practice of reading and writing. The covenants which they made with neighbouring nations, or between families and tribes, were always established and solemnized by feasts and sacrifices; and they used in war, trumpets, shields, helmets, daggers, battle-axes, and swords, and for household and temple purposes, vessels of brass or bronze, and clay.

The Hebrews brought with them out of Egypt even the bronze specchj for the women, like those now found in the Etruscan tombs, besides the gold and jewelled ornaments for dress; chains, earrings, bracelets, and a thousand other similarities in sacred

and domestic habits, though their exit took place nearly 300 years prior to the Rasena. And all these we hold to be strong confirmation for what we have throughout advanced, viz. the self-evident orientalism of the Etruscans. Indeed, the deeper we push our researches, the more clearly does the truth shine forth, defying even doubt and hesitation, that the Etruscan nation, which differed in language from all around them, and which originated civilization to every other Italian tribe, whilst they resembled none, can be identified with the men of Egypt and Phœnicia, like children of the same family. We apprehend, therefore, that by the voice of common sense and reason, the Etruscans must be acknowledged as the race which they have ever called themselves, i. e. the children of Tarchun, the disciples of Tages or Thoth, and the tribe of ancient Ludin.

To them alone we trace, in the first instance, the civilization of Italy, where Niebuhr, Müller, and Micali prove, that the Greeks had no influence until after the year 300 of Rome; and, if this be true, it is to Etruria, and to her great Etruscan Latin colony, the lordly and world-embracing Rome, that we owe the civilization of Europe in general, and of our own island, Great Britain, in particular.

Learned men, should any of you ever deign to peruse this work, forgive its errors, and be not disgusted by one, ten, or even a hundred mistakes in its pages, which may appear inexcusable to the eyes

of your superior knowledge. Be persuaded to read it through, and to ponder well the evidence of facts, united to those of ancient testimony and of existing remains. Weigh these together, and then determine if the argument, in the mass, be not founded upon truth. The theory built upon it may be so unskillfully supported, as to fall to pieces at the first rude touch, but the foundation, we believe to be so deeply laid, that it cannot be overthrown.

Be not offended that one who, in comparison with you, knows nothing, should venture to intrude upon the ground which you have left vacant, and who feels like a mole attempting to burrow through a mountain, having no power to accomplish more than barely to trace upon the surface that line which it is your province to quarry through underground.

Be not forgetful that the ablest general rarely marches his forces over ground that has not previously been prepared for him by the humble pioneer, and that the most talented of architects cannot put into execution his sublime conceptions, except he have the help of the poor workman who labours for his daily bread. Do not despise the day of small things. "I see men as trees walking." Let us hope that the ointment may yet be found, by your help, which shall restore to those dim and treelike figures the grace and the proportions of men.

NOTE.—Since this volume was entirely finished, the author has seen the very curious work lately published by Sir William Beecham, upon "Etruria Celtica," and is gratified to find that, by an entirely different light and process, that zealous and ingenious

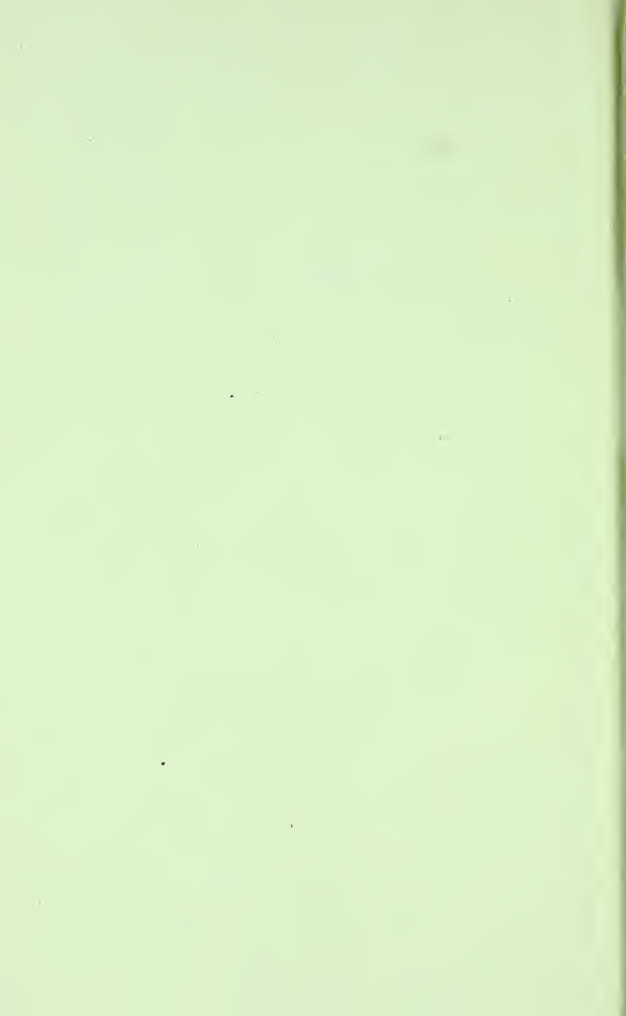
antiquarian has arrived at nearly the same results, in all important particulars, with those developed in the preceding pages. The Eugubian tables, granting them to be written in Etruscan and not in Umbrian, must, however, still remain an open question, until more can be ascertained concerning the various dialects of the Phœnician language. As the Rasena had been settled in Italy for upwards of 500 years, when those tables were engraved, there can be no question that both Greek and Oscan, but especially the latter, had by that time, greatly influenced the primitive Etruscan tongue, even as much as French and Latin in England, have influenced the native Saxon, and for this reason the Irish and Etruscan languages, even though they could be proved to be cognates, cannot be identical.

As we believe Etruscan to have been the learned language of Umbria, it is just as likely that all public decrees should have been written in that tongue, as that our own Acts of Parliament formerly should have been written in Latin: and much more likely than the absurd custom, which we still preserve, of placing Latin eulogies in our churches upon the monuments of illustrious Englishmen, as if their own language were not polished enough to celebrate their praise, or as if we wrote for foreigners, and not for the benefit and improvement of our own people.

THE END.

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