

RAETIC  
An extinct Semitic language  
in Central Europe

BY

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&  
PROF. DR. LINUS BRUNNER

Mikes International  
The Hague, Holland

2007

## **Kiadó**

'Stichting MIKES INTERNATIONAL' alapítvány, Hága, Hollandia.

Számlaszám: Postbank rek.nr. 7528240

Cégbejegyzés: Stichtingenregister: S 41158447 Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Den Haag

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## **Publisher**

Foundation 'Stichting MIKES INTERNATIONAL', established in The Hague, Holland.

Account: Postbank rek.nr. 7528240

Registered: Stichtingenregister: S 41158447 Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Den Haag

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The Editors and the Publisher can be contacted at the following addresses:

Email: mikes\_int@federatio.org

Postal address: P.O. Box 10249, 2501 HE, Den Haag, Holland

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**ISSN 1570-0070**

**ISBN-13: 978-90-8501-113-2**

**NUR 616**

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## PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

Today we publish four new works of Professor Alfréd Tóth. Present volume is entitled '*RAETIC. An extinct Semitic language in Central Europe*' and was written jointly with Professor Linus Brunner.

The following volumes of Prof. Tóth were published electronically by Mikes International:

- ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF HUNGARIAN (in English) (792 p.)
- HUNGARIAN, SUMERIAN AND EGYPTIAN. — HUNGARIAN, SUMERIAN AND HEBREW. Two Addenda to 'Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian' (EDH) (in English) (113 p.)
- HUNGARIAN, SUMERIAN AND PENUTIAN — Second Addendum to 'Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian' (EDH) (in English) (37 p.)
- HUNGARIAN, SUMERIAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN — Third Addendum to 'Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian' (EDH) (in English) (118 p.)
- IS THE TURANIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY A PHANTOM? (in English) (36 p.)
- HUNGARO-RAETICA (in English) (39 p.)

The Hague (Holland), August 2, 2007

MIKES INTERNATIONAL

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## 1. Foreword

In June 2007 it will be 25 years since Professor Dr. Linus Brunner's deciphering of the first Raetic inscriptions were published. The 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 2007 is also the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Professor Brunner's death. Since I worked together many years most closely with Professor Brunner and administer his unpublished works since his death, the present book owes so much to my unforgettable friend and teacher that he steps now posthumously another time before the public. For this publication I have scrutinized and used all published and unpublished manuscripts, Professor Brunner's extensive card index of Raetic place names, his letters to me as well as his handwritten notes in the secondary literature that he used and his comments to photographs and maps.

Much happened in the past twenty years in the Research of Raetic. Our book "Die Rätische Sprache enträtselt: Sprache und Sprachgeschichte der Räter" ("The Riddle of the Raetic Language Solved: Language and History of Language of the Raeti"), St. Gallen 1987, that was written between 1983 and 1985 and was ready for publication already in 1985, but could be published only a few months before Professor Brunner's death in 1987 because of financial problems of the government of the Canton of St. Gallen (Switzerland), caused a many years long turmoil that neither Professor Brunner nor I had awaited. While our colleagues from linguistics attacked our attempt partly through silence (that does not belong to Max Bense's "Principle of Research"), but mostly with open and heavy aggression (that does not belong either to Bense's principle), we found huge appreciation from historians, archeologists and ethnologists – and, last but by no means least, from the interested public. The book that was printed in only 1100 copies – because the printer, too, did not await such a success – was out of print in a few weeks, and many people wrote us letters asking for copies, so that we used up almost all of our personal copies.

The discussions about the Semitic Raeti that were caused by our common book did not cease for many years, whereby I had to take the place of my irreplaceable friend. As a climax I only mention the "First Raetic Congress" that took place in October 1999 in the Hotel Castell above Zuoz in the Upper Engadine Valley (Canton of Grisons, Switzerland). My lectures there, all of them based on Professor Brunner's work, occupied the national as well as the international newspaper press like already in 1983 and 1987 and in the years between and after during weeks.

Yet not only we ourselves got public persons through our "Blue Book" (so called, since its cover was in dark blue), but also the international Raetic research that had rested peacefully for decades before 1987, awoke immediately. Already in October 1989, a symposium under the misleading title "Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien" ("Etruscans in the North of Etruria") under the chair of the Viennese etruscologist Luciana Aigner-Foresti took place in the Castle Neuwaldegg near Vienna. In the spring of 1990, Stefan Schumacher got his M.A. degree with his work "Die rätischen Inschriften" ("The Raetic Inscriptions"). In 1991, Paul Gleirscher presented his booklet "Die Räter" ("The Raeti"), in 1992, he co-edited together with Ingrid Metzger the bilingual volume "Die Räter – I

Reti” that collected non-linguistic “etruscological” contributions to the Raetic “problem” (including a third impression of the old linguistic article by Ernst Risch from 1971 that had been reprinted already in 1984), and 1993/94, Gleirscher dedicated to the Swiss journal “*Helvetia Archaeologica*”, that hitherto only published Professor Brunner’s contributions to Raetic, a double number that contained mainly Gleirscher’s own and Schumacher’s “etruscological” works.

All these works have in common that they are non-linguistic. Also Schumacher’s M.A. thesis that appeared as a book in 1992 (second enlarged edition 2004) is purely epigraphic. The other contributions are all historical and archeological. Our Semitic theory was either not mentioned, or false assertions were made by the authors named. For example Schumacher calls in his book (1992, p. 94) the University professor Brunner a “*Privatgelehrter*” (a private/independent scholar). According to Schumacher’s own words (2004, p. 93, note 170), his work was enabled through a scholarship from the estate of Manfred Lichtenthal that was arranged by Lichtenthal’s daughter. As it is commonly known amongst “Raetologists”, the same Lichtenthal, after having read Professor Brunner’s publications, published in the “*Bündner Monatsblatt*” (a regional folkloristic quarterly from the Grisons) three articles in which he tried to prove that Raetic is Western Semitic, more exactly identical with biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic. Really interesting Schumacher’s confession about his scholarship gets therefore, because he wanted to disprove the Semitic origin of Raetic with Lichtenthal’s money, and really unscientific his confession gets, when he does not even cite Lichtenthal in his book. Furthermore, Lichtenthal, who really was a “private scholar” is of course not mentioned in Schumacher’s chapter about “independent scholars”, were the name of Professor Brunner is purposely mistakenly mentioned.

The present book, quoted from now on as “Toth and Brunner (2007)”, presents a completely revised, corrected, enlarged and rewritten version of “Brunner and Toth (1987)” and summarizes all new results of the past twenty years. May this book cause the same earthquake-like reactions like his predecessor did!

Tucson, AZ (USA), November 2006

Prof. Dr. Alfred Toth

Prof. Dr. Linus Brunner (†)

## 2. Introduction into the research of Raetic

Il est certain que l'histoire ancienne, telle qu'on l'a enseignée, est émaillé dans certain cas d'incroyables erreurs qu'il va bien falloir se mettre à réviser sérieusement.

(It is for sure that ancient history as it has been told to us, is enameled in certain cases with unbelievable mistakes that one better has to start to emend seriously.)

Linus Brunner (1984 b, p. 8)

It is a well-known fact that the Romans were not interested in the languages and cultures of the peoples, they subjugated. Therefore, it isn't astonishing that one finds often the most contradictory information and even confusions of names in the works of the Roman historians and geographers. Besides that, the Roman historians started their works always *ab initio*, so that they mostly didn't have time enough left to describe the present, in which they lived. Moreover, one must not forget either that the people of the Old World didn't travel to other peoples, except of course, if they were urged on professional reasons to visit distant countries.

One of this men was Pliny the Elder (Plinius Maior), a polyhistorian and natural scientist, who paid his claim to describe scientifically as the first human being the eruption of a volcano with his life, when he died in the glowing masses of the lava of Mount Vesuvius in the year 79 A.D. Pliny, who was always caring for authenticity, belongs to the most reliable witnesses of the antiquity at all. As a soldier, he traveled almost the whole known ancient world, and to him we owe also the only Raetic word that came directly from the Raetic language to us: *ploum* "plow with wheels". Although this word is a conjecture of the traditional (and senseless) text *plaumorati*, there is no doubt, that the plow with wheels was a Raetic invention and that *ploum* was the word, with which the Raeti named their invention. Therefore, it is surely not by chance, that the area of the present Retoromanic dialects, which have the type *ploum* instead of the type *arader* (< Latin *aratorem*), matches exactly the area, in which Raetic inscriptions have been found.

Not only from the Roman authors, but also from the Greeks, we learn almost nothing about language, customs and culture of the Raeti. The oldest testimony is a praise of the Raetic wine by the Elder Cato, but mentioned only in Servius' commentary to Virgil's *Georgica*. Pliny, too, praises the Raetic wine and compares it to the Falernian, the Château Mouton-Rothschild of the antiquity. The physician Celsus even recommended Raetic and Allobrogic wine for medical sake. The Greek geographer Strabon enumerates as typical Raetic products resin, pitch, firewood, wax, cheese, and honey and mentions a sort of cereal, that was cultivated specially by the Raeti. If one is allowed to be confident in the geography of the archeological findings of the bronze and iron age, then the Raeti were or belonged to the carriers of the Laugen-Melaun- and the Fritzens-Sanzeno ceramics, with which they did an intense import-export-trade. To ascribe to the well-known Roman anti-propaganda to justify wars, however, is the assertion, to be found in

the works of Horatius, Strabon and Dio Cassius, that the Raeti were violent peoples. In the year 16/15 B.C., Drusus and Tiberius, on the order of their stepfather, the emperor Augustus, subjugated the Raeti and thus opened up the way to the Alpine passes. Florus even asserted that the Raetic women threw their babies, whom they killed by themselves, into the faces of the Roman conquerors.

On the one side, all antique as well as late antique authors agree to the fact, that there was a Raetic people, but on the other side they disagree in the identification of their tribes as Raetic and their separation from the non-Raetic tribes. On the reconstructed Tropaeum Alpium above Monte Carlo, 24 tribes are named, to which correspond 11 in the work of the Greek astronomer Ptolemaios, 9 in the 4<sup>th</sup> book of Strabon's Geography, and 2 in the Carmina of Horatius (Frei-Stolba 1984, p. 13). Also the localization of these tribes is – if the so-called name-tradition (e.g. Sabini – Val Sabbia) doesn't help us – controversial. The map of the findings of the Raetic inscriptions (Risch 1984, p. 25) shows clearly, that the Raetic territory extended, roughly speaking, from the Lake of Constance almost to the Adria, and from North Tyrol to the area of Verona and that the center of the Raeti was the Nonsberg (Val di Non).

According to the authors of the Old Word, it was also controversial, to which language family Raetic belonged and if the Raetic language was more or less homogeneous or splintered up in innumerable dialects like its present successor language Retoromance.

The oldest theory is the Etruscan hypothesis, which goes back to Livy V 33, 11, where he says, that the Raeti “besides the sound of their language” didn't keep up anything from their original Etruscan origin, “and not even the sound incorruptedly”. As already Ernst Meyer stated correctly, this assertion is a “completely meaningless uttering” (1971, p. 10). The Etruscan hypothesis, however, has still today its adherents, like f. ex. Rix (1998) who compares Etruscan with Raetic and Lemnian, thereby presupposing, that all these languages are Indo-European. But already Risch (1984, p. 30) had stated that Raetic is non-Indo-European (cf. also Toth 2007b). Moreover, we know, that Etruscan is an early form of Hungarian, and therefore also non-Indo-European (cf. Padányi 1964, Alinei 2003, 2005, Toth 2008). Probably, the assertion, that Raetic is an Etruscan dialect, goes back to the confusion of language and script, because the Raeti used the same script as the Etruscans did and that was transported since the 8<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. via the Aegean Sea, yet hardly originated there, but derived like all runic scripts (Hung. róni “to carve”) from the ancestor of the Runic script that is still today used by the Székely Hungarians in Transylvania and had according to the script on the Tatárlaka medaillons, that were detected at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the same origin like the Sumerian-Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform script (cf. Labat and Zakar 1976). The myth of the Raeti as “Alpine Etruscans” is refused nowadays even by archaeologists: “There are no hints at all from the archaeological point of view, that during the intrusion of Celts Etruscans flew into the valleys of the Southern Alps” (Gleirscher 1993, p. 102).

While the Etruscan hypothesis originated still in the time of the Roman emperors, the Celtic hypothesis came up only in the late antique time. The first time, it shows up in the work of the Greek historian Zosimos who lived in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., hence to a time, when Raetic was perhaps only spoken in certain places of retreat. (The



Greek historian Arrianus, however, asserted, that still at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Raetic was spoken.) In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Celtic hypothesis had its last known adherent in Robert von Planta, who went as far as to assert that the name of the Grison village Rhäzüns/Razén goes back to a Celtic etymon \*Raetiodūnum. Therefore, Celts would have given their village the name “Village of the Raeti”! We now know that the Western neighbors of the Raeti, the Lepontians, were Celts, but not the Raeti themselves.

Also in the Late Antiquity – in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. – in the work of the East Roman historian Jordanes the hypothesis arises, that the Raeti were Illyrians. However, Jordanes identifies them in his works “Romana” and “Getica” also with the Venetians, the Liburnians and the Skythians. According to the Tabula Peutingeriana, the Venetians, however, were Sarmatians, and according to Homer’s *Iliad* they were Paphlagonians, who were identified by later authors also with the Pamphylians. Although we have here a paradigmatic example of how little we can trust the ethnical and linguistic information of the antique and especially the late antique authors, the Illyrian hypothesis survived almost 1400 years. At the end, it degenerated into a real pan-Illyrism, quite similarly like in our days the “pan-Vasconism”, that will be discussed later. But one has to be grateful to Hans Krahe, that it was himself, its creator, who buried the pan-Illyrism in the foreword of the 2<sup>nd</sup> volume of his well-known book (Krahe 1964). Since then, the Illyrian hypothesis has gotten obsolete for the question of the ethnicity of the Raeti, too.

The hypothesis, that Raetic was a Semitic language, most closely related to Akkadian, that belongs to the Eastern Semitic branch, but also to the Western Semitic Arabic, hence taking a middle position similar to the recently detected Eblaitic, was developed by Linus Brunner (Brunner 1981, Brunner and Toth 1987, Brunner 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, Toth 1988, 1989, 1991, Toth and Pult 1999). Brunner successfully translated 55 of the approximately 200 Raetic inscriptions – most of the rest unreadable or consisting only of a few scattered signs - and afterwards applied his method also onto the formerly unclear Grison and Tyrolian place names. This hypothesis, that presupposes that we had amidst of the Alpine mountains a Semitic people, who furnished us besides the word “Pflug” (= Engl. plough/plow) also words like “Gaden” (Engl. hay shed), Käse (= Engl. cheese), Rhine Valley German “Masle” (separation-bowl in sour-cheese fabrication), Swiss German “Räf” (wooden scaffolding to carry goods on the back), Werdenberg German “Rafen” (roof-carrying beam), “Senn” (cheesemaker in the high mountains) and “Murmeltier” (Engl. marmot), which – like the word “cheese” – already the Romans borrowed directly from the Raeti, implies, that according to Brunner the Raeti came during the Bronze Age Sea People Storms via the Aegean Sea from Mesopotamia to Middle-Europe and were, after their landing in the area of Trieste, chased into the Alpine Valleys by the Indo-European Venetians. Very clear traces pointing to the Near East have been found in the Raetoromance mythology, especially of the Grisons in Switzerland, but also in the Dolomites. The Semitic hypothesis found great approval as well as some refusal, but has never been disproved – unlike the Etruscan, Celtic and Illyrian hypotheses.

The newest theory was established by Theo Vennemann in a long series of articles, several of them in *Festschriften* and local magazines. According to Vennemann, the

biggest part of Europe after the Ice Ages was settled by ancestors of the today's Basques who had allegedly been spread out from Southern France. Besides them, there were "Semitidic" and "Atlantic" people, amongst them the Ligurians probably played a big role. Vennemann's "Vasconic" hypothesis has been refused by the absolute majority of all leading linguists as well as historians and archaeologists (cf. the very instructive and detailed review-article by Sheynin 2004). For us it is interesting that Vennemann accepts, that "Vasconic" was a language "with morphological case markers" (2003, p. 413), i.e. an inflectional language (while modern Basque is agglutinative!), and that therefore it was certainly not related to Etruscan that was recognized already by Pfiffig (1969) as agglutinative. However, Vennemann lacks the proof that Proto-Basque was inflectional, and when he accepts in another work (Vennemann 1998) the root of the word Pflug/plow and its family as Semitic, he should also accept the conjecture by Gottfried Baist to Pliny XVIII 172 (Baist 1886) to come to the conclusion that Raetic was not Basque, but Semitic, because Raet. ploum and German Pflug/English plow share their root with Arabic-German Fellache and come from Akk. palāhum "to plow".

### 3. Methods of explaining fragmentary languages

There are only two methods of reconstructing unknown, but already deciphered languages: historical reconstruction and internal combination. The application of either one or both of these methods is evidently essential, since a deciphered language cannot be translated without the knowledge, to which related language it belongs, in other words: without knowing its linguistic family or affiliation. I would like to point out some basic problems of both of these methods.

#### 1. The method of historical reconstruction

The Indo-European languages were detected through the etymological method only. Knowing, for example, that Latin CASA means “house”, one “concluded”, that German HAUS and English HOUSE may be genetically related, since the latter words sound similar. After such correspondences of words – considered to be units of sound and meaning – were found up to a certain amount, the language in question was considered to be a member of the IE language “family”. The problem is only, that nobody can tell, how many such “word-equations” are needed for the “proof” of the membership of a certain language to a certain language family, not to speak about the notion of what is meant here with “proof”. For example, Hittite was “proven” to be IE by Hrozný, although more than 50% of its lexicon is non-IE.

Let’s assume, we don’t know, that the word LAC<sub>x</sub> means “lake” and is French, but we already know the Latin words LACUS for “lake” and LAC for “milk”. Phonetically, LAC<sub>x</sub> and Latin LAC are closer than LAC<sub>x</sub> and Latin LACUS, so we may come to the mistaken conclusion, that our word LAC<sub>x</sub> means “milk”. In this case, phonetics is leading to a mistaken result. Let’s now assume, we don’t know, which is the French word for “lake”, but we again know both Latin LACUS for “lake” and Latin LAC for “milk”. Semantically, we could invent a definition of “milk = cow-water”, assuming that the original meaning of LACUS is not lake, but water, and then “big amount of water”, so we may come to the mistaken conclusion, that the French word for “lake” is the word “lait” that we find in a dictionary, but which in reality means “milk”. In this case, semantics is leading to a mistaken result.

What is shown here with very simple examples, is in reality a big problem, especially if one deals with inscriptions. In many cases, the sound-values of the letters on an inscription are more or less known, but the semantics is not. And the pioneers who established IE linguistics that arose in later years to a shining example of the etymological method, just started with pure phonetic resemblance and “assumed” that similarly looking words with more or less similar meanings may be genetically related. So it was for example proven, that English QUEEN, German KÖNIGIN, Ancient Greek GYNĒ, Old Irish BEN etc. can be traced back to the same IE root. But this method does not always work. Let’s compare Sanskrit ÁŚVA- with Latin EQUUS “horse”. ÁŚVA- and EQUUS have phonetically nothing in common, so one would

probably not conclude, that these words are related, but in reality, they go back to the same IE root. In this case, we may count with phonetically different words that are nonetheless related. Let's now compare German HAUS, English HOUSE and Hungarian "HÁZ for "house". Here, we have the opposite case: Even all the three word look phonetically similar, only the German and the English words are related, but not the Hungarian. In this case, phonetically similar words may nonetheless be unrelated.

One can see from these examples that the etymological method may work only, if two words are phonetically and semantically similar or identical. But as the example Hungarian HÁZ vs. German HAUS and English HOUSE has shown, the etymological method may also not work. However, the many misunderstandings of the etymological method lie in the fact, that the basic problems of this method are semiotic and logical, but not linguistic.

From the viewpoint of semiotics, a word is a sign, this sign forming a unit between form a meaning. According to de Saussure's law of the arbitrary sign, the band that unites the phonetic and the semantic side of the word-sign, is unmotivated. This is the reason, why the object with the meaning "tree" is named TREE in English, BAUM in German, PLANTA in Buchensteinic, FA in Hungarian, AĞAÇ in Turkish, etc. If we find now two words with similar phonetics and similar semantics in two languages and if we find more of such pairs, we may conclude that these resemblances are not by change and hence conclude, that the languages, to which these words belong, are genetically related.

But one sees that this method is based wholly on an assumption – cf. again German HAUS, English HOUSE and Hungarian HÁZ – and is not a proof. Proofs are very seldom in linguistics, for linguistics is not an exact science.

Logically, if we try to "prove", we need an assumption, a statement and a conclusion. For example, if our assumption is that Socrates is a man, and if the statement is, that all men are mortal, then the conclusion is that Socrates is mortal. Since we want to prove, that two languages A and B are related, our assumption is: A and B are related. But unfortunately, the statement is exactly the same: A and B are related, and so we come to the not surprising conclusion, that A and B are related. In other words, the etymological method is based on a vicious circle, since assumption, statement and conclusion are identical. Let's say, I want to know to which language family Hungarian belongs. But then I must compare Hungarian not only with Vogul, Ostyak, Finnic, Lapponic etc. but f. ex. also with Turkish, Japanese, Tibetan, Sumerian etc. Why, then, do the Finno-Ugrists deny a relationship between Hungarian and the fore-mentioned languages? Because they assume from the beginning that Vogul, Ostyak, Finnic, Lapponic etc. are members of the Finno-Ugric language family – but this is evidently what they want to proof.

Moreover, the logical proof itself may lead to nonsense. Let's look at the following example: Assumption: All bats are umbrellas. Statement: All umbrellas are elephants. Conclusion: All bats are elephants. Summarizing up, the etymological method works from the viewpoint of semiotics with evidences, but not with proofs and from the viewpoint of logic it is a bare nonsense.

## 2. The method of internal combination

The method of internal combination – besides having a mistaken name, since it implies a false connection with the mathematical discipline of combinatorics – tries to guess the meaning of words or word groups exclusively out of the context, f. ex. the shape and possible former use of an object, on which an inscription is engraved or a building, in which an inscription is found, etc. This method can be very important in the fore-mentioned cases, where we know the phonetics, but not the semantics of words. Yet, as it can be seen easily, the method of internal combination does not work alone either, since the words guessed by it need to be examined semantically by comparing them to words of genetically related languages. In other words: It is possible – although pretty senseless because of the many mistakes that may occur – to use the etymological method alone, but it is impossible to use the combinatorial method alone.

When Professor Linus Brunner started to publish the Raetic inscriptions, deciphered by him, in OPES/ESOP 9, No. 212 in June 1981, he used the method of historical reconstruction. As a trained Indo-Europeanist and Semitologist, he found – according to his knowledge of such languages as Akkadian, Arabic, Hebrew and Ugaritic – striking similarities between these languages and the texts of the Raetic inscriptions. This is a way of recognition of an unknown language not mentioned before: If an English speaker sees the following German sentence: “Dieses Haus ist grün”, then she or he may sooner or later come to the conclusion that the meaning of this sentence may be: “This house is green” and that therefore the two sentences are etymologically identical. If a native Hungarian reads an Etruscan inscription, he understands it partially and has thus about the same feelings like an English person reading the Beowulf or a German reading the poems of Walther von der Vogelweide: These languages must be related. This is again not a proof, but perhaps the strongest evidence ever possible in linguistics. Needless to say, that Brunner would never have accepted a translation, the meaning of which would not correspond to the object, on which the Raetic inscription had been written. In other words: Brunner used both the etymological and the combinatorial methods.

But in 1984, there appeared a booklet entitled “Das Räterproblem” (“The problem of the Raeti”). In this publication, the linguistic aspect of the Raetic inscriptions was handled by the known (and meanwhile deceased) Professor of Indo-European Studies at Zurich University Ernst Risch. In footnote 32 Risch wrote: “Instead of (...) using the method of internal combination, he (Brunner, A.T.) uses the etymological method which is since longtime outdated and disapproved” (p. 32). Well understood, these lines were written by a man, whose whole science that he represented professionally, Indo-European linguistics, was established solely by reconstructing languages via the etymological method upon which Erisch brings discredit here. It is also well known that the late great decipherer of so many hitherto unknown writings, Professor Barry Fell of Harvard University, himself was constantly accused, because he used exactly the same etymological method. On p. 99 of his world-famous book “Saga America” (1980), Fell wrote: “Professor Linus Brunner, the distinguished philologist and Classical scholar of St. Gallen, Switzerland (...). When Fell used cryptographic analysis to analyze a dialect of ancient Greek in Spain that employed an Iberian alphabet, Brunner was prompt to

confirm the finding and to deduce the equivalent Attic Greek”. In two of his last contributions to ESOP, Brunner dealt exactly with the unjust reproach of not having combined the two methods of explaining fragmentary languages under the titles “Decipherer’s fate” (ESOP 14) and “The method in deciphering and explaining unknown languages” (ESOP 16).

Adherents of the combinatorial method start from the assumption that all the inscriptions found in the Alpine Mountains contain basically only proper names and verbs of dedication. Therefore, one of the typical structures of such inscriptions is: “X dedicates Y to Z”, whereby X is the donator, Y the donated object and Z a god or a goddess. But how would these linguists know if an inscription contains proper names and verbs of dedication, before they know, what the content of the inscription is? In other words: In order to translate an inscription, they presuppose, that they already know how the same inscription is to translate. Here, we have again a vicious circle, and, as I will demonstrate shortly after, a much more dangerous one than in the case of the etymological method.

Another problem arises from the well-known fact that the structure of inscriptions varies from language to language (cf. f. ex. Stéphan 1985 and Braun-Holzinger 1991). It is true, that the structure “X dedicates Y to Z” is typical for IE languages like Venetic, Lepontic and others, but if we have a look at some Semitic inscriptions, we find quite different structures. Now, since Raetic is a Semitic language, the assumption, that one has to look for proper names and verbs of dedications in the Raetic inscriptions does necessarily lead to mistaken translations. An illustrative example: On April 18<sup>th</sup> 2006, the magazine “Die Universität” of the University of Vienna broadcast emphatically “2000 Years Old Inscription Deciphered”. Stefan Schumacher, a young fellow who wrote his Master Thesis about the Raetic inscriptions, asserted to have deciphered for the first time the so-called Steinberg inscriptions in North Tyrol. Seeing proper names in these Raetic inscriptions, he translates KASTRI ESU ETUNI MIAPET als “Kastrie Etunnu has sacrificed”. The correct translation that is by the way known since 1987 (Brunner and Toth, *Die rätsische Sprache enträtselt*, p. 59), however, is: “My Kastor, heal, my lord! Sacrificial food”, ETUNNI not being a proper name, but etymologically identical with Hebrew adoni “my lord”. Needless to say that from Schumacher’s alleged proper names neither “Kastrie” nor “Etunnu” are testified elsewhere and neither is an alleged verb “miapet”.

After having shown in the first part that the method of historical reconstruction is both from the semiotic and the logical standpoint nonsense, I want to show the same now for the method of internal reconstruction through leading this method ad absurdum by using a simple German sentence, trying to imitate my procedure with very literal English “translations” and thus giving a drastic example of how the adherents of the combinatorial method work. Concretely speaking, I will “prove” by using strictly the method of internal combination instead of the “outdated and disapproved” etymological method, that this innocent German sentence is in reality Raetic. With that I prove in reality, that the method of internal combination, used without the etymological method, is also bare nonsense:

Step 1: We take the German Sentence “Anna liest ein Buch” (Anna reads a book). Since Raetic inscriptions have normally no blanks, our “inscription” looks as follows:

ANNALIESTEINBUCH (“Annareadsabook”)

Step 2: Since Rix in his 1998 book “Rätisch und Etruskisch” teaches us, that Raetic is an Etruscan dialect, we recognize immediately the Etruscan Genitive 2-Locative-Dative-ending –ALIE. This leads us to the following break:

ANN-ALIE STEINBUCH (“Ann –aried sabook”)

Step 3: Also immediately the Etruscan ending –CH(E; inscriptions may be broken off on the right side) of the 3. Sing. jumps in our eyes, cf. f. ex. Etruscan TRINA-KHE, ZINA-KHE (= trina-che, zina-che), so we get:

ANN-ALIE STEINBU-CH (“Ann-aried saboo-k” with “to saboo” as a verb!)

Step 4: Since, therefore, -CH is a verbal ending, STEINBU- must be a verb. Since furthermore we have already recognized in step 2, that –ALIE is a genitive ending, ANN must be a noun and ANN-ALIE must thus have the meaning “of the Ann” (“Ann” may be male or female). We come therefore to the following translation of our “Raetic” inscription:

German: Des Ann steinbucht.

English: The Ann’s sabooes.

Now, it is quite clear, that both the German and the English sentences are not sentences, since the subject cannot stand in the Genitive. What we need, therefore, is a Nominative! Thus, we get:

German: X des Ann steinbucht.

English: The Ann’s X sabooes.

Since many Raetic as well as other inscriptions are written on grave stones, let’s assume, that our “Raetic” inscription is written on a grave stone as well (but this has no influence on our “proof”!). Because normally parents die before their children, we may

assume that the “X” in our translations above is the name of a father or a mother. And since it is a grave stone, we have automatically also the long-searched meaning of our verb German “steinbuchen”, English “to saboo”: German “sterben”, English “to die”. This follows directly from the context of our inscription and is therefore won by virtue of the method of internal combination only.

So, finally – having used only and strictly the combinatorial method –, we have now the translation of our “Raetic” inscription:

German: Der Vater/Die Mutter des/der Ann ist gestorben.

English: “The Ann’s father/mother died”.

Out of the correct German sentence “Anna liest ein Buch”, or of the correct English sentence “Anna reads a book”, we got the nonsense-sentences, that stand above. This proves, that the method of internal combination used alone is a nonsense.

We can summarize up: With help of the etymological method we may come to correct results, i.e. we may find out the correct meanings of words and therefore classify the language to which these words belong, to the right language family. But we must be careful, since the etymological method is semiotically a system of evidence, but not a device of proof and is logically based on a vicious circle. The best evidence in judging if a translation won by using the etymological method is correct, is a native speaker’s knowledge if a certain language may be related to his mother tongue or not. Alternatively, we may consult experienced linguists whose language proficiency is quasi-native. The combinatorial method should only be used as a helping aid, for example to make sure, if a verb, whose meaning won by etymology is “to dedicate” or “to sacrifice”, fits in the context of the inscription or not. It is superfluous to mention that the combinatorial method is useless outside of the context of inscriptions. But the nowadays more and more widespread criticism against the etymological method in general, favoring the combinatorial method alone instead, is to refuse by all means: Used without the etymological method, it leads necessarily to nonsense, since this method, too, is based on a vicious circle, but this vicious circle is much more dangerous than the vicious circle of the etymological method, since by using the combinatorial method alone there are no possibilities to prevent or correct mistaken results by aid of linguistic comparison.



## 4. History of the Raetic language

### 1. Introduction

Our book (Brunner and Toth 1987, abbreviated as “BT”) lets two main questions open: When did a Semitic people – the Raeti – enter Central Europe and seek for refuge between the Northern Italian lakes and the Northern shore of the Lake of Constance? And why did they leave their Mesopotamian homeland? The question which language they spoke, we already answered – it was a Semitic dialect, closely related both to Akkadian and to Arabic. But only this latter fact makes astonish, since Akkadian belongs to the Eastern and Arabic to the Western branch of the Semitic languages. So, besides trying to answer the two basic questions, we will also have to deal with the position of Raetic in the Semitic language family.

### 2. Hints towards a relative chronology of Raetic

In the inscription PID 196, BT, p. 61 we read PNAKE VITAMU LAKHE “I have turned myself to you, Vitammu”. Vitammu was an Akkadian (and not only an Assyrian, as claimed in BT, p. 61) ghost of the dead (cf. Farber 2001), but he appears in all Akkadian inscriptions as Itammu, Etemmu etc., i.e. without the initial V- or W-, since this sound was dropped already during the time of King Hammurabi (1792-1750 B.C.). From the fact that Raetic kept initial V- we may either conclude that Raetic is either Old Babylonian or Old Assyrian or that the keeping of V- was characteristic for Raetic.

In another inscription that I translated after the death of Professor Brunner (Mancini 17) we read: KALIP IST AL[U] PHUPER SUKH “Goddess Estu, I have brought white clothes”. PHUPER is a Sumerian loanword: Sum. *babbar* “white” (cf. Lieberman 1977, no. 90 and Gostony 1975, no. 155: Hungarian *fehér* “white”). Since Akkadian influence starts in Mesopotamia in the 26<sup>th</sup> century B.C., we can conclude that Raetic may have borrowed this word since this very early time, but of course, the word may have survived until Young Babylonian or New Assyrian and thus gives us no clear hint either respecting the age and linguistic status of Raetic amongst the Semitic languages.

In BT, pp. 46ss. I argued that Raetic was an own Semitic language, even its closest relative was Akkadian. Because the already mentioned fact that Raetic shares cognates not only with Akkadian, but also with Arabic, we may compare Raetic with Eblaitic that is considered to take a middle place between the Eastern and the Western Semitic language groups (cf. Stempel 1999, p. 21). In the following, the Raetic words are taken from BT, pp. 97ss.:

Raetic and Eblaitic: The word list of Fronzaroli (1984) gives the following Raet.-Ebl. correspondences, but most of them are not restricted to Akkadian: Ebl. *’ummu* = Raet. *um*, *emu* “mother”, Ebl. *baytum* “house” = Raet. *\*beita* “hut”, Ebl. *kusītum* “a kind of clothing” = Raet. *kušithu* “clothes”, Ebl. *ra’āmum*, cf. Raet. *remina* “love (Imp.

fem.)!'. At least, Akk. *kušītu* and Ebl. *kušitum* are the only other representatives of this word-stem in Semitic, since Syr. *kōsīta* is borrowed from Akk., and Armen. *k'usit'ai* is borrowed from Syriac (Zimmern 1917, p. 36).

We may also compare Raetic with Kassitic, since Kassite kings ruled about 400 years over Mesopotamia (ca. 1595-1155 B.C.). Although Kassitic was not a Semitic language (cf. Jaritz 1957), the Kassites spoke a special kind of Akkadian. From the list of Sassmannshausen (2001, pp. 499-502) we get the following Kass.-Raet. correspondences: Kass. *ālu* "Stadt" = Raet. *\*ālu* "Dorf", Kass. *asû* "Arzt", cf. Raet. *esi* "heal!", Kass. *bānû* "bricklayer", cf. Raet. *\*eben* "rock", Kass. *bēl* = Raet. *bel* "Herr", Kass. *kaššû*, cf. Raet.-Akk. *qaššu* "holy" (?), Kass. *rē'û* "Hirte", Raet. *\*reitu* "heardswoman", Kass. *rimku* = Raet. *rimak-* "bath". Unfortunately, none of these Kass. cognates says something about Raetic.

Flavius Arrianus (95-175 A.D.) was a Greek originating from Nikomedia in Bithynia, entered the service of the emperor and served in the in the once Celtic province and at the Danube. His history of Alexander the Great is considered the most reliable source about live and work of the Macedonian king. In his Werk "Techne taktike", Arrian writes about the troops that served in the Roman army: "kai alalagmous patrious hekastoi genei, Keltikous men tois Keltiois hippeusin, Getikous de tois Getais, Rhaitikous de hosoi ek Rhaiton", so the Raeti called one another in the Raet. language that was thus still spoken in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Therefore, Raetic must have survived Akkadian that is assumingly extinct since the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. (Unghad and Matouš, p. 7).

The long survival of Raetic fits perfectly to the results of archeology: "From the standpoint of prehistory, the Raetic problem is connected with the Melaun ceramics. New research in the St. Galler Rhine Valley and in Vorarlberg showed that the vessel-shape that is typical for the Melaun culture (the Melaun handle-pot) shows up in characteristic form already during the Urnenfelder culture (Hallstatt A/B =  $\pm$  1000 B.C.). That the Melaun culture lasted in the North of the Alpine mountains probably until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. shows a long life-time of this form" (Pittioni 1958, p. 293).

We have Raetic inscriptions only between ca. the 8<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., but not later. On the other side, as we have just seen, Arrian testifies Raetic as a spoken language still in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Therefore, we may ask: How quickly can a language die? Sasse (1992, p. 22) differs four kinds of language death: 1. the sudden death (e.g. by epidemics or genocide of their speakers, example: Tasmanian), 2. the "radical" death (e.g. by self-defense of the speakers, example: Cacaopera in El Salvador), 3. the gradual death (by bilingualism, example: Retoromance), 4. the "bottom-to-top-death" (through loss first of the spoken and then also of the written language and their possible further use in ritual acts or in inscriptions, example: Coptic). Since the Raeti were never victims of a genocide, nor did they die in self-defense, Raetic belongs either to language death-type no. 3 or 4. In the southern part of their area, there was since about the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. a Raetic-Latin and in the northern part a Raetic-Germanic bilingualism. If we may compare the fate of Raetic with the fate of its successor language Retoromance, we may rather vote for type no. 3 then for type no. 4, what also explains the complete loss of Raetic inscriptions after the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.

Although it will of course be impossible – on obvious reasons – to determine the time of the final extinction of Raetic, we have, however, from ethnology enough hints to assume that Raetic possibly was still spoken long after the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.

In the “Canzun de la Sontga Margriata” (“Song of the St. Margarete”), the Surselvic fertility song, we must see a christianization of an original pagan rite: “In her one shape, she [the St. Margarete, A.T.] is a wholly ecclesiastical figure, while in her other shape she flits away like a creepy, but still holy creature without entering churches nor chapels (Caminada 1937/38, p. 208). “The figure of our Retoromance St. Margarete-song bears the word ‘holy’, but at a closer look one cannot detect anything holy in the Christian sense in her; the narration is not even a Christian legend, but an eerie legend (German: Sage)” (Caminada 1937/38, p. 214s.).

Obviously, therefore, a Raetic “saint” was substituted by the Saint Margarete of Antiochia, about whom we read explicitly that she “watched the sheep of her nurse” (Caminada 1937/38, p. 210), in which one may find a hint to the etymology of the Raetic main goddess Ritu (Raet. reitu = shepherdess, cf. BT, p. 98). In another Surselvic St. Margarete-legend she is a shepherdess, too (Decurtins 1963, p. 144). But not enough with that: “This shepherdess is on the Alpine pasture seven summers minus fifteen days. Both numbers, especially the ‘bad’ seven, are considered to be mysterious in superstition. The belief in the bad seven prevented already in the Babylonian-Assyrian medicine the physician to touch ill people on the 7<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> day” (Caminada 1937/38, p. 216). Here, we thus have another strong hint towards the Akkadian relationship of Raetic.

It is also remarkable that the pre-Christian “Saint” Margarete is a zezna, in German “Zusenn” in the “Canzun”, thus somebody who is responsible for carrying goods between the Alpine pasture and the village, since German “Senn” = “Alpine cheesemaker” comes directly from Raet. \*sanion (with the same meaning), and this belongs to Akk. sanānu “to filter”, an important process in cheesemaking (BT, p. 67).

The “Saint” Margarete lives on an Alpine pasture, disguised as a man, and here the late Bishop Dr. Dr. h.c. Christianus Caminada – to whom we owe the most profound ethnological analysis of the paganism of the Grisons – finds another hint for the high age of the “Canzun de la Sontga Margriata”: “[...] although the exchange of the clothing between the different sexes was considered a crime in the Middle Ages [...]. To save her [“Saint” Margarete’s, A.T.] live from the death penalty through keeping quiet would sure not have meant a big sacrifice. But nothing like that is mentioned. The legend must thus touch a time, where such pagan customs were not yet punished, but belonged to the pagan ceremony. Only at the Christian time one tried to erase superstitious pagan ceremonies with such heavy punishments” (Caminada 1937/38, p. 220). Since the story of the “Canzun” plays in the area of the Kunkels pass, therefore between Tamins and Pfäfers, and since these area was christianised by the St. Pirmin († 753) who came with his 13 brethren around 720 to Pfäfers, the “Canzun” must go further back “in a time, when the culture was still wholly pagan [...], essentially, the legend is supposed to be even pre-Christian” (Caminada 1937/38, p. 229).

The late Father Iso Müller writes in addition to that: “The longest time, pagan customs were kept outside of the cultural or missionary centers. Typical for this is the life of the St. Lucius who lived in the 5<sup>th</sup> century or still around 500. His vita from the

end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century reports that there was a forest of the god Mars (*silva martis*) on the heights of Gutenberg that had its name from the Mars temple” (Müller 1971, S. 17). “How much pagan customs prevailed still in the early Middle Ages, is testified by the *Lex Romana Curiensis* (ca. 750) that allows the slaves and the liberated slaves to accuse their master if he commits crimes of blasphemy or practices pagan rites” (Müller 1971, S. 18). Since we concluded above that Raetic belonged to the language death type 3, it is therefore at least not to exclude that Raetic was still spoken in the 8th century A.D. in remote areas like the valley of the Tamina river or perhaps also in the area of Wartau (where a few Raetic inscriptions were found).

But let us come back one more time to the age of the “Canzun de la Sontga Margriata”. We already mentioned that it must originate before the 8<sup>th</sup> century, thus before the appearance of St. Pirmin. Now the pre-Christian “Saint” Margarete reminds one of another fertility goddess, the “Fänggin Madrisa”: “In the Sontga Margriata [F. Jecklin] assumes a pre-Christian Madrisa, o goddess of fertility who left her traces in many place names in the Grisons and further in Vorarlberg and in the Dolomites [...]. Madrisa, the beautiful wild girl who knows the witchcraft of herbs and roots, is in many respects very similar to the Sontga Margriata” (Decurtins 1963, p. 142). Schorta, too in his “Rätisches Namenbuch” (RN II, p. 740) comes to the same conclusion: “The content of the legend coincides with the content of the ancient ‘Canzun de Sontga Margriata’”. Schorta points further to the fact that in the area of Cortina d’Ampezzo there is a place name Merisana < \*Madrisana (?). Already Professor Brunner established a connection between the “Saint” Margarete, the beautiful wild girl Madrisa and the Raetic goddess Ritu: “Ritu is called here mother genannt [PID 225, A.T.]. In the Raetic legend she survives as mother under the name Madrisa. Schorta [RN II, S. 740, A.T.] assumed in the name Latin mater, but there is no Latin-Roman suffix -isa. In the Romans’ time the goddess was probably called Mater Ritia. Ritia developed in Retoromance following the sound-laws to \*Ridja and then to Risa like media to mesa [...]. In the Christian time, Ritu seems to survive as St. Margarete” (BT, p. 55f.).

We can now conclude that the Ritu-cult could have been kept until the 8<sup>th</sup> century in the Grisons – and even until the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Tyrol, since only in 812 in Schlitz the oldest St. Maragrete-church was consecrated (Caminada 1937/38, p. 209) – and only then substituted by the cult of St. Margarete of Antiochia. This long survival of Raetic would apply even if Raetic would belong to type no. 4 of language death, since the use of a dead language in liturgy can last over centuries – as we can see from Latin that was in use until the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vatican Council.

An indirect hint for the long survival of Raetic we find in the very long time of the death of its successor language Retoromance: “Several place names prove the former romanity of the Rhine valley. In the area of Sargans, Retoromance started to cease between 1200 and 1500, while in Vättis it was spoken at least until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, on Vettnerberg until the 18<sup>th</sup> century” (Caminada 1937/38, p. 226). Since the germanization of this area started with the incursions of the Alemanns since the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Stricker 1992, pp. 13ss.), it thus took around 1400 Jahre years, until Retoromance was extinct in the St. Galler Rhine valley and its side valleys.

### 3. Hints towards the ethnicity of the Raeti

Besides their language, the Raetic main goddess Ritu, the shepherdess-context of the St. Margarete of Antiochia and the magic numbers in the “Canzun de la Sontga Margriata” point to the Babylonian-Assyrian origin of the Raeti. From that we must of course conclude that the Raeti were not autochthonous in the Alps and thus relatively late emigrants. Since this was denied by prominent people, we will have a look at the neighbors of the Raeti in the late Bronze Age.

The know late Viennese Indo-Europeanist Kretschmer wrote: “The prehistoric settlers, whom the Venetians found between the Alps and the Adria during their emigration Livy I 1 calls Euganeans. The messages about this people are yet scanty, but let recognise that they belong together with the Raeti, are of the same tribe” (Kretschmer 1943, p. 184).

This is surely mistaken, since Pliny nat. hist. III 130 writes: “Feltrini et Tridentini et Beruenses Raetica oppida, Raetorum et Euganeorum Verona” (“Both Feltre, as well as Trento and Berua are Raetic cities, but Verona belongs to the Raeti and the Euganeans”). Pliny (Plinius maior), soldier of profession and thus one of the few peoples in the Old Ages who traveled foreign countries, moreover interested in all kinds of science and arts. Pliny therefore would hardly had differentiated specifically between Raeti and Euganeans, if these peoples would have been the same. Furthermore, one should get used to translate “Euganeans” not as name of a mysterious people, but as “aborigins” of the Alps. To which ethnicity they belonged, is as unclear as which language they spoke, but clear is that they had nothing in common with the Raeti.

Some hints may perhaps point to the possibility that the “Euganeans” were Indo-Europeans. And in this connection one should never forget, that nobody ever came up with an Indo-European (f. ex. Celtic or Illyrian) etymology for the word “Raeti”, not even with an Etruscan (may Etruscan have been IE or not)!

In 1989, thus only two years after BT appeared (1987), a congress under the misleading title “Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien” (“Etruscans in the North of Etruria”) took place in the Castle of Neudwaldegg at the margin of the Vienna Forest. The proceedings of the congress were published only three years later. In the whole volume the editor, Luciana Aigner-Foresti, pretends that there really was what she called a “presenza etrusca” in the Alpine mountains. Fact is, however, that many contributors of the proceedings uttered their serious doubts about this alleged “presenza etrusca”. Let us look at that in detail.

The archeologist Lorenzo Dal Ri wrote: “The handle of Siebeneich we would like to date in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. [...]. Also, we are up to now still incapable of explaining how such close contacts could have existed to the Etruscan world in a time, when the incursions of the Celts into the plane of the river Po broke down the spreading of the Etruscan culture or at least braked it” (Dal Ri 1992, p. 77).

The archeologist Hans Nothdurfter: “The valley of the river Adige attracted the streams of people from the plane into the inner Alps since the Mesolithic. But there are two dark points: First it is not to explain how at the end of the Bronze Age the Alpine

foothills got depopulated around the Lake of Garda, and second I cannot understand that exactly the Adige Valley attracted the streams of emigrants: it is extremely insuitable for traffic, even its abundance of fish and mussels might have compensated the bad climate. In the Middle Ages at least there were malaria epidemics there. The river Adige (Etsch) does hardly incline from Meran until Verona, it meandered in continuous change, the scree-cones at the banks could hardly support the scanty shrubs” (Nothdurfter 1992, p. 49).

“Mechel, nearby Cles, Nonsberg, one would like best to consider a holy place [...]. The whole area was not built at the same time, an altar is at least younger, and the pebble-hill, too, belongs to a younger phase. The little findings date from the 6<sup>th</sup>/5. century B.C. until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. [...]. I know of no parallels to the altars. Etruria, too, is no possibility” (Nothdurfter 1992, pp. 56-58).

Finally there are practically no sources in the works of the Roman and Greek writers which point to a supposed “*presenza etrusca*” in the Alps. A participant of the congress had to admit that, too: “Le fonti che parlano della presenza etrusca a nord del Po prescindendo dalla notizia dell’invasione celtica si riducono a Virgilio e ai commentatori dei passi virgiliani su Mantova (Ecl. IX 59/60 e Aen. X 198ff)” (“The sources that speak about an Etruscan presence in the North of the Po aside from the note of the Celtic invasion reduce to Virgil and to the commentators of Virgil’s passages about Mantova” (Sordi 1992, p. 114). Furthermore (and consequently), there is not one place name in the whole former Raetic area that is nowadays considered to be of Etruscan origin.

In the end, the archeologist Paul Gleirscher had to admit only four years after this “Second Congress of Vienna” and only one year after the proceedings appeared: “There are no archeological hints that because of the Celtic invasion Etruscans flew in the valleys of the Southern Alps – as well as they are no hints either for the preceding phase of intense Etruscan-‘Raetic’ contacts” (Gleirscher 1993, p. 102).

We must therefore conclude that there were no Etruscans in the Alps and that thus the Raeti – whose presence in the Alps are testified by dozens of mentionings in the works of the Roman and Greek writers – are - in opposition to the autochthonous “Euganeans” – late emigrants, coming from Mesopotamia, speaking a language that is related next to Eastern Semitic Akkadian.

Since it is unclear if there are “Raetic” inscriptions amongst the Akkadian inscriptions found in Mesopotamia, in order to draw conclusions about the time, when the Raeti left their homeland, we have to restrict ourselves to the Raetic inscriptions found in Italy, Austria, Switzerland and Germany. And, since the “Mediterranean alphabet” used by the Raeti in Central Europe, is not suiting well to the phonological system of their language, we have to be very careful in order not to infer false conclusions that are due to the writing but not to the language.

First, in Raet. we find total absence of Assyrian vowel harmony (cf. Ungnad-Matouš, p. 16). Since the Assyrian vowel harmony was present from Old to New Assyrian, Raet. must be Babylonian.

For the personal pronoun Pl. 1. c. we have Raet. NINU (PID 197; Bravi 99; BT, p. 58; PID 234; Bravi 209; BT, p. 56) as in Old Babylon. *nīnu*, while Assy. has *nēnu*

(Ungnad-Matouš, pp. 31s.). For Gen. 1. c. we have Raet. -n(u) younger for -ni (PID 197; Bravi 99; BT, p. 58 and passim) as since Middle Babylon., while Old Old Babylon. has -ni (Ungnad-Matouš, p. 34).

According to Ungnad-Matouš, pp. 49s. in New Babylon. the Akk. three cases are not anymore clearly differentiated and mostly substituted by the Nom. In Raet. we have f. ex. LATURU SIPIANU SAPANIN[U] instead of \*SIPIANIATI (PID 197; Bravi 99; BT, p. 58 and passim) with Pers. Pron. Gen. Pl. 1. c. for Acc. Pl. 1. c. Amongst the nouns we find f. ex. the following irregular Acc. forms: KHAT for \*GADA (Acc. Sing.), ENKUS (Acc. Sing.) for \*ENKUSA, ŠATE (Acc. Sing.) for \*ŠATA, KHATIV for GADIU (Acc. Pl.). If these forms must be considered formal nominatives, than the -u is lost, too. If this does not represent a very late stage of Babylonian, than it must be a specialty that was developed only after the arrival of the Raeti in Central Europe (cf. the parallel development of the Acc. noun ending in vulgar Latin: -UM > -U > -o/ø (f. ex. Latin FERRUM “iron” > Italian ferro, but Retorom. fier, etc.).

In the declension of the nouns, we have both in the Raet. inscriptions and in the place names exclusively Gen. forms in -i (several dozens of examples). The Gen. ending was in Old Babylon. -im and only from Middle Babylon. on -i (while Assy. had -e), cf. Ungnad/Matouš, pp. 137s.

In Raetic, each vowel at the end of a word could get to e and finally disappear: ALE “my goddess” (PID 228; BT, p. 55) for ALI (Mancini 107; BT, p. 59), EPELIE “ropes (Acc. Pl.)” for \*EPELIU (Bravi 93; BT, p. 65), AKHVE “flood” for \*AKHVA (Mancini 110; BT, p. 60), EKER “wages” für \*EKERA (Bravi 201; BT, p. 65), LAVISE “enjoy (Imp. 2. Pl. m.)” für \*LAVISŪ, ETINU “I give”, younger ETINE. Since these developments start in early New Babylonian (cf. Ungnad/Matouš, p. 6 and Hyatt 1941), Raetic must again be either a late form of Babylonian or this development (a process to observe generally in many languages) happened only outside of Mesopotamia.

Sometimes, in Raet. a vowel is dropped even at the end of a sentence. The reason must be the jumping of the accent to a syllable back in the word, similar like in Hebrew: LATURU SIPIANU SAPANIN[U] (PID 197; BT, p. 58), KHELIVAI TINAK[E] (Bravi 92; BT, p. 60), SAKATI ESTA ŠATE PHAKAT[I] (Bravi 252; BT, p. 57). Towards initial intonation in Raetic also the following examples point: APNU “let get rotten” to Arab. ‘afina “to get rotten, to decay” (Bravi 85; BT, p. 60); ELVA “god” = Hebr. elōah “id.” (Mancini 110; BT, p. 60); LA SBABI “don’t dry out” to Akk. šabābu “to dry out” (Bravi 83; BT, p. 58); LA SPATIANU “don’t seize us” to Akk. sabātu “to seize” (Bravi 97; BT, p. 65); KARAPA ŠNA “stop the leprosy” to Akk. šanā’u “to block, to stop” (Bravi 96; BT, p. 61); REITU ŠNU “Ritu, let it rain” to Akk. šanū “to rinse off” (Bravi 87; Brunner, in: *Helvetia Archaeologica* 16-1985, p. 66); PNAKE “I have turned myself” to Hebr. pānāh “to turn o.s. towards s.o.” (PID 196; BT, p. 61); KNUSE “gather!” to Hebr. kānas “to assemble” (same syncope in “Knesseth”) (PID 238; Brunner, in: *Bündner Monatsblatt* 7/8-1982, p. 163). Since this Raet. specialty has no parallels neither in Akk. nor in a non-Sem. neighboring language, it must be due to contact with Hebr. or other Western Sem. languages close to Hebrew.

The most remarkable phenomenon we find in Raet. is the ending of the Acc. Dual in -ai (f. ex. KHELIVAI “the two white horses”, TARNAI “the two lands”), where Akk.

has -ē(n), but Arab. has -aini. The Raet. ending therefore looks like a shortening of the Arab. one. This can only be scheduled to a time, where Raet. was under influence of Arab. or of another Sem. language under influence of Arabic.

Also due to Arab. influence must be the prefix-suffix conjugation of the Pres./Imperf. of the verb, where Raet. shows e-/Ø ... -u and Arab. a- ... -u, while Akk. has i-.

To sum up: Raet. is without any doubt a late form of Babylon., but the hints that point toward New or even Young Babylon. are not convincing, since these phenomena could also be developments that happened outside of Mesopotamia under influence of neighboring Sem. and non-Sem. languages. The linguistic facts point, however, to a later form of Middle Babylon. that is normally dated between 1500 and 1100 B.C. (Unghnad/Matouš, pp. 4ss.).

And with this time frame we have now also the possibilities to explain the reasons of the emigration of the Raeti: About 1270 B.C., the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I overpowered Babylonia. In an Akk. inscription we read: “(Tukulti-Ninurta I) returned to Babylon and (...) they drew nigh. He destroyed the walls of Babylon and the men of Babylon he slew with the sword (...). For seven years Tukulti-Ninurta rule over Kar-Duniash. Afterwards the nobles of Akkad and of Kar-Duniash revolted, and they sat Adad-shum-ušur upon his father’s throne. Against Tukulti-Ninurta, who had brought evil upon Babylon, Ashur-našir-pal, his son, and the nobles of Assyria revolted, and from his throne they cast him in a house in the city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, and they slew him with the sword” (King 1904, p. 99). The “Chronicle of Tukulti-Ninurta I” is also the only extant Assyrian epic (cf. Glassner 2004). The very small fragment that is conserved, describes the war between the King and the Babylonian ruler Kaštiliašu which culminated in the capture of Babylon.

It is also known that Tukulti-Ninurta deported people on a large scale from Babylonia to Assyria, i.e. from the South of Mesopotamia to the North. The main reason may have been the king’s interest in traffic and commerce, and since the Babylonians engaged in regular trade and influence with Western city-states, he put Assyrians in the former Babylonian key-positions. The Babylonians had even established Amorite colonists for the purposed of trade (cf. Wikipedia, s.v. Babylonia). The Amorites, like the Aramaeans that will be mentioned in a short time, were obviously an important Western Semitic adstrate for Akkadian and Raetic. Before the conquering of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Kassites ruled almost half a millennium over Babylon, and their non-Semitic language was thus also a linguistic adstrate to Akkadian and Raetic.

Already before the short time of rule of King Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Aramaeans and Amorites, coming from the Arabic area in Northern Africa, wandered into Mesopotamia: “This movement began at about the same time as several other migrations in the ancient Near East; one may think of the Sea Peoples, of whom the Philistines were part, moving out of Anatolia into Palestine, and the Hebrews into Canaan, the ‘land of milk and honey’. It seems likely that a major factor in setting the Aramaean and other migrations under way was climatic change. Textual, climatological and archaeological lines of evidence all lead to this conclusion. Ancient documents allude to crop failure and famine from about 1200 B.C., which point to the onset of a



drier period in the Near East (...). The Aramaean migration was certainly under way before 1200 B.C. and may have started a century or more earlier (...). The Aramaean immigrations also caused problems in some Babylonian cities (...). Here pressures were so severe just before 1000 B.C. that food shortages made it necessary to discontinue the regular temple-offerings. Babylon and Borsippa were also badly affected (...). The fact that this was impossible (for the king to escort the Babylonian gods inside of the city walls, A.T.) shows either that the Aramaeans were such an immediate threat in the outskirts of the city that it was not safe to emerge, or, as the phrase ‘the king could not come up to Babylon’ seems to suggest, that the general insecurity had led Nabu-mukin-apli to reside elsewhere than in Babylon (...). Aramaeans must still have been causing problems around Babylon and Borsippa nearly two hundred years after Nabu-mukin-apli, for a chronicle records that as late as about 700 B.C. King Eriba-Marduk drove out Aramaeans and restored the rightful owners fields and orchards they had taken from the people of those cities. It was not only the cities that suffered. In the countryside the arrival of Aramaeans following a semi-nomadic way of life based on animal husbandry must have brought competition for land use with agriculturalists. Farmers could also feel that their lives were at risk when working in the open country, and this would discourage the maintenance of irrigation canals, on which agriculture depended. The threat to personal security from immigrant semi-nomads was a very real problem, for as late as the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. we find an Assyrian king referring to Aramaeans and an allied group, the Suteans, as ‘dwellers in tents, fugitives, thieves, robbers’” (Saggs 1995, pp. 129ss.).

We can now sum up again: The Raetic language is late Middle-Babylonian or a late Middle Babylonian dialect. The two basic reasons for the emigrations of the Raeti out of Babylonia were: First, the conquering of Babylonia by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I and one of the first big deportation waves in history. Second, the intrusion of Amorites and most of all Aramaeans and the very severe problems that their presence caused in Mesopotamia. The time of the Raetic exodus is therefore the 13<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and thus the time of the Sea People. Since the Raeti must have used Greek ships to cross the Mediterranean, as was already stated by Professor Brunner because of the Raeti’s worship of the Greek god Kastor (L. Brunner, unpubl. manuscript), they may have taken the route through the Syrian desert to the shores of the Mediterranean and there joined Greek ships involved in the Sea Storms. The few words of Indo-European origin in Raetic, but most of all the fact that the Venetians (an Illyrian tribe) took over the worship of the Raetic goddesses Ritu and Estu from the Raeti, leads us to the conclusion that the Raeti reached Italy at the Adriatic coast not too far away from Trieste or Aquileia (the city’s name shining up a few times in Raet. inscriptions). If the Raeti stayed together with the Venetians, we do not know, but by the Venetians they were expelled farther to the foothills of the Alps and into the inner-Alpine valleys and from there even further down the Rhine valley and up to the Swabic-Bavarian highlands (cf. Ziegl and Rix 1998).

#### **4. The so-called “Mediterranean alphabets” and their origin**

An argument just recently again raised for the alleged autochthony of the Raeti in Central Europe is their writing which is named mistakenly “Northern Etruscan Alphabets”; cf. Risch 1984, p. 24 with synoptic table, where a connection between Raetic, Lepontic, Venetic, Etruscan, Old Latin, Western and Eastern Greek is suggested. That the Raeti had contact with the Indo-European Venetians is testified, as we have already seen, not only by the few IE words in Raetic inscription (f. ex. PID 215; BT, pp. 63s.), but also by the fact that the Venetian took over the cult of the Raetic goddess Ritu from the Raeti. Therefore, the question is: Did the Raeti learn their writing from the Venetians or the Venetians from the Raeti, or did one or did both of these peoples take over their writing directly from the Etruscans? According to Nothdurfter “it is more likely to consider the Etruscans than the Venetians the mediators of the Western Greek alphabets” (1992, S. 54). Rix, however, claims (without arguments): “The writing-owning people, with whom the Raeti had the closest contact around 500 B.C. were the Venetians, and from them they took over their writing” (1998, S. 49).

Rix’ assertion implies that the Raeti were a wild and uncultivated people, and therefore had to learn their writing form the more cultivated Indo-European Venetians. This is a typical pre-fascist idea from the 19<sup>th</sup> century still omnipresent in today’s IE studies. But as we have already seen in the chapter about the antique testimonies of the Raeti, such an assumption belongs to the typical Roman antipropaganda with the only purpose of warmongering. The final proof has been delivered recently through excavations of the Institute of Prehistory and Early History of the University of Innsbruck: “Such very well built houses and the vessels that were found inside make it clear that we do not deal here with wild peoples, like propagandistically tinted Roman history wanted us to believe, but rather with a society that had reached the niveau of civilisation and culture that corresponded approximately to the niveau of the lower village nobles in a pre-industrial time” (“Grabungen an einer eisenzeitlichen Siedlung am Pirchboden bei Fritzens, 6.-1. Jh. v. Chr.”, [http://ufg.uibk.at/projekte/proj\\_99\\_15.htm](http://ufg.uibk.at/projekte/proj_99_15.htm)).

Already Professor Brunner supposed that the known assertion in Livy V 33, 11 that the Raeti were linguistically spoiled Etruscans, goes back to the confusion of writing and language, since the Raeti used a variation of script that was used by the Etruscans, too, which is also the reason for the misleading name “Northern Etruscan Alphabets” (BT, p. 51). Since the Venetians took over a part of the Raetic cult, it lies on the hand to assume that they also learned their writing from the Raeti, and that the Raeti either learned their writing directly from the Etruscans or took it over independently from a similar source like the Etruscans did.

In his contribution to the already mentioned proceedings of the Etruscan-Congress at Castle Neuwaldegg in Vienna, Rix proved what was already proved since at least one hundred years, namely that the Germanic runes, that are very similar to the Etruscan alphabets, cannot be considered autochthonous creations but that the Germanics “took over all or most of their runes from one (or more than one) alphabet that was in use in the Mediterranean area and went back directly or indirectly to the Greek alphabet” (1992, pp. 411s.). One wonders, how this could have happened, since the Germanics were far away from the Greeks, and between the Germanics and the Etruscans, there

was the land of the Raeti with whom they had even direct contacts since the Raeti settled also in Southern Germany. Since the Germanic runes are not original, it is not astonishing that the oldest Germanic runic inscription stands on a lance from about only 180 A.D. from Øvre Stabu (Rix 1992, p. 413). But nevertheless Rix asserts that the runes – the Mediterranean including the “Northern Etruscan” as well as the Germanics – have their origin in the area of the Aegean Sea.

But everybody who ever heard something about Hungarian history, knows the Hungarian Székely runes, Hung. Székelyi rovásírás, literally: “carve-writing”, whereby the word rovás “writing” is a deverbative to róni “to carve”, that is without doubt the origin of the English word “rune” (German “Rune”). (Like “Raeti”, the word “rune” has no generally accepted IE etymology, either!) Who is dealing therefore with the history of the runes, must not stop with the Greek alphabets, since there is urgent suspect that these did not originate in the Aegean area.

After the Hungarian archeologist Zsófia von Torma already in 1876 had made excavations in the former Hungarian and since 1920 Rumanian Maros-area, in 1961, the Rumanian archeologist Nicolae Vlassa found closeby, in Tatárlaka (Rum. Tărtăria) the so-called Tartaria Tablets on which a writing is recognisable that corresponds partly with the Székely rovásírás and is partly pictographic. By aid of the C14-method, they Tatárlaka Tablets were dated to 5000-5500 B.C. (Badiny 2001, p. 186) and are therefore 2000 years older than the oldest Sumerian writings (Glassner 2003, p. 49). Since the Sumerian cuneiform writing, too, originated in a pictographic script (Meissner and Oberhuber 1967, p. 18; Glassner 2003, p. 49), many researchers are nowadays of the opinion, that this pictographical writing was brought from the carriers of the Jemdet-Nasr-culture (around 3100-2900 B.C.) from Transylvania to Mesopotamia (Vlassa 1963, p. 494). It was also Vlassa who pointed to astonishing parallels between the carriers of the Tordos/Turdaş-culture and the Sumerian Uruk-Warka IV- (ca. 3500-3200 B.C.) as well as the Jemdet-Nasr-cultures (1963, pp. 491 and 493). Vlassa also used the tables and descriptions already made by pioneer Zsófia von Torma in her 1894 book “Ethnographische Analogieen” (“Ethnographical Analogies”). Finally, in 1976, the world-famous French orientalist René Labat and the Hungarian theologian and orientalist András Zakar proved sign by sign the exact correspondences between the pre-Mesopotamian Tatárlaka-writing and the Székely-runes.

From these results we get the following history of origin of the so-called “Northern-Etruscan Alphabets”: Around 5000-5500 B.C. in Transylvania a pictorial-runic script was developed. As a pure runic writing it is still in use by the Székely people who are the successors of the Huns. The often heard argument that we have no ancient testifications of the Székely runes lies in the simple fact that since the election of Stephen as king of Hungary in 1000, all pagan customs were forbidden and punished with death. Since the old runic writing was mainly used for cultic purposes, it had to disappear together with the cults, so that it got back in use as late as in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when Hungary was tripartite after the battle of Mohács (1526) and the Székely land Transylvania relatively independent from the rest of the land.

The Transylvanian pictorial-runic script was brought by the ancestors of the Sumerians between 3500 and 3000 to Mesopotamia and was developed there into the

Sumerian cuneiform writing that must have contained around 600 signs (Borger 2004). Later, the cuneiform got much simplified: the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet that was in use between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. contained only 30 letters (Troppner 2002, pp. 5ss.). The question is: Why is the original runic alphabet still in use while the cuneiform is extinct? The easiest explication would be that the runic alphabet was developed from the cuneiform writing, but this is not true, since, as we have seen, the runic writing is millennia older. On the other side, the Székely runes cannot be a relatively recent invention, since this script is most closely related to the Old Turkish Orkhon writing (testified since the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), the Hunnic writing (testified since the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.) and the Avar writing (testified since the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), and it was already the Czech-Hungarian humanist János Dernschwam (1494-1567?) who detected the strong resemblance between the Turkish and the Hungarians runes when he traveled in 1553-1555 to Istanbul (cf. Babinger 1923). Therefore, the only conclusion is that the original runic-pictographic script was developedd paralely to the cuneiform writing into a purely runic script that was much handier than the cuneiform writing, but was obviously not used for official documents, but only for private notes. As a matter of fact, most of the cuneiform texts that are extant are official documents, carved into soft clay, burnt and so conserved for later generations, while the runic writing was suitable mainly for wood, bone and stagshorn and therefore not as lasting like the clay tablets.

Our time frame alone excludes a Phenician origin of the Greek alphabets (considered to be the “fore-fathers” of the Etruscan and Germanic runes), since the Hungarian runes date back as far as into the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C. where they were no Phenicians and especially not in Transylvania. Is there therefore a further proof for our hypothesis of a Hungarian origin of the Greek and thus also the Phenician alphabets? There is a very strong one: The Orkhon “alphabet” contains 38 signs, but the Phenician alphabet only 22, and already Emre (1936) had pointed out that it is easier to explain that a certain people let away some signs (because they did not correspond to certain sounds in their language) than to assume that a people that obviously was not able to create its own writing was on the other side capable of invention lacking sings: “Il serait illogique d’accorder et de nier à la fois la même qualité à un peuple” (Emre 1936, p. 10). Since the relationship between the Orkhon and the Hungarian writings is proved, the Phenician alphabet and their derivatives, amongst them the Greek alphabets, must be younger. With that we have also proved that the Hungarian (Székely) runes are not a fake, since their contuity is guaranteed between 5500 B.C. up to now by the Sumerians and their successor people, mainly the Hungarians, but also the Hun, the Avars and other peoples.

Since Alinei has very recently finally proved that the Etruscans are Hungarians (Alinei 2003, 2005) – a hypothesis that goes back to at least 1875 when the British Father Isaac Taylor showed strong parallels between Etruscan and Hungarian, and the successive works, mostly Padányi 1964, Bobula 1966, Götz 1984ss. (amongst many other works) -, it is clear that the Etruscans brought their writing directly from their ancestors of Mesopotamia. But we also know form Etruscan traces in Lydian and Lycian that the Etruscan-Hungarians stayed quite a while in the Greek archipelago, so obviously the Greeks took over their writing from the Etruscan-Hungarians and not opposite. Further, since Badiny (1974, p. 294) states that Babylonians had left their homeland very early (i.e.

long before the conquering of Tukulti-Ninurta I in the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) together with Sumerians, it follows, that obviously the Raeti who were Babylonians, took over their script already in Mesopotamia from the Sumerians a part of which became the later Etruscans. Herewith we also know the important fact that the Sumerians, the ancestors of the Hungarians, and the Babylonians, the ancestors of the Raeti, had intense contacts with one another in their common old homeland.

To summarize it up: The Raetic and the Etruscan writing have the same origin: It is a runic writing that has been developed in Mesopotamia and originates in a pictorial-runic writing from Transylvania going back at least to 5500-5000 B.C. We already know that the Raeti left their homeland in the 13<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. in order to arrive in Northern Italy in the area of Trieste. During the same time of the Sea People also the Sumerians who were to become the Etruscans left their homeland that was also Mesopotamia, in order to reach Italy probably in the South, since we have Etruscan (but not Raetic) traces in Sicily. The Greeks took their writing from the Etruscans during their staying in the Aegean Sea. Since the Greek had a very vivid trade with the Phoenicians who were the leading shippers at that time, the Phoenicians must have taken over their writing that got the basis for all later Semitic scripts from the Greeks or directly from the Etruscans. So, the Raeti did not learn their writing from the Etruscan, but both people used the same type of writing. Therefore, if one compares the common signs of the Etruscan, Raetic, Old Turkish, Hunnic, Avaric, Székely and Germanic writing, the biggest differences are not the shapes of the runes but their sound values, and this is due to the fact, that all these languages have different phonological systems, thus not astonishing at all. From the Raeti the other Northern Italian people who settled there long before the Raeti arrived, learned how to write, f. ex. the Celtic Leponitans, the Illyrian Venetians and probably some minor people. And since the Raeti settled in the North to the Swabian-Bavarian high-plane, therefore standing during centuries in direct contact with the Germanics, it lies on the hand that the Germanics took over their runic “alphabets” directly from the Raeti, too.

In writing this, I just got, thanks to my collaborator Dr. Irmgard Pult, an article by Professor Philippe Della Casa of the Institute of Prehistory and Early History of the University of Zurich into my hands. In this article, Professor Della Casa states about the idol-stones of Wartau in the St. Gallen Rhine valley (a few of them containing Raetic inscriptions, cf. f. ex. BT, p. 58): “Established trans-Alpine contacts and exchanges are noticeable in the Copper Age; in particular, through the distribution of raw materials and specific finished products such as bifacial (‘Remedellian’) flint daggers. Flint daggers of South Alpine origin are known from several places north of the Alps (...). One fragment is also reported from Wartau in the Swiss Rhine Valley, the most important connection route to the central Alpine passes. This multi-period site was settled during the Copper Age Horgen phase (3300-3000 B.C.) for specific economic purposes such as the working of silex, serpentinite and deer antler” (Della Casa 2005, p. 225).

The age of these idol stones is thus identical with the Sumerian Uruk-Warka IV- (ca. 3500-3200 B.C.) and the Jemdet-Nasr-Culture (ca. 3100-2900 B.C.) from which we knew that their carriers brought their writing to Mesopotamia. The Wartau veterinarian Dr. Kaspar Gabathuler sent me 2001 photographs from many idolstones that he found, all

of them carrying Raetic inscriptions and some even more archaic pictures. The writing is clearly a variation of the “Northern Etruscan Alphabet”. Now, it often happens that inscriptions were written to all times on bones, vases, rocks etc. In this cases, the age of the object is not necessarily identical with the age of the writing. But it is very different with the Wartau idolstones and their Raetic inscriptions, because these idolstones, the biggest part of which are theriomorphics, have been purposely shaped by men’s hands in order to carry an inscription whose content corresponds with the shape of the stone (here the method of internal combination applies). So we read f. ex. on such an idolstone the inscription deciphered by Professor Brunner (BT, p. 58): ETU KHAT “I give a kid (= little goat)”. In all these cases we have simply no choice then to conclude that the age of the inscriptions coincides with the age of the stones that were dated by Della Casa to 3300-3000 B.C. and thus to the same time when the first writings started to appear far away from Wartau – in Transylvania. Otherwise, we would have to assume that an unknown people I shaped rocks into idolstones (not an easy labor considering the tools then) and that centuries later an also unknown people II (most likely not identical with people I) engraved inscriptions in this idolstones. Such an assumption that has no parallels in any culture on the world is nothing but nonsense.

In other words: From the findings of the Wartau idolstones and their dating it follows, that there were already Raeti in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. in the St. Gallen Rhine Valley and that these Raeti already possessed a writing that is almost identical with the writing on the other Raetic inscriptions that date much later, between the 8<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C. But on the other side, we have already proved that Raetic is late Middle Babylonian, i.e. the people who left us the big part of the Raetic inscriptions did not leave Mesopotamia before the 13<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. So, the only possible conclusion is that there was another, much earlier, emigration of the Raeti into the St. Galler Rhine Valley (and probably into the Canton of Wallis, in the so-called “Hun Valley”, the Val d’Anniviers/Eifischtal, cf. Fischer 1896, Kiszely 2000). But this, however, presupposes that there were Akkadians before the 26<sup>th</sup> century in Mesopotamia! Perhaps they were precursors of the later invasors who were chased out by the Sumerians and found refuge in the climatological suitable Wartau area that lay, as Della Casa wrote, on the “most important connection route to the central Alpine passes” (2005, p. 225).

It is thus not to exclude, that the much later Raeti who expanded until the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. along the Rhine Valley down to today’s Southern Germany, followed the traces of their ancestors. We have already shown earlier in this chapter that Wartau was an area, where the Raetic language may have survived until the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. For the latter assumption speak also the so-called double names or translated names that will be mentioned in the Raetic place name glossary in this book. Amongst them, we find to types: Names whose one part is Raetic and whose other part is either Retoromance oder German. An example for the first case is Tit Arschiglias (field at Feldis in the Grisons), whose first Raetic part is connected with Hebrew אֶרֶץ “clay” and whose second part Retorom. arschiglia means also “clay”. So, this place name can only originate from a bilingual Raetic-Retoromance time. An example for the second case is Vanistein (mountain at Chur in the Grisons), whose first part is Akk. abnu, Hebr. eben “stone, rock” and whose second part is the same in German. Hence, this place name must

originate from a bilingual Raetic-German time. Both examples confirm no earlier time than the already supposed 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D, so that we must have had in the Grisons and in parts of the Rhine Valley (and perhaps also in Tyrol and in Southern Germany) a trilingualism Raetic, Retoromance and German.

## 5. Sidelights of the Raetic pantheon

### 1. Ritu and Estu

Professor Linus Brunner began his outstanding introduction into the Raetic pantheon with the following words (translation by me): “Allegedly there was a Raetic goddess Reitia; she is supposed to have been adopted from the Venetians. But Reitia is the oldest Akkadian Form for ‘my shepherdess’, from *rē’ītu* ‘shepherdess’; in Akkadian the word is also used for goddesses” (Brunner and Toth, p. 54). Even if it is true, that the Venetians worshipped a Reitia (at least in the area, where the so-called Este-Baratela inscriptions were found, cf. Lejeune 1974, pp. 328s.), the name Reitia has no Indoeuropean etymology. Therefore, Professor Brunner concluded, that not the Raeti adopted the name of their goddess from the Venetians, but the Venetians adopted it from the Raeti (L. Br., pers. comm.). This will be proven herewith.

Akk. *rē’ītu* ‘shepherdess’ is a derivation from Akk. *rē’ū* “shepherd”, that belongs itself to Akk. *re’ū* “to graze” and is common-Semitic (cf. Gesenius, p. 765, s.v. **רָעַר**). But let us now have a look at the “Basic Word Lists of Ancient Languages of the Near East”, that Professor Václav Blažek published in 1997. He worked with the so-called Swadesh-list of the 100 basic words that are supposed to be common in most of the languages of the world. Blažek compared Sumerian (including Emesal), Akkadian, Elamite, Kassite, Hurrian, Urartian, and Hattic.

No. 100 of the Swadesh-List is the word for “woman”. And here are Blažek’s results:

Sumerian:	nunus (is continued in Hungarian nő “woman”)
Akkadian:	sinnistu
Elamite:	rutu, ritu, irtu (with ablaut and metathesis)
Kassite:	—
Hurrian:	aste, asti
Urartian:	lutu (with lambdazism)

We can see immediately, that the common word for “woman” was in Elamite and in Urartian the same word Ritu, who’s name doesn’t show up in the Akkadian entry only because there it had already undergone the semantic change “woman” > “shepherdess”. Now, given the fact, that Raetic was very close to Akkadian (Brunner and Toth, pp. 46ss.) and also given the fact, that the root of the word Ritu is undoubtedly common-Semitic, it follows, that Elamite and Urartian (which are genetically not related to Semitic) must have adopted the word for “woman” from Akkadian. The reason is the power of the reign of the Akkadians over Mesopotamia after the defeat of the Sumerians



and some minor people. The Raeti obviously must have adopted the word of their main goddess from the Akkadians after the semantical change “woman” > “shepherdess”.

But if we have now a look to Hurrian (Hurritic), we find *aste*, *asti*, which corresponds to the second important Raetic goddess *Estu* (cf. Brunner and Toth, pp. 57ss.). For her name, we don't find an Akk., but an Ugaritic root: *št* “mistress, ruler” (Brunner and Toth, p. 57). If this name is related to the name of the Akk. goddess *Ištar*, the equivalent of the Sum. *Inanna*, is not clear, but her description as strong and violent seems to correspond with what we know from the Raet. goddess *Estu*. So, we have perhaps Akk. *Išt-ar* ~ Raet. *Estu* ~ Ugar. *št*. One should not forget to mention either that in the highly fragmentary Kassite word list, there is a word *išti*, for which Jaritz (1957, p. 874) stated: “meaning and character unknown”. Remember also the fact that the city *Este* in Italy lies in the area, where formerly the Venetians settled, who have taken over the name of their goddess *Reitia* from the Raeti! As the names of this and other cities prove (e.g. *Trieste* < *Terg-este*), the Venetians must have taken over the worship not only of *Ritu*, but of *Estu* from the Raeti, too.

## 2. The women from Fanes

In the heart of the Dolomites, between Val Badia and Cortina d'Ampezzo, the mythological landscape of the empire of Fanes plays an important role. The South Tyrolian journalist and ethnologist Karl Felix Wolff (1879-1966) published parts of this legend cycle in “*Dolomitensagen*” (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1913, 12<sup>th</sup> ed. 1969), but he was uncritical, misunderstood them partly and added generously according to his poetical inspiration. What was original in the mythology of Fanes was prepared only 1983/1997 by Ulrike Kindl in two carefully researched volumes. In a special booklet she dealt with the Fanes-cycle together with the late Anita Pichler (Pichler und Vallazza 1992), whose names we will analyze in the following by aid of Raetic.

The name Fanes goes back according to Professor Brunner to Akk. *abnu*, Hebr. *eben* “stone, rock”, the area is described by Wolff as a rocky area covered with scree (Brunner 1985a) and has thus the same etymology like the place name *Fanas* (1447 *Vanaus*) in the Grisons, whose etymology is uncertain according to RN II, p. 685. Mostly in the Grisons we find more successors of the Sem. word, written partly with V-, W-, or F-, e. g. the *Vanistein* at Chur and the *Sesvenna* at Scuol, both double names (hybrid composita), to Akk. *abnu* “stone, rock” and German “*Stein*” = “stone” and Latin *saxus* “id.”, respectively (BT, p. 80). To here belongs also the name of the South Tyrolian *Wanna* mountains (Brunner 1985a).

The people of the Fanes is describes as dwarfs, and therefore one may ask, if behind this idea the Raeti survive, who were – like all Semitic people – in the average smaller than the Indo-Europeans. That the Fanes are a pre-Christian people follows also from the fact that “dwarf cannot stand the sound of holy bells” (Kindl 1992, p. 219). Over the empire of the Fanes rules King *Laurin* whose Ladin. name is “*Re de Njès*” (f. ex. Kindl 1992, p. 233). This name probably goes back to Akk. *nesū* “to go away, to get invisible”,

for Laurin “possessed a camouflage-hat with which he was able to turn invisible” (Kindl 1992, p. 203). About his German name Brunner supposed: “Perhaps he was called like that by the Romans because he wore a laurel” (Brunner 1985c).

Laurin’s Rose-garden probably has originally nothing to do with roses, but comes from Hebr. *rāsas* “to break off”, namely from stones or ice that were broken off, since it builds the base of Pre-Roman \**rosa* “glacier; earth-avalanche”, survives in the Grisons in the place name La Rōsa, where on 1965m (ca. 6000 feet) in the area of the Bernina glacier there were surely never roses, and in the names Piz Rosatsch and Val Roseg, whose endings fit exactly to the ending of Catin-accio, the italianizing “translation” of the Rose-garden. Also the fact, that the Rose-garden lies “ze Tīrol’ (in Tyrol), i.e. nearby Meran, close to the main fortress that gave the land Tyrol its name” (Kindl 1992, p. 202), is hardly due to chance, since Tyrol, in Dante still called Tīralli, ist Raet. \*Tīrat alī “village of the goddess”, from Hebr. *ṭīrāh* “village”, before a Gen. *ṭīrat* (status constructus) and Raet. *alī* “of the goddess”. \*Tīrat alī may have developed first to \*Tīratli and then to Tīralli (BT, p. 71). Also the Karersee that lies nearby the Rose-garden, has a Raet. name: to Arab. *qarr* “cold”, hence “cold see” (Brunner 1985b).

In the whole Fanes cycle the marmots play a central role, “at least one speaks always about mysterious connections between them and the Fanes people” (Pichler 1992, p. 96). “When the Fanes people under the influence of a foreign king turn away from the marmots and bring war to their neighboring people, the empire earns shortly great honor, but then crashes wholly down” (Pichler 1992, p. 101). Now the name of the marmot, German Marmel-Tier is according to Bächtold-Stäubli (vol. VI, 1934/35, cols. 630ss.) Raetic. In both the English and the German name there is Akk. *marū* “fat”.

Tanna (Pichler 1992, pp. 97s.) is the queen of the Croderes in the area of the Marmarole. For romanists, its etymology is dark, but we can trace it back to Arab. *ṭanna* “to sound, to echo”. Therefore it seems that Tanna had in the Dolomites the same role like Silvretta in the Grisons, whose etymology goes back to Akk. *ṣabāru* “to twitter, to chirp” and finally to the Babylonian sorceress *ṣabburītu* (BT, pp. 77s.). It is interesting that Tanna lies down her crown because of love to the prince of Aquileia and herewith loses her might over the Croderes. In this we have to see a symbolic act meaning that herewith paganism was substituted by Christianity, since the Eastern Dolomites have been christianized from Aquileia.

About the Samblana (etymology unknown, cf. Pichler 1992, pp. 98s.) we hear that she is a winter goddess. Her name may be traced back to Arab. *ṣaml* “rigidity, stiffness” + Latin *-āna* (the nexus *-ml-* gets to *-mbl-* like in Latin *similiare* > franz. *sembler* “to seem”).

In the name of Molta Pichler (1992, p. 99) assumes, yet without further indications, an etymon with the meaning “the rich one, the abundant one”. We can thus assume here Akk. *malītu* “fulfilled, full” with presupposed retiring of the accent onto the antepaenultima and syncope of the vowels of the middle syllable, all phenomena which we meet in the Raetic inscriptions.

Moltina, Molta’s daughter, “is the real tribe-mother of the Fanes people and the founder of the Fanes empire” (Pichler 1992, p. 100). We have here the same etymon like in Molta + Latin diminutive suffix *-īna*.

About Kelina (cf. Pichler 1992, pp. 102ss.) people say that she is the “eagle-girl” and therefore Latin *aquila* “eagle” was proposed as etymology. Yet, one has the suspect that here in the opposite the etymon was first and the attribute of the goddess second, since “the main motive of the story is the fairytale-typical sequence of the hidden bride whose existence must not be told for a certain time (or never)” (Pichler 1992, p. 102). Moreover, Kelina’s name has a side form Kenina that does not fit to Latin *aquila*. Therefore, one will perhaps not fail to assume as etymon Arab. *kanna* “to be hidden” + Latin *-īna*. On the other side, Kelina/Kenina is described as “mighty mistress of the mountains, ruler over season, wind and wheater” (Pichler 1992, p. 102), so that we can also assume as etymon Arab. *kalla* “to crown” and its derivation *’iklīl* “crown, diademe”.

To Dindia, also called Dona Dindia, the authors writes: “The etymon of ‘Dindia’ is controversial. On the one side, the name in this form is already testified in old Roman inscriptions that stand under Etruscan influence, on the other side one could also think of a name of origin: d’India, contracted from di/da Intica, the old name of Innichen” (Pichler 1992, p. 104). Dindia is again “an old, mighty founder. She is considered in the tradition as mistress of Miliera, the legendary prehistoric Cortina that was crushed by a rock-avalanche” (Pichler 1992, p. 104). But it is not clear, why these founder of Miliera should have her name of Innichen/San Candido. We can, however, bring her name back to Akk. *dandannu* “mighty, omnipotent”, probably with later influence by association to “India” in the sense of a land that is far away.

Also the last mentioned name of “Ur-Cortina” (prehistoric Cortina), Miliera, has probably a Sem. etymology, the more since it is known that Semitic metallurgists brought their knowledge about Copper and Oar exploitation already in the Neolithic to Central Europe. One should not forget either that the name of Dindia’s husband is Zan de Rame, thus the “Copper John” (Pichler 1992, p. 104)! As etymology we therefore propose Akk. *malū* “abundance, quantity” + *erū* “copper”. Finally, in the Northwest of Cortina rise the “Drei Zinnen” (“Three Pinnacles”), the Tofane, whose name according to Brunner (1985a) comes from Akk. *tabû* “to rise (mountain)” + Latin suffix *-ānu*.

Furthermore, so Pichler (1992, p. 104) underlines, Dindia shows “traces of the so-called ‘mistress of the animals’” (cf. f. ex. the figure in Gleirscher 1993, p. 82), what reminds us of Venetian Reitia-pictures. Since the Venetians took over their Ritu and Estu cult from the Raeti, also the name of a village close to Cortina d’Ampezzo – Merisana < \*Madrīsana (RN II, p. 740) and the goddess Merisana herself, mentioned by Pichler (1992, p. 106), will not be by chance, since this name goes back to Latin *mater* “mother” + rät. *ritia* + lat. *-āna*, whereby *ritia* developed via \**ridja* to *risa* like Latin *media* to Retorom. *mesa* (BT, p. 55). That the cult of the St. Margarete took over the pagan Ritu cult fits also to the conclusion of Pichler (1992, p. 104): “Dindia is probably nothing else but a further variation of the great deities of origin and of the mountains: in their hands lies the fate of the elements and of the humans”.

Delba, also called Elba (Pichler 1992, pp. 105s.), is normally put to Latin *albus* “white”. To that fits too, that she drives “at noon in the summer on a silvery shining lake” (Pichler 1992, p. 105), although the “a” should not be palatalized to “e”, but perhaps we have here – similar to the case of Dindia – an influence of the Island of Elba. Delba, however, originated from a “mysterious empire of the sun” (Pichler 1992,

p. 105), where we alternatively think of Raet. \*aluw “hight, hill” (BT, p. 97), which etymon survives f. ex. in the name of the Albula pass. The idea that gods live on mountains is, as is known, already paleolithic. For the area of the Dolomites cf. as parallel the name of the Akk. god of the heaven Annu in the name of the Anauni, the Raetic tribe who settled in the Nonsberg (Anauni > \*Anoni and from here Val di Non, Nonsberg, nònese und artificially anaunico with restored diphthong), cf. BT, p. 69.

Informative is also that for the husband of Delba/Elba who entered with her a so-called “Mahrten-Ehe” (a marriage between a human and a goddess) after the return of his wife there is nothing left “but the capacity of the art of singing” which he had learned from his wife, since he, “the once tough fellow, from now on complains in splendid songs” (Pichler 1992, p. 115). This reminds us, of course, of the goddesses Tanna and Silvretta: pre-Christian goddesses and gods reveal themselves through enchanting melodies.

Furthermore, typologically the figure of Delba belongs to the connection of water and sunlight, to which, as Pichler (1992, p. 106) mentions, also belong the Mjanines (“unknown etymon”). As etymology we may present here Arab. ma‘in “fountain” + Latin -īnu. For the same semantic field cf. the Anganes, Anguanes, Vivanes etc. from Latin aquana to aqua “water”.

Delbolina (Pichler 1992, p. 106f.). Same etymology as for Delba with double diminutive suffix.

Somawida is “according to Wolff the mistress of the ‘Aurona’ [etymological meaning: empire of the gold, goldland], of an empire underneath the earth with invaluable wealth. This legendary treasure-hollow is localized in the Padon mountains in the West of Cortina” (Pichler 1992, p. 107), therefore again close to Merisana, a place that goes back to the Raetic main goddess Ritu. Somawida, a totally un-Roman name, can be traced back to Arab. samā “to be sublime” or to Arab. samā’ “heaven” + wadā’a “gentleness, mildness”, since like Delibana (according to Brunner 1985b to akk. dalābu “to bother”, but cf. also Hung. délibáb “midday ghost, fairy”) she is “a chosen virgin who let herself willingly enclose for seven years in a mine in order to make sure that there will always be enough ore” (Pichler 1992, p. 108).

More difficulties gives the etymology of Somawida’s husband Odólghes who also bears a completely un-Romanic name. In the first part of his name there may be Arab. ’atta “rich, wealthy”, since it is Odólghes who opens with this sword the heavy, golden gate of the gold land Aurona in order to marry Somawida (Pichler 1992, p. 107). U. Kindl (personal comm., 25.7.2006) assumes contamination with the Langobard. pronunciation “Adelgais” of the Bavarian name Adelgher, so that one has perhaps even to drop the Sem. etymology.

A hint to the already mentioned Semitic metallurgists we find also in the following remark of Pichler: “Behind this christianized motive of the punished sin hides probably a faded memory of a pagan sacrifice that had to be done in order to get the ore from the goddesses of the mountains”. Therefore, it is surely not by chance either, that Somawida, “the ore-opener” (German: “die Erzerschliesserin”) (Pichler 1992, p. 108) is specifically a Buchenstein. goddess, since in Col/Colle Santa Lucia there is the once famous mine Fursill whose name goes directly back to Akk. parzillu “iron”.

About Tsikuta Pichler (1992, p. 108) says: “Only when it rains, she appears”. We will therefore not fail with the etymology Arab. *tasāqut* “rainfalls”. That Tsikuta means also “hemlock”, is probably a secondary development that refers to the character of this goddess, since she is “always fiendish towards the Fanes people. Together with her brother Spina-de-Mul she works at the downfall of the empire, and with her magic she is also able to take away the thirteen magic arrows of Dolasilla that will finally become fatal to her” (Pichler 1992, p. 108). Much in Tsikuta reminds of the Raetic goddess Estu (cf. BT, pp. 57ss.), since she, too, is described as malignant. Consequently, the attribute of Tsikuta is “the red poppy, a traditional symbol of the death in life” (Pichler 1992, p. 109).

The only nameless goddess is the queen of Fanes. She gives birth to twins: Dolasilla (“etymon unknown”) and Luyanta (“Ladin.: the shining one”, Pichler 1992, p. 110). Dolasilla is equipped with a magic arrow “with the infallible arrows from silvery reed”. In the first part of her name will thus be Akk. *ilu*, *elu* “goddess”, in the second part Akk. *ašlu* “kind of reed”; D- may be – like in the case of Dindia, Delba und Delbolina – the Latin preposition *de* that was later agglutinated to the name. Yet also in the case of Luyanta the suspect of a Sem. origin cannot be disregarded – not only, because she is Dolasilla’s sister, but also because she is described explicitly – like her mother – as “gentle and mild” and since we read that she will given to the – also gentle and mild – marmots (Pichler 1992, p. 110), which word is of uncontroversial Raetic origin. One thus will hardly fail to assume that her name is a later ladinization stipulating as etymology Arab. *layyin* “soft, gentle, mild” or *luyūna* “softness, gentleness”.

“The last survivors of the Fanes will be brought in the safety of the underneath empire of the marmots by the old queen. There Luyanta will take care of them, Dolasilla’s twin-sister, and there now all together will await the ‘promised time’ [...], when the empire should resurrect in peace and joy [...]. Only once a year, so tells the tradition, in a new moon’s night a boat drives out through a hidden gate at the Seekofel on the Pragser Wildsee (the Ladin. name of this mountain, *Sas dla Porta* = German *Torkofel*, allegedly refers to the legendary gate, through which one can get into the underneath mysterious empire of the Fanes” (Pichler 1992, p. 111). Of interest is here the name of the Pragser Wildsee (“Wild Lake”) that is again of unknown etymology: it may belong to Akk. *parku* “barred (way)” or to Akk. *parakku* “Room of the gods, holy place”. In the first case the etymon would refer to the gate that is closed 364 days per year, hence the barred way into the empire of the Fanes, in the second case to the empire of the Fanes itself that is behind the gate.

Sorejina/Soreghina is analyzed by Pichler (1992, p. 114) as “little sun-ray, sun threads, sun powder”, she is “one of the most mysterious figures of the Ladinic tradition at all” and stands “at the end of the idea of the empire of Fanes”. Besides a derivation of Latin *\*soliculu* one can perhaps not exclude a connection with Akk. *šarāhu* “splendid, mighty (goddess)”; her splendor and mightiness she shows probably in being “one of the many imaginations of the periodically dying lights”, since Sorejina gives “a last picture for the mystery of the right time, time of the becoming and passing, time of the light and time of the darkness, time of the memory and time of the forgetting: time before our time, the time of old narration, the time of Fanes” (Pichler 1992, p. 114).

At last the pantheon of the Fanes cycle shows once more the Oriental, more exactly the Babylonian origin of the pre-Christian Alpine ghosts who – like the Sontga Margriata and the Madrisa (cf. Caminada 1937) – are still around on the Alpine heights even after Christianity tried to chase them away. And they are all feminine. We may therefore end our excursion into the Raetic pantheon with the conclusion that the Raeti were undoubtedly organized in a matriarchal manner, as was already suggested on different occasions by Professor Brunner.

## 6. The antique testimonies about the Raeti

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader directly to the original testimonies about the Raeti (Raetians) that we have gotten from the antique and late-antique Latin and Greek historians, geographers, agronomists, physicians, etc. Unlike our overall-view in Brunner and Toth (pp. 12-48), we bring here all the texts in a chronological order and not anymore according to the language families, to which Raetic belonged supposedly. Moreover, we do not rely anymore on the Latin and Greek competence of the readers or restrict ourselves to paraphrases, but all the texts will be given with very literal translations and commentaries.

### Marcus Porcius Cato (maior) (234 - 149 B.C.)

De re rustica

Fragm. 364 (Schönberger) = Fragg. 8 (Jordan). This quotation is known to us only indirectly cited through Serv. ad Verg. Georg. II 295s.:

Hanc (Raeticam) uvam Cato praecipue laudat in libris quos scripsit ad filium.

“Specially, Cato there praises the (Raetic) wine in the books, that he dedicated to his son.”

### Polybios (ca. 201 – ca. 120 B.C.)

Ἱστορία

History of the world of the time between 220-146 B.C. with an introduction in the first two books and detailed geographical descriptions. Date of origin: 166-150 B.C., with appendices until ca. 120.

III 47, 7: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων φῶλον κατ' αὐτὰς οἰκεῖν συμβαίνει τὰς Ἀλπεις ...

Moreover, they do not know that a very big mass of people live in the Alpine mountains themselves ...

III 48, 12: ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων ἐϑαρσῶς ἁποφαινόμεθα διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν πράξεων παρ' αὐτῶν ἱστορῆκεναι τῶν παρατετεϑότων τοῖς καιροῖς, τοῖς δὲ τόποις κατωπτεῖναι καὶ τηῖ διὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων αὐτοῖς κεχρηῆσθαι πορείαι γνώσεως ἔνεκα καὶ θέας.

When I report these things, then I am sure of what I write, since I have asked my contemporaries about these events, but the localities I known from my personal view and have made a trip through the Alpine mountains personally.

### **Pompeius Trogus (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.)**

Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Philippicarum a Marco Iuniano Iustino

XX 5: Tusci quoque duce Raeto avitis sedibus amissis Alpes occupavere et ex nomine ducis gentem Raetorum condiderunt.

The Etruscans, too, occupied, chased out of their original seats, the Alpine mountains under the leadership of Raetus and founded the people from the name of their leader.

We find here like in Plin, III 133 the personification of a people's name in order to trace them back to one single alleged fore-father, the so-called heros eponymos Raetus of the Raeti.

### **Gaius Iulius Caesar (13.7.100 - 15.3.44 B.C.)**

De Bello Gallico

Time of origin (books I-VII): Winter 52/51 B.C. after the victory over Vercingetorix (or year after year during the military campaign).

IV 10, 3: ... Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt ...

But the Rhine has its source in the land of the Lepontians, an Alpine people ...



The Lepontians settled in the Ticino (Leventina) Valley, Ossola Valley und Upper Wallis. According to RN II, p. 735s., Lepontians settled also in the Grisons according to the name of the valley of Lumnezia/Lugnez < \*Leponetia.

Howald and Meyer, p. 40, note 4 remark: “Most of all, no antique author knows anything about the area of the source of the river Rhine or the peoples who settled there. For Strabon IV 3, 3; VII 1, 5 the Vorder Rhine lies in the land of the Helvetians close to the source of the Danube river and to the Lake of Constance, whose name is still unknown to him. The same is true for Mela III 24 and Ptolem. II 12, 1. Strabon IV 6, 8, too, does not know the name of peoples in the proper Central Alps. Only Pliny III 135 mentions peoples’ names along the Raetic Upper Rhine, but only of such peoples who settled along the street from the Julier pass to the Lake of Constance, thus in the Area of the Hinter Rhine.

### **Publius Vergilius Maro (15.10.70 – 21.9.19 B.C.)**

Aeneis

I 242ss.:      Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis  
                   Illyrios penetrare sinus atque intima tutus  
                   regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi.

Antenor escaped from the midst of the Greeks, has been able safe to penetrate the Illyrian bays and the inmost realms of the Liburnians and to pass beyond the fountain of Timavus.

Maurus Servius Honoratus Grammaticus (ca. 370 - after 410 A.D.) In Vergiliiii Aeneidos librum primum commentarius:

In Verg. Aen. I 243: “Illyridos penetrare sinus”. Antenor non Illyricum, non Liburniam, sed Venetiam tenuit. Ideo autem Vergilius dicit “Illyricos sinus”, quod inde venit quidam Henetus rex, qui Venetiam tenuit, a cuius nomine Henetiam dictam posterī Venetiam nominaverunt.

“To penetrate the Illyrian bays”. Antenor was not headed for Illyria, nor for Liburnia, but for Venetia. This is why Virgil says: “Illyrian bays”, because from that came a certain king Henetus who took Venetia, that has the name Henetia from him that was named by later people Venetia.

“Tutus”. Ideo tutus, quia Raeti Vindelici ipsi sunt Liburni, saevissimi admodum populi, contra quos missus est Drusus; hi autem ab Amazonibus originem ducunt, ut etiam Horatius dicit “quibus mos unde deductus per omne tempus Amazonia securi dextras obarmet, quaerere distuli”. Hoc ergo nunc ad augmentum pertinet, quod tutus est etiam inter saevos populos.

“Safe”. Safe because the Raeti Vindelici themselves are Liburnians, most cruel peoples, against whose Drusus was sent. These people, however, take their origin from the Amazonians, as also Horace says (...). This, therefore, is the reason, why it is mentioned that he was safe even amongst wild peoples.

Here we have one of the many testimonies, where the Raeti (even asyndetically) are mentioned together with the Vindelicians; cf. f. ex. also Strabon IV 3, 3; IV 6, 8; Vell. II 39, 3; II 95, 2; II 122, 2; Mart. IX 84, 5; Plin. nat. hist. III 133 ss.; Tac. ann. II 17. The reason might have been the neighborhood of the Raeti and the Vindelicians at the Eastern shore of the Lake of Constance (cf. Strabon VII 5, 1; Amm. IV 3, 3). Since the Vindelicians were Celts (Celt. \*vindos “white, beautiful, happy”; cf. Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz* III, p. 331), in later time their ethnicity was transferred also to the Raeti; cf. Zosimos I 52, 3, and Brunner and Toth, p. 34ss.). To this fact refers also the commentary of Kiessling to Hor. *carm.* IV 14, 14: “By the way, Strabo VII 292 mentions the Vindelicians as adversaries of Tiberius at the Lake of Constance: one sees, how little exactly even the contemporaries knew how to differentiate these peoples”.

In the commentary of Servius, these “Raeti Vindelici” are identified in a next step with the Liburnians, who were an “Illyrian tribe at the Eastern shore of Italy in the area of Picenum, as such establishing the connection between the Illyrian Venetians in the north and the Illyrian Messapians in the south” (RE 2, col. 145). Although they are counted “only insofar to the Illyrians, as they belonged administratively to the province Illyricum” (NP 7, col. 149), at the time of Servius, thus in the 4./5. century B.C. the Raeti were considered to be Illyrians; cf. also Jordanes 180, where we find the equation Illyrians = Venetians = Liburnians and with that the root of the pan-Illyrism, that raged in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Brunner and Toth, pp. 36ss.

That according to Servius the Liburnians take their origin from the mythological Amazonians, is insofar interesting as it is “most of all remarkable and important that the homeland of the Amazonians is not Greece, but Asia”. Traditionally, the Amazonians were organized matriarchally (RE 2, col. 1754). Both the matriarchal organisation and the Asiatic origin fits to the Raeti, and one asks oneself, if Servius doesn’t ascribe the Vindelicians the origin of the Raeti under the influence of the identification Raeti = Vindelicians.

## Georgica

II 95s.:                                   ... et quo te carmine dicam,  
Rhaetica? Nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.

With which song could I praise you, Raetica? But because of that you must not yet compete with the Falernian wine cellars.

## Strabon (63 B.C. – 23 A.D.)

### Γεωγραφική

The time of the origin of the work can only be given approximately: ca. 30 B.C. until 20 A.D. Parts IV 6, 6 – IV 6, 12 probably 19 A.D. Lacking his own experience, Strabon mostly depends on literary sources. Important are basically Polybios (the texts of Polybios used by Strabon are lost in the original) and Poseidonios (ca. 135-50 B.C.).

IV 3, 3: καὶ ὁ Ῥῆνος δὲ εἰς ἑλὴ μεγάλα καὶ λίμνην ἀναχεῖται μεγάλην, ἧς ἐφάπτονται καὶ Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οἰνδολικοὶ τῶν Ἀλπέων τινὲς καὶ τῶν ὁπεραλπέων.

Also the river Rhine pours into big swamps and in a big lake, at which Raeti and Vendelicians, namely the ones who live in the Alps as well as the ones who live beyond the Alps, have a common border.

The “big lake” is the Lake of Constance.

IV, 6, 6: ὁπέρεκινται δὲ τοῦ Κώμοῦ πρὸς τῇ ῥίζῃ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἰδρῶμένοῦ τῇ μὲν Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οἰένωνες ἐπὶ τὴν ἑὼ κεκλιμένοι, τῇ δὲ Ληπόντιοι καὶ Τριδεντῖνοι καὶ Στόνοι καὶ ἄλλα πλείω μικρὰ ἔθνη ...

Above Como, built on the foothills of the Alps, on the one side live the Raeti and the Vennonians towards East, but on the other side the Lepontians, Tridentinians, Stoni and several other smaller peoples ...

The Vennonians settled in the Valtellina (Howald and Meyer, p. 48, note 3), the Tridentinians around Trento (note 5), the Stoni in Val Stenico around Verona (note 6), cf. Plin. III 134.

IV 6, 8s.: 'Εξῆς δὲ πρὸς 'έω μέρη τῶν 'ορῶν καὶ τὰ 'επιστρέφοντα πρὸς νότον 'Ραιτοὶ καὶ Οῠνδολικοὶ κατέχοουσιν, σὸνάπτοντες 'Ελοῠηττίοις καὶ Βοῖοις· 'επὶκείνται γὰρ τοῖς 'εκείνων πεδίοις. οἱ μὲν οὔν 'Ραιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς 'Ιταλίας καθήκοσι τῆς 'οπερ Οῠήρωνος καὶ Κώμοο. καὶ 'ό γε 'Ραιτικὸς οἶνος, τῶν 'εν τοῖς 'Ιταλικοῖς 'επαινοῠμένων οὐκ 'απολείπεσθαι δοκῶν, 'εν ταῖς τούτων 'οπωρείαις γίνεται· διατεῖνοσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν χωρίων, δι' 'ὧν 'ο 'Ρῆνος φέρεται· τούτο δ' εἰσὶ τοῦ φύλοο καὶ Ληπόντιοι καὶ Καμοῠνοι. οἱ δὲ Οῠνδολικοὶ καὶ Νωρκοὶ τὴν 'εκτὸς παρῳρείαν κατέχοουσιν τὸ πλεόν μετα' Βρεύνων καὶ Γεναύνων, ἥδη τούτων 'Ιλλοριῶν. 'άπαντες δ' οὔτοι καὶ τῆς 'Ιταλίας τὰ γειτονεύοντα μέρη κατέτρεχον 'αεὶ καὶ τῆς 'Ελοῠηττίων καὶ Σηκοανῶν καὶ Βοῖων καὶ Γερμανῶν. 'ιταμῶτατοι δὲ τῶν μὲν Οῠνδολικῶν 'εξητάζοντο Λικκάττιοι καὶ Κλαῠτηνάτιοι καὶ Οῠέννωνες, τῶν δὲ 'Ραιτῶν 'Ροοκάντιοι καὶ Κωτοῠάντιοι. καὶ οἱ 'Εστίωνες δὲ τῶν Οῠνδελικῶν εἰσὶ καὶ Βριγάντιοι, καὶ πόλεις αὔτῶν Βριγάντιον καὶ Καμβόδοονον, καὶ ἡ τῶν Λικαττίων 'ώσπερ 'ακρόπολις Δαμασία. τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοῦς 'Ιταλιώτας τῶν Ληιστῶν τούτων χαλεπότητος λέγεται τι τοιοῠτον, 'ως, 'επειδὰν 'έλωσι κώμην ἢ πόλιν, οὔ μόνον 'ηβηδὸν 'ανδροφονοῠντας, 'ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν νηπίων προϊόντας τῶν 'αρρένων, καὶ μὴδ' 'ενταῠθα παῠομένοος, 'ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς 'εγκύοος γοναῖκας κτείνοντας, 'όσας φαῖεν οἱ μάντεις 'αρρενοκῠεῖν.

First, these parts of the mountains which spread towards East and South are possessed by the Raeti and the Vindelicians, which are neighbors of the Helvetians and the Boians, because they settle above of the planes of these peoples. The Raeti spread out until Italy above Verona and Como. And the Raetic wine, that seems not to be less appreciated by the sorts that the Italics praise, grows on their foothills. But they also reach until to the areas, where the Rhine flows. To this people also belong the Lepontians and the Camunians. The Vindelicians and the Norics, however, settle together with the Breuni and the Genauni, who are already Illyrians, mostly the outer side of the mountains. All these people always wandered through the neighboring part of Italy and the lands of the Helvetians, Sequani, Boioi and Germanics. The wildest proved to be the Likattioi, Klautenatioi and Vennones, amongst the Raeti, however, the Rukantioi and the Kotuantioi. Also the Estiones and the Brigantioi belong to the Vindelicians, and their cities are Bregenz, Kempten, moreover Damasia, so to say the fortress of the Likattioi. There is the following rumor about the cruelties of these robbers against the Italics:

When they have conquered a village or a city, they do not only kill the weapon-bearing men, but do not hesitate to murder small boys and even at this point they don't stop, but kill also the pregnant women, who will, according to the prophets, give birth to boys.

The Vindelicians (Vindolicians) settled on the Swabian-Bavarian high-plane between Danube, Inn and the Alps, while the Boians dwelled in Bohemia. The Camunians settled according to the name-tradition in Val Camonica, the Celtic Norics, who are named from the pre-Indoeuropean goddess Noreia, south of the Danube and east of the Inn.

To the warmonger-myth cf. besides Cassius Dio LIV 22, 1ss. also Publius Annii Florus II 22 (ca.70 - ca. 140 B.C.), where the reproaches of the outmost cruelty this time are not pointed against the Raeti, but against the Breuni, Ucenni and Vindelicians, therefore all Celtic people:

Noricis animos dabant Alpes, quasi in rupes et nives bellum non posset ascendere; sed omnes illius cardinis populos, Breunos, Ucennos atque Vindelicos, per privignum suum Claudium Drusum perpacavit. Quae fuerit Alpinarum gentium feritas, facile est vel per mulieres ostendere, quae deficientibus telis infantes suos adflictos humi in ora militum adversa miserunt.

The Norics were confident in the Alps, as if the war could not ascend their rocks and their snow. But Cesar had wholly pacified the peoples of this angle, the Breuni, the Ucenni and the Vindelicians through his stepson Claudius Drusus. Which was the cruelty of these Alpine people can be best shown through the women, who, lacking weapons, threw their babies to the soil and then into the faces of our soldiers.

IV 6, 12: Τέτταρας δ' ἐπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον· διὰ Λιγύων μὲν τὴν ἑγγιστα τῷ Τορρηνικῷ πελάγει, εἴτα τὴν διὰ Ταορίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν, εἴτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν, ἀπάσας κρημνῶδεις.

He mentions only four passes: through the land of the Ligyans (Ligurians), most close to the Tyrrhenian Sea, then through the land of the Taurini, that Hannibal had crossed, afterwards through the land of the Salassians, and fourth the pass through the land of the Raeti, all of them steep.

VII 1, 5: προσάπτονται δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐπ' ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ Ῥαιτοί, τὸ δὲ πλεον Ἑλοήττιοι καὶ Οἰνδολικοὶ...

A short distance, the Sea is touched by the Raeti, but a longer distance by the Helvetians and the Vindelicians ...

Raeti at the Lake of Constance.

VII 5, 1: ... ἄπο τῆς λίμνης τῆς κατὰ τοὺς Οὐνδολικοῦς καὶ Ῥαιτοῦς καὶ Ἐλοηττίου.

... at the lake in the areas of the Vindelicians, Raeti and Helvetians.

### **Titus Livius (59 B.C. – 17 A.D.)**

Ab urbe condita

V 33, 11: Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetiis; quos loca ipsa efferarunt, ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum, retinerent.

The Alpine peoples, mostly the Raeti, have without doubt this (i.e. Etruscan) origin; the localities themselves have degenerated them, so that they did not keep anything from their ancient time but the sound of their language, and also this not uncorruptedly.

Ernst Meyer remarked: “Etruscan origin of the Raeti is claimed multiple times in the antique literature, in Livy, however, in the very weakened form, that these Raeti-Etruscans in the Alps are wholly degenerated and did not keep anything from their old culture but the ‘sound of their language’, and it, too, not uncorruptedly, therefore actually a totally meaningless remark” (1971, p. 10).

Ernst Risch, too, shares this opinion in remarking to the Livius-passage: “In this (passage) there may be something correct, but we must not be confident in it, since it is a clear fact that the ancient Greeks and Romans were hardly interested in foreign or ‘barbaric’ languages and at best noted single words out of it as curiosities. That Livy, who came from Padua, is an exception here, is yet possible, but not very probable. But even his indication about what was spoken at the southern foothills of the Alps, should be correct, neither he nor his contemporaries had the possibility to research, how the

linguistic situation really was in the many valleys of the whole area that was named Raetia” (1984, p. 22).

Both Meyer (1971, p. 10) and Risch (1984, p. 30) agree also, that Raetic was a non-Indo-European language. If Hubschmid noted to Etruscan: “That the Etruscan, how a few scholars assume, was an Indo-European language (...), is hardly probable” (1960, p. 13), later supplies: “The Tyrrhenian, to which Etruscan belongs, is probably distantly related to Bask” (1960, p. 47), but notes to Raetic: “Before the first Indo-Europeans, there lived in whole Raetia Raeto-Mediterranean tribes, who were not closer related neither to the Etruscans nor to the Eturscoid ‘Raeti’” (1986, p. 57), then this implies, that Hubschmid, too, is of the opinion, that 1. Raetic was not Etruscan and that 2. Raetic was pre- and this means non-Indo-European.

### **Horatius (65 B.C. – 8 A.D.)**

#### **Carmina**

In the 4<sup>th</sup> book of this odes (carmina), appeared ca. 13 B.C., Horace praises the victories of Augustus over the Alpine people. The older passage may still origin in the year 15; it is written under the impression of the first messages of the victory of Drusus over the Vindelicians.

About these military campaigns of Augustus cf. the following passages: Cassius Dio 54, 20; 22; Florus II 22; Velleius Paterculus II 39, 3; 95; 104, 4; 122, 2; Sueton, Augustus 21; Tiberius 9; Plinius III 136s.

IV 4, 17ss.: videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus  
Drusum gerentem Vindelici, ...

... sed diu

lateque victrices catervae

consiliis iuvenis revictae

sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles

nutrita faustis sub penetralibus

posset, quid Augusti paternus

in pueros animus Neronēs.

... so the Vindelicians saw Drusus start the war at the foothills of the Alps ..., the longtime and to a large extent winning hordes, besieged by the smartness of a youngster, got to feel, what a mind and a character, well-educated in a happy house, reaches, what reached the paternal love of Augustus to the young Neronians.

The “young Neronians” are Tiberius (born 42 B.C.) and Drusus (born 38 B.C.), the sons of Livia, Augustus’ wife, from her first marriage with Claudius Nero.

Kiessling, p. 403: “On order to secure the northern border of Italy against the devastating raids of the Alpine peoples, Augustus decided in the year 15 to conquer the area of the Alps itself and of its northern forelands. First, the emperor’s stepson, Nero Claudius Drusus, at that time twentythree years old, won a decisive battle against the Vindelicians, who came against him out of their seats more in the North until in the area of the Tridentine Alps; maybe still in the same summer he then approached further through Tyrol, everywhere besieging, while at the same time his older brother Tiberius Claudius attacked Raeti and Vindelicians from the Lake of Constance and besieged them in a big battle”.

A little later, i.e. after the expedition of Tiberius against the Raeti, Horace sings once again about the victory of the Neronians. The first verses speak to Augustus:

IV 14, 7ss.: ... quem legis expertes Latinae  
Vindelici dedicere nuper

quid Marte posses, milite nam tuo  
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,  
Breunosque velocis et arces  
Alpibus impositas tremendis

deiecit acer plus vice simplici;  
maior Neronum mox grave proelium  
commisit immanisque Raetos  
auspiciis pepulit secundis



spectandus in certamine Martio  
devota morti pectora liberae  
quantis fatigaret ruinis ...

... recently only the Vindelicians who are untouched by Roman law, had to learn what you can do in the battlefield. For with your soldiers Drusus abolished in hefty storm the Genauni, and pieceless people, and the fast Breuni and the fortresses, built on frightening heights, more than once; shortly after, the older of the Neronians won a decisive battle, fought the powerful Raeti with happy success, admirable in the turmoil of the war and conquered in powerful storm the men who searched the death in liberty.

Howald and Meyer, p. 64, note 1, remark: “The frequency of the Raetic fortresses is confirmed by the fact that the names of the ruins of old fortresses in the Herrschaft at Chur, in the Surselva, in the Lower Engadine Valley, Vinschgau, Valtellina, Poschiavo are predominantly pre-Roman”.

Pomponius Porphyrio, *Commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum* (2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.):

Ad IV 4, 18-20: Hi Vindelici e suis sedibus ab Amazonibus eiecti et ex Thracia in exilium se contulisse Alpiumque loca insedis dicuntur.

One says, that these Vindelicians have been chased from their seats by the Amazonians and had moved from Thrakia into the exile and settled in the Alps.

Pseudo-Acro, *Scholia in Horatium vetustiora* (end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. A.D.):

Ad IV 14, 18: Rhaetorum gentis animos libertatis amore morti destinatos fuisse dicit.

(Horace) says, that the hearts of the peoples of the Raeti have been destined to the death for the sake of their love for liberty.

Glossa: Reti: Gens Galliarum (Brunner and Toth, p. 31).

The Raeti: A Gaulish people.

## **Aulus Cornelius Celsus (ca. 25 B.C. – 50 A.D.)**

De medicina

His compilatory work “De medicina” originated around 30 A.D.

IV 12, 8: Potui quidem aptissimum est vinum frigidum, vel certe bene calidum meracum, potissimum Raeticum vel Allobrogicum aliudve, quod et austerum et resina conditum est: si id non est, quam asperrimum maximeque Signinum.

The most suitable drink is wine cold, or else undiluted and well heated, particularly Raetic or Allobrogic wine, or any other which is both dry and seasoned with resin; if there is none of the above at hand, then the harshest possible, especially Signine wine.

## **Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella (4 – ca. 70 A.D.)**

De re rustica

III 2, 27: ut Spionis dapsilis musto, sed amplitudine magis uvarum quam numero fertilis; ut Horconia, ut Murgentia eademque Ompeiana, ut Numisiana, ut Venucula eademque Scirpula atque Sticula; ut nigra Fregellana, ut Merica; ut Rhaetica ...

(Celsus includes also) such as the Spionian, rich in must but fruitful in the size rather than the number of its clusters; such as the Horconian, the Murgentine, which is the same as the Pompeian, the Numisian, the Venuculan, also called Scirpulan and Sticulan; such as the black Fragellan, the Merican, the Raetic ...

## **C. Plinius Secundus (Plinius maior) (23 – 79 A.D.)**

Naturalis historia

Time of origin: before 77 A.D. The author mentions mostly his several literary sources himself; in his first book he brings a kind of bibliography of them. He also uses other sources like inscriptions, etc.

III 130: Feltrini et Tridentini et Beruenses Raetica oppida, Raetorum et Euganeorum Verona.

The Feltrini, Tridentini and Beruenses have Raetic cities. Verona belongs to the Raeti and the Euganeans.

The Euganeans settled in Upper Italy, between the Alps and the Adria, but according to Livy I 1, 2s. they inhabited the whole land between Adria and the Alps. Today it is assumed that they wandered from the East, perhaps from Paphlagonia, in the mountainous inner parts of Italy (NP 4, cols. 231s.).

Liv. I 1, 2s.: Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus, Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras.

(The Achivi) then experienced various vicissitudes. Antenor, with a company of Eneti who had been expelled from Paphlagonia in a revolution and were looking for a home and a leader – for they had lost their king, Pylaemenes, at Troy – came to the inmost bay of the Adriatic. There, driving out the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, the Eneti and Trojans took possession of those lands.

According to Cato orig. II 11 (ed. Chassignet = frg. 37 ed. Peter) the Euganeans possessed 34 cities:

III 133: Incolae Alpium multi populi ..., his contermini Raeti et Vindelici, omnes in multas civitates divisi. Raetos Tuscorum prolem arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos duce Raeto. verso deinde Italiam pectore Alpium Latini iuris Euganeae gentes, quarum oppida XXXIII enumerat Cato.

In the Alps there live many peoples ... . On these (the Norics) border the Raeti and Vindelicians who are divided in many single tribes. One considers the Raeti descendants of the Etruscans who had been chased away by the Gallians and escaped under the leadership of Raetus. On the other side of the Alps, towards Italy, they Euganean people live who have the Latinic law. Cato enumerates 34 cities of them.

To the Euganeans belong amongst others the following peoples:

III 134: ex iis Trumplini, venalis cum agris suis populus, dein Camunni compluresque similes finitimis attributi municipis. Lepontios et Salassos Tauriscae gentis idem Cato arbitratur; ceteri fere Lepontios relictos ex comitatu Herculis interpretatione Graeci nominis credunt, praeustis in transitu Alpium nive membris. eiusdem exercitus et Graios fuisse Graiarum Alpium incolas praestantesque genere Euganeos, inde tracto nomine, caput eorum Stoenos.

To them belong the Trumplini who are all times ready to sell themselves and their land, further the Camunians and several similar tribes assigned to the neighboring municipalities. For the Lepontians and Salassians Cato considers Tauriskan (i.e. Taurinian) origin. The other authors consider pretty generally the Lepontians because of the etymology of their name from Greek as companions of Herkules who were left behind during the crossing of the Alps, because their limbs froze in the snow. With the same troops should also have been the Graians who settle the Graian Alps (around the Little St. Bernhard) and the Euganeans who got their name from their noble origin. Their main tribe be the Stoeni.

The allusion of the Lepontian's limbs that were allegedly frozen in the snow refers (mistakenly) to Greek λέπειν “to peel”. The supposed noble origin of the Euganeans is suggested by the Greek word **ΕΥΓΕΝΕΪΣ** “well-born, noble”, probably also a mistaken etymology (Greek *εὐγένειος* “well-bearded”, cf. Langobards?).

III 135: Raetorum Vennonenses Sarunetesque ortus Rheni amnis accolunt, Lepontiorum qui Uberi vocantur fontem Rhodani eodem Alpium tractu.

Of the Raeti the Vennonenses and Sarunetes live in the area of the source of the Rhine, of the Lepontians the so-called Uberi at the source of the Rhône in the same part of the Alps.

The Vennonenses are probably identical with the Vennonetes, the Sarunetes with the Suanetes; cf. Howald and Meyer, p. 69, note 14.

III 136ss.: Gentes Alpinae devictae Trumpilini, Camunni, Venostes, Vennonetes, Isarchi, Breuni, Caenaunes, Focunates, Vindelicorum gentes quattuor Cosuanetes Rucinales Licates Cattenates, Ambisontes, Rigusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixenetes, Lepontii, Uberi, Nantuates, Seduni, Varagri, Salassi ...

The besieged Alpine peoples are: The Trumpilini, the Camunnians, the Venostes, the Vennonetes, the Isarchi, Breuni, Caenaunes, Focunates, four tribes of the Vindelicians:

the Cosuanetes, Rucimates, Licates and Cattenates, then the Ambisontes, Rigusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixenetes, Lepontians, Uberi, Nantuates, Seduni, Varagri, Salassians ...

The Trumplini settled in Val Trompia, the Camunnians in Val Camonica, the Venostes in the Vinschgau, the Vennonetes in Valtellina, the Isarchi in the Valle d'Isarco, the Breuni in the Inn valley around and above Innsbruck, the Genauni probably around Mittenwald and Partenkirchen, the (only here mentioned) Focunates perhaps in the Alpine part of the Inn valley below Innsbruck, the four tribes of the Vindelicians, the Cosuanetes (south from the rivers Isar and Ambra), the Rucimates (northwest of the confluence of the Danube and the Salzach), the Licates (at the river Lech) and the Cattenates (between Lech and Isar) in the southern-German-north-Austrian borderland, the Ambisontes in the Pinzgau, the Rigusci in the Upper Engadine Valley (or in the Avers valley?), the Suanetes in the area around Savognin in the Hinter Rhine Valley, the Calucones in the Bündner Rhine Valley around Chur, the Brixen(e)tes at the northern shore of the Lake of Constance at Bregenz (Brigantium), the Lepontians in the Ticino Valley, the four tribes of the Uberi (Upper Wallis), the Nantuantes (between Martigny and the Lake of Geneva), the Seduni (at Sitten, Latin Sedunum) and the Veragri (Varagri, side valleys of the Lower Wallis) in the Wallis, and the Salassians in the valley of the Dora Baltea around Aosta (cf. Howald and Meyer, p. 70s. and Brunner and Toth, p. 34).

Pliny's list of the tribes that were conquered between 25 and 14 B.C. helped at the reconstruction of the victorial monument of Augustus, the Tropaeum Alpium at La Turbie above Monte Carlo that was erected in the years 7/6 B.C. Unfortunately, Pliny does not tell us which tribes that he enumerates are Raetic and which not. Moreover one has to count with further Raetic tribes, not mentioned in the list or on the Tropaeum Alpium, namely such peoples who were conquered already before 25 B.C., amongst them f. ex. the Anauni who settled in the Nonsberg and its side valleys, which was the European homeland of the Raeti. Therefore, in differentiating between Raetic and non-Raetic tribes, one depends wholly on historical linguistics. According to Brunner and Toth, pp. 69s. certainly Raetic were the Anauni, Arusnates, Ausuciates (?), Benacenses, Beruenses, Caenaunes, Calucones, Eniates, Suanetes, Tulliasses, Vennonetes, Vennonenses und Venostes.

Because of the strong geographical splitting of the language area and because of the many tribes, Raetic must have been dialectally strongly differentiated, similar to the situation of the today's Retoromanche (Ladinic) and the northern Italian dialects. This opinion is shared by Risch: "The nonuniformity in linguistic respect, which one has postulated as possible out of general considerations, is confirmed if one looks closer. Probably the nonuniformity was remarkably bigger than the inscriptions and other sources may suggest" (1984, p. 30).

If we compare now the names mentioned on the Tropaeum Alpium (Plin. nat. hist. III 136, as addition CIL V 7817) with their corresponding tribe names in Ptolemaios II 12 (which we will discuss later) and Strabon IV 6, 8, we get the following list, that we put together using the list of Frey-Stolba (1984, p. 13):

<b>Tropaeum Alpium</b>	<b>Ptolemaios</b>	<b>Strabon</b>
Trumpilini	—	—
Camunni	—	Καμοῶνοι
Ven(n)ostes	—	—
Vennonetes	—	Οῶέννοντες
Isarci	—	—
Breuni	Βρεῶνοι	Βρεῶνοι
Caenaunes	Βένλαῶνοι	Γεναῶνοι
Focunates	—	—
Cosuanetes	Κωσοῶνται	Κωτοῶντιοι
—	Λεῶνοι	—
Runicates	Ῥοῶνικάται	Ῥοῶκάντιοι
Licates	Λικάτιοι	Λικάτ(τ)ιοι
Cattenates	—	Κλαῶτηγάτιοι
Ambisontes	—	—
Rigusci	Ῥιγοῶσκαι	—
Suanetes	Σοῶάνητες	—
Calucones	Καλούκωνες	—
—	—	Ἑστίωνες
Brixen(e)tes	Βριζάνται	Βριγάντιοι
Lepontii	—	Ληπόντιοι
Uberi	—	—
Nantuates	—	—
Seduni	—	—

Varagri	—	—
Salassi	—	—

The Vennonenses, mentioned in Plin. III 135, and the mistakenly as “Vindelician” named Οὐένωνες in Strabon IV 6, 8, who where according to L. Brunner (unpubl. manuscr.) a single tribe and who settled according to both antique authours in the Rhine Valley in the area of the lake of Constance (still Ammianus does not know the Rhine Valley from the Oberalp pass until Rheineck; cf. Brunner and Toth, p. 27) have obviously given this lake the name lacus Venetus.

III 146: A tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert magnus Hister, Raetis iunguntur Norici.

Behind the Carni and Iapudes, along the course of the mighty Danube, the Raeti are adjoined by the Norici.

IX 63: lacus Raetiae Brigantinus

the Lake of Bregenz (i.e. the Lake of Constanze) in Raetia

XIV 16: Aliis gratiam, qui et vinis, fumus adfert fabrilis, in iisque gloriam praecipuam fornacibus Africae Tiberii Caesaris auctoritas fecit; ante eum Raeticis prior mensa erat uvis ex Veronensium agro.

Others owe a good taste to the smoke of the forges that serves also to perfume the wine, and Tiberius made fashionable the forges of Africa. Before him, one served as first course the Raetic grapes of the area of Verona.

XIV 67: ... in Veroniensi item Raetica, Falernis tantum postlata a Vergilio

... in the area of Verona, the Raetic (wine), to whom Virgile only preferred the Falernian

XVIII 172: non pridem inventum in Raetia Galliae duas addere tali rotulas, quod genus vocant ploum Raeti.

Recently, in the Raetic Gallia one had the idea to add to such a plow still two wheels. This kind the Raeti name “ploum”.

### **Marcus Valerius Martialis (between 38 and 41 – 104 A.D.)**

Epigrammata

Martialis’ work was published between 86 and 103 A.D.

IX 84, 5:     Me tibi Vindelicis Raetus narrabat in oris,  
                  Nescia nec nostri nominis Arctos erat.

I was recited in front of you by the Raetic in the land of the Vindelicians, and also to the North my name was well known.

XI, 74, 1:     Curandum penem commisit Baccara Raetus  
                  Rivali medio, Baccara Gallus erit.

For the sake of treatment Baccara, the Raetic, entrusted a physician, his rival, with his penis. Baccara will be a “Gallian” (i.e. a eunuch).

Besides ploum the second explicitly as Raetic testified word: the proper name Baccara, that is cited in the whole Latin literature only here and in Mart. VI 59, 2 and VII 92, probably belongs to Akk. baqāru “to plow”. Is it by chance, that the first word testified as Raetic means “plow with wheels”?

XIV 100, 2: Panaca.  
                  Si non ignotast docti tibi terra Catulli  
                  Potasti testa Raetica vina mea.

If the land of the learned Catullus is not unknown to you, then you have drunk Raetic wine out of my clay jug.



## **Publius Cornelius Tacitus (55 - 120 A.D.)**

### Annales

I 44: secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitatae remedii quam sceleris memoria.

After they followed this example, the veterans have been sent a little later to Raetia, under the pretext of defending the province against the menaces of the Suebi, but in reality to pull them out of the camp, where the cruelty was maintained through the violence of the remedy as well as through the memory of the crime.

II 17: ... ni Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa obiecissent

... so that the cohortes of the Raeti and Vindelici and of the Gallians would not proceed (on the battlefield)

### Historiae

I 67: Caecina belli avidus proximam quamque culpam, antequam paeniteret, ultum ibat ... . missi ad Raetica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in legionem Helvetios a tergo aggredierentur.

Caecina in his greed of war used to revenge each guilt that was at his hand, before the guilty person could get remorseful ... . Messengers were sent to the Raetic auxiliary troops, they should attack the Helvetians, if they would have turned against the legions, from the back.

To this Howald and Meyer, p. 67, note 5 write: "The Raeti were very popular because of their proficiency in war".

I 68: exitiosum adversus veteranos proelium, intuta obsidio dilapsis vetustate moenibus; hinc Caecina cum valido exercitu, indem Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita.

Battle against veterans would be destructive to them, a siege would be dangerous, for their walls had fallen into ruins from lapse of time. On the one side was Caecina with a strong force, on the other the Raetian horse and foot, and the young men of itself, who were accustomed to arms and trained in warfare.

I 70: ipse paulum cunctatus est, num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium Urbicum procuratorem.

Caecina himself was still unsure for a while if he should not turn himself via the Raetic hights to Noricum against the procurator Petronius Urbicus.

According to Howald and Meyer, p. 90, note 1, there is meant here the route from Maienfeld – St. Luziensteig – Feldkirch – Montafon – Tyrol.

III 5: ... ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit.

... to occupy the bank of the river Inn, which flows between Raetia and Noricum.

Germania

1, 2: Rhenus Raeticarum Alpium inaccessso ac praecipiti vertice ortus modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur.

The Rhine has its source on the inaccessible and steeply declining hight of the Raetic Alps, turns then in a slight bend towards west and flows in the Northern Ocean.

**Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (ca. 70 – between 130 and 140 A.D.)**

De vita Caesarum

Divus Augustus 27: Et maxime delectatus est Raetico neque temere interdiu bibit.

He preferred amongst all the Raetic wine and did normally not drink during the day.

**Klaudius Ptolemaios (ca. 90 – ca. 168 A.D.)****Γεωγραφική**

The mathematician and astronomer lived ca. 90-168 A.D. in Alexandria in Egypt. The “Geography” was written in the years 150-155 A.D. and is a new version of a similar work of Marinus of Tyros, written around 110-120 A.D., generally without use of new sources. The purpose of the “Geography” is not a description of lands, but the direction how to draw correctly a map of the earth. The conversion of the coordinates is based on Howald and Meyer, pp. 104ss.

Π 12, 1: Τῆς Ῥαιτίας ἡ μὲν δοσμηκὴ πλεορὰ ὁρίζεται τῷ τε Ἀδούλῳ ὄρει καὶ τῇ μεταξὺ τῶν κεφαλῶν τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Δανοβίου ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἄρκτικὴ πλεορὰ μέρει τοῦ Δανοβίου ποταμοῦ τῷ ἀπὸ πηγῶν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Αἰνίου ποταμοῦ ἐκτροπῆς

λδ'            μζ' γ''

ἡ δὲ ἄνατολικὴ πλεορὰ ἀπὸ τῷ τῷ Αἰνῷ ποταμῷ, ὅθ' τὸ νοτιώτατον πέρας ἐπέχει μοίρας

λδ'            με' δ''

ἡ δ' ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τοῖς ἐντεθεν ὁπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἀλπίοις ὄρεσιν, ὧν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς Γραιαῖς ἐπέχει

λ'            με' γ''

τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς Ποιναῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Λικίου ποταμοῦ τοῦ εἰς τὸν Δανούβιον ἐμβάλλοντος, ὅς διορίζει τὴν Ῥαιτίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνδελκίας

λα' λ''      με' λ''

τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῇ Ὀκραι ὄρει

λγ' λ''      με' λ''

Raetia's borders are in the West the Adulas mountain and the area between the sources of the Rhine and the Danube, in the North the part of the Danube between its source and the mouth of the Inn

34°    47° 20',

in the East the Inn itself, whose southmost point lies under

34°    45° 20'

in the South the Alps, that stretch from there in the North of Italy; a part of them lies at the Little St. Bernhard under

30° 45° 20',

the part at the Great St. Bernhard lies at the source of the river Lech that flows into the Danube and separates Raetia from Vindeliccia under

31° 30" 45° 30',

the part at the Birnbaumer Forest under

33° 30" 45° 30'.

Π 12, 2: Κατέχοσιν δὲ τῆς Ῥαιτίας τὰ μὲν ᾿αρκτικώτερα Βριζάνται, τὰ δὲ νοτιώτερα Σοάνητες καὶ Ῥιγοῤσκαι, τὰ δὲ μεταξ᾽ Καλούκωνες καὶ Ο᾽έννοντες.

In the northern part there live the Brixantai, in the South the Suanetes and Riguskai, between them the Kalukones and Vennontes.

Howald and Meyer, p. 106, note 1, write: "The positions of the Great and the Little St. Bernhard lie way to far in the East, because they are calculated with respect to the places lying at the street over the Great St. Bernhard that are put too far into the East as belonging to Raetia".

Π 12, 4: Τῆς δὲ Ο᾽ινδελκίας τὰ μὲν ᾿αρκτικώτατα κατέχοσι Ῥοονικάται, ᾽πο᾽ δὲ τούτοσ Λεῤνοι καὶ Κωσο᾽άνται, ε᾽ῖτα Βένλα᾽νοι, ε᾽ῖτα Βρεῤνοι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Λικίαν ποταμὸν Λικάτιοι.

In the northern part of Vindeliccia there live the Runikatai, in the South of them the Leunoi and Kosuantai, then the Benlaunoi, then the Breunoi and at the river Lech the Likatioi.

Cf. the commentary of Howald and Meyer, p. 133, note 3: "The border probably went from the river Iller to the Arlberg, Ofen pass, Stilfserjoch; the western part of the old province Raetia was Raetia I with its capital Chur, the eastern half Raetia II. The separation into two provinces must have happened in the midst of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but surely in the time of Ammian who always speak about Raetiae (XV 4, 1; XVI 12, 16; XXI 3, 1; 8,3; XXXI 10, 2).

## Appianus (95 – 165 A.D.)

Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία

Illyrica, 6: καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν νομιζομένων εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν Ἰλλυριῶν τοσαῦτά μοι προλελέχθω· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ Παίονας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς καὶ Νωρικοὺς καὶ Μῆσοὺς τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὁμοῖα τούτοις ἐν δεξίαι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καταπλέοντι ὥκηται διαίροσσι μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ...

These peoples, and also the Pannonians, the Raeti, the Norics, the Mysians of Europe, and the other neighboring tribes who inhabited the right bank of the Danube, the Romans distinguish from one another just as the various Greek peoples are distinguished from each other.

Illyrica 29: λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων νομιζομένης Ἰλλυρίδος εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παίωνων Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Νωρικοί, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ Μῆσοι ἕως τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον.

The remaining peoples, who are considered by the Romans to be parts of Illyria, are the Raeti and the Norics, on this side of Pannonia, and the Illyrians on the other side as far as the Euxine Sea.

## Lucius Flavius Arrianus (92 – 165 A.D.)

His military history is based mainly on Ptolemy and other authors. His history of Alexander the Great is the oldest still existing one.

Τέχνη τακτικὴ 44, 1: ... καὶ ἀλαλαγμοὺς πατρίοις ἐκάστωι γένει, Κελτικοὺς μὲν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἵππεύσι, Γετικοὺς δὲ τοῖς Γέταις, Ῥαιτικοὺς δὲ ὅσοι ἐκ Ῥαιτῶν.

... and patriotic calls everybody (called) according to his nationality, Celtic ones to the Celtic riders, gothic ones to the Gothic riders, Raetic ones to the Raetic riders.

Ἰνδική IV 16: Ἐνός μὲν ἔν μεθορίῳ τῆς Νωρικῶν καὶ Ῥαιτῶν γῆς μίγνεται τῷ Ἰστρῳι.

The Inn mixes its waters into the waters of the Danube at the border of the land of the Norics and the Raetians.

**Cassius Dio Cocceianus (ca. 165 – after 229 A.D.)**

Ῥμαϊκὴ ἱστορία

Cassius Dio was born in Nicaea, was a Roman senator and wrote a Roman history in 80 books which cover the time from Aeneas until 229 and is only partly conserved.

XXXIX 49, 1: ὁ δὲ Ῥῆνος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων τῶν Κελτικῶν, ὀλίγον ἔξω τῆς Ῥαιτίας ...

The Rine has its source in the Celtic Alps, a little outside of Raetia ...

LIV 20: καὶ γὰρ Καμούννιοι καὶ Οὔέννιοι Ἀλπικὰ γέννη, ὅπλα τε ἀντήραυτο καὶ νικηθέντες ἐπὶ Ροβλίῳ Σιλίῳ ἐχειρώθησαν.

The Camunnioi and Vennioi, Alpine tribes, took up arms (against the Romans), but were conquered and subdued by Publius Silius.

LIV 22, 1ss.: Ῥαιτοὶ οἰκοῦντες μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Νωρίκο καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλπεσι ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῖς Τριδεντίναῖς, τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρο σφίσι πολλὰ κατέτρεχον καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, τοὺς τε ὁδῶι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τῶν σωμαχῶν αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς σφετέρως γῆς χρωμένους ἐλθμαίνοντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ σονήθη πως τοῖς οὐκ ἐνσπόνδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκει, πᾶν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἀρρεν τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς γαστράσιν ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ὃν μαντεῖαις τισὶν ἀνεορίσκοντες, ἐφθειρον. δι' οὗ ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγοστός πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δροῶσον ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἐπέμπσε καὶ ὅς τοις προαράντησαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ

Τριδεντῖνα ὄρη διὰ ταχέων ἐτρέψατο, ὥστε καὶ τιμαὲς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ Γαλατία καὶ ὥς ἐνέκειντο, τὸν Τιβέριον προσαπέστειλεν. ἔσβαλόντες οὖν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἅμα ἀμφοτέρω, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐποστρατῶν, καὶ ὁ γε Τιβέριος καὶ διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίοις κομισθεὶς, ἀπὸ τε τούτου κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐκάστοις σφίσι σὺμμιγνύντες, τοὺς τε αἰὲς χεῖρας ἀφκνομένους οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἅτε διεσπασμέναις ταῖς δυνάμεσι χρωμένους, κατειργάσαντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσθενεστέροους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθρομότεροους γενομένους εἴλῳ. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐπολῶνδροον καὶ ἐδόκοον τι νεωτεριεῖν, τό τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ πλειῶστον τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσούτους ὅσοι τὴν μὲν χώραν οἰκεῖν ἱκανοὶ νεοχμῶσαι δέ τι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν.

The Raeti, who dwell between Noricum and Gaul, near the Tridentine Alps which adjoin Italy, were overrunning a large part of the neighbouring territory of Gaul and carrying off plunder even from Italy; and they were harassing such of the Romans or their allies as travelled through their country. Now these acts of theirs seemed to be about what was to be expected of nations which had not accepted terms of peace; but they went further and destroyed all the males among their captives, not only those who had already come into the world, but also those who were still in the woman's wombs, the sex of whom discovered by some means of divination. For these reasons, Augustus first sent against them Drusus, who speedily routed a detachment of them which came to meet him near the Tridentine mountains, and in consequence received the rank of praetor. Later, when the Raeti had been repulsed from Italy, but were still harassing Gaul, Augustus sent out Tiberius also. Both leaders then invaded Raetia at many points at the same time, either in person or through their lieutenants, and Tiberius even crossed the lake (the lacus Venetus, i.e. the Lake of Constance) with ships. In this way, by encountering them separately, they terrified them and not only easily overwhelmed those with whom they came into close quarters at any time, inasmuch as the barbarians had their forces scattered, but also captured the remainder, who in consequence had become weaker and less spirited. And because the land had a large population of males and seemed likely to revolt, they deported most of the strongest men of military age, leaving behind only enough to give the country a population, but too few to begin a revolution.

## **Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330 – ca. 395 A.D.)**

Res gestae

A noble Greek from Antiochia, he dealt in his history with the time from the principate of Nerva until the death of Valens (96-378 A.D.). From the originally 31 books only the last 18 are conserved in which the events of the years 353-378 are described.

XV 4, 1: ad quem procinctum imperator egressus in Raetias camposque venit Caninos

The emperor (himself) went for this event into the battlefield and arrived at the Caninian Fields in Raetia.

According to Gregory of Tours X 3 and Sidonius Apollinaris, Panegy. no. V for the emperor Maiorian V 374ss. the Caninian Fields lay in the Ticino Valley.

XV 4, 3: iamque absolutus altaque divortia riparum adradens lacum invadit rotundum et vastum, quem Brigantium accola Raetus appellat

Already grown to a full stream und rinsing the high edges of his shores, it (the Rhine) pours his waters into a wide, round lake which is called by its Raetic settler the Lake of Bregenz (Lake of Constance).

Both passages are from the year 355 (Howald and Meyer, p. 142). The alleged roundness of the Lake of Constance proofs that Ammian did not know him.

XVI 10, 20: Cupiens itaque augustissima omnium sede morari diutius imperator, ut otio puriore frueretur et voluptate, adsiduis nuntiis terrebat et certis, indicantibus Suebos Raetias incursare ...

But the emperor, while wishing to remain longer in this most august spot of the whole world, in order to enjoy a purer tranquillity and higher degree of pleasure, was alarmed by repeated intelligence on which he could rely, which informed him that the Suevi were invading the Tyrol ...



XVI 12, 16: sed nullus mutata[m] rationem temporis advertebat quod tunc tripartito exitio premebantur imperatore urgente per Raetias, Caesare proximo nusquam elabi permittente, finitimis, quod hostes fecere discordiae, modo non occipitia conculcantibus hinc indeque cinctorum.

But no one considered that the times were changed, because the barbarians were at that time pressed with a threefold danger. The emperor hastening against them through the Tyrol, the Caesar who was actually in their country cutting off all possibility of retreat, while the neighbouring tribes, whom recent quarrels had converted into enemies, were all but treading on their heels; and thus they were surrounded on all sides.

XXII 8, 44: amnis vero Danubius oriens prope Rauracos montesque confines limitibus Raeticis per latiore[m] orbem praetentus ac sexaginta navigabiles paene per omnes recipiens fluvios septem ostiis per hoc Scythicum litus erumpit in mare.

The Danube river, however, that has its source close to Augusta Rauracorum and the mountains neighboring Raetia, flows through a wide area and takes 60 side rivers with it, that are nearly all navigable; finally it pours with seven arms over this Scythian shore into the sea.

### Flavius Claudius Julianus (331 – 26.6.363 A.D.)

From the speech of the later emperor Julianus (known as Julianus Apostata) about the monarchy (or. III, apud Bidez II; ed. Hertlein, Leipzig 1875, I, S. 92 = Bidez, Paris 1932, I, S. 144), hold in 358, here cited according to Howald and Meyer, p. 152.

III (II) 72: τὰ δὲ ὁπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων πρὸς ἑσπέραν Γαλάται νέμονται, καὶ Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὁπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον, ἵνα Ῥήνοῃ τέ εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἰστροῃ πλησίον παρὰ τοῖς γείτοσι βαρβάροις.

The area beyond the Western Alps inhabit the Gallians, the Raeti, however, the area towards the North, where the sources of the Rhine are and of the Danube nearby the neighboring barbarians.

330s.: ... . Sublimis in Arcton  
Prominet Hercyniae confinis Raetia silvae,  
Quae se Danuvii iactat Rhenique parentem ...

Claudius Claudianus, the last excellent Roman poet, wrote this poem in the year 402 in honor of Stilicho who just besieged Alarich at Pollentia.

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...                    illae tibi, Roma, salutem  
Alpinae peperere casae ...

But the side, where Raetia touched the Hesperian (= Italic) area, reaches with steeply declining mountains up until to the stars and open in the summer a frightening path. Many already froze with cold as if they had seen the Medusa; many have devoured the immense masses of bottomless snow, and often sink the waggons shipwreckedly together with the oxen in the white abyss. Sometimes the mountains gave birth to a sudden precipice when the ice was gliding and digged in the moist and warm weather a hollow into the soil, deceptive because it hung over. Through such area traveled Stilicho amidst of the winter. No mug of wine, little bread, he had to be content, covered by his arms, to sample grabbed food, and heavily bearing on his coat he pushed the freezing horse forward. And not soft lair offered the tired man a resting-bed; when the dark night covered the way with dusk, then he entered either the horrible hollows of wild animals or lay under the roof of a heardsman, the shield as pillow. Frightened by the high guest, the heardsman stays there, and the farmer's wife shows to his dirty child the enlightened face of unknown name ...

According to Howald and Meyer, p. 154, note 1, the pass that Stilicho used, is probably the Splügen. The Raeti are described here – totally different from Strabon IV 6, 8s. – as peaceful and hospitable. Therefore, Meyer wrote not without irony: “Already Strabon (IV 6, 6) was very astonished that these ‘horrible Raeti’ behaved so perfectly peacefully since they have been conquered by the Romans” (Meyer 1971, p. 10).

### **Gaius Sollius Modestus Sidonius Apollinaris (430 – 479 A.D.)**

Nobel Roman from Lyon (Lugdunum), author of poems and letters.

V. Panegyricus dictus D. N. Imperatori Caesari Iulio Valerio Maioriano Augusto, declaimed 458 in Lyon

V 373ss.:                    ... conscenderat Alpes  
Raetorumque iugo per longa silentia ductus  
Romano exierat populato trux Alamannus

The wild Alemmanic had ascended the Alps and, after he was wandering in deep quietness across the Raetic mountains, he had stepped out in devastating the Roman's land

## **Zosimos (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5. – beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century)**

### **Νέα ἱστορία**

Zosimos was of Greek descendance, originated probably from the Syrian-Palestinian area and wrote possibly between 498 und 518 his “New History” in six books that deals with the

Roman history from Augustus until 410.

I 52, 3: ... καὶ ἔτι γε Νωρικοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοῖς, ἅπερ ἔστι Κελτικὰ τάγματα.

... as well as with the troops of the Norics and the Raeti who constitute the corps of the Celtic troops.

If “Rhaitoi” is to be understood here ethnically or politically is questionable. In fact, the name was longtime considered ethnically, and the Zosimos passage was therefore judged as the oldest hint for the theory of the Celtic origin of the Raeti (cf. Brunner and Toth, p. 34). But since ca. the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. the denominations “R(h)aeti” and Ῥαιτοί were a collective name for ethnically different people who live in the province and later in the two provinces called Raetia.

## **Jordanis (6<sup>th</sup> century)**

### **De origine actibusque Getarum**

Jordanes (Jordanis) wrote his capital work ca. 551 A.D. as summary of the history of the Gots by Cassiodorus.

180: Illyres autem, id est Veneti, seu Liburnes sub extremis Alpium radicibus agunt inter Arsiam Titulumque flumen longissimae per totam Adriam maris litus effusi.

The Illyrians, i.e. the Venetians or Liburnians, live at the outmost roots of the Alps between Arsia and the river Titulus along the coast of the whole Adriatic sea.

## Stephanus Byzantinus (6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.)

Ἑθνικά

Geographical dictionary, written between 528 und 535.

Ῥαιτοὶ Τυρρηνιον ἔθνος.

The Raeti: a Tyrrhenic people.

This passage is usually taken as a hint of Etruscan origin of the Raeti, since “Tyrrhenic” is usually identified with “Etruscan”, but this is doubtful.

## 7. The Raetic inscriptions: texts, translations and commentary

In the following, I will present for the first time the complete edition of the Raetic inscriptions with the translations and comments made by Professor Brunner (nos. 1-55) and by me (nos. 56-78) in my English version. The first line of each number contains the abbreviations of the text corpus of the Raetic inscriptions, that Professor Brunner had used, the reference work(s), where the inscriptions had been translated and annotated, the material and the name of the place, where the inscriptions had been found, the second gives Brunner's and my readings of the inscriptions, and the third line supplies a literal English translation, followed by lexical and grammatical commentaries.

The following abbreviations have been used:

Bravi = Ferruccio Bravi, *La lingua dei Reti*, 2 vols., Bolzano 1980/81

BT = Linus Brunner and Alfred Toth, *Die rätische Sprache enträtselt*, St. Gallen 1987

Mancini = Alberto Mancini, *Iscrizione retiche*, in: *Studi Etruschi* 43, 1975, pp. 249-306

PID = *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Robert S. Conway, Joshua Whatmough, Sarah E. Johnson, Cambridge, MA 1933

Schumacher 1991 = Stefan Schumacher, *Neufunde "rätischer" Inschriften*, in: *Studi Etruschi* 59, 1991, pp. 307-320

Schumacher 1992 = Stefan Schumacher, *Die rätischen Inschriften*, Innsbruck 1992

Ziehaus/Rix = Bernward Ziehaus/Helmut Rix, *Ungewöhnliche Funde der späten Hallstattzeit aus dem Voralpenland*, in: *Germania* 76/1, 1998, pp. 291-303

1. PID 188; BT, p. 64 (bronze cistern handle, Matrei/North Tyrol, Austria)

PAVIS ES

"Gain this!"



PAVIS "gain (Imp. Sing.) = Arab. fauz "to gain, to reach"

ES, IS “this“ = Phen. eš “id.”.

2. PID 189; BT, p. 61

LA SEKE MA ZEKHE (porphyry stone, Collefratto/Klobenstein, South Tyrol, Italy)

“Don’t bring us in need! It hasn’t rained.”



LA “do ... not (prohibitive)” = Akk. lā (with present tense) “id.”

SEKHE “don’t bring us in need (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. sagû “to bring in need”

MA “not (statement)” = Sem. mā “not (statement)”

ZEKHE “it has rained” = Arab. zahha “rain”

3. PID 190; BT, p. 63f. (bronze axe-head, Tesana/Tisens, South Tyrol, Italy)

ENIKES

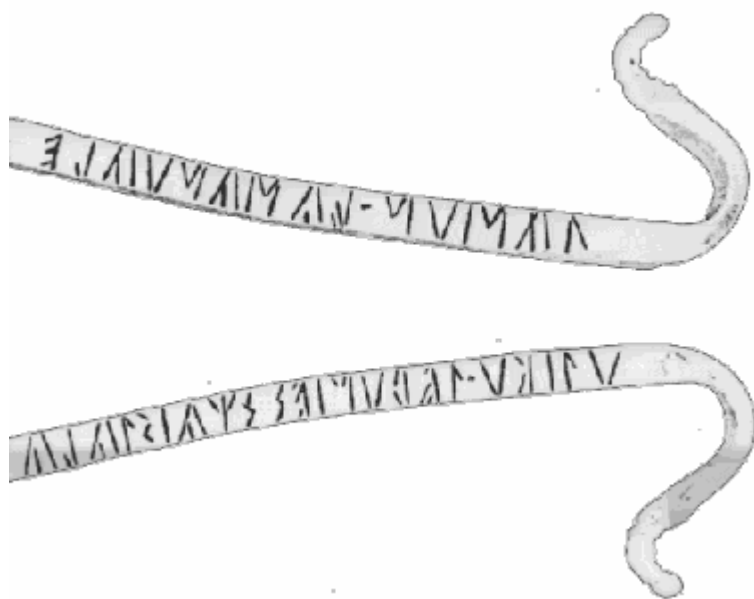
“Bronze”

ENIKES “bronze” = Hebr. nehušāh “ore”, Aram. nhs “copper, bronze”

4. PID 191; BT, p. 63 (bronze spoon, Settequerce/Siebeneich, South Tyrol, Italy)

PANIUN LAŠANUALE ŠUPIKU PERUNIES SKHAISPALA

“I, Ben Jonah (?), have founded for Samuel (?), the Breuner, the stirring-spoon.”



PANIUN “Ben Jonah” (?)

LA, LI, L “for (dative)” = Sem. la, li, lo, l “id.”

ŠANUALE “Samuel” (-m- for -n-?)

ŠUPIKU “I have founded” = Akk. šapāku “to found”, Hebr. sūf “to let flow (= to found)”

PERUNIES “Breuner (member of the antique people of the Breuni)”

SKHAISPALA “stirring spoon” < IE root \*geis- “to stir”

5. PID 192; BT, p. 63 (bronze vessel, Moritzing/South Tyrol, Italy)

PEVAŠN IKHE SIUPIKU TIUTIS AKHVILI PIPERISNATI

“I, Pauson (?), have founded for Teuta (?), the Aquileian, the watering can.”

PEVAŠN “Pauson (Illyr. proper name)” (?)

IKHE “I” (< IE)

SIUPIKU “I have founded” = Akk. šapāku “to found”, Hebr. sūf “to let flow (= to found)”

TIUTIS “to Teuta (Illyr. proper name)” (?)

AKHVILI “Aquileian (Dative)”

PIPERISNATI “watering can” (? , Akk.) = Hitt. papparš- “to squirt, to sprinkle”

6. PID 196; BT, p. 61 (granite boulder, Vadena/Pfatten, South Tyrol, Italy)



## PNAKE VITAMU LAKHE

“I have asked you (scil. for help), Vitammu.”



PNAKE “I have turned myself” = Hebr. pānāh “to turn oneself, to devote, to dedicate”

VITAMU “(V)itammu (Akk. ghost of the dead)”

LAKHE “to you (Dative)” = Prefix of dative l- + Akk. Dat. Sing. 2. masc., fem. kâši(m)

7. PID 197; Bravi 99; BT, p. 58 (little war-statue, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

## LATURU SIPIANU SAPANIN[U]

“For the return, we beg, protect us.”

LA, LI, L “for (dative)” = Sem. la, li, lo, l “id.”

TURU “return” = Akk. tārū “to return”

SIPIANU “we beg” = Akk. suppû “to appeal, to implore”, Akk. sīpu “prayer”, Hebr. sâfan “to keep, to preserve”

SAPAN “preserve us (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. suppû “to appeal, to implore”, Akk. sīpu “prayer”, Hebr. sâfan “to keep, to preserve”, Arab. šafā(i) “to heal”, (-n(u) younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti)

NINU “us (Acc.)” = Akk. nīnu “id.” (but is nom. 1. Pl. c.)

8. PID 199; Bravi 101; BT, p. 59 (votive key, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

## KHEVISI ANATI

“Go through, my tool.”

KHEVISI “go through” = Arab. ġauz “to go through, to come through”

ANATI “my instrument” = Akk. anātu “instrument” (?) + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

9. PID 209; Bravi 82; BT, p. 65 (drinking bowl, Cles/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

TUKINUA

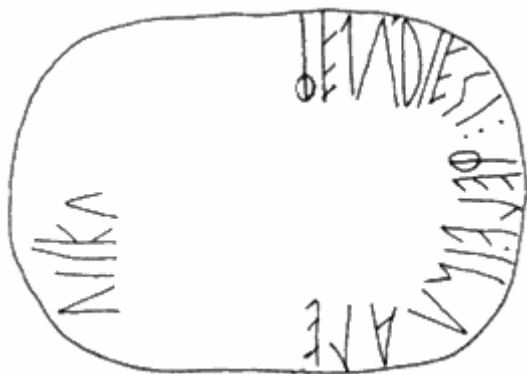
“You have been faithful.”

TUKINUA “you have been faithful” (form unclear) = Akk. *kānu* “to be honest, to be true” (Pret. 2. Pl. fem., prefix *tu-*, suffix *-ā*)

10. PID 210; Bravi 152; BT, p. 60 (bronze shield, Mechel/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

[S]IUPIKU PHELURI ESI PHELVINU ALE

“I have founded (the sign); heal, lord of the light, my god Phelvinu.”



SIUPIKU “I have founded” = Akk. *šapāku* “to found”, Hebr. *šūf* “to let flow (= to found)”

PHELURI “lord of the light” = Akk. *bēl ūri* “id.”

ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. *asû* “physician”, Aram. *’assī*, Arab. *’asā*, *’āsā* “to heal”

PHELVINU “lord of the boulders” = Raet. *\*bēl venniū*

ALE “my god” = Akk. *elu, ilu* “god; goddess”, Hebr. *allat* “goddess” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. *-ī* “my”

11. PID 214; Bravi 156; BT, p. 64 (little bronze horse, Dercolo/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

PIRIK ANIŠNU

“Kneel down! Play with us!”



PIRIK “kneel down (Imp. Sing.)” = Arab. baraka, Hebr. bārak “to kneal down”

ANIŠNU “play with us (Imp. Sing.)” = Arab. anisa “to entertain, to socialize” (-nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti) (?)

12. PID 215; BT, p. 63s. (“Situla Giovanelli”, Caslir/Val Cembra, South Tyrol, Italy)

a LAVISE ŠELI

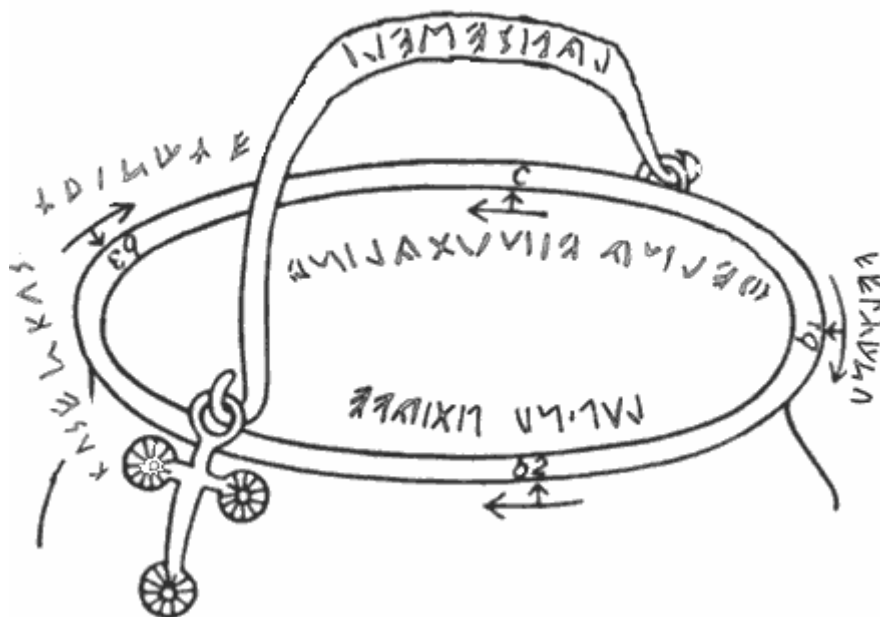
“Enjoy (pl.) the silence!”

b VELKHANU LUPINU PITIAVE KUŠ[A] ENKUS TRINAKHE

“I, Velkhanu, have made for Upinu from Padua the bronze vessel.”

c PHELNA VINUTALINA

“Mix the wine jug!”



LAVISE “enjoy (Imp. Pl., instead of \*lavisū)” = Arab. laus- “to taste, to sample”

ŠELI “silence” = Hebr. šelī “silence”

VELKHANU “place name Volcena in Emilia (Italy)” (?)

LA, LI, L “for (dative)” = Sem. la, li, lo, l “id.”

UPINU (proper name)

PITIAVE “from Padua (Latin Patavium)”

ENKUS “bronze (Acc.)” = Hebr. neḥušāh “ore”, Aram. nḥs “copper, bronze”

TRINAKHE “I have made” = Greek draino “I do, I make”, IE root \*der-“, with Sem. ending

PHELNA “mix (Imp. Pl. fem.)” = Akk. balālu, Hebr. bālal “mischen, mengen”

VINUTALINA “wine jug” = IE

13. PID 220; Bravi 221; BT, p. 61 (urn of ashes, Piovene, Italy)

PHEKE

“Cry!”

PHEKE “cry (Imp. Sing./Pl.)” for \*BEKĪ or \*BEKŪ = Akk. bakū “to cry”

14. PID 221; BT, p. 54 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

RITAM NEHELANU

“We have given Ritu a gift.”



RITAM “Ritu (Acc.)”

NEHELANU “we have given a gift” = Arab. naḥalu “to give a gift”

15. PID 222; BT, p. 56 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

RITAN[U] MELKA

“Our Ritu, queen.”



RITANU “our Ritu” (-nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c.)

MELKA “queen” = Hebr. malkāh “id.”

16. PID 224; BT, p. 56 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

RITIE KUŠITHU

“My Ritu, a dress.”



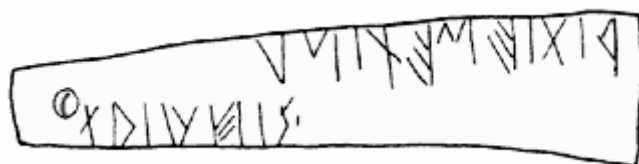
RITIE (< \*REITIA) “my Ritu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

KUŠITHU “dress” = Akk. kusītu, kušītu “id.”

17. PID 225; BT, p. 55 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

RITI EM[U] ETINU TRIAH[A] IS

“My Ritu, mother, I give this veil.”



RITI (< \*REITIA) “my Ritu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

EMU “mother” = Hebr. ēm “id.”

ETINU, younger ETINE “I give (Present; Perf. is tinake)” = Arab. ‘aṭū “to give”

TRIAHA “veil (Acc.)” = Arab. ṭarḥa “id.”

IS “this“ = Phen. eš “id.”

18. PID 227; BT, p. 55 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

REIT[I] EMUIU THINAKE

“My Ritu, I have given firewood.”



REITI “my Ritu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

EMUIU “firewood” = Akk. emmû “id.” (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. –ē)

THINAKE “I have given” = Arab. ‘atū “to give”

19. PID 228; BT, p. 55 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

RIT[U] ALE LEMA IS THINAKE

“Ritu, my goddess, I have given this hair-curl.”



RITU “Ritu”

ALE “my goddess” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”, Arab. allat “goddess”

LEMA “hair-curl” = Arab. limma “id.”

IS “this“ = Phen. eš “id.”

THINAKE “I have given” = Arab. ‘atū “to give”

20. PID 229; Bravi 201; BT, p. 65 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

RITHI EKER RINAKE

“My Ritu, I have pawned my wages.”



RITHI (< \*REITIA) “my Ritu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”  
EKER “wages” (instead of Acc. \*ekera) = Arab. aġr “wages, price”  
RINAKE “I have pawned” = Arab. rahana “to pawn”, rahīna “pawn”

21. PID 232; BT, p. 57 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

ESTU ALE APHIR

“Estu, my goddess, a tiara.”



ESTU “Estu”

ALE “my goddess” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”, Arab. allat “goddess”

APHIR “tiara” = Hebr. aphēr “id.”

22. PID 233; Bravi 206; BT, p. 65 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

ES.TU A TEL RAKINUA

“Estu, for rain one hopes.”



ESTU “Estu”

A < Arab. al, cf. RAKINUA

TEL “rain” = Arab. ṭall “id.”

RAKINUA “one hopes” (form unclear) = Arab. rakina al “to trust in” (cf. TUKINUA)

23. PID 234; Bravi 209; BT, p. 56 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

ESI UM NINU ŠUR

“Heal us, mother, a sacrificial bull.”



ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. asû “physician”, Aram. ’assī, Arab. ’asā, ’āsā “to heal”

UM “mother” = Akk. ummu, Arab. umm “id.”

NINU “us (Acc.)” = Akk. nīnu “id.” (but is nom. 1. Pl. c.)

ŠUR “bull” = Akk. šūr, Hebr. šōr “id.”

24. PID 237; Bravi 211; BT, p. 65 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

KLEVIE VA L[I?]TIKINU ASUA

“Made for Klevios and for T’ikinu.”





KLEVIE “to Klevios (Dat. of a non-Sem. proper name)

VA “and” = Akk. u “id.”

LA, LI, L “for (Dat.)” = Sem. la, li, lo, l “id.”

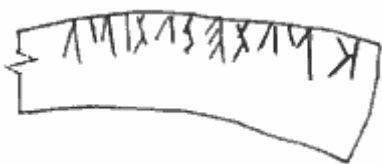
TIKINU “God of the River, Latin Ticinus” (cf. the Swiss river and canton Ticino)

ASUA “made (form unclear)” = Hebr. ‘āsāh “to make”

25. PID 238; Brunner, in: Bündner Monatsblatt 7/8-1982, p. 163 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

KNUSE SUSINU

“Gather our horses!”



KNUSE “gather (Imp. Sing.)” = cf. Hebr. kānas “to gather” (cf. Knesseth “gathering, assembly”)

SUSINU “our horses (Acc.)” = Hebr. sūs “horse” (-nu younger for –ni Gen. Pl. 1. c.)

26. PID 239; BT, p. 57 (stagshorn, Magrè, Italy)

LA [E]STE PHUTIKHINU

“Estu, don’t kill us!”



LA “do ... not (prohibitive)” = Akk. lā (with present tense) “id.”

ESTE instead of \*ESTIA (?) “my (?) Estu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

PHUTIKINU (instead of \*PUTIKINU) “don’t kill us (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Arab. fataka “to kill” + -nu, younger for –ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. –niāti

27. PID 244; BT, p. 63 (little bronze shovel, Padova, Italy)

ET.SUA (ETISUA?) LEUTIKU KAIAN NA KINATARIS AKVILI

“I, Etisua (?), smith, have made (this) for the Aquileian Kinatar.”



ETISUA = proper name (?)

LEUTIKU “I have made (as a blacksmith)” = Arab. *latasa*, *laṭaša*, *laṭama* “to hit, to beat”, Hebr. *lāṭaš* “to hammer, to pound” (hence there must have been a Sem. root \**laṭ*-/*lauṭ*- “to hit, to beat”)

KAIAN “blacksmith” = Arab. *qain* “id.”

NA “for” = Akk. *ana* “id.”

KINATARIS “of Kinatar (with Etr. Gen. in *-is/-es*)”

AKVILI “(to the) Aquileian”

28. PID 245; Bravi 193; BT, p. 58 (stagshorn, San Briccio di Lavagno, Italy)

[E]TINE SUNA

“I give a towel.”

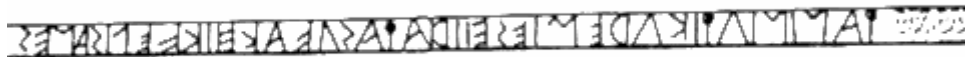


ETINU, younger ETINE “I give (Present; Perf. is *tinake*)” = Arab. *‘aṭū* “to give”  
SUNA “towel (Acc.) = Akk. *sūnu* “id.”

29. PID 247; BT, p. 62 (sword, Verona, Italy)

PHANI SIUPHIKU REMIES HIRAPHA SU VAKHIK VELISANES

“I, Bani, have founded this sword for Remius, nobleman from Felsina ).?”



PHANI “Bani (proper name)”

SIUPHIKU “I have founded” = Akk. šapāku “to found”, Hebr. šūf “to let flow (= to found)”

REMIES “to Remies (Etr. Gen./Dat.)”

HIRAPHA “sword (Acc.)” = Hebr. hereb “sword”

SU “this” = Akk. šu “id.”

VAKHIK “nobleman” = Arab. wağṭh “noble”

VELISANES “from/of Felsina (Etr. for Bologna, Latin Bononia)”

30. PID 248; Bravi 195; BT, p. 58 (vase, area of Verona, Italy)

KALIU ETU

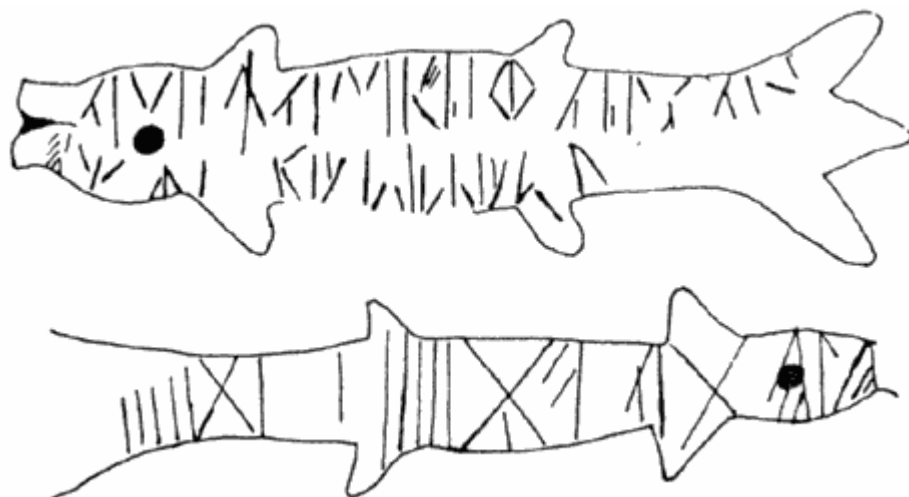
“I give woolen clothing.”

KALIU “woolen clothing” = Akk. halû “woolen cloth” (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. –ē)

ETU “I give” = Arab. ‘aṭū “to give”

31. Mancini 14; Bravi 83; BT, p. 58 (Bronze votive fish, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

LA SBAPHI RIMAKI NAGEKI KHAŠIKHANU EPETAV



“Don’t dry out my bath; we need your help; I give berries (fruits?).”



LA “do ... not (prohibitive)” = Akk. *lā* (with present tense) “id.”

SBABI “dry out (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Akk. *šabābu* “to dry out”

RIMAKI “my bath (Acc.)” = Akk. *rimku* “bath” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. *-ī* “my”

NAGEKI “your help (Acc.)” = Arab. *naġāt* “rescue”, *-ki* “your (fem.)”

KHAŠIKHANU “we need” = Arab. *ḥašāḥu* “to need”

EPETAV = ENBIU ETAU

ENBIU “fruits, berries” (Acc. Pl.) = Akk. *enbu* “fruit”, Hebr. *‘ēnāb* “wine berry”  
(Raet. Acc. Pl. *-iu* = Akk. *-ē*)

ETAU “I give” = Arab. *‘atū* “to give”

32. Mancini 16; Bravi 85; BT, p. 60 (little bronze horse, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

VISPE KHAMAIU APNU

“The horde of rebels let rot!”



VISPE “horde (Acc.)” = Arab. wišb “id.”

KHAMAIU “of the rebels (Gen. Pl. = Akk. hamā’u (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. – ē)

APNU “let rot (Imp. Pl.)” = Arab. ‘afina “to rot”

33. Mancini 18; Bravi 87; Brunner, in: *Helvetia Archaeologica* 16-1985, p. 66 (bronze votive, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

VATHANU REITU ŠNU

“We suffer, Ritu, let it rain!”

VATHANU (statt \*VAKANU) “we suffer” = Arab. waǧi’a “to suffer”

REITU “Ritu”

ŠNU (instead of \*šnuī) “let it rain (Imp. Sing. fem.) = Arab. sanā(u) “to irrigate”, Akk. šanû “to rinse off”

34. Mancini 21; Bravi 90; BT, p. 66 (bronze little horse, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

KATI AVE

“Give asylum to the criminal!”



KATI “criminal (Acc.)” = Hebr. hattā’ “sinner”, Akk. hat(t)u “guilty”, Arab. hātī’ “sinner”

AVE “give asylum (Imp. Sing.)” = Arab. awā’i “to look for asylum; to give asylum”

35. Mancini 22; Bravi 91; BT, p. 66 (bronze little horse, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

KUNINA [E]SI

“(I have given) a drinking vessel; heal!”

KUNINA “drinking vessel (Acc.)” = Akk. kuninu “id.”

ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. asû “physician”, Aram. ’assī, Arab. ’asā, ’āsā “to heal”

36. Mancini 23; Bravi 92; BT, p. 60 (Siamese horse couple, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

KHELIVAI TINAK[E]

“I have given the two white horses.”

KHELIVAI “the two with horses (Dual Acc.)” = Akk. helû “light (vs. dark)”

TINAKE “I have given” = Arab. ’atū “to give”

37. Mancini 24; Bravi 93; BT, p. 65 (Siamese horse couple, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

## ERIKIANU EPELIE

“Lengthen us the ropes!”



ERIKIANU “lengthen us”, ERIKIA (Imp. Dual masc., Arab. *-ā*) = Hebr. *ārak* “to lengthen”, Akk. *arāku* “to be long”, Assy. *ērik* (-nu younger for *-ni* Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. *-niāti*)

EPELIE “ropes (Acc. Pl.) for *\*ebeliu*, Akk. *ablu* “rope” (Raet. Acc. Pl. *-iu* = Akk. *-ē*)

38. Mancini 27; Bravi 96; BT, p. 61 (bronze horse with horseman (Kastor?), Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

## KARAPA ŠNA PHELI PURI ESI ELUKU SLEP ILE

“Stop the leprosy, my lord of the fate, heal! Free the walking, my god!”



KARAPA “leprosy” instead of \*garaba = Akk. garābu “id.”

ŠNA “block, to stop (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. šanā’u “to block, to stop”

PHELI “my lord” for \*bēli + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

PURI “fate (Gen. Sing.)” = Akk. pūru “id.”

ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. asû “physician”, Aram. ’assī, Arab. ’asā, ’āsā “to heal”

ELUKU “walking (noun)” = Hebr. hālōk “id.”, Akk. alāku “to go”

SLEP “to free (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. šalāpu “to pull out, to liberate”, Hebr. šālaf “id.”

ILE “my god” = Akk. ili “id.” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

39. Mancini 28; Bravi 97; BT, p. 65 (fish-shaped bronze figure, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

LA SPATIANU ESIUNNE LIPI EKALŠUNU ENPETAV

“Don’t seize us! Heal us (?)! One makes fun of my heart. I give berries.”





LA “do ... not (prohibitive)” = Akk. *lā* (with Present) “id.”

SPATIANU “seize us” (Imp. Dual) = Akk. *ṣabātu* “to seize, to catch”, -nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti

ESIUNNE “heal us” (?) = Akk. *asû* “physician”, Aram. *’assī*, Arab. *’asā*, *’āsā* “to heal” (-nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti)

LIPI “my heart” = Akk. *libbu* “heart” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

EKALŠUNU “they make fun” = Hebr. *qālas* “to make fun of”, -ūnu is Akk. 3. Pl. Present/Imperf.

EPETAV = ENBIU ETAU

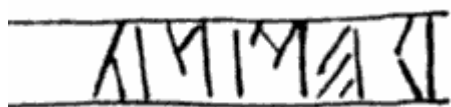
ENBIU “fruits, berries” (Acc. Pl.) = Akk. *enbu* “fruit”, Hebr. *’ēnāb* “wine berry” (Raet. Acc. Pl. -iu = Akk. -ē)

ETAU “I give” = Arab. *’atū* “to give”

40. Mancini 30; Bravi 103; BT, p. 64 (drinking vessel, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

REMINA

“Love!”

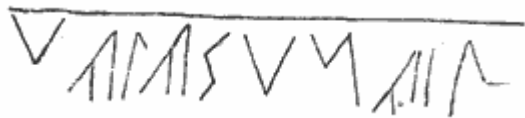


REMINA “love (Imp. Pl. fem. -na)” = Akk. *rāmu*, Arab. *ra’ima* “to love”

41. Mancini 75; Bravi 81; BT, p. 60 (sieve (?), Cles/Nonsberg, South Tyrol, Italy)

[SI]PIANU SAPAU

“We are asking: heal (Imp. 2. Pl.)!”



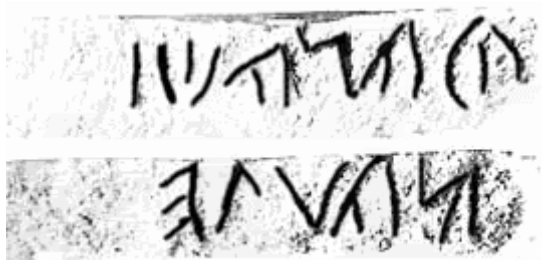
SIPIANU “we beg” = Akk. *suppû* “to appeal, to implore”, Akk. *sīpu* “prayer”, Hebr. *sāfan* “to keep, to preserve”

SAPAU “heal (Imp. Pl. masc. -ū)” = Akk. *suppû* “to appeal, to implore”, Akk. *sīpu* “prayer”, Hebr. *sāfan* “to keep, to preserve”, Arab. *šafā(i)* “to heal”

42. Mancini 81; Bravi, p. 33, plate X; BT, p. 58 (stele, Settequerce/Siebeneich, South Tyrol, Italy)

PHANAKI NLAUPE

“In front of you there is food.”



PHANAKI instead of \*PANAKI “in front of you” = *pān*, *pāni* “in front of”, Akk. *pānu*, Hebr. *pānīm* “id.”; -ki is fem.

NLAUPE “food” = nominal preformative m- + Arab. *laufa* “to eat”

43. Mancini 89; BT, p. 64 (stagshorn, origin unknown)

AVITA HUR

“The crop of cereals has fulfilled our purposes.”



AVITA “has fulfilled our purposes” = Arab. awada “to fulfill one’s purposes”

HUR “crop of cereals” = Arab. hurry “granary” (obviously < Raet.)

44. Mancini 103; Bravi 16; Brunner, in: *Helvetia Archaeologica* 16-1985, p. 64 (stagshorn, Poggio Tarces/Tartsch, Italy)

LAVIS EL LAVISE ALU TARUTH

“Enjoy, god! Enjoy, goddess Taruk!”



LAVIS “taste, sample (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Arab. laus- “to taste”

EL “god” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”

LAVISE “to taste (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Arab. laus- “to taste”

ALU “goddess” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”, Arab. allat “goddess”

TARUTH for \*TARUKH “goddess” (cf. the Italian place name Poggio Tarces)

45. Mancini 105; Bravi 257; BT, p. 58 (ceramic fragment, Wattens, North Tyrol, Austria)

KHAISURUS

“Red canvas.”

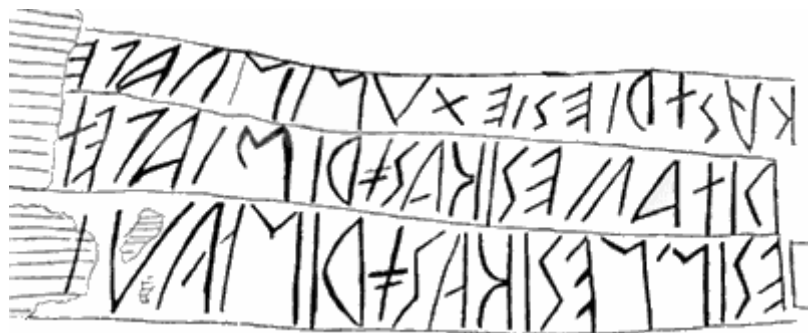


KHAISURUS “red canvas” (noun-adj.l.) = Arab. haiš “canvas”, Akk. ruššû “red”

46. Mancini 106; BT, p. 59 (46.-53. rock inscriptions, Steinberg am Achensee, North Tyrol, Austria)

KASTRI ESI ETUNI MLAPET

“My Kastor, heal, my lord! Sacrificial food.”



KASTRI “my Kastor” + Gen. sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. asû “physician”, Aram. ’assī, Arab. ’asā, ’āsā “to heal”

ETUNI “my lord” = Hebr. adoni “id.” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

MLAPET “food” = nominal preformative m- + Arab. laufa “to eat”

47. Mancini 107; BT, p. 59

RIT[U] ALI ESI KASTRI MIAPET

“Ritu, my goddess, heal! My Kastor, sacrificial food.”

RITU “Ritu”

ALI “my goddess” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”, Arab. allat “goddess” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. asû “physician”, Aram. ’assī, Arab. ’asā, ’āsā “to heal”

KASTRI “my Kastor” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

MIAPET “food” = nominal preformative m- + Arab. laufa “to eat”

48. Mancini 108; BT, p. 59

ESI MNESI KASTRI MLAUPE

“My Kastor, cure my disease! (Here is) sacrificial food.”

ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. asû “physician”, Aram. ’assī, Arab. ’asā, ’āsā “to heal”

MNESI “my disease” = Akk. mēneštu “weakness”, Hebr. nūš “to be ill/sick” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

KASTRI “my Kastor” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. -ī “my”

MLAUPE “food” = nominal preformative m- + Arab. laufa “to eat”

49. Mancini 109; BT, p. 60

USIPE KHATIV MIAPE

“Multiply the kids (goats)! Sacrificial food.”

USIPE “to multiply (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Hebr. jāsaf “to multiply” (cf. Joseph)

KHATIV for \*gadiu “little goat” (Acc. Pl.)” = Arab. ġady, hebr. gedī “id.” (Raet. Acc. Pl. -iu = Akk. -ē)

MIAPE “food” = nominal preformative m- + Arab. laufa “to eat”

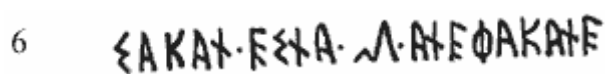
50. Mancini 110; BT, p. 60

ESI ELVA [A]ŠA VEKER[A] AKHVE

“Heal, god, let the grotto overflow!”

4 

5 

6 

ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. asû “physician”, Aram. ’assī, Arab. ’asā, ’āsā “to heal”

ELVA “god” = Hebr. elōah “id.”

ÁŠA “make (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Hebr. āśāh “to make”

VEKERA “grotto (Acc. Sing.)” = Arab. wağr “grotto”

AKHVE “flood (Acc.)” = Akk. agû “water flood”

51. Mancini 111; Bravi 252; BT, p. 57

SAKATI ESTA ŠATE PHAKAT[I]

“You have been generous, my (?) Estu, you have watched the farmland.”

SAKATI “you have been generous (2. Perf. fem. ending in –ti)” = Arab. saḥā “to be generous”

ESTA instead of \*ESTIA (?) “my (?) Estu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

ŠATE “field, farmland (Acc.) = Hebr. šādeh “field, farmland”

PHAKATI “you have watched” = Hebr. pāqad “to watch, to visit”, Akk. paqādu “to look for”

52. Mancini 112; Brunner, in: *Helvetia Archaeologica* 16-1985, p. 65

KISE

“Money”

KISE “money” = Akk. kīsu “id.”

53. Mancini 113; Brunner, in: *ESOP* 10, 1982, p. 46

AKVE KI

“Spit out the flood!”

AKVE “flood (Acc.)” = Akk. agû “water flood”

KI “spit out (Imp. Sing.) = hebr. qī “to spit out”

54. (First reading by Prof. Brunner); BT, p. 56 (stagshorn, Scuol-Russonch, Lower Engadine Valley/Canton of Grisons, Switzerland)

ATUKU (ATAKU?) RITI UNBIU

“My Ritu, I have given berries.”

ATUKU “I have given” = Arab. ‘atū “to give”

RITI (< \*REITIA) “my Ritu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

UNBIU “fruits, berries” (Acc. Pl.) = Akk. enbu “fruit”, Hebr. ‘ēnāb “wine berry”  
(Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. – ē)

55. (First reading by Prof. Brunner); BT, p. 58 (idolstone, Wartau, Rhine Valley, Canton of St. Gallen, Switzerland)

ETU KHAT

“I give a kid (goat).”

ETU, ETAU “I give” = Arab. ‘atū “to give”

KHAT for \*gada “little goat (Acc. Sing.)” = Arab. ġady, Hebr. gedī “id.”

56. PID 195

Handle of a bronze bowl or situla, Moritzing, North Tyrol/Austria

PITAMNE

Perhaps to read RITANU “our Ritu” like in BT, p. 56, or RITAM NE[HELANU]  
“we have given Ritu a gift” like in BT, p. 54.

57. PID 203

Bone (horn?), probably from a knife-handle, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, Italy

a JIPERKUSIALE JILIKE

b AHUA

Side a is unclear, perhaps to Akk. perku “bar, barrier”, ALE probably “my goddess” like in BT, p. 55. ILIKE “I have gone” is Raet. ablaut, cf. Akk. alākum “to go” vs. illik “he has gone”, also on PID 223 and perhaps on PID 208, cf. PID 223.

Side b AHUA possibly to raet. AKHVE, to akk. agû “waterflood”.

58. PID 208

Block of porphyry, Tavon/Nonsberg, Italy

JRILEKE

Cf. commentary to PID 203.

59. PID 213

Part of the hollow rim of a bronze vase, Mechel, Nonsberg/Italy

]TAMURIRI

Since the Raeti used to bury their dead by fire, we may have here an ashes urn: Akk. *temēru* “to bury”, *tumru* “ashes”, the second –RI may be due to reduplication.

60. PID 216

Large pentola (metal bowl) or two-handled vase, Rotzo, Asiago/Italy

]IŠNAŠU

Probably to read IŠNA ŠU “this cereal” to Akk. *ašnân* “bread, cereal” and Akk. *šu* “this, that” (BT, p. 83), so obviously the bowl contained cereals.

61. PID 217

Earthenware vase, Rotzo, Asiago/Italy

ITUNATUŠI

Probably to divide in ITUNA TUŠI. ITUNA to Akk. *utûnu*, *atûnu* “fire oven”. TUŠI may be a proper name with the Raet.-Akk.-Arab. Gen. ending –i, cf. BT, p. 83.

62. PID 223

Stagshorn, Magrè, Italy

]EILUKE[

“We may perhaps venture to restore the text as RITI]EILUKE” (PID ad loc.), but more probably to RITIE ILUKE. For RITIE cf. BT, p. 56. ILUKE to Akk. *alākum* “to go” and ILIKE in PID 203 and 208 (Raet. ablaut). The translation, therefore, would be: “My Ritu, I have gone away”.



63. PID 226

Stagshorn, Magrè, Italy

]EMANIS[



To read EMAN IS. EMAN to Akk. ummānu “people” and Raet. es/is “this, that”, cf. BT, p. 83. To the vowel changing E/U in EMAN vs. ummānu cf. in other Raetic inscriptions: ATUKU RITI UNPHIU “My Ritu, I have given berries” (Inscription of Schuls/Switzerland, cf. BT, p. 56), where unphiu/unbiu is Acc. Pl. of unbu/enbu, cf. also Bravi 83 E[N]B[IU] ETAU “I give berries” (BT, p. 58), Bravi 97 ENPETAV = ENBIU ETAU “id” (BT, p. 65).

64. PID 231

Stagshorn, Magrè, Italy

EJSTUVA TINAKHE

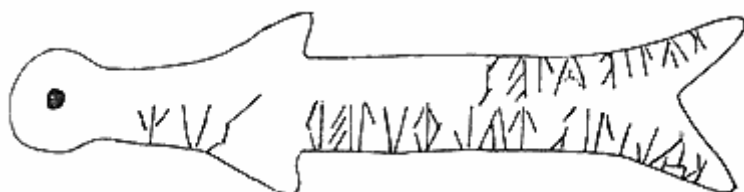
In the first part there is probably the name of the goddess ESTU (cf. BT, pp. 57ss.), TINAKHE “I have given”, to Hebr. tēn, Akk. idin “to give” (BT, p. 55). According to the other Raetic inscriptions, one awaits “My Estu, I have [...] given”, so we have here ESTUVA instead of \*ESTI (cf. RITU vs. RITI).

65. Mancini 17

Bronze zoomorph (fish), Sanzeno/Nonsberg, Italy

KAPIVAPES

KALIPISTAL PHUPER SUKH



The first line is perhaps to read KAPI V(A) APES, KAPI to Akk. kipūm “to bend”, APES to Akk. epēšu “command (of a god or goddess)”, and V(A) must belong to Akk. pana “before, in front of” (cf. BT, p. 84), the sense of the sentence is therefore: “I/We follow your command”. The second line may be to read as KALIP IST AL PHUPER SUKH, where KALIP is KALIU “woollen clothing” (cf. PID 248, BT, p. 58), IST is the name of the goddess ESTU, and AL stands for ALU “goddess”. Since the Middle-Babylonian speaking Raeti still had contacts with the Sumerians (Badiny 1974, p. 294), they must have adopted the Sum. word for “white”: babbar (cf. Gostony 1975, no. 155) that appears here as PHUPER. SUKH seems to belong to Akk. šakānum “to sacrifice”. The translation of the second line, therefore, is: “Goddess Estu, I/we have brought you white clothes (as a sacrifice)”.

66. Mancini 19

Bronze zoomorph (seahorse), Sanzeno/Nonsberg, Italy

# TIKHITII TINA ?

TIKHITII stands obviously for Acc. TIKHITA to Akk. dakūtu “combat force”, TINA for ETINU “I give” (cf. BT, p. 55), therefore the inscription is to translate as “I give force for a sea-war” (consider also the meaning “horse” in sea-horse!).

67. Mancini 32

Iron hoe, Sanzeno/Nonsberg, Italy

KHINE



Possibly to Akk. kinūnu “coal vessel”. In this case, the hoe would be a coal hoe.

68. Mancini 73

Stagshorn, Mechel/Nonsberg, Italy



PHAUSU/T [INAKHE

To Akk. pašultu “axe” and [TH]INAKHE “I have given” like in PID 231, hence: “I have given an axe”.

69. Mancini 83

Stagshorn, Serso/Valsugana, Italy



a ANSU . MNAVITAHUR

b ISKESAKHVILISKE

Side a to read ANSU MN AVITA HUR. ANSU to Raet. ANIŠNU “play with us” (cf. BT, p. 64). AVITA HUR also occurs on a stagshorn inscription already discussed by Brunner: “The crop-harvest served our purposes”, AVITA to Arab. awada “to serve someone’s purposes”, Arab. hury (derived obviously from Raet. HUR) “granary” (BT, p. 64). Side b unclear, perhaps to read ISKES AKHVILISKE, AKHVILI also appearing in inscription PID 192 (cf. BT, p. 63) “the man/woman from Aquileia”.

70. Mancini 84

Stagshorn, Serso/Valsugana, Italy

a JEMETINU

b SPHURASENTUS



Side a to read EM ETINU, ETINU like in Mancini 19 “I give”. EM could be EM[U] “mother” like in PID 225 RITI EM[U] ETINU TRIAH[A]IS “My Ritu, mother, I give this veil” (BT, p. 55). Side b to read SPHURA SENTUS, SPHURA probably belongs to Akk. ṣabāru “to twitter, to chirp”, ṣabburītu “sorceress” (BT,

p. 77). SENTUS may belong to Akk. šenentu “fitting”. Hence the translation would be: “fitting to a sorceress”.

71. Mancini 85  
 Stagshorn, Serso/Valsugana, Italy  
 ARUŠNAS ]?EILNA  
 Probably to Akk. erēšu “agriculture”.



72. Mancini 87  
 Stagshorn, Serso/Valsugana, Italy  
 ]RIMARITAMN  
 To read RIMA RITAMN. RIMA is Imperf. to Akk. rāmu “to be merciful”.  
 RITAMN is the same as in PID 195. Hence the translation of the inscription is:  
 “Be merciful: We have given Ritu a gift”.



73. Mancini 88  
 Stagshorn, Serso/Valsugana, Italy



ARUSETARNAIERISNA

To read ARUSE TARNAI ERISNA. ARUSE we find in the name of the Raetic tribe of the Arusnates “farmers” (in the East of the Lake of Garda), to Akk. arrāšu “farmer” (BT, p. 69). TARNAI belongs to Arab. dār “house and field” (BT, p. 79), the ending being obviously the Dual like in Bravi 92 KHELIVAI TINAK[E] “I have given the two white horses” (BT, p. 60). ERISNA instead of \*ERISNU is Akk. erēšum “to farm” (cf. also Mancini 85). Hence the translation of the inscription is: “(I,) Farmer, I have cultivated the two lands”.

74. Mancini 91  
Stagshorn, Serso/Valsugana, Italy  
]??? TŠIERISNA



To read TŠI ERISNA. While the beginning of the inscription is fragmentary, ERISNA is the same like in Mancini 88.

75. Mancini 114  
Inscription on a boulder, Steinberg/North Tyrol, Austria  
LITIAUPI / NLAUP[E]

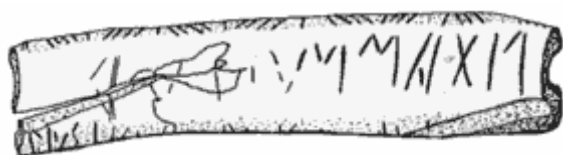
The second part has to be read MLAUPET “sacrificial food” with the nominal m-prefix (BT, pp. 59s.). Since we also find the form MIAPET with vocalization of the L (BT, p. 59), one can assume, that in the first part the nominal prefix M was substituted by LI and that it is therefore exactly the same word.

76. Schumacher 1991, p. 318  
Little bronze horse, origin unknown  
PAEVVPARIE

PARIE could belong to Akk. parā’um “to cut off, to separate”. Given the highly fragmentary condition of this inscription, this is, of course, a mere speculation.

77. Schumacher 1992, p. 215  
Stagshorn, Brixen, Stufels/South Tyrol, Italy  
a PITAMNUKH

b LASPASIELUKU



Side a means RITAM N[EHELANU] “we have given Ritu a gift”, cf. PID 195. Side b is to read LA SPASI ELUKU “Don’t stop my walking!”. LA is prohibitive particle like f. ex. in Bravi 97 LA SPATIANU “Don’t seize us” (BT, p. 65), SPASI belongs to Akk. šapāsum “to be hampered (feet)”, ELUKU zu Akk. alākum “to go”. Obviously, this is a plea to Ritu who has here the role of a healing goddess (like f. ex. in Mancini 107, cf. BT, p. 59), to cure the paralysis of somebody’s legs.

78. Ziegaus/Rix, p. 301  
Silver ring, Nußdorf/Upper Bavaria, Germany

TIPRUKHNU LAVISEZ[-Z]

Here between TI- and PRUKHNU may be a morpheme boundary, PRUKHNU “we sacrifice” belongs to Akk. parāhum “to sacrifice”, -nu being as usual the ending of 1. Pl. Instead of LAVISEZ, one has to read LAVISEL “enjoy, god” (personal communication of Prof. Brunner; cf. also BT, p. 64) to Arab. laus “to sample” and Hebr. eli “my god”. The translation is: “We sacrifice; enjoy, god”. Here, perhaps Kastor is meant (cf. BT, pp. 59ss.).

Herewith 78 of the approximately 200 Raetic inscriptions are translated. The rest consists of scattered signs, unclear single symbols or numbers.

## 8. Raetic Grammar

The present chapter substitutes the “Abriss der rätischen Grammatik” (“Outlines of a Raetic Grammar”) in Brunner and Toth (1987, pp. 82-84) and delivers a complete grammar of the highly fragmentarily conserved Raetic on the basis of the inscriptions. To the first time, we also deal with Raetic syntax.

### 1. Phonology

#### 1.1 The Semitic sound-correspondences

Because of technical reason a dot under a letter will be represented by a simple underlining, a semicircle by a double underlining.

Arabic	Hebrew	Akkadan	Raetic
L	L	L	L
R	R	R	R
M	M	M	M
N	N	N	N
U/W	U/W	U/W	U/W
I	I	I	I
B	B	B	P/PH
F	P/F	P	P/PH
D	D	D	T/TH
T	T	T	T/TH
<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>T</u>	T/TH
Ğ	G	G	K/KH
K	K	K	K/KH
Q	Q	Q	K/KH
<u>H</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>H</u>	KH/K
<u>H</u>	<u>H</u>	—	H
H	H	—	H
S/Š/Ṣ	S/Š/Ṣ/Ś	S/Š/Ṣ	S/Š/Ś

Z                      Z                      Z                      Z

## 1.2 Sound changings

### 1.2.1 Vowels

In Raetic, each vowel at the end of a word could slowly get to e and finally even disappear:

ALE “my goddess” (PID 228; BT, p. 55) for ALI (Mancini 107; BT, p. 59), EPELIE “ropes (Acc. Pl.)” for \*EPELIU (Bravi 93; BT, p. 65), AKHVE “flood” for \*AKHVA (Mancini 110; BT, p. 60), EKER “wages” für \*EKERA (Bravi 201; BT, p. 65), LAVISE “enjoy (Imp. 2. Pl. m.)” für \*LAVISŪ, ETINU “I give”, younger ETINE.

These developments started in Early New-Babylonian, cf. Hyatt (1941).

If two vowels come together, then mostly one of them will be dropped. As a rule, it is the first one, but also the second vowel can be dropped:

RIT[U] ALI (PID 228, BT, p. 55), REIT[I] EMUIU (PID 227; BT, p. 55), EM[U] ETINU (PID 225; BT, p. 55), RIT[U] ALI (Mancini 107; BT, p. 59), LA [E]STE (PID 239; BT, p. 57); ELVA [A]ŠA (Mancini 110; BT, p. 60)

KUNINA [E]SI (Bravi 91; BT, p. 66), etc.

In the following cases both vowels are conserved, mostly perhaps because of respect toward the name of the god or goddess:

RITI EM[U] (PID 225; BT, p. 55), ALI ESI (Mancini 107; BT, p. 59), ESTU ALE APHIR (PID 232; BT, p. 57), ESI ELVA (Mancini 110; BT, p. 60), etc., LEMA IS (PID 228; BT, p. 55), KALIU ETU (Bravi 195; BT, p. 58).

Sometimes a vowel is dropped even at the end of a sentence. The reason must be the jumping of the accent to another syllable backwards, similar like in Hebrew:

LATURU SIPIANU SAPANIN[U] (PID 197; BT, p. 58), KHELIVAI TINAK[E] (Bravi 92; BT, p. 60), SAKATI ESTA ŠATE PHAKAT[I] (Bravi 252; BT, p. 57).



Towards back-jumping of the accent or initial intonation in Raetic also the following examples point:

APNU “let get rotten” to Arab. ‘afina “to get rotten, to decay” (Bravi 85; BT, p. 60); ELVA “god” = Hebr. elōah “id.” (Mancini 110; BT, p. 60); LA SBABI “don’t dry out” to Akk. šabābu “to dry out” (Bravi 83; BT, p. 58); LA SPATIANU “don’t seize us” to Akk. sabātu “to seize” (Bravi 97; BT, p. 65); KARAPA ŠNA “stop the leprosy” to Akk. šanā’u “to block, to stop” (Bravi 96; BT, p. 61); REITU ŠNU “Ritu, let it rain” to Akk. šanū “to rinse off” (Bravi 87; Brunner, in: *Helvetia Archaeologica* 16-1985, p. 66); PNAKE “I have turned myself” to Hebr. pānāh “to turn o.s. towards s.o.” (PID 196; BT, p. 61); KNUSE “gather!” to Hebr. kānas “to assemble” (same syncope in “Kneseth”) (PID 238; Brunner, in: *Bündner Monatsblatt* 7/8-1982, p. 163).

An interesting case is PEVAŠN “Pauson” (PID 192; BT, p. 63), where the diphthong AU of the Illyrian name is rendered with EV, so that V was probably half-vocalic and the name was pronounced in Raetic as “Péwšən”.

The whole vocalic ending (Acc. Pl.) has been finally dropped in: ENPETAV (Bravi 97; BT, p. 65) and EPETAV (Bravi 83; BT, p. 58) “I give fruits” instead of \*ENBIU ETAU.

-IA > -A in ESTA instead of \*ESTIA “my Estu” (PID 252; BT, p. 57).

-U > -A in ERISNA instead of ERISNU “I have cultivated” (Mancini 88).

-IU > (-IV) > -IP in the single example KALIP (Mancini 17) instead of KALIU (PID 248, BT, p. 58). Intermediary -IV shows up in KHATIV (Mancini 109; BT, p. 60) for \*gadiu.

Diphthong besides simple vowels shows up in: AU besides A: ETAU and ETU “I give” (Bravi 83; BT, p. 58). EI besides I: REITU (Bravi 87; Brunner, in: *Helvetia Archaeologica* 16-1985, p. 66) and RITU (PID 228; BT, p. 55).

ILUKE “I have gone” (PID 223) to Akk. alākum “to go” vs. ILIKE (PID 203 and 208) to Akk. illik “he has gone” shows Raet. ablaut (the same a/i ablaut like in Akk., cf. Riemschneider 1978, p. 47) and is the strongest grammatical proof that Raet. was a Sem. language.

### 1.2.2 Consonants

V is preserved in PID 196; BT, p. 61: VITAMU “Vitammu, Itammu”.

“In the oldest Babylonian w was also still preserved at the beginning of a word, as f. ex. in Hammurabi wālidija ‘my producer’, wāšibu ‘sitting’ etc. [...]. But already at that time w in the beginning must have started to vanish; since besides warhum ‘month’ we find already arhu” (Brockelmann 1908, p. 139). Since the time of the rule of Hammurabi was from 1792-1750 B.C., Raetic must thus reach back at least into the 18<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

In Raetic double consonants are never written: LEMA = Arab. limma “hair-curl” (PID 228; BT, p. 55), SAPANIN[U] = SAPAN NIN[U] (Bravi 99; BT, p. 58).

PH for P one finds in PHUTIKINU instead of \*PUTIKINU “kill us” (PID 239; BT, p. 57), PHANAKI instead of \*PANAKI “in front of you” (Bravi, p. 33, table X; BT, p. 58).

PH for B and P in: PHANI instead of \*BANI EN (PID 247; BT, p. 63), PANIUN “Ben Jonah” (PID 191; BT, p. 63).

B, P and PH are confused in: LASPA PHIRIMATHI statt \*LA SBABI RIMAKI “don’t dry out my bath” (Bravi 83; BT, p. 58).

TH instead of T: RITHI (Bravi 201; BT, p. 65) “my Ritu” for Riti (so e.g. PID 225; BT, p. 55). TH instead of K: RIMATHI for \*RIMAKI “my bath” (Bravi 83; BT, p. 58). TH instead of KH: TARUTH for \*TARUKH EN (to the place name Poggio Tarcès).

N for M in: LAŠANUALE for \*LA ŠAMUALE “für Samuel” (PID 191; BT, p. 63).

MI- > LI in LITIAUPI (Mancini 114) instead of MLAUPET, MIAPET, etc. (Mancini 108, 109; BT, pp. 59, 60 etc.).

Schwa must be assumed between two following consonants: MNESI, MLAUPE, MLAPET besides the cases, where L mouillé appears: MIAPET, MIAPE (Mancini 106-109; BT, p. 59).

Assimilation ALT > \*ATT > AT in: A TEL RAKINUA “for rain one hopes” (Bravi 206; BT, p. 65).

Metathesis is found in TRIAH[A] = Arab. tarḥa “veil”; cf. Hebr. rūah besides Arab. rūḥa “soul”.

ENKUS (PID 215; BT, pp. 63s.), that hangs together with Hebr. nehūšāh “ore”, Aram. nhs “copper, bronze”, shows that h was pronounced in Raet. here like h.

Sem. h, k and q are treated in the same way both in Retorom. and in Latin. In the beginning of the words they appear as k:

Calven (Tirol) < Akk. halbu “forest”, Caláz (Tinzen) < Arab. kalā’ “grass”, Carnac (San Vitale) < Akk. qarnu “horn, mountain”.

With Romanic sonorization of the initial sound:

Grüf (stony meadow, Bregaglia) < Arab. harāb(a) “ruins”, Güglia, Julier < Akk. hūlu “way, street”,

Inside of the word we find g:

Ragaz < Akk. rahāṣu “to moisten, to inundate”, Ragina, Funtauna (Silvapiana), Ragus (Andiast), Ragoz (Saas), Raguoz (Untervaz) < akk.rahû “to pour (o.s.)”, Turghégn (Mesocco) < Akk. turāhu “ibex”

in opposition to Arab. h, that is represented in Retorom. as ġ:

Negias (Alpine meadow with huts, Vrin) < Arab. nuhās, Aram. nehhās, Hebr. nehhošet “copper”.

## 2. Morphology

### 2.1 Pronouns

#### 2.1.1 Possessive pronouns

	Raetic	Akkadian	Hebrew	Arabic
Sing. 1. c.	-ia/-i	-ia/-ī	-ī	-ī
Sing. 2. f.	-ki	-k	-k	-k

For the 2. Sing. masc., 3. Sing. masc. and fem. there are no examples in the Raetic inscriptions.

Pl. 1. c.	-nu	-nū	-nū	-nā
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For the 2. and 3. Pl. masc. and fem. there are no examples.

Akk. -nu is a younger form of -ni (Ungnad/Matouš § 26 b with note 7).

Examples for Sing. 1. c.: ANATI “my tool”, ETUNI “my lord”, KASTRI “my Kastor”, LIPI “my heart”, MNESI “my disease”, PHELI “my lord”, REITI “my Ritu”, RIMAKI “my bath”.

Examples for Sing. 2. f.: NAGEKI “your help”.

Examples for Pl. 1. c.: RITANU “our Ritu”, SISINU “our horses”.

With -i > -e: ALE, ILE “my god”, ALE besides ALI “my goddess”, -ia > -a in ESTIA for \*ESTA “my Estu”, -ia > -ie in RITIE < \*REITIA.

#### 2.1.2 Other pronouns

Amongst personal pronouns we find IKHE “I”, a borrowing from an IE language, the Dative pronoun LAKHE “to you”, whereby -khe < Acc. Sing. 2. masc., fem. kâšī(m). For the Acc. Pl. NINU “us” is used, but this is formally Nom. 1. Pl. c.

Amongst demonstrative pronouns one finds ES, IS and SU “this”, whereby IS and SU are postponed: TRIAH[A] IS, LEMA IS; HIRAPHA SU. Unclear is the position of ES, because it shows up only once: PAVIS ES.

## 2.2 Nouns

We deal here with proper nouns, too.

### 2.2.1 The Semitic declension

In Hebrew there is no declension.

	<b>Raetic</b>	<b>Akkadian</b>	<b>Arabic</b>
Nom. Sing.	-u	-u	-(u)
Gen. Sing.	-ī	-ī	-ī
Akk. Sing.	-am, -a	-a(m)	-a
Gen. Pl.	-iu	-ī/-ē	-ina
Akk. Pl.	-iu	-ī/-ē	-ina
Akk. Dual	-ai	-ē(n)	-aini

Examples for Nom. Sing.: ALU “goddess”, ELUKU “the going”, EMU “mother”

Examples for Gen. Sing.: PURI “of the fate”, PHEL URI “lord of the light”

Examples for Akk. Sing.: HIRAPHA “sword”, KUNINA “drinking vessel”, KUSA “vessel”, SUNA “cloth”, VEKERA “grotto”, RITAM “Ritu” (thus, mimation occurs)

Irregular: KHAT for \*GADA (Acc. Sing.) “kid (little goat)”, ENKUS (Acc. Sing.) for \*ENKUSA, ŠATE for \*ŠATA (Acc. Sing.) “field”, KHATIV for GADIU (Acc. Pl.) “kid (little goat)”.

Examples for Gen. Pl.: KHAMAIU “of the rebels”

Examples for Akk. Pl.: EMUIU “firewood”, ENBIU, UNBIU “berries”,

Examples for Dual Akk.: KHELIVAI “die beiden Schimmel”, TARNAI “the two lands”

Nom. instead of Acc. shows up in: EKER “wages” (Bravi 201; BT, p. 65) for \*EKERA. Etr. Gen./Dat. in –is/–es in KINATARIS “of Kinatar”, REMIES “to/for Remi[?]”, TIUTIS “to/for Teuta” and VELISANES “from Felsina/Bologna”. KLEVIE is Dat. of a non-Sem. proper name.

### 2.2.2. Word composition

KHAISURUS “red canvas” (Bravi 257; BT, p. 58) < Arab. *ḥaiš* “canvas”, Akk. *ruššu* “read” is remarkable because of the postposition of the adjective. VINUTALINA “wine-jug” (PID 215; BT, p. 63s.) shows its IE origin, since Sem. it would be “jug-wine”. Also an IE composition is SKHAISPALA “stirring spoon” < IE \*geis- “to stir (around)”.

Typical Sem. compound structure shows the river name Plessur “rock-river” < Hebr. *peleg* “river”, Hebr. *šūr* “rock”

## 2.3 Numerals

We don’t know any Raetic numerals.

## 2.4 Verbs

A speciality of Raet. vs. Akk. is the formal collapse of Pres. and Imperf. and the Permansive-/Stative- ending Akk. –āku for the 1. Sing. Perf. (cf. already BT, p. 55).

	Raetic	Akkadian	Hebrew	Arabic	
Pres./Imperf.	1. Sing.	e-/Ø ... –u	i-	ji-	a- ... –u
	1. Pl.	-anu	-āni	-nū	-nā
	3. Pl.	e- ... -unu	i- ... –ūnu/i	ji- ... –ū	ja- ... –ūna
Perf.	1. Sing.	-ke/-ku	-ku	-tī	-tu
	2. Sing. f.	-ati	-āti	-t	-ti

	3. Sing.	-ta	—	—	—
	2. Pl.	tu- ... -ua	tu- ... -ā	ti- ... -nāh	ta- ... -na
Imper.	2. Sing. m.	-a/-i/Ø	—	—	—
	2. Sing. f.	-i	-ī	-ī	-ī
	2. Pl. m.	-u	-ū	ū	-ū
	2. Pl. f.	-a	-ā	-nāh	-na
	Dual	-ia	—	—	-ā

Examples for Pres./Imperf. 1. Sing.: ETINU, ETINE, ETU, ETAU “I give”.

Examples for Pres./Imperf. 1. Pl.: KHAŠIKHANU “we need”, NEHELANU “we have given as a gift”, SIPIANU “we beg”, VATHANU (for \*VAKHANU) “we suffer”.

Examples for Pres./Imperf. 3. Pl.: EKALŠUNU “they mock”.

Examples for Perf. 1. Sing.: ATUKU “I have given”, LEUTIKU “I have founded”, PNAKE “I have turned myself”, RINAKE “I have pawned”, SIUPHIKU, SIUPIKU, ŠUPIKU “I have founded”, TINAKE, THINAKE “I have given”, TRINAKHE “I have made”.

Examples for Perf. 2. Sing. f.: PHAKATI “you have visited”, SAKATI “you have been generous”.

Examples for Perf. 3. Sing.: AVITA “has fulfilled the purposes”, ZEKHE “it was raining”.

Examples for Perf. 2. Pl.: TUKINUA “you have been faithful”.

Examples for Imp. 2. Sing. m.: BIRIK “kneel down!”, ANIŠ “play!”, AŠA “make!”, SAPA “beware!”, ESI “heal!”, KARAPA “block!”, LAVIS “sample!”, PAVIS “win!”, SEKHE “bring us in need!”, SLEP “liberate!”, ŠNA “block!”, SNU instead of \*SNUI “let it rain!”.

Examples for Imp. 2. Sing. f.: KNUSE “gather!”, LAVISE “try!”, PHUTIKI “kill!”, SBABI “dry out!”, USIPE “augment!”.

Examples for Imp. 2. Pl. m.: LAVISE “enjoy!”, SAPAU “heal!”.

Examples for Imp. 2. Pl. f.: PHELNA “mix!”, REMINA “love!”.

Examples for Imp. Dual: ERIKIA “lengthen!”, SPATIA “seize!”.

Participles (?) are: ASUA “made”, RAKINUA “one hopes”.

Nominal preformatives are:

m-: MNESI “my disease” to Hebr. nūš “to be ill”, MLAUPE “food” zu Arab. laufa “to eat”

ta-: Tarasp (place name), local prefix ta- + Arab. raṣafa “strength”

### 3. Syntax

Under the influence of the Sum. sentence structure the verbs stands in Akk. at the end of the sentence (Ungnad/Matouš, § 100 c). In Raet. the verb stands mostly, but not always at the end:

RITAM NEHELANU (PID 221; BT, p. 54) “We have given Ritu a gift”, REIT[I] EMUIU THINAKE “My Ritu, mother, I give this veil” (PID 227; BT, p. 55); RITI EM[U] ETINU TRIAH[A] IS “My Ritu, mother, I give this veil” (PID 225; BT, p. 55).

In the following complex sentence the Dative objects precedes the Accusative objekt:

VELKHANU LUPINU PITIAVE KUS[A] ENKUS TRINAKHE (PID 215; BT, p. 63s.)

“I, Velkhanu, have made for Upinu from Padua the bronze vessel.”

In the following sentence the postposition of the pronoun after the proper name that represents the subject is remarkable:

PEVAŠN IKHE SIUPIKU TIUTIS AKHVILI PIPERISNATI (PID 192; BT, p. 63) “I, Pauson, have founded for Teuta, the Aquileian, the watering can”.

Typical for Raetic seems to be a kind of separation of proper names and their appositions by another word:

PANIUN LAŠANUALE ŠUPIKU PERUNIES SKHAISPALA (PID 191; BT, p. 63) “I, Ben Jonah, have founded for Samuel, the Breunian, the stirring spoon.”



ETISUA LEUTIKU KAIAN NA KINATARIS AKVILI (PID 244; BT, p. 63) “I, Etisua, blacksmith, have made (this) for the Aquileian Kinatar.”

PHANI SIUPHIKU REMIES HIRAPHA SU VAKHIK VELISANES (PID 247; BT, p. 62) “I, Bani, have founded this sword for Remius, nobleman from Felsina.”

A proper name can even separate itself, hence we have here another speciality of Raetic:

PNAKE VITAMU LAKHE (PID 196; BT, p. 61) “I have turned myself to you, Vitammu.”

LA [E]STE PHUTIKHINU (PID 239; BT, p. 57) “Estu, don’t kill us!”

ATUKU (ATAKU?) RITI UNBIU (BT, p. 56) “My Ritu, I have given berries”

Complex sentences are always connected paratactically:

LATURU SIPIANU SAPANIN[U] (PID 197; BT, p. 58) “For the return, we beg, protect us.”

PIRIK ANIŠNU (PID 214; Bravi 156; BT, p. 64) “Kneel down! Play with us!”

ESI UM NINU ŠUR (PID 234; BT, p. 56) “Heal us, mother, a bull as sacrifice!”

LA SBAPHI RIMAKHI NAKHEKHI KAŠIKHANU EPETAV (Bravi 83; BT, p. 58) “Don’t dry out my bath. We need your help. I give fruits.”

LA SPATIANU ESIUNNE LIPI EKALŠUNU ENPETAV (Bravi 97; BT, p. 65) “Don’t seize us! Heal us! One ridicules my heart. I give berries.”

Prohibitive (marked by LA) and negated sentence (marked by MA) stay besides one another in:

LA SEKE MA ZEKHE “Don’t bring us in need! I did not rain.” (PID 189; BT, p. 61)

## 9. Glossary of the Raetic inscriptions

We list here all Raetic words with grammatical hints, including loanwords from other languages that show up in the Raetic inscriptions.

### 1. Nouns and adjectives

AKHVE, AKVE “flood (Acc.)” = Akk. agû “waterflood”

AKHVILI, AKVILI “(to the) Aquileian”

ALE “my god” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”, Hebr. allat “goddess” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

ALE, ALI “my goddess” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”, arab. allat “goddess”

ALU “goddess” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”, arab. allat “goddess”

ANATI “my tool” = Akk. anātu “tool” (?) + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

APES “command” = Akk. epēšu “command (of a god or goddess)”

APHIR “tiara” = Hebr. aphēr “id.”

ARUSE “farmer” = Akk. arrāšu “id.” (cf. the Raetic tribe of the Arusnates)

EKER “reward” (instead of Akk. \*ekera) = Arab. aġr “reward, prize”

EL “god” = Akk. elu, ilu “god; goddess”

ELUKU “going, course” = Hebr. hālōk “id.”, Akk. alāku “to go”

ELVA “god” = Hebr. elōah “id.”

EMAN “people” = Akk. ummānu “people”

EMU “mother” = Hebr. ēm “id.”

EMUIU “firewood” = Akk. emmû “id.” (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. –ē)

ENBIU, UNBIU “fruits, berries” (Acc. Pl.) = Akk. enbu “fruit”, Hebr. ‘ēnāb “wine berry” (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. –ē)

ENIKES “bronze” = Hebr. neḥušāh “ore”, Aram. nḥs “copper, bronze”

ENKUS “bronze (Acc.)” = Hebr. neḥušāh “ore”, Aram. nḥs “copper, bronze”

EPELIE “ropes (Acc. Pl.) for \*EBELIU, Akk. ablu “rope” (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. –ē)

ESTA, ESTE instead of \*ESTIA (?) “my (?) Estu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

ESTU “Estu (Raetic goddess)”

ETISUA = proper name (?)

ETUNI “my lord” = Hebr. adoni “id.” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

HIRAPHA “sword (Acc.)” = Hebr. ḥereb “sword”

HUR “cereal harvest” = Arab. hury “granary” (obviously < Raet.)

ILE “my God” = Akk. ili “id.” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”

- IŠNA “cereal” = Akk. ašnân “bread, cereal”
- ITUNA “fire oven” = Akk. utûnu, atûnu “fire oven”
- KAIAN “blacksmith” = Arab. qain “id.”
- KALIŮ, KALIP “woolen clothing” = Akk. ḥalû “woolen clothing” (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. – ē)
- KAŠTRI “my Kastor” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”
- KATI “criminal (Acc.)” = Hebr. ḥattā’ “sinner”, Akk. ḥat(t)u “guilty”, Arab. ḥātī’ “sinner”
- KHAISURUS “red canvas” (noun-adj.l.) = Arab. ḥaiš “canvas”, akk. ruššû “red”
- KHAMAIU “of the rebels (Gen. Pl.)” = Akk. ḥamā’u (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. – ē)
- KHAT for \*GADA “kid (little goat) (Acc. Sing.)” = Arab. ġady, Hebr. gedī “id.”
- KHATIV for \*GADIU “kid (little goat)” (Acc. Pl.)” = Arab. ġady, Hebr. gedī “id.” (Raet. Acc. Pl. –iu = Akk. – ē)
- KHELIVAI “the two white horses (Dual Acc.)” = akk. ḥelû “bright”
- KHINE “coal vessel” = Akk. kinûnu “coal vessel”
- KINATARIS “of Kinatar (with Etr. Gen. –is/-es)”
- KISE “money” = Akk. kīsu “id.” (cf. Yidd. Kies “id.”, homonymic with German Kies “pebbles”)
- KLEVIE “to Klevios (Dat. of an non-Sem. proper name)
- KUNINA “drinking vessel (Acc.)” = Akk. kuninu “id.”
- KUSA “vessel (Acc.)” = Akk. ḥussû “id.”
- KUŠITHU “dress” = Akk. kusītu, kušītu “id.”
- LEMA “hair-curl” = Arab. limma “id.”
- LIPI “my heart” = Akk. libbu “heart” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”
- LITIAUPI cf. MLAUPE
- MELKA “queen” = hebr. malkāh “id.”
- MLAUPE, MLAPET, MIAPET, MIAPE, NLAUPE “sacrificial food” = nominal preformative m- + Arab. laufa “to eat”
- MNESI “my disease” = akk. mēneštu “weekness”, hebr. nūš “to be ill” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”
- NAGEKI “your help (Acc.)” = Arab. naġāt “rescue”, -ki “your (fem.)”
- NLAUPE cf. MLAUPE
- PANIUN “Ben Jonah (proper name)” (?)
- PERUNIES “Breunian (member of a non-Raetic tribe in Tyrol)”
- PEVAŠN “Pauson (Illyr. proper name)” (?)
- PHANI “Bani (proper name)”
- PHAUSU/T “axe” = Akk. pašultu “axe”
- PHELI “my lord” for \*BĒLI + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”
- PHELURI “lord of the light” = Akk. bēl ūri “id.”

PHELVINU “lord of the rocks” = Raet. \*BĒL VENNIU  
PIPERISNATI “watering can” (? , Acc.) = Hitt. papparš- “to water”  
PITIAVE “from Padova (Patavium)”  
PHUPER “white” = Sum. babbar “id.”  
PURI “fate (Gen.)” = akk. pūru “lot, fate”  
REITI “my Ritu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”  
REITU “Ritu (Raetic main goddess)”  
REMIES “to Remies (Etr. Gen./Dat.)”  
RIMAKI “my bath (Acc.)” = akk. rimku “bath” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”  
RITAM “Ritu (Acc.)”  
RITANU “our Ritu” (-nu younger for –ni Gen. Pl. 1. c.)  
RITI, RITHI, RITIE (< \*REITIA) “my Ritu” + Gen. Sing. 1. c. –ī “my”  
RITU “Ritu (Raetic main goddess)”  
ŠANUALE “Samuel” (-m- for –n-?)  
ŠATE “field, acre (Acc.)” = Hebr. šādeh “id.”  
ŠELI “rest, piece, silence” = Hebr. šelī “id.”  
SKHAISPALA “stirring spoon” < IE \*geis- “to stir (around)”  
SUNA “cloth (Acc.)” = Akk. sūnu “id.”  
ŠUR “bull” = Akk. šūr, hebr. šōr “id.”  
SUSINU “our horses (Acc.)” = Hebr. sūs “horse” (-nu younger for –ni Gen. Pl. 1. c.)  
TARNAI “the two lands (Dual Acc.) = Arab. dār “house and field”  
TARUTH for \*TARUKH “goddess” (cf. the place name Poggio Tarces)  
TEL “rain” = arab. ṭall “id.”  
TIKINU “god of the river, Latin Ticinus (cf. the Swiss river and Canton of Ticino)”  
TIKHITII “force” for \*TIKHITA (Acc. Sing.) = Akk. dakūtu “combat, force”  
TIUTIS “to Teuta (Illyr. proper name)” (?)  
TRIAHA “veil (Acc.)” = Arab. ṭarḥa “id.”  
TURU “return” = Akk. tāru “to return”  
UNBIU cf. ENBIU  
UM “mother” = Akk. ummu “id.”, Arab. umm “id.”  
UPINU “Upinu (proper name)”  
VAKHIK “nobleman” = waḡīh (Arab.) “noble”  
VEKERA “grotto (Acc. Sing.)” = Arab. waḡr “id.”  
VELISANES “from Felsina (Etr. for Bologna, Latin Bononia)”  
VELKHANU “Volcena (name of a city in the Italian province Emilia)” (?)  
VINUTALINA “wine jug” (IE)  
VISPE “horde (Acc.)” = Arab. wišb “id.”  
VITAMU “(V)itammu (Akk. ghost of the dead)”

## 2. Verbs

- ANIŠNU “play with us (Imp. Sing.)” = Arab. *anisa* “to entertain, to socialize” (-nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti) (?)
- APNU “let get rotten (Imp. Pl.)” = Arab. *ʿafina* “to rot, to decay”
- AŠA “make, do (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Hebr. *ʾāšāh* “machen”
- ASUA “made (form unclear)” = Hebr. *ʾāšāh* “to make, to do”
- ATUKU “I have given” = Arab. *ʿatū* “to give”
- AVE “to accommodate (Imp. Sing.)” = Arab. *awāʿi* “to look for refuge, to accommodate”
- AVITA “has served (our) purposes” = Arab. *awada* “to serve someone’s purposes”
- EKALŠUNU “they ridicule” = Hebr. *qālas* “to mock, to ridicule”, -ūnu is Akk. 3. Pl. Pres./Imperf.
- ERIKIANU “lengthen us”, Akk. *erikia* (Imp. Dual masc., Arab. -ā) = Hebr. *ārak* “verlängern”, Akk. *arāku* “to be long”, Assy. *ērik* (-nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti)
- ERISNA for \*ERISNU “I have cultivated” = Akk. *erēšum* “to farm”
- ESI “heal (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. *asû* “physician”, Aram. *ʾassī*, Arab. *ʾasā*, *ʾāsā* “to heal”
- ESIUNNE “heal (Imp. Pl.) us” (?) = Akk. *asû* “physician”, Aram. *ʾassī*, Arab. *ʾasā*, *ʾāsā* “to heal” (-nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti)
- ETINU, younger ETINE “I give (Pres.; Perf. is tinake)” = Arab. *ʿatū* “to give”
- ETU, ETAU “I give” = Arab. *ʿatū* “to give”
- ILUKE, younger ILIKE “I have gone” = Akk. *alākum* “to go”
- KARAPA “leprosy” for \*GARABA = Akk. *garābu* “leprosy”
- KHAŠIKHANU “we need” = Arab. *ḥašāḥu* “to need”
- KHEVISI “go through” = Arab. *ğauz* “to go through, to come through”
- KI “spit out (Imp. Sing.)” = Hebr. *qīʾ* “to spit out”
- KNUSE “to gather, to collect (Imp. Sing.)” = cf. Hebr. *kānas* “to assemble, to gather” (cf. Knesseth “assembly, gathering”)
- LAVIS “sample (food)” (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = arab. *laus-* “to sample (food)”
- LAVISE “sample (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = arab. *laus-* “to sample (food)”
- LAVISE “enjoy (Imp. Pl. for \*LAVISŪ)” = Arab. *laus-* “to sample (food)”
- LEUTIKU “I have forged (as a blacksmith)” = Arab. *latasa*, *laṭaša*, *laṭama* “to beat, to hit”, Hebr. *lāṭaš* “to hammer, to forge” (thus there must have been a Sem. root \*laṭ-/lauṭ- “to beat, to hit”)
- NEHELANU “we have given a gift” = Arab. *naḥalu* “to give as a gift”
- PAVIS “win (Imp. Sing.)” = Arab. *fauz* “to win, to reach”
- PHAKATI “you have visited” = Hebr. *pāqad* “to visit”, Akk. *paqādu* “to look after”

- PHEKE “cry (Imp. Sing./Pl.)” for \*BEKĪ or \*BEKŪ = Akk. bakū “to cry”
- PHELNA “mix (Imp. Pl. fem.)” = Akk. balālu, Hebr. bālal “to mix”
- PHUTIKI (instead of \*PUTIKI) “kill us (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Arab. fataka “to kill”, -nu “us” younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti
- PIRIK “kneel down (Imp. Sing.)” = Arab. baraka, Hebr. bārak “to kneel down”
- PNAKE “I have consulted” = Hebr. pānāh “to consult, to devote”
- PRUKHNU “we sacrifice” = Akk. parāchu “to sacrifice”
- RAKINUA “one hopes” (form unclear) = Arab. rakina al “to be confident in” (cf. TUKINUA)
- REMINA “love (Imp. Pl. fem. -na)” = Akk. rāmu, Arab. ra’ima “to love”
- RINAKE “I have pawned” = Arab. rahana “to pawn”, rahīna “pawn”
- SAKATI “you have been generous (2. Perf. fem. -ti)” = Arab. saḥā “to be generous”
- SAPAN “beware (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. suppû “to invoke”, Akk. sīpu “prayer”, Hebr. sāfan “to keep, to preserve”, Arab. šafā(i) “to heal”
- SAPAU “heal (Imp. Pl. masc. -ū)” = Akk. suppû “to invoke”, Akk. sīpu “prayer”, Hebr. sāfan “to keep, to preserve”, Arab. šafā(i) “to heal”
- SBABI “dry out (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Akk. šabābu “to dry out”
- SEKHE “bring us in need (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. sagû “to bring in need”
- SIPIANU “we beg” = akk. suppû “to invoke”, Akk. sīpu “prayer”, Hebr. sāfan “to keep, to preserve”
- SIUPHIKU, SIUPIKU, ŠUPIKU “I have founded” = Akk. šapāku “to found”, Hebr. gūf “to let flow (= to found)”
- SLEP “liberate (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. šalāpu “to pull out, to liberate”, Hebr. šālaf “id.”
- ŠNA “to block (Imp. Sing. masc.)” = Akk. šanā’u “to block”
- ŠNU (statt \*ŠNUI) “let it rain (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Arab. sanā(u) “to water”, Akk. šanû “to rinse off”
- SPASI “don’t stop (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Akk. šapāsum “to be hampered (feet)”
- SPATIANU “seize us” (Imp. Dual) = Akk. sabātu “to seize, to catch”, -nu younger for -ni Gen. Pl. 1. c. instead of Acc. Pl. 1. c. -niāti
- TINAKE, THINAKE “I have given” = Arab. ‘atū “to give”
- TRINAKHE “I have made” = Greek δρᾶίνω “I do, I make”, IE root \*der- “to do, to make”, with Sem. ending
- TUKINUA “you have been faithful” (form unclear) = Akk. kânu “to be faithful, to be truthful” (2. Pl. fem. Pret., prefix tu-, Suffix -ā)
- USIPE “increase (Imp. Sing. fem.)” = Hebr. jāsaf “to increase, to augment” (cf. Joseph)
- VATHANU (for \*VAKANU) “we are suffering” = Arab. waġi’a “to suffer”
- ZEKHE “it was raining” = Arab. zahha “rain”

### 3. Pronouns

ES, IS “this” = Phen. eš “id.”

IKHE “I” (< IE)

LAKHE “to you (Dat.)” = Dative prefix l + Akk. Dat. Sing. 2. masc., fem. kâši(m)

NINU “us (Acc.)” = akk. nīnu “id.” (but is Nom. 1. Pl. c.)

PHANAKI instead of \*PANAKI “in front of you” = pān, pāni “in front of”, -ki is fem.

SU “this” = Akk. šu “this”

### 4. Numerals

There are no numerals appearing in the Raetic inscriptions.

### 5. Particles

LA, LI, L “for (Dative)” = Sem. la, li, lo, l “id.”

LA “not, don’t (prohibitive)” = Akk. lā “id.”

MA “not (statement)” = Sem. mā “id.”

PANA “in front of” = Akk. pānu, Hebr. pānīm “id.”

NA “for” = Akk. ana “id.”

VA “and” = Akk. u “id.”

## 10. Glossary of the Raetic place names

The following glossary brings all place, sea, river, mountain and other geographical names of the Grisons, St. Gallen, Fürstentum Liechtenstein, Vorarlberg, North and South Tyrol as well as exceptionally of the neighboring Northern Italy, that Professor Linus Brunner etymologized between 1981 and 1987. For this glossary I used Brunner's published work, his extensive card index and all of his unpublished manuscripts and notes. That the number of place names from South Tyrol – the original homeland of the Raeti – is much smaller than the number of the place names of the Grisons, has to do with the fact, that Brunner started relatively late to analyse toponomastics, but also with the fact that for this huge area there is no such a dense and reliable handbook like Schorta's "Rätisches Namenbuch" for the Grisons – despite Battisti's "Dizionario toponomastico Atesino". Where Brunner proposed more than one etymology during the years of his work, I bring all of them and let only such etymologies away that are obviously erroneous.

Abbreviations: "Schorta" refers to Andrea Schorta, Rätisches Namenbuch, 2<sup>nd</sup> vol. Bern 1964. "Nigel Groom" refers to Nigel Groom, A Dictionary of Arabic Topography and Placenames. Beirut and London 1983.

Adda (river in Italy) < Arab. 'atā "to be wild"

Adont (torrent in Parsons) < Hebr. 'atāh "to storm"

Adras (Peist) < Raet. \*adrātiu "stables" < Akk. adrû "stable"

Adula (mountain-chain, watershed) < Akk. edēlu "to bolt, to bar", edlu "barred"; cf. also Piz d'Aul (one had to await \*Aula). Perhaps Akk. mēdelu "bolt, bar" > Medel(s), old Medlu. Bolt against the foreigners, Lepontians

Aed (Roveredo) < Hebr. 'ayit "bird of prey"

Agums (South Tyrol) < Arab. 'akūm "hill" (Grisons Cauma?)

Agune (valley at Poschiavo) < Akk. aḥû "on the side"

Aigen (Vinschgau) < Akk. ayakku "holy place"

Aichen, old Aiach (Untervaz) < Akk. ayakku "holy place"

Alac (mountain-valley towards the Julier pass) < Akk. alaktu (-tu is fem. ending) "way, path", thus pass-way, Hebr. hālak "to wander"

Alain (Salouf) < Akk. allānu "oak" or Akk. ēlēnu "above"

Albana < Arab. 'alū- "to be high", 'ulūw "hill"

Albanets < Arab. 'alū- "to be high", 'ulūw "hill"

Albeina (Saas) < Arab. 'alū- "to be high", 'ulūw "hill"

Albula (pass) < Arab. 'alū- "to be high", 'ulūw "hill"

Aldur (Fanas) < Arab. 'alā tūr "on the hill"

Aleins (Scul) < Akk. allānu "oak" or Akk. ēlēnu, ēlānu "above"



- Alex (Valchava) < Arab. ‘ullaiq “blackberry-bush”  
Alig (Tamins) < Arab. ‘ullaiq “blackberry-bush”  
Alix (Valendas) < Arab. ‘ullaiq “blackberry-bush”  
Allhöhe (Vorarlberg) < Arab. ‘alū- “to be high”, ‘ulūw “hill” + Germ. Höhe “height, hill”  
(double-name)  
Altiras (Feldis) < Arab. ‘alā tūr “on the hill”  
Almén, 1342 Lumins < Akk. ālu “village”, Arab. amīn, Hebr. amēn “solid, strong”  
Alvaschein, 13<sup>th</sup> c. Alvaseni < Arab. āl waqīna “village of the guardians” < Akk. ālu  
“village”, Arab. waqy “guardian” (cf. Vaz). There, the Lenzerheide-Julier-route could  
be controlled  
Alvier “eagle-mountain”? < Arab. ‘alūw “hill” + Akk. eru “eagle”  
Amurein (Avers) < Arab. amara “to be inhabited”, ma’amur “inhabited”  
Andeer, old Andair “at the stream” < Akk. in(a) “at”, Arab. tayyār “stream”  
Andiast/Andest “priestess of Estu” < entu “priestess”  
Ané (Brienzen) < Arab. hany “bend, curve (of the street)”  
Ansbach (Fläsch) < Arab. ḥanaš “snake”  
Anschatscha (Guarda) < Arab. ḥanaš “snake”  
Anschin (Verdabbio) < Arab. ḥanaš “snake”  
Antél (San Vitale) < Sem. goddess Anath, Raet. alu “goddess”  
Arabba (South Tyrol) < Arab. ‘araba “rapidly flowing river”  
Arbéa (Mesolcina) < Akk. erbu “sunset”  
Arbea (Lostallo) < Akk. erbu “sunset”  
Arcuaul (Schluein) < Arab. ḥarağ “thicket”, Retorom. uaul “forest”  
Ardez (with fortress), 1161 in vico Ardetiae < Raet. a-ret-ētiu (-ēti is fem. Pl. ending) <  
Akk. retû “to fortify”, Arab. ratağ “to bolt, to bar”  
Areg (mountain at Lostallo) < Arab. arīğ “high” or Arab. ḥarağ “thicket”  
Arest (Schluein) “acre of Estu” < Retorom. ar < Latin ager “acre” + Raet. goddess Estu  
Argen (river in Vorarlberg) < Arab. ‘arağ “river”  
Argida (mountain-path at Tinzen) < Arab. ‘arağa “to ascend”  
Arina (Piz) < Arab. ‘arin “thicket” or Arab. ‘arīna “lair” or Akk. arû “eagle” (Gen. Pl.)  
Arlans (Wartau) < Akk. arallû “underworld”  
Arlas, Munt (St. Moritz) < Akk. arallû “underworld”  
Arlätsch (Schiers) < Akk. arallû “underworld”  
Arlos (Savognin, Riom) < Akk. arallû “underworld”  
Arlos, Piz (Ziraun) < Akk. arallû “underworld”  
Armsch/Arms (Obersaxen) < Akk. armu “mountain-goat” (chamois, ibex?)  
Arsain (Ardez) < Arab. arsān “hard tracts of land” (Nigel Groom)  
Arschals (Peist) < Arab. ḥurš “forest”

- Ärschena (forest at Tschierschen) < Arab. hurš “forest”
- Arsola (Churwalden) < Arab. hurš “forest”
- Arumesti (St. Moritz) “holy place of Estu”. Esti is Sem. Gen., Arab. haruma “to be forbidden” (hence harem), harām, Pl. hurum “holy” (cf. Apollonia, Aphrodisia, Heraia, etc.)
- Arvuoz (Avers) < Akk. arwû “mountain-goat” (chamois, ibex?)
- Aserosch (Peist) < Akk. aširtu “holy place”
- Aschlasch (Ardez), old Aschras < Akk. ašlu, Arab. asal “reed”
- Assumaniu (old, Domleschg) < Raet. Pl.-form < Akk. assammu “jug” (pottery?)
- Atuns (Alpine pasture, Peist) < Hebr. atōn “donkey” (cf. “Fohlenweide” = “pasture of foals”)
- Auer/Ora (South Tyrol) < Akk. ūru “lake” (today there is a swamp)
- Avers/Avras, Latin vallis Averi < Akk. abāru “lead”. Varuna? Vargera? \*Abariera < Hebr. ‘abārāh “crossing, passage”, besides is Val Madris that has its name from the Raet. main goddess Ritu
- Avisio (brook, South Tyrol) < Arab. ‘awiz “poor” (in water)”
- Avrona (Tarasp), 1370 Afranna < Arab. ‘abra “beyond” (of the river Inn?)
- Awaliet (Degen) < Hebr. awēl “meadow”
- Azmoos, dialectal Azmēs (Wartau) < Arab. ‘ašama “to keep away, to hemper”, Hebr. ‘ašmāh “strength, force”
- 
- Bacó (meadow, Calanca) < Akk. bahû “meagre”
- Badachül (steep path at Zernez) < Hebr. battāh “steep mountain-wall”, Akk. hūlu “Weg”, cf. Badmunt (St. Gallenkirch, Montafon)
- Badia, Val (South Tyrol) < Hebr. battāh “steep mountain-wall”
- Badmunt (Montafon) < Hebr. battāh “steep mountain-wall”
- Badus, Piz < Hebr. battāh “steep mountain-wall”, Hebr. battōt “steeps walls, ravines”
- Balandegn (brook at Salux) < Akk. balālu, Arab. balla “to moisten”
- Balegna (Poschiavo) < Akk. balālu, Arab. balla “to moisten”
- Balèst (mountain in South Tyrol) < Hebr. ba’alāh “mistress” + Raet. goddess Estu
- Balgach (St. Galler Rhine Valley) < Akk. palgu, Hebr. peleg, Arab. falağ “brook, river”, cf. Bolgenach
- Baluns (Falera) < Akk. balālu, Arab. balla “to moisten”
- Ballania (Vella) < Akk. balālu, Arab. balla “to moisten”
- Ballütl (Tschlin) < Akk. balālu, Arab. balla “to moisten”
- Balmiez (Luzein, swampy) < Akk. balālu, Arab. balla “to moisten”
- Baradé (Scuol) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi’r, Hebr. be’ēr, bēr “fountain, well”
- Barbarescia (Arvigo) < Akk. barbaru “wolf”
- Baregla/Baraigla (Ardez) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi’r, Hebr. be’ēr, bēr “fountain, well”

- Baretta (Segl) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi'r, Hebr. be'ēr, bēr “fountain, well”
- Barnagn (Savognin, at a brook) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi'r, Hebr. be'ēr, bēr “fountain, well”
- Barnés, Fontauna (fountain) (Medel) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi'r, Hebr. be'ēr, bēr “fountain, well”
- Barnestg, Plan (Maton, with little creek) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi'r, Hebr. be'ēr, bēr “fountain, well”
- Barnias (fountain area in Ramosch) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi'r, Hebr. be'ēr, bēr “fountain, well”
- Barnier (Letzi brook in Malix) < Akk. bêru, Arab. bi'r, Hebr. be'ēr, bēr “fountain, well”
- Barsegl (Falera) < Akk. parzillu (< Sum.?), Hebr. barzel “iron” (cf. Fursill in South Tyrol)
- Batanós (Sched) < Hebr. battāh “steep mountain-wall”
- Batzels (Parsonz) < Arab. baṣal, Hebr. beṣel “onion”
- Bazul (Nenzing) “onion-field” < Arab. baṣal, Hebr. beṣel “onion”
- Bessella (Scuol) < Akk. biššu “Raute, balmy herbaceous plant”
- Bever (Upper Engadine Valley) < Akk. babaru “forest”, not from Biber “beaver” (Celtic)
- Beverin, Piz < Akk. babaru “forest”
- Bisiuns (Ardez) < Akk. biššu “Raute, balmy herbaceous plant”
- Bisseu (Misox) < Akk. biššu “Raute, balmy herbaceous plant”
- Bistgat (Stierva) < Akk. biššu “Raute, balmy herbaceous plant”
- Bludesch (Vorarlberg) < Akk. be, bi “at, on”, Akk. ēlū, Pl. ēlūti “being above, upper” or Akk. ilūtu “deity”, Akk. eššu “temple”
- Bolgenach (Vorarlberg) < Akk. palgu, Hebr. peleg, Arab. falaḡ “brook”
- Bozen, old Bauzanum, Pl. of Arab. būṣ “reed”
- Bregan (Bondo), 1394 in palude de Bregeno < Hebr. bəṛēkāh “pond”
- Bregn, Val (Soazza) < Hebr. bəṛēkāh “pond”
- Bucania (Malix) < Arab. baqq “elm”, Latin –ētu
- Bulacia (South Tyrol) < Akk. būlu “cattle”
- Buleia (Cunter) < Akk. būlu “cattle”
- Buletga (Paspels) < Akk. būlu “cattle”
- Bull (Sufers etc.) < Akk. būlu “cattle”
- Bulyas (Schiers) < Akk. būlu “cattle”
- Bulyaus (Maladers) < Akk. būlu “cattle”
- Bülysch (Maienfeld) < Akk. būlu “cattle”
- Burrana (acre in Untervaz) < Akk. burru, Arab. burr “wheat”
- Burs (Tinzen) < Arab. birsim “clover”
- Bürs (Vorarlberg), old Purie < Arab. fawwāra “fountain”, cf. Pfäfers

Burv (Untervaz), 1438 Burv wis (wis “meadow”) < Akk. aburru “meadow at a river”

Cadalin, Val (Mountain-valley on the border between the Grisons and Ticino) < Aram. ketal “wall”

Cadanós (Lohn) < Arab. qaṭana “to inhabit”

Cadels (Ladir) < Aram. ketal “wall”

Cadera (Poschiavo) < Akk. ḥaṭīru “pen, fold”

Cadieris (Fideris) < Akk. ḥaṭīru “pen, fold”

Cadiras (Tinzen) < Akk. ḥaṭīru “pen, fold”

Cagnò < Raet. Pl. \*qania < Akk. qanû “reed”

Cagns (Falera), old Cains, Gains < Arab. qain “blacksmith” (cf. Falera)

Cain (Sta. Maria Calanca) < Arab. qain “blacksmith”

Calans (Fanas) < Arab. kalā’ “grass”. In Mon “calaz” still live as appellative in the sense of “grassband in the rocks”

Caláz (Tinzen) < Arab. kalā’ “grass”

Calven (Tirol) < Akk. ḥalbu “forest”

Carmenna (Arosa) < Akk. karmu “deserted land” + Akk. god of the heaven Annu

Carnac (San Vitale) < Akk. qarnu “horn, mountain”

Carnairajoch (Klosters) < Akk. qarnu “horn, mountain”

Carnenga (Safien, belonging to the farmer’s house Bergli “little mountain”) < Akk. qarnu “horn, mountain”

Carnifels (Versam) < Akk. qarnu “horn, mountain”

Carschenna (Seglias) “throne of the god of the heaven” < Arab. kursī, Akk. kussū “throne”, god of the heaven Annu

Carvenna (Alpine hut at Scharans) < Akk. ḥarbu “deserted land” + god of the heaven Annu

Casanna (Klosters) “dedicated to the god of the heaven” < Akk. qaššu “dedicated” + god of the heaven Annu

Cassa, Er da (Retorom. er “acre”) (St. Moritz) “salad-acre” < Akk. ḥaššû “salad”

Cassons (Flims) “mountain cheesemaker’s hut” < Raetorom. ca- “house, hut”, Raet. \*sanion “mountain cheesemaker”

Castrisch/Kästris < Raet. god Kastor

Catils (Scheirs), 1701 Cadils < Aram. ketal “wall”

Cauma (Flims, etc.) < Arab. kaum “hill, pile”

Cazis < Hebr. qāṣāh “outermost, end, margin (of the valley)”, cf. Götzis

Cazzét (Obersaxen, at the border to Breil) < Hebr. qāṣāh “outermost, end, margin” (of the valley)

Celerina/Schlarigna < Arab. kala’rayyān “lush grass”

- Chaschauna (S-chanf) “dedicated to the god of the heaven” < Akk. qaššu “dedicated”, + god of the heaven Annu
- Chischagl (Degen) “throne of the goddess” < Hebr. kisseh “throne”, Raet. alī “of the goddess”
- Chur, 640 Cura < Arab. kūra “district town” (cf. Medina). “At the time of the Romans Latin kūra would have meant ‘worry’, and because of that one nobilitated the city to Latin curia ‘city hall’. But this is senseless for a city” (L. Brunner, in: BM 1982, p. 165). Or Akk. kūru, Arab., Hebr. kūr “melting oven”? For the gold of the Calanda mountain?
- Cir, Sass (Poschiavo) < Hebr. qīr “wall”
- Cisal (Peiden) “throne of the goddess” < Hebr. kisseh “throne”, Raet. alī “of te goddess”
- Cloz (East of Rio Novella, South Tyrol) < Akk. ḥalsu “fortress”?
- Conát, Mont de (Rossa) < Arab. qunna “mountain peak” (-t is fem. suffix)
- Crimei (Mesocco), 1484 Cremeo < Hebr. kerem “vineyard”
- Cudaglias (Breil) < Akk. kutallu “behind”
- Cudé (Breil) < Akk. kutallu “behind”
- Cudí (Salouf) < Akk. kutallu “behind”
- Cupéis (Mesolcina, Alpine hut on a hill) < Akk. ḥuppu “bow”
- Cupín (Sass, San Vitale) < Akk. ḥuppu “bow”
- Curals (Andiast) < Akk. kutallu “behind” Raet. \*ekur alī “temple of the goddess” < Akk. ekurru “temple”. Or Akk. kūru, Arab. kūr “melting oven”, Arab. āli “of the village”?
- Cureli plani (Soglio) “temple of the gods, of the lords”? Akk. ekurru “temple”, Pl. ili “gods”, plani from mistaken (Latin plani “flat, even (Pl. masc.)) \*balāni “lords” < Akk. bēlu “lord, god”, Hebr. ba’al “lord” (Baal)
- Curlinas (Riein), früher Curwalinas < Akk. kūru, Arab. kūr “melting oven”, Arab. wali’a “to burn”
- Curtschaneia (Ruschein) “weapon-forge” < Akk. kūru, Arab. kūr “melting oven”, Arab. qinā’ “weapon”
- Curvala (Breil), old Curwalinas < Akk. kūru, Arab. kūr “melting oven”, Arab. wali’a “to burn”
- Cus, Er (S-chanf) < Arab. qudus “holy” (hence Quds = Jerusalem)
- Cusen, Prau (Zizers) < Akk. qudduš “holy”, Hebr. qodeš “holy place”, Arab. Quds “Jerusalem”
- Cuts (Alpine hut, Vrin) < Hebr. qōš “thornbush” or Akk. kussû “seat”
- Cutschet (Scul) < Hebr. qōš “thornbush”
- Dafins (Vorarlberg) < Akk. tabīnu “burrow, asylum”
- Daiano (at Cavalese) < Akk. dayān “judge”?
- Daleu (Tschappina) < Hebr. tēl “hill”

- Damüls (Vorarlberg) < Akk. tamlû “terrace”
- Daneu (Nüziders, Schruns) < Arab. danā(u) “to be close”, dunāwa “closeness”
- Danis, name of a village and of open fields, 1325 Anives < Arab. anf “nose, ledge, foothills”
- Dar (Fanas) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Darbia (Grono), Darb is Arab. place name with the meaning “gateway, narrow pass, mountain path” (Nigel Groom)
- Dardin (Breil) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Darlun (Vrin) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Darnaus (Rhäzüns) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”, Akk. nawû “pasture”
- Darlux (Alpine pasture in Bergün) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Darséz (Medels) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Darsiéz (Maton) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Dartét (Ziraun) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”, Akk. tētū “loamy soil”
- Darums (Vuorz) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Darvella (Trun) < Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Davena (Vorarlberg) < Hebr. dob “bear”
- Davos/Tavau < Akk. tabû “to ascend”
- Degen/Igels, old Igens < Akk. īku “brook”, cf. Igis at the Rhine
- Denno (Nonsberg, South Tyrol) < Hebr. dānān “grain, cereals”
- Domat/Ems, old Amede < Hebr. amet “strength, safety” or Akk. amittu “reed”
- Dornbirn, dialectal Dorebire < Raet. Acc. \*dara < Arab. dār “farmer’s house” in Austrian pronunciation. The Alemanns translated this word with Büren “farmer’s house” (at Bludenz there is a place named Bürs) that got Bire
- Dovals (Domat/Ems) < Hebr. dob “bear”
- Dovena (South Tyrol) < Hebr. dob “bear”, cf. Bärenhorn “bear horn” (mountain in the Grisons)
- Duagn (Mon) < Akk. duḥnu, Arab. duḥn, Hebr. doḥan “millet”
- Duan, Piz < Hebr. dob “bear”
- Duana, Val (instead of \*Duvana, side valley of Bregaglia) “bear valley” < Arab. dubb, Hebr. dob “bear”
- Duegn (Stampa) < Akk. duḥnu, Arab. duḥn, Hebr. doḥan “millet”
- Dums (Vorarlberg) < Arab. daum “duration”, Hebr. dūmāh “silence, of empire of the dead”
- Düns (Vorarlberg) < Arab. dūn “low”, dūna “below”
- Dura (Ulten Valley, South Tyrol) < Akk. dūru “wall, fort (Acc.)”
- Durana (Guarda), Pl. of Arab. dār “farmer’s house”
- Durnan (ruins of walls, Andeer) < Akk. dūru “city wall”

Duronbach (brook, South Tyrol) < Mesopotam. river name Turran, Arab. dawwār “maelstrom”

Dursch (Jenaz) < Aram. dušrā, Arab. daušar, Akk. diarru “Hafer”?

Dúven (Scharans) < Hebr. dob “bear”

Duvin, 1325 Awún < Hebr. dob “bear”

Ega, Val d’ (South Tyrol) < Akk. ēku “brook (Acc.)”

Ela, Piz d’, not from Latin āla “wing”, but from Arab. ‘alā “to be high”, ‘alāya “high”

En/Inn, Greek Ainos < Arab. ‘ain, Hebr. ‘ayin, Akk. īnu “fountain, brook” (many brooks in the Orient are named like that)

Err, Val d’, first name of the valley, then of the mountain < Akk. erru “dry” < “hot”?  
Besides Piz d’Err there is Piz Calderas (cald- “hot”)

Eschas (Ramosch) < Akk. eššu “new”

Este, at the Roman’s time Ateste “gift of Estu”, Arab. ‘atū “to give”

Etsch/Atesis < Arab. ‘aṭiṣ “dry”

Fadella (Maienfeld, Jenins) < Akk. utullu “heardsman; herd”

Falera/Fellers < Akk. parzillu (< Sum.?), Hebr. barzel “iron” (cf. Fursill in South Tyrol)

Fan (Versam) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”

Fana (Serfaus, North Tyrol) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”

Fanas, 1447 Vanaus, otherwise F-, 1375 Fenans < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”

Fanes, mythical empire in South Tyrol < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”

Fanin (Jenaz) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”

Fanüise (Lüen) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”

Far, Er da (Lantsch) < Arab. warā’a “behind, beyond”

Farschlein (Schluein), 1546 Verschlein “behind Schluein” < Arab. warā’a “behind, beyond”

Faschein (Schiers) < Arab. wasa’ “width” or waṭan “idol”?

Faschiel (Seewis) < Arab. wasa’ “width” + Latin diminutive suffix –ellu

Faschun (Sta. Maria) < Arab. wasa’ “width” or waṭan “idol”?

Fasia (Soazza) < Raet. \*wasīya < Arab. wasa’ “Weite”

Fasons/Vasons (Seewis) < Arab. waṭan “idol”?

Fassa, Val di (South Tyrol) < Arab. waṭan “home”

Fätta (Praden), 1515 Wetten < Arab. waṭada “to fortify”, waṭīd “solid, strong”

Favugn/Felsberg, old Fagonio < Arab. wakan “eyrie”

Fawunaschga (Malix) < Arab. wakan “eyrie”?

Fedoz, Piz < Arab. waṭada “to fortify”, waṭīd “solid, strong”

Feid (Andeer), 1838 Pro digl Fett < Arab. waṭada “to fortify”, waṭīd “solid, strong”?

Feldkirch (Vorarlberg) is the translation of Latin *Ecclesia* in Campo. This, however, may be to explain from Sem. *ekal* “temple”, Akk. *ekallu* “palace”

Felvén (Domat/Ems) < Raet. \**bēl ebenniu* “lord of the rocks” (the Celtic god Felvennis)?

Ferfelles (Vella) < Arab. *warā’a* “behind, beyond”

Fideris < Akk. *wattāru* “herd” or Arab. *faṭr* “cleft”?

Filisur, 1297 Palissura, “Felsrūti” (place where the forest was cleaned off by burning)? Arab. *wali’a* “to burn” (burn-cleaning?), Hebr. *śūr* “rock”

Frastanz (Vorarlberg) < Arab. *warā’a šatta* “behind the riverbank”

Ftan/Fetan, old Vetane (with a Patnal, a prehistoric fortress) < Arab. *waṭan* “home”

Furca, Latin *furca* “fork” is useless for explaining a pass: Akk. *warḥu*, *urḥu* “way, route”. In Retorom. only the Acc. survived, thus \**wurca* that turned into *Furka* in the mouth of the German speaking settlers

Fursill (former iron mine in Monte Pore at Colle S. Lucia, South Tyrol) < Akk. *parzillu* (< Sum.), Hebr. *barzel* “iron”

Gader < Hebr. *gādēr(a)* “pen, fold”

Gadon (Vorarlberg) < Hebr. *qātōn* “small”, Akk. *qutnu* “narrow”

Gais (AR, South Tyrol, Montafon) “Neudorf” (“New Village”, common place name)? < Hebr. *hādāš*, Arab. *hadīt* “new, fresh”

Galgenuel (Montafon) < Arab. *qalūq* “restless”, cf. the Raet. tribe of the Calucones

Galghemil (Alpine pasture, South Tyrol) “fountain where the cattle gathers”? < Hebr. *gal* “fountain”, Arab. *ḡamala* “to gather”

Gällawald (Wartau) < Pre-Roman \**ganda* “stone-pile, scree” < Arab. *ḡandal* “stone”

Galmun (pasture in Saas) < Arab. *ḡalmad*, Pl. *ḡulmūd* “Felsen”

Ganni (Vals) < Hebr. *gan(nāh)* “garden”

Garalenz (Fideris) < Hebr. *gargar* “berry”

Garatz (Vorarlberg, burn-cleaned place) < Akk. *karātu*, Hebr. *kārat* “to cut off, to cut down”

Garet (Lostallo) < Hebr. *gargar* “berry”

Garlet (Salux) < Hebr. *gargar* “berry”

Garola (Jenaz) < Hebr. *gargar* “berry”

Garotta (Lostallo) < Hebr. *gargar* “berry”

Garsella (Vorarlberg, Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Arab. *karaza* “to seek for asylum”

Garv de Rugn (Roveredo) < Arab. *ḥarāb(a)* “ruins”

Garwenna (Wattens, North Tyrol) < Akk. *ḥarbu* “forest” + god of the heaven Annu

Gatschärli (vineyard, Malans) < Ugar. *gat* “wine-press”, Hebr. *kerem* “vineyard”

Gaza (Murissen) < Akk. *gassu* “plaster”

Gazail (Andeer) < Akk. *gassu* “plaster”



- Gaze (San Vitale) < Akk. gassu “plaster”
- Gazien (Malans) < Akk. gassu “plaster”
- Geil (Casti A., meadow) < Akk. ajalu, jālu “stag”
- Genäst, Er (Andeer) “garden of Estu” < Hebr. gan “Garten”. After one did not understand the word anymore, one added Retorom. er “acre”
- Gers (Scuol) < Arab. ğir “chalk”
- Gerschella (Grabs) < Arab. karaza “to seek for asylum”
- Gianadi (Trin) < Raet. \*ganāti “gardens” < Akk. gannati, Hebr. gan(nāh) “garden”
- Gianal (Sarn) “garden of the village” < Hebr. gan “garden”, Arab. ālī “of the village”
- Ginét (Brusio) < Hebr. gan, Akk. gannu “garden” (diminutive)
- Giovegna (brook, Soazza) < Arab. ğubb “fountain”
- Girensplitz < Arab. ğir “chalk” (cf. Algier)
- Girs (Vrin) < Arab. ğir “chalk”
- Girsch (Tamins) < Arab. ğir “chalk”
- Giuvaulta/Rothenbrunnen < Akk. gubbu, Arab. ğubb “fountain”, Raetorom. aula “high”. While Akk. gubbu appears in the Retorom. name of the village, its translation “Brunnen” = “fountain” appears in the German name
- Gliandaus (Siat) < Akk. eqlu “field, acre”
- Gliareuns (Alpine hut, Curaglia) < Akk. eqlu “field, acre”, Raetorom. ers “acres”
- Glics (acre, Siat), 1470 Glitz < Akk. eqlu “field, acre”
- Gliém (Sta. Maria Calanca) < Akk. eqlu “field, acre”
- Gliers (Casti S.) < Akk. eqlu “field, acre”, Raetorom. ers “acres”
- Glietsch (Domat/Ems) < Akk. eqlu “field, acre”, Pl. eqlāti
- Glirs (Feldis, Scheid) < Akk. eqlu “field, acre”, Retorom. ers “acres”
- Göfis (Vorarlberg) < Arab. ğawa “fountain”
- Gord (Lostallo) < Arab. ğard “bald, barren”
- Gorda (Mesocco) < Arab. ğard “bald, barren”
- Gotzara (vineyard, Fläsch) < Hebr. qāṣēr “short”, Arab. qaṣīr “short, small”
- Götzis (Vorarlberg), old Gatzis, Cazzeres < Hebr. qāṣāh “outermost, end, margin” (of the valley)
- Gozis (St. Peter) Cazzeres < Hebr. qāṣāh “outermost, end, margin” (of the valley) or Akk. gassu “plaster”
- Grabs, 840 Quadravades “black earth of the valley (i.e. fertile soil)” < Akk. kudāru “a kind of territory” (Arab. kudra “dark color”), Arab. waṭ’ “flatland”, in Marocco “plane”
- Greina, 1182 de Agrena, 1494 Agrena < Arab. qarana “to connect”. The Greina connects the valleys of Ticino, the Sumvitg and the Glennertal
- Gretschins, 1270 Cracinnes “holy place in the mountains” < Akk. ḥarū “holy place”, kinnū “mountain”. The first church stood on the today’s castle-hill. It obviously

substituted the Raet. holy place, like anyway the first churches were built in the places of pagan temples in order to substitute their cult

Grüf (stony meadow, Bregaglia) < Arab. ḥarāb(a) “ruins”

Gulli, Val (Tavetsch) < Hebr. gal “fountain”

Guwella (Chur) “moist ravine” < Akk. gubbu, Arab. ḡubb “fountain, well”

Hohenems (Vorarlberg), old Amides < Arab. amt “hill” or Hebr. amet “strength, safety”

Hoia (Flims) < Arab. ḥayya “viper”

Icaro, Monte (South Tyrol) < Akk. ikkaru “farmer”

Ilanz/Glion < Akk. elijānītu “the upper (city, namely at the Vorder Rhine)”

Irgi, Erigen (mountain path over Grabs) < Akk. arḥu, urḥu, Hebr. oraḥ “way, path”

Ischgel (Saas) < Akk. ešgallu “big temple”

Isla, Ischla are mostly no islands (īles), but meadows along rivers or brooks (German “Auen”): Akk. ušallu “lowland, meadow along a river”, cf. Isolaccia (Valtellina, without lake)

Itonskopf (Vorarlberg) < Hebr. ēytān “solid, strong, durable”

Jallein (Parsons) < Akk. eqlu “field, acer” or Akk. ajalu, jālu “stag”

Jasuols (Tschlin) < Arab. yāzūl “garlic”

Jelajoch (Fideris) < Akk. ajalu, jālu “stag”

Jenaz, 1478 Ganatz < Raet. \*genātiu “gardens” < Akk. gannu, Hebr. gan “garden”

Jenins, 1318 Gennines < Akk. gannu, Hebr. gan “garden”

Jes (Alpine pasture, Maienfeld) < Arab. ḡāsi’ “hard, rough”

Julier < Akk. ḥūlu “way, street”. At the Roman’s time one probably pronounced \*Via Chulia, and the “c” became g like inside of words, hence Retorom. Gūglia, cf. Septimer, Retorom. Set < Irish set “way”

Kardaun (at Bozen, South Tyrol) “burn-cleaned area” < Akk. karātu, Hebr. kārat to cut off, to cut down”

Karersee (“Karer-Lake”) < Arab. qarr “cold”

Karneid (mountain in South Tyrol) “border mountain” < Sem. qarnu “mountain” + Akk. itū “border” or Akk. qarnāte “horns”?

Karnische Alpen (Carnic Alps) < Sem. qarnu “horn, mountain”

Kesch, Piz < Akk. qaššu “holy”. Remarkably, k- is conserved here, because of respect? Cf. Mons Cassius (Ugar. ks) in the Orient

Ladina (Valendas, Andiast) < Arab. ‘alā “on”, tīna “loamy soil”

Ladinós (Wergenstein) < Arab. ‘alā “on”, tīna “loamy soil”

- Ladir, old Ladur (on a hill) < ‘alā tūr “on the hill”
- Lafet (Peist) < Akk. laptu, lapet, Arab. lift “turnip, carrot”
- Lafun (Vorarlberg) < Akk. labnu “flat” or Akk. labānu “to make tiles”, lābinu “tile-maker”, Arab. labbān “id.”
- Lain (Vaz), 9<sup>th</sup> c. in Line < Akk. ēlēnu, ēlānu “above”
- Laits (Sumvitg) < Akk. lītu “cow”
- Lantsch/Lenz, 1154 Lanzis < Arab. ‘alā ‘anqī “on the pass”
- Lat, Lot (Untervaz), 1375 Laut “protection”? < Hebr. lōt “to protect”
- Latemar (South Tyrol) “hidden pasture” < Arab. mar’ “pasture”, Hebr. lōt “hidden”
- Laterns (Vorarlberg) < Arab. ‘alā “on”, Akk. tārānu “protection, shade”
- Lats (Ramosch), old Lautz, Lautsch < Akk. ludû “sowing field”
- Laudes (Vinschgau) < Akk. ludû “sowing field”
- Laus (Sumvitg, Schlans, Murissen) < Arab. laud- “to take as asylum”
- Lavanuz (Alpine hut above Lags) < Akk. laberu, labiru “old”
- Lavarena (Alpine hut, Filisur) < Akk. laberu, labiru “old”. In the cold Iron Age old places were partly given up, cf. Altstätten “Old Place”
- Lavarettas (Alvagni) < Akk. laberu, labiru “old”
- Lavariaus (Trun) < Akk. laberu, labiru “old”
- Lavin < Arab. lāwin “to turn”, liwan “bend, curve”. Lavin has nothing to do with German “Lawine” (< Latin labina) “avalanche”, because nobody builds villages on avalanche-courses. The river Inn describes there a clear bend
- Lawaus (Tamins, at a bend of the Rhine) Arab. lāwin “to turn”, lawā “to bend”
- Lawenatobel (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Arab. lāwin “to turn”, liwan “bend, curve”
- Levis (Feldkirch) < Arab. lihf “foot of a mountain”
- Lon/Lohn, 12<sup>th</sup> c. ad Laune < Arab. lāwin “to turn”, liwan “bend, curve”. The street climbs up in curves
- Lorüns (Montafon, Vorarlberg) < Akk. illūru “anemone”
- Lothen (Pustertal) < Hebr. lōt “to hide”
- Lotra (vineyard in San Vitale) < rom. article + Akk. watru “abundantly”
- Ludesch (Vorarlberg), old Luza < Arab. laudh- “to seek for protection”
- Lumnezia/Lugnez, Schorta quotes von Planta who assumes that the name Lumnetia be in connection with the Lepontians. Then, one could explain Lugnez with Arab. lakina “to speak like a barbarian”. Greek barbaros means also “foreigner”
- Lun (Malans) < Arab. lāwin “to turn”, liwan “bend, curve”
- Lunat (Vaz) < Arab. lāwin “to turn”, liwan “bend, curve”
- Lunau (Tschierschen) < Arab. lāwin “to turn”, liwan “bend, curve”
- Luven < Arab. lāwin “to turn”, liwan “bend, curve”
- Macon (Poschiavo) < Hebr. makōn “place of residence”

- Macun (Lavin) < Hebr. makōn “place of residence”
- Macuns (on Bernina) < Hebr. makōn “place of residence”
- Madrals (Klosters) < Latin-Raet. \*mater alu “mother-goddess” < Arab. allat “goddess”
- Madreda (Poschiavo) “mother Ritu” < Latin-Raet. \*mater Rita
- Madris, Val (Surselva) “mother Ritu” < Latin-Raet. \*mater Ritia (Ritia > \*Ridja > Risa)
- Madrisa (mountain at the border of Prättigau and Vorarlberg) “mother Ritu” < Latin-Raet. \*mater Ritia (Ritia > \*Ridja > Risa)
- Madrisch (Avers) “mother Ritu” < Latin-Raet. \*mater Ritia (Ritia > \*Ridja > Risa)
- Madrisella (Montafon) “mother Ritu” < Latin-Raet. \*mater Ritia (Ritia > \*Ridja > Risa)
- Madrisio (Alpine hut at Grosio; in Friuli at Udine) “mother Ritu” < Latin-Raet. \*mater Ritia (Ritia > \*Ridja > Risa)
- Magrè (Italy), Italian Form of Margreid = Margareta, Christian substitute for the goddess Ritu
- Maira (river in Bregaglia) < Akk. mēgīru “watering”, -a ist Acc.
- Maladers, old Maladirs < Präfix, Arab. ‘alā tūr “on the hill”
- Maladürs (Trimmis) < local prefix ma-, Arab. ‘alā tūr “on the hill”
- Malans < Arab. malan “open land”
- Maliens (Trin) < Akk. amalu “pine”, a- deglutinated as supposed preposition
- Malögetta (S-chanf) < Akk. amalu “pine”, a- deglutinated as supposed preposition
- Malogna (Patzen) < Akk. amalu “pine”, a- deglutinated as supposed preposition
- Maloja < Akk. mēlū “hill”
- Malönia (Safien) < Akk. mēlū “hill”
- Mäls (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Akk. mēlū “hill”
- Mals (Vinschgau) < Akk. malû “abundance” or Akk. amalu “pine”
- Malun (Müstair; Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Akk. mēlū “hill”
- Mandun (Surcuolm) “gift”? Local prefix ma-, Akk. nadānu “to give as a gift”
- Manduns (Falera) “gift”? Local prefix maa, Akk. nadānu “to give as a gift”
- Mangaus (Domat/Ems) < Akk. mangu “bean”
- Mar (meadow, Cazis) < Arab. mar‘ “pasture”
- Mar, Prau (pastures, Scuol, Tarasp) < Arab. mar‘ “pasture”
- Maran (Arosa) < Arab. mar‘ “pasture”, Sem. suffix –ānu
- Maredia (Schiers) < Akk. merītu, Hebr. mar‘īt “pasture”, ending –ia < Sem. īya
- Mareg (fatty meadow at Zuoz) < Akk. marû “fat” or Arab. marġ “meadow”
- Marein (Alpine hut in Versam) < Arab. mar‘ “pasture”, Sem. suffix –ān
- Margienna < Arab. marġ “meadow”
- Marjérs (meager meadows, Sent), 1394 Amariäg < Arab. marġ “meadow”
- Marschlins (castle), 1298 Marzennines < local prefix ma-, Arab. raṣīn “firmly built”, thus “old fortress”

- Masans, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Mezans < local prefix ma-, Akk. ṣeānu “small-cattle”
- Masegn, Crap (Ladir) < Arab. ma‘z “goat”
- Maseras (Luven) < Akk. meṣru “border”
- Masínis (Alpine hut in Valendas) < Arab. ma‘z “goat”
- Masons (Alpine hut in Vaz) < Arab. ma‘z “goat” or Raet. \*masannu < local prefix ma-, Raet. \*sanion “mountain cheesemaker”, thus “mountain cheesemaking place”
- Mathon (Vorarlberg) < Arab. matuna “to be solid, strong”. The sonorization t > d did not apply here anymore
- Matinis (Wartau) < local prefix ma- + Arab. tin(a) “loamy soil”
- Maton (Grisons, Vorarlberg) < Arab. matuna “to be solid, strong”. Sonorization t > d did not apply here anymore
- Matug (hamlet above Trübbach) < Hebr. matūq “sweet, pleasant”?
- Mazifer (Wartau) “cemetery” < local prefix ma-, Akk. qebēru “to bury” (cf. English macaber, German makaber), Arab. maqbara “cemetery”
- Maula (Lags) < Akk. mūlū “hight”
- Mauren (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Akk. murrānu, Arab. murrāna “ash-tree”
- Maus (Lumbrein, etc.) < Arab. ma‘ād, derivation of Arab. ‘awād “asylum”
- Mazärris (Schiers) < Akk. meṣru “border”
- Mazifer (above Trübbach) < Arab. maqbara “cemetery” to Akk. qebēru “to bury” (thus “macaber”)
- Medel < Akk. mēdelu “bar, bolt”
- Melaun (Vinschgau) < Akk. mēlū “hill” or Akk. amalu “pine”, a- deglutinated as supposed preposition
- Mels < Akk. amalu “pine”, a- deglutinated as supposed preposition or Arab. mail “slope, precipice”
- Meltina/Mölten (between Bozen and Meran) < Hebr. mālat, millēt “to rescue” (asylum)
- Meran (South Tyrol) < Arab. mar’ “pasture”, Sem. Suffix -ānu
- Mesules (South Tyrol) < Akk. mašallū “canal”?
- Milets (Tavetsch) has the same origin like Milet in Asia Minor that must also have been founded by Semitic people (like in Greece Salamis and Theben) as well as Malta < Hebr. millēt “to rescue”. There, the apostle Paulus could rescue himself out of a sea-storm
- Moena (Val di Fassa, South Tyrol) < Hebr. māgēn “protection”
- Montanast < Latin montem “mountain (Acc.)” + Raet. goddess Estu
- Mozentobel (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Arab. mūsad “a closed entrance” (Nigel Groom)
- Muldain, 9<sup>th</sup> c. Muldane < Arab. maulāt “mistress”, maulātan “belongig to the mistress”
- Munteschin (Grabs) < Raetorum. munt “mountain”, Akk. kinnū “id.” (double-name)
- Muraun (Medels S., Breil, Tünzen) < Akk. murrānu, Arab. murrāna “ash-tree”

- Murris (Wartau, situated at an old reed-area) < Akk. murrānu, Arab. murrāna “ash-tree”
- Mutakass (Lake of Garda, Italy) < Latin montem “mountain (Acc.)” + Akk. qaššu “holy”
- Nadéls (Wartau) “lookout” < Akk. naṭālu “to look”
- Nadro (Mesocco, etc.) < Arab. naṭr “sentry”
- Naja (Disentis) < Arab. na’y “hole, ditch”
- Nals/Nalles (Etschtal) < Akk. ina + alû “at the village”?
- Naluns (hight above Scuol), 1390 Uluns < Arab. ‘ulūw “hight”
- Naul (Obersaxen) < Arab. naul “gift”
- Naun (Vrin, wild-hay place) < Akk. nawû, Hebr. nāweh “pasture”
- Naus (at the Gonzen mountain) “asylum” < Hebr. nūs, Arab. nauṣ “to escape”, Hebr. mānōs “asylum”
- Naval (Valendas) < Akk. nawû, Hebr. nāweh “pasture”, Arab. āli “of the village”
- Navens (acres, Pitasch) < Akk. nawû, Hebr. nāweh “pasture”
- Navs (Seglias) < Akk. nawû, Hebr. nāweh “pasture”
- Navalas (Riom) < Akk. nawû, Hebr. nāweh “pasture” or Akk. nawāru “to shine, to be clear” (clearing)
- Naváras (Salux, Riom) < Akk. nawāru “to shine, to be clear” (clearing)
- Navras (Feldis) < Akk. nawāru “to shine, to be clear” (clearing)
- Negias (Alpine pasture with huts, Vrin) < Akk. nāqīdu “heardsman”, Pl. nāqīdi, or Aram. nehās, Hebr. nehōšet, Arab. nuḥās “copper”
- Niruns (Sent) < Hebr. ‘ēyrom “naked”
- Nirums (mountain meadow at Flerden), 1212 Irooms < Hebr. ‘ēyrom “naked”
- Niscé, Mot del (Lostallo) < Hebr. nešer, Arab. nasr “eagle”
- Nitschains (near the church of Savognin), 1375 Nischein < Akk. nīqu, niqû “(place) of sacrifice”
- Nomens, 1660 Omens < Hebr. omnā “post, pillar”, derivation from Arab. amīn “solid”, cf. Vinomna/Rankweil
- Nonsberg/Val di Non (South Tyrol) < Akk. god of the heaven Annu + German Berg “mountain”
- Növesa (Lake of Garda, place of devil’s orgies) < Arab. nabīḏ “to offend against s.th.”
- Nozs, Las (Savognin) < Arab. nauṣ- “to escape” (asylum)
- Nüziders (Vorarlberg) < Akk. god of the heaven Annu + kidru “help”
- Nulens (Vella) < Arab. naul “gift”
- Nulez (Bonaduz) < Arab. naul “gift”
- Nussaus (Lumbrein) < Arab. nauṣ-, Hebr. nūs “to escape” (asylum)
- Nuzza, La (Wergenstein) < Arab. nauṣ-, Hebr. nūs “to escape” (asylum)

Oberschan < German ober “upper”, Arab. sakan “dwelling” or Hebr. šā’an “to bend, to incline”

Orna (forest, Grono) < Arab. ‘arīn, Pl. urun “thicket”

Ors, Plan d’ (forest, Sent, Tschlin, Scuol, Lavin) < Arab. hurs “forest”

Orsaniga (chestnut forest, San Vitale) < Arab. hurs “forest”

Ozur (Casti A., cow pasture) < Arab. haṣr “encirclement”

Padanöl (sandy valley, Müstair) < Hebr. peten “viper”

Padua, Italian Padova, Latin Patavium < Akk. pattu “border area”, pātu “margin”, pātu “border”

Paistels (Zernez) “mouth of the goddess Estu” < Raet. \*pī Esti ali < Hebr. peh “mouth (oracle)”, Raet. alu “goddess”

Palat (Schiers, etc.) “asylum” < Hebr. pālaṭ “to escape”

Palens (Castiel, Salux) < Arab. falan “open field, empty space”

Panadisch, Bot (Vaz, at the Schyn pass route) < Raet. \*pana watūtiu “in front of the valleys” < Akk. pana “in front of”, Arab. waṭ’ “lowland”

Panaduz/Bonaduz < Raet. \*pana watūtiu “in front of the valleys” < Akk. pana “in front of”, Arab. waṭ’ “lowland”

Panaglia (Flims, Scuol, Cazis, etc.) “front village (German Vorderdorf, usual place name)” < Akk. pana “in front of”, āli “of the village”, Panaglia is Acc.

Paradis (South Tyrol) < German Paradies “paradise” or Par-adis < Retorom. par, pra, pro etc. < Latin pratum “meadow”, Akk. ‘aṭiš “dry” (cf. Retorom. Pradasetga etc.)

Paregnella (pasture at Mesocco) < Akk. pargānu “pasture”

Parpan, old Partepan < farṭ “little hill”, pan(a) “across”

Parsagna (Andeer), nearby is Ferrera “iron-village” < old South Arab. prsn “iron”

Parsenn (Davos) is watershed < parāsu, Arab. faraza “to separate” + god of the heaven Annu

Partenen (Vorarlberg), old Parthenna < Akk. patānu “to fortify”

Parüşch (Segl) “maple meadow” < Retorom. par “meadow”, Akk. ušû “maple”

Paschga (mountain crossing at Wartau) < Hebr. pessah “crossing”

Passugg “crossing” < Hebr. pāsah “to jump over”, cf. Thapsacus “ford” at the Euphrates

Patain (Sent) < Arab. fatt “cleft in the rock”

Patellum (Malix) < Arab. fatt “cleft in the rock”

Patenn (Seewis) < Arab. fatt “cleft in the rock”

Paterscheuna (at a quarry, Ilanz) < Akk. paṭāru “to detach”, Hebr. peter “splitting”, Arab. faṭara “to split”, faṭr “cleft”. To the fountain that is there refers Akk. rasānu “to moisten, to water”

Patnasa, Crest (Breil) < Raet. \*patānātiu < Akk. patānu “to fortify”

- Patrí (Ramosch) < Akk. paṭāru “to detach”, Hebr. peter “splitting”, Arab. faṭara “to split”, faṭr “cleft”
- Pattarina (scree field at Sils) < Akk. paṭāru “to detach”, Hebr. peter “splitting”, Arab. faṭara “to split”, faṭr “cleft”
- Patzen < Hebr. pāṣah “to split”
- Pawang (Castrisch), 1537 ara (Engl. altar) pawoyn < Akk. papāḥu “holy place”
- Pawangs (Untervaz) < Akk. papāḥu “holy place”
- Pazeuls (Surcuolm) < Hebr. pāṣah “to split”
- Pazza (scree fields at Ramosch) < Hebr. pāṣah “to split”
- Pedenär (Ftan) < Akk. patānu “to fortify”
- Peglia (Rhäzüns) < Arab. filw “foal-pasture”
- Peiden/Peidna (Tschierschen) < Akk. patānu “to fortify”
- Peil (Vals) < Arab. filw “foal-pasture”
- Peist < Raet. \*pī Esti “mouth (= oracle) of Estu”
- Peja, Val (little side valley, Zuoz) < Akk. peḥû “closed”
- Pemmern (on Mount Ritten, South Tyrol) < Sem. pan “in front of” + Arab. mar’ “pasture”
- Pen (Poschiavo) < Arab. finā’ “farm”
- Penat (Poschiavo) < Arab. finā’ “farm”
- Petra Vanna (South Tyrol) < Latin-Greek petra “stone”, Raet. \*venna “rocks (Acc.) < Akk. abnu “stone” (double-name)
- Pfäfers < Arab. fawwāra “fountain, well”, fawr “to cook, to boil”
- Pfäwi (mountain at Schesaplana) < Arab. fūwa “Färberröte, plant whose roots deliver red paint”
- Pfitz (forest clearing, Vorarlberg, at Runggels! (whose name refers to burn-cleaning, thus forest clearing) < Akk. pītu “opening, cultivating (making arable)”
- Pilat (Ortisei, South Tyrol) “asylum” < Hebr. pālaṭ “to escape”
- Pitauna, Val (Celerina) < Arab. fattān “to enchant”
- Piteun, Crest (Breil) < Arab. fattān “enchanted”
- Pizalun (mountain at the border of St. Gallen and the Grisons) < Retorom. Piz + Arab. ‘alūw “high, hill”
- Plessur “rock-river” < Hebr. peleg “river”, Hebr. ṣūr “rock” (cf. the typical Sem. compound structure)
- Poch, Val dal (ravine at Scuol) < Akk. pūqu “narrowness”
- Pore, Monte (South Tyrol) < Hebr. par “young bull” or Akk. parru “young sheep”
- Pragguot (Untervaz) < Akk. parakku “holy place”
- Prättigau/Partenz, 1213 Purtennis < Raet. \*Purtenu “our Euphrates” < Akk. Purattu “Euphrates” + -nu “our” (Gen. Pl. 1. c.)
- Pulens (Salux) < Hebr. pōl, Arab. fūl “bean”



Puors (Scul) < Arab. fawwāra “fountain, well”

Quadern (Vorarlberg) “dark (i.e. fertile) earth” < Akk. kudāru “a kind of territory”, waṭ “lowland”

Rabbi (Trentino) < Hebr. rāba‘ “to rest”, cf. Rabat

Radals (Schiers) < Akk. retû, ratû “to fortify”, Arab. āli “of the village”

Radaufis (Fläsch) < Akk. retû “fortified”

Radaz (Küblis) < Akk. retû, ratû “to fortify”

Radein (Luven) < Akk. retû, ratû “to fortify”

Radein (South Tyrol) < Akk. rāṭu “canal”

Radéls (Pitasch) < Akk. retû, ratû “to fortify”

Raditsch (Fanas) < Akk. retû, ratû “to fortify”

Radosch (Tschlin) < Akk. retû, ratû “to fortify”

Ragaz, old Runketz “baths” < Akk. rimku “bath”, ramāku “to bathe”

Ragina, Funtauna (“fountain”) (Silvapiana) < Akk.rahû “to pour (o.s.)” or Akk. rahāsu “to moisten, to inundate”

Ragus (Andiast) < Akk.rahû “to pour (o.s.)” or Akk. rahāsu “to moisten, to inundate”

Ragoz (Saas) < Akk.rahû “to pour (o.s.)” or Akk. rahāsu “to moisten, to inundate”

Raguo (Untervaz) < Akk.rahû “to pour (o.s.)” or Akk. rahāsu “to moisten, to inundate”

Rai, Champ da (Tschlin) “field of the herdsman” < Akk. rē’û, Hebr. ro‘eh “herdsman”

Rai, Plan da (Guarda) “plane of the herdsman” < Akk. rē’û, Hebr. ro‘eh “herdsman”

Ramella, Stavel (Sent) < Hebr. rāmāh “hight, hill”

Ramesch (Cunter) < Hebr. rāmāh “hight, hill”

Ramondeu (Traun) “hight of the priestess” < Hebr. rāmāh “hight, hill”, Akk. antu “priestess”

Ramons (Traun) < Arab. ramû “to dwell”

Ramosch/Remüs, 930 in vico Remuscie < Raet. \*ramūtiu < Akk. ramû “to dwell” or Arab. Rāmūs, name for a burial place (Nigel Groom)

Ramuns (Malix) < Arab. ramû “to dwell”

Randibüel (Praden) < Akk. arantu “mountain goat”, German Bühl “hill”

Rankweil is germanization of Latin Vinomna (Latin vinum “wine, vine”). Rankweil was the capital of the Vennontes. Omna is obviously Hebr. omnā “post, pillar”, derived from Arab. amīn “solid, strong”. Vin- stands for Latin vinum = German Ranke “vine”

Ras, Piz dal (Susch) (Retorom. piz “peak”) < Arab. ra’s, Hebr. rōš “head”

Raschaus (Luzein) < Arab. ra’s, Akk. rêšu, Hebr. rōš “head”

Raschein (Tschappina) < Akk. rašānu “to water”, risna “watering place”

Raschein (Vaz) < Akk. rašānu “to water”, risna “watering place”

- Raschel (Feldis) < Arab. ra's, Akk. rêšu, Hebr. rōš "head"
- Rascheukopf (Tamins) < Arab. ra's, Akk. rêšu, Hebr. rōš "head"
- Raschil (Almen) < Arab. ra's, Akk. rêšu, Hebr. rōš "head"
- Raschnal (farm at a little creek, Saas) < Akk. rašānu "to water", risna "watering place"
- Raschnals (Zizers) < Arab. ra's, Akk. rêšu, Hebr. rōš "head"
- Raschötz (mountain in Val Gardena) < \*Raet. rašētiu "heads" < Akk. rêšu "head"
- Raseifabach, 1502 still Arsafeil < Akk. arsuppu "carp"
- Rasöгна (Braggio) < Akk. rašānu "to water", risna "watering place"
- Ratenna (Tamins) "asylum" < Akk. ratû "to escape"
- Rauza (Jenaz) < Hebr. rābaš, Akk. rabāšu "to rest"
- Ravais-ch (Rueun, etc.) < Arab. rabwa, ruban "hill"
- Ravetg (Alpine hut in Giuvaulta) < Hebr. rāba', Arab. rabaḏa "to rest", Arab. Rabat means also resting place for the cattle, Arab. rab' "place of residence"
- Ravina (Poschiavo) < Arab. rabwa, ruban "hill"
- Ravugn (Alpine hut in Vaz) < Arab. rabwa, ruban "hill"
- Razeuna (reedy meadows in Sevgein) < Akk. rašānu "to water"
- Regitzenspitz (Fläsch, St. Gallen) < Hebr. rekes "steep mountain chain", German Spitz "peak"
- Reischen (Schams) < Akk. rêšu "head"
- Res (Scuol), old Raiss < Arab. raiš "real estate"
- Resch (above Malans in Wartau) < Akk. rêšu "head"
- Rescha, Crap da la (Retorom. crap "rock, boulder"), not to Retorom. rascha "resin", but < Akk. rêšu "head"
- Reschenpass (South Tyrol), 1219 Rexene, 1277 Resin < Akk. rêšu "head"
- Reschu (Heiligkreuz-Mels, St. Gallen) < Akk. rêšu "head"
- Resciesa (mountain in Val Gardena, South Tyrol) < Hebr. rekes "steep mountain chain"
- Retal (Malans) < Akk. retû "fortified", Arab. rataḡa "to bolt, to bar", Arab. āli "of the village"
- Rhazüns/Razén "fortress" < Arab. rašuna "to be fortified". Robert von Planta assumed Celt. \*Raetiodūnum "city of Raetians". In this case Celts would have given the name to a Raetic place!
- Rhein, Raetorom. rein "brook, river", besides the variations Ragn, Rogn, Ren. In Mesopotamia there was a river Radānu, and the Jordan, Arab. Wardan, differs from Radānu only through the Sem. prefix Sem. wa-. Radānu > \*Rān > Rein, "so that the Sem. name fell together with the Celt. name" (Brunner and Toth 1987, p. 76)
- Riein < Akk. rē'ū "heardsman", Pl. \*rejānu
- Rigeis, Sass (South Tyrol) < Akk. rīqu "empty, bald (without forest)"
- Rims (Müstair, Sent) < Akk. rimku (Pl. rimkē) "bath"

- Riom/Reams, 9<sup>th</sup> c. in Riamio, 904 Riammas < Akk. riāmu “gift” (of a god) or Arab. riġām “grave stones”
- Ris (Tavetsch) < shortening from Akk. rimku (Pl. rimkē) “bath”
- Ritten (mountain in South Tyrol), in honour of the goddess Ritu
- Rodels (Domleschg) < Akk. retû, ratû “to fortify”
- Rom/Rambach (torrent) < Akk. remmu “roaring, rage”
- Röthis (Vorarlberg), old Raudina < Arab. rauda “garden, meadow”, Riyād “areas in stony tracts where there is water and pasture” (Nigel Groom)
- Rumein (Degen), 1325 Ramins, 1391 Ramein < Hebr. rāmāh “hill”
- Ruoschk (Celerina) to the Raetic tribe of the Rugusci?
- Rüs (Landquart) < Hebr. raš “fragment”, rešah “demolition”
- Rusanós (Domat/Ems) < Akk. rusu “magic”
- Rusch (place, dangerous because of avalanches, Pitasch) < Hebr. raš “fragment”, rešah “demolition”
- Ruschein < 765 in Rucene, to the Raet. tribe of the Rugusci?
- Ruschnal (Ramosch) < Akk. rašānu “to water”, risna “watering place”, Arab. āli “of the village”
- Rusna, Alp < Hebr. raš “fragment”, rešah “demolition”
- Rusein (side valley at Disentis) < Akk. rusu “magic”,
- Russonch (Scuol) < Akk. rusu “magic”, Latin sanctus “holy”
- Rüzi (Poschiavo) < Hebr. raš “fragment”, rešah “demolition”
- Ruzzein, 1370 testified in Ramosch, from the Pre-Roman root \*ross- “earth-avalanche; glacier”, Hebr. raš “fragment”, rešah “demolition”
- Saar (St. Gallen) < Arab. sāġir “torrent”
- Saas, Susch/Süs, both names have the same origin. The Arab. root sāsa/saus means “to rule, to lead”. Saas in the Wallis comes from the Arab. Saracenes. Saas in the Grisons is old Saus/Sausch: government for the Engadine Valley? Susasca has not to be Ligurian, since suffixes, too, can be borrowed, cf. Greek –issa in English princess, priestess, baroness, empress, the suffix –ist in English flutist, dentist, communist, the German Pl. Mädels (instead of Mädchen) “girls”, Jungens (instead of Jungen) “boys”
- Sabrens (Gretschins) < Arab. safir “empty” (thus “cipher” = 0)
- Saca (Bondo) < Hebr. sok “hut; thicket”
- Saccaina (Trimmis) < Hebr. sok “hut; thicket”
- Saccainz (Trimmis) < Hebr. sok “hut; thicket”
- Saculauns (S-chanf) < Akk. šakullu “willow tree”
- Sadra (Fuldera) < Akk. zateru “mint, thyme” or Hebr. sad “field”, rayyān “abundant”
- Sadrän (Maienfeld) < Akk. zateru “mint, thyme” or Hebr. sad “field”, rayyān “abundant”, Sem. suffix –ānu

- Sadrein (Seewis) < Akk. zateru “mint, thyme” or Hebr. sad “field”, rayyān “abundant”  
Sagens/Sagogn, old in Secanio < Arab. sakan “dwelling”  
Sagnügn (at a swamp in Alvaschein) < Akk. sanû “to water”  
Sagug (Küblis) < Arab. sakūk “Enge”, to Arab. sakka “to bolt, to bar”  
Sal- (many place names) < Akk. salā’u, salāḥu “to sprinkle, to spray”  
Sala, Sela (brook, Upper Engadine Valley) < Arab. salsal “cold-water” or zulāl “id.”  
Salba, Salva (Poschiavo) < Arab. salab “prey”  
Salgina (Alpine pasture in the Prättigau) < Akk. šalgu, Hebr. šeleg “snow”  
Salmiast (Trun) “salvation of Estu” < Akk. šalāmu, Arab. salām, Hebr. šālōm “salvation, peace”  
Salön (Guarda) < Akk. sillu, Arab. šil, Hebr. šēl “shadow”  
Salums (Bonaduz, etc.), not < Latin solum “soil”, but < Arab. salām, Hebr. šālōm “peace”  
Salux/Salouf, 1160 de Salugo < Hebr. sālaq “to ascend”, Arab. tasalluq “ascension”  
Samaden/Samedan < Raet. Pl. \*samatānu < Arab. samt “street” (crossing)  
Sameast/Samest (Andeer) “heaven of Estu” < Arab. samā, Hebr. šamājim “heaven”  
Samina (brook, Vorarlberg, Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Arab. samina “the high one, the one that comes from the high”  
Samnaun, 1370 Samanun < Akk. simānu “harvest-time” (summer residence)  
Sampuoir (side valley of the Samnaun) < Arab. samā “upper part”, fawrah “the highest part”  
Sapèl (South Tyrol) < Arab. sabīl “path”  
Sardona, Piz (mountain at the border of the Cantons St. Gallen and Glarus) < Arab. sarada “to perforate”? Hebr. šered “red mineral painting”? Arab. šart “cut, tear”?  
Sargans, 765 Sanegaune, with castle < Arab. sanīy “high”, Akk. kânu “to be durable”, hence a fortress  
Sarn (Grisons, South Tyrol) < Arab. daran “protection”  
Sarobi (Andeer) < Arab. sirb, subra “herd”? Arab. sarab “burrow”?  
Sarottatal (Vorarlberg) < Hebr. šeret, Arab. šart “incision”, German Tal “valley”  
Sattein (Vorarlberg), for \*Satrein? Arab. satara “to hide, to protect”  
Sau/Save (side river of the Danube) < Akk. river name Zab  
Saulakopf (mountain, Vorarlberg) < Arab. šāla, Wurzel šaul- “to be high”  
Savognin, 12<sup>th</sup> c. de Suanenna. Schorta assumes connection with Raetic tribe of the Suanetes < Akk. se’ānu, Hebr. sōn, Arab. da’n “small-cattle”, thus people of herdsmen  
Savriez (Sour) < Akk. siparru “copper”  
Sawürfis (Fanas) < Hebr. sādeh “field”, Arab. wārif “abundant, lush”  
Says, 1222 in Seians < Arab. say’ “an area over which water runs” (Nigel Groom) + Sem. suffix -ān

- Scams (Luzein) < Hebr. sādeh “field”, Hebr. qāmāh “wheat-field”
- Scera della Möa (swampy area in Poschiavo) < Arab. ṭarr “rich in water”
- Scerscen, Piz (mountain at the Swiss-Italian border) < Akk. kerḥu “rampart”
- Schaan (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Arab. sakan “dwelling” or Hebr. šā’an “to bend”
- Schagul (South Tyrol) < Akk. šakallu “willow-tree”
- Schaivel (Müstair) < Hebr. gēw “back” with suffix –l, cf. English cam-el
- Schagul (South Tyrol) < Akk. šakullu “willow-tree”
- Schams/Schons, 940 in Sexamnes < Latin saxum “stone, rock”, Arab. amīn “solid”
- Schanänn (Jenaz) to Pre-Roman \*sanīa “swamp” < Arab. sanā, Akk. šanû “to water”
- Schanielabach (Luzein) < Arab. sanā, Akk. šanû “to water”, German Bach “brook”
- S-chanf, 1304 de Scanevo “asylum” < Arab. sakan “dwelling”, awā “asylum”
- Schanfigg, 9<sup>th</sup> c. Scanava < Arab. sakan “dwelling”, awā “asylum”
- Schänis (St. Gallen) “asylum” < Arab. sakan “dwelling”, awā “asylum”
- Scharans < Arab. ṭaran “wet earth”
- Scharmí (Scuol) < Akk. girimmu “kind of fruit”
- Sched/Scheid < Akk. šēdu “barley”? Akk. ašitu “midday”? Akk. šītan, šītis “in the East”?
- Schele (Ftan) “cold-water” < Arab. ḡelida “to be frozen”
- Schera, La (Alpine pasture at Zernez) < Arab. qarr “cold”, Arab. qirr, Hebr. kerah “coldness” or < Arab. ṭarr “rich in water”
- Schern (Weite/Wartau) < Hebr. kerem “vineyard, orchard”?
- Schesaplana < Raet. \*šiššāh balāni “six lords (gods)” (cf. the mountain name “Drei Schwestern” (“Three Sisters”) by which goddesses are meant)
- Scheuf (Malix) < Arab. ṭawā “to dwell”
- Scheziaus < Hebr. sādeh “field”
- Schgums (Vinschgau) < Akk. saqummu “quiet (of places)”
- Schiers < Arab. ḡīr “chalk”
- Schins (Traun) < ṭiny “bend, curve”
- Schirs/Girs (Ziraun) < Arab. ḡīr “chalk”
- Schivau (Guarda), old Zivau < Akk. kibtu “wheat”, whereby the fem. suffix –tu lacks in Raet.
- Schivo, Plan (Zernez) < Akk. kibtu “wheat”
- Schlans, 765 in Selauno < Akk. šellan “in the West” (Schlans was obviously the westernmost village in the Vorder Rhine valley)
- Schlaus, Plaun (Tavetsch) < Akk. šellebu “fox”?
- Schleis (at Mals, South Tyrol) < Akk. šulê “streets” (crossing)
- Schleps (Castrisch) < Akk. šellebu “fox”?
- Schnaus, 9<sup>th</sup> c. in Scanaues < Arab. sakan “dwelling”

- Schnifis (Vorarlberg), 9<sup>th</sup> c. in Sanuvio < Sem. šanû “to water”
- Schruns (Vorarlberg), old Ascharun < Akk. ašāru “to guard”, hence “lookout”
- Schuò, Val (Luven) “sheep-valley” < Akk. šu’u “sheep”
- Schus (Riom) < Akk. šu’u “sheep”
- Schyn < Arab. ṭiny “bend, curve”
- Scuol/Schuls < Akk. šakallu “willow-tree”
- Sedrun < Akk. zateru “mint, thyme”
- Seewis (Prättigau), old ad Szeuuenis, Sewenes < Arab. safan, Pl. safwān “stones, boulders”
- Seez (Wartau) < Arab. said “catching of fishes” (salmons?)
- Segl, Seglias/Sils, according to Schorta “acre-stripe”. Were there acres in Silvaplana, Sumvix, Vrin, on the Alpine pasture Seglias? Old a Sillu, de Silio are not fem.! Arab. sāhil “river bank”. Seglias in La Punt, Pontresina, Celerina along the river Inn
- Selmiast (Vigens) “salvation of Estu” < Akk. šalāmu, Arab. salām, Hebr. šālōm “salvation, peace” + Raet. goddess Estu
- Sent, 1163 de Sindes < Arab. samt “way, street”
- Sestimun (Samnaun) < Arab. tam’ana “to calm down”, tuma’nīna “quietness, silence”
- Sesvenna (Scuol) < Raet. \*venna “boulders (Acc.)”, translated with Retorom. ses < Latin saxum “boulder” (double-name)
- Sevelen < Arab. safala “lying below”, suflī “low”
- Sevgein, German Seewis, 1572 Saviein < Hebr. ṣebī “gazelle”, in Raet. “chamois”, Raet. Pl. \*ṣebiānu “chamois (Pl.)”?
- Siat is derived by Schorta from Latin saeptum “fence”; Akk. šēatu “barley”
- Sibels (Alpine hut in Vignion), Retorom. (Lower Eng.). sibeil “strong wind” < Arab. sabāra “strong coldness”
- Sievgia (in Riein) is derived by Schorta from Pre-Roman \*sebj-. Hebr. ṣebī is “gazelle” and mens in Raet. probably “chamois”
- Silgin (Lugnez), old Salgin < Arab. saliq “situated besides a street”
- Silvretta, Savretta (Bergün), Suvretta (St. Moritz), 1571 Saffreta, Monte Sobrettina (Bormio), old writings Zavretta, Zefretta, Cefretta, Saffreta show that Silvretta must be a romanization, influenced by Latin silva “forest”, from Akk. ṣabburītu to ṣabāru “to twitter, to chirp”. In the legend of the Fairy Silvretta one reads: “At once, it started to sound in marvelous melodies”. Silvretta was a seductively beautiful girl, who, like Madrisa/St. Margaretha, one day suddenly disappeared (because of the invasion of Christianity?). Especially mountains with eternal snow are named after virgins (German “Jungfrau”), so f. ex. the Jungfrau im Berner Oberland, a massive mountain, like the Silvretta, once unapproachable
- Simel (mountain at the Northern border of Raetia) < Arab. šimāl “north”
- Simmi (river in St. Gallen), old Sûmgen “indundator”? Akk. samāku “to cover”, sumuktu “covering” (-tu is fem. suffix)

- Siran (Parsons) < Akk. *sīru* “tent, clay-hut”, suffix *-ānu*
- Six Madun “protecting border (of the Raeti towards west)” < Akk. *sikku* “margin, border”, Arab. *matuna* “to fortify”
- Sorapis (mountain at Cortina d’Ampezzo) < Hebr. *šārāph* “serpent” (hence Seraphim)
- Stallehr (Vorarlberg) < Akk. *satālu* “to cultivate”, Raetorum. *er* “acre”
- Stussavgia (Safien) < Hebr. *sādeh* “field”, Arab. *ṣafwan* “stones”
- Sufs (Lüen) < Akk. *suwadu* “elderberry (tree)”
- Sulz (Vorarlberg) has nothing to do with German Sulz “jellied meat”, but < Raet. *\*salūtiu* (Pl.) < Akk. *sūlû* “street” (crossing)
- Sulzberg/Val di Sole (South Tyrol) has nothing to do with German Sulz “jellied meat”, but < Raet. *\*salūtiu* (Pl.) < Akk. *sūlû* “street” (crossing) + German Berg “mountain”
- Surin (Lugnez) < Arab. *sūr* “encirclement”? Akk. *sūru* “foreigner”? (Lepontian)
- Such/Süs, 1161 in vico Susis, 1325 Sus < Arab. *ašwas*, Pl. *šūs* “proud, bold; hero”
- Taischna, Funtana (Sent) “buck-fountain” < Hebr. *tayiš* “he-goat”, Arab. *tais* “buck”
- Talein (hill in Trimmis) < Hebr. *tēl* “hill”
- Täli (hill in Vorarlberg) < not from dialectal German Täli “little valley”, but from Hebr. *tēl* “hill”
- Taltbüchel (at Welschnoven, South Tyrol) < Arab. *tall* “hill”, Plural *\*talāt*?
- Talur (Sent, Scuol) < Hebr. *tēl* “hill”
- Tamil (Almen) < Akk. *tamlû* “terrace”
- Tamina (river with deep ravine, St. Gallen) < Hebr. *ṭāman* “to hide”. Also the village Tamins is hidden behind a hill
- Tamion (Fassatal) < Hebr. *ṭāman* “to hide”
- Tannuor (swampy Alpine pasture in Seewis) < Arab. *tannūr* “place where the water flows together” or Arab. *tannūr* “oven” (cf. Furnes, Forno (Italian *forno* “oven”), Ofenpass “oven pass”)
- Tannur (South Tyrol) < Arab. *tannūr* “place where the water flows together” or Arab. *tannūr* “oven” (cf. Furnes, Forno (Italian *forno* “oven”), Ofenpass “oven pass”)
- Tarasp “fortress”, local prefix *ta-*, Arab. *raṣafa* “solidity”
- Tarbin (Flims) < Arab. *ṭaraf* “margin”
- Tarello (Leggia) < Akk. *tārû* “guard, attendant”
- Targön (Vilters) < Arab. *taraqqa* “ascension”
- Tarnuz (Fideris) < 1377 Terranotz < Akk. *tārānu* “shade, protection”
- Tarpanel (Lumbrein) < Arab. *ṭaraf* “side, margin, peak” or Arab. *ṭarāfa* “novelty” (Neudorf, Nauheim)?
- Tarpegl (Feldis) < Arab. *ṭaraf* “side, margin, peak” or Arab. *ṭarāfa* “novelty” (Neudorf, Nauheim)?

- Tarpinus (Maton) < Arab. *ṭaraf* “side, margin, peak” or Arab. *ṭarāfa* “novelty” (Neudorf, Nauheim)?
- Tartscherbühel (Tirol) < Raet. proper name Tarukh statt \*Taruk (on the Raet. inscription Mancini 103; Bravi 16; Brunner, in: *Helvetia Archaeologica* 16-1985, S. 64) or < Arab. *taraka* “to give up a place”
- Täsche (Sevelenberg, Saas), 1671 Däschen < Hebr. *dešen* “fattiness, fertility”, Arab. *dasim* “fat, rich”
- Tasnan (side river of the Inn) < river in the paradise Tasnīm (in the Quran)
- Tauern (Austria) < Arab. *ṭūr* “mountain”
- Tavanasa, 1470 Thafanatzen < local prefix *ta-*, Akk. *banû*, Arab. *banā*, Hebr. *bānāh* “to build”, Akk. *tabbānūtu*, Raet. Pl. \**tabānātiu* (Acc.) “buildings”
- Tavru (Alpine pasture in Val S-charl) < Arab. *ṭaur* “Grenze” or *tibr* “ore, gold powder”?
- Teals (Lohn, Reischen) < Hebr. *tə‘ālāh* “canal, water pipe, ditch”
- Tein, German Wiesen < Akk. *ṭīnu* “loamy soil”
- Telva (in many place names) < Arab. *tilwa* “behind” (cf. Hinter- “behind” in German place names)
- Tenesserkopf (Rankweil, Vorarlberg) < local prefix *ta-*, Arab. *naṣara* “to rescue”
- Tenigia/Tenigerbad < Akk. *tanqītu* “libation”, local prefix *ta-*, Arab. *naqī‘* “infusion”
- Tenna (Safien) < Arab. *tāni* “constantly residing”
- Tenna (Trentino) < Arab. *tāni* “constantly residing”
- Tesch (Bergün), 1537 Vall da Tisch < Hebr. *tayiš* “he-goat”, Arab. *tais* “buck” or Akk. *dīšu* “lush grass-growth”, Hebr. *deše‘* “green plants, grass”
- Thanai (Salurntal, South Tyrol) < Arab. *tanī* “constantly residing”
- Tilliswald (Feldkirch, Vorarlberg) < Hebr. *tēl* “hill”, German Wald “forest”
- Timmelsjoch (South Tyrol) < Akk. *tamlû* “terrace”
- Timun, Piz (Innerferrera) < Arab. *tam’ana* “to calm down”, *tuma’nīna* “quietness, silence”
- Tinzen < Arab. *ṭīn(a)* “clay, acre-soil”
- Timun (Zuoz) < Arab. *tam’ana* “to calm down”, *tuma’nīna* “quietness, silence”
- Tinnebach (South Tyrol) < Arab. *tinnīn* “dragon”
- Tirano (Veltlin) < Hebr. *ṭīrāh* “village”, Sem. suffix *-ānu*. In the entrance of the golf of Akaba there is an insland Tiran
- Tireun (Punt Zignau) < Hebr. *ṭīrāh* “village”, Sem. Suffix *-ānu*
- Tirol (Dorf), in Dante Tiralli < Raet. \**Tirat ali* “village of the goddess” < Hebr. *ṭīrāh* “village”, before a Gen. *ṭīrat*; \**ṭīrāt ali* > \**Tiratli* > *Tiralli*. The land got his name from the fortress, the fortress from the village
- Tisens (Etschtal) < Akk. *dīšu* “lush grass-growth”, Hebr. *deše‘* “green plants, grass”
- Tisis (Vorarlberg) < Akk. *dīšu* “lush grass-growth”, Hebr. *deše‘* “green plants, grass”
- Tit Arschiglias (Feldis) < Hebr. *ṭīt* “clay”, Retorom. *arschiglia* “id.” (double-name)



- Titschen (in the south of Bolzano) < Akk. *tēn* “closeness”?
- Titt (Chur) < Hebr. *ṭīt* “clay”
- Tödi, not dialectal German “d’Ödi” = “the deserted (land)”, but < Arab. *ṭaud* “mountain that towers above its environment”
- Töll, Tyrolian German for Tell < Hebr. *tēl* “hill”
- Tofana (“Drei Zinnen” (“Three Pinnacles”) at Cortina d’Ampezzo) < Akk. *tabû* “to rise” + Latin suffix *-āna*
- Tomils/Tumegl, old Tumille < Akk. *tamlû* “terrace”
- Torf (Mesocco) < Arab. *ṭaraf* “side, margin, peak” or Arab. *ṭarāfa* “novelty” (Neudorf, Nauheim)?
- Tosters (Feldkirch) < Raet. *\*at-Aštari* “gift of the goddess Astar”?
- Traffenschanis in Wartau (mentioned in 1566) < Arab. *ṭaraf* “side, margin, peak” or Arab. *ṭarāfa* “novelty” (Neudorf, Nauheim)?
- Tramen (Müstair) < Arab. *tarāmin* “width”, cf. Weite in Wartau
- Tramin (Bozen) < Arab. *tarāmin* “width”, cf. Weite in Wartau
- Traun/Trans < Akk. *tārānu* “protection”
- Travanaus (Falera) < Arab. *ṭaraf* “side, margin, peak” or Arab. *ṭarāfa* “novelty” (Neudorf, Nauheim)?
- Tri (Roveredo) < Arab. *ṭarī* “fresh, new”
- Triest, old Tergeste (Italy) “way of Estu” < Raet. *\*trogio* “way” < Arab. *ṭārūq* “id.” + Raet. goddess Estu
- Trimmis, 765 de Tremine, Retorom. Termin “width” < Arab. *tarāmin* “width”, cf. Weite in Wartau
- Trin, 12<sup>th</sup> c. de Turunnio < Arab. *tarīy* “new, moist”
- Trun < Arab. *ṭaruwa* “to be wet”, *tarāwa* “freshness”
- Tschalaus, 13<sup>th</sup> c. Zifelaus, 1410 Tschivelaus < Arab. *qiblī* “southern”
- Tschamuot (Sumvitg) < Akk. *ḥamātu* “to burn”, *ḥimtu* “burning, fire”
- Tschan (South Tyrol) < Raet. *\*tsanno* “pen, fold” < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Tschans, Schans (Alpine pasture in Lags) < Akk. *kinnû* “mountain”
- Tschanüff (Ramosch) < Akk. *ḥanābu* “to grow lushly”
- Tschareins (Maton, Patzen, Savognin) < Akk. *kirû* “garden”
- Tschavir (Bonaduz) < Akk. *qabru*, Hebr. *qeber* “grave”, Akk. *qebēru*, Hebr. *qābar* “to bury”
- Tschawuna, Schawuna (Tamins) < Akk. *kawû*, Arab. *kawā*, Hebr. *kāwāh* “to burn”
- Tscheinerspitze (South Tyrol) < Akk. *kinnû* “mountain”, German Spitze “peak”
- Tschera, La (forest at Andeer) < Arab. *qarr* “cold”, Arab. *qirr*, Hebr. *kerah* “coldness”
- Tschera, La (mountain at Pigniu) < Arab. *qarr* “cold”, Arab. *qirr*, Hebr. *kerah* “coldness”

Tschera, Ova (river in the Upper Engadine valley) “cold-brook” < Arab. qarr “cold”, Arab. qirr, Hebr. kerah “coldness”

Tscherms (at Meran, South Tyrol) < Hebr. kerem “vineyard, orchard”

Tschibret (Ftan) < Akk. qabru, Hebr. qeber “grave”, Akk. qebēru, Hebr. qābar “to bury”

Tschiertschen, 800 Cercene < Akk. kerhu “rampart”

Tschilwäderlis (rock-hollow at Felsberg, burial place) < Raet. \*hīlwat aralli “quiet place of the underworld (world of the dead)” < Akk. arallû “underworld”, Arab. halawāt “quiet places”

Tschischur (Maton) < Akk. qaqqāru “land, soil, area”

Tschlin/Schleins, 12<sup>th</sup> c. in Ciline < Akk. qualû “to burn”, qilûtu “burning, fire”, Arab. qalā “to burn”, Hebr. qālāh “to clean by burning” (place that was cleaned off by burning, German Brandrodung?) or Akk. eqlu, Hebr. haql “acre”

Tschuess (Riom) < Akk. quddušu “holy”, Hebr. qodeš “temple”, Qedeš place name in the tribe of Naphtali

Tufers (Vorarlberg) < Arab. tūb “tile”

Tujetsch/Tavetsch < Raet. \*tawātu “asylum” < Arab. awā “to seek for asylum” with local prefix ta-. The upper margin of the Vorder Rhine valley was suitable for asylum. At the sources of the Rhine there lived according to Strabo the Aituatioi; according to Schorta the dropping of Ai-/Ae-/E- can be explained easily

Tull, Fonteuna (Ftan) < Arab. talla “to be wet”

Tumols (Maton) < Akk. tamlû “terrace”

Turbin (Flem) < Arab. taraf “end, margin” or turfa “novelty”

Turghégn (Mesocco) < Akk. turāhu “ibex”

Urden/Urda (several place names) < Akk. urudû “bronze”

Urschai (Lüen) < Arab. hurs “forest”

Vaces (South Tyrol) < Arab. waqīy “protecting”

Vadena/Pfatten (Tyrol) < Arab. waṭan “home”

Vadens (Sagens) < Arab. waṭan “home”

Vadenz (Flims) < Arab. waṭan “home”

Vaduz < Raet. \*watūtiu (Pl.) < Arab. wat’ “lowland”

Valchava, hardly “hollow valley” (Retorom. val “valley”, chava “hollow (fem.)”, but at the Ofen pass (“Oven pass”) one thinks of Arab. kawā, Akk. kawū “to burn”

Valloia (Lohn) < Arab. walīy “neighboring”

Valpeida (Seewis) < Akk. pattu “borderland”, Arab. walīy “near, close”

Valsins (stable, Rueun), 1372 Valzuns “close to the small-cattle” < Arab. walīy “neighboring”, Akk. seānu, Hebr. sōn “small-cattle”, ug. šin, Arab. ḏa’u “sheep”

- Valvens (Lohn) < Raet. \*bēl ebenniu “lord of the rocks” < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”
- Valvins (Patzen-Fardün) < Raet. \*bēl ebenniu “lord of the rocks” < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”
- Valzeina, 1367 Valtzenas “small-cattle valley” < Akk. ṣeānu “small-cattle”
- Vana, Crep da (Retorom. crep “stone, rock”, South Tyrol) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock” (double-name)
- Vanan (Fels bei Cauco) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”
- Vanchera (boulder at Segl) “cold rock” < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”, Arab. qarr “cold”
- Vandans (Vorarlberg) < Arab. waṭan “home”
- Vanistein (Chur) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”, German “stone” (double-name)
- Vardons (Vrin) < Arab. wāṭan “watering place”
- Varsera (Domat/Ems), 1433 Verzära < Akk. warû “copper”, ṣīru “excellent”
- Vaschnuogls (Sent) < Arab. waṭan “idol”
- Vaz < Arab. waqīy “protecting”, waqy “guard”
- Venà, Sass (San Vitale) < Raet. \*venna “rock (Acc.)” < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”, translated with Retorom. ses < Latin saxum “stone, rock” (double-name)
- Vera (Mesocco, Grono, Roveredo) < Hebr. ‘abārāh “Furt or Akk. warû “Kupfer”
- Verdus (Safien) < Raet.-Latin \*verdōsus “rich in Alpine roses” < Arab. ward “rose”
- Vigen (forest, San Vitale) < Arab. wiqā’ “shelter”?
- Viggoltreia (mountain path at Grabs) < Latin via “way”, Akk. ḥūlu “id.”, Raet. \*trogio < Arab. ṭārūq “id.” (triple-name!)
- Vrin, old Varin < Akk. warû “copper”
- 
- Wannaköpfe (Vorarlberg) < Hebr. eben, Akk. abnu “stone, rock”, German Köpfe “heads”. Since “head” stands often for mountains in place names, this is also a double-name
- Wattens (North Tyrol) < Arab. waṭan “home”
- Weite (“width, wide land”, St. Gallen) is translation of Malans < Arab. malan “open land” (as opposed to the Raet. mountain villages)
- Wisanel (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) < Arab. wišna “morello cherry”
- Wurmtal (Vorarlberg, with former lake) < Akk. ūru “lake”
- 
- Zabarres (Schruns, Vorarlberg) < Arab. ṣafir “empty”, ṣafira “to be empty” (hence “cipher” = 0)
- Zalans (Tschierschen) < Akk. sillu, Arab. ṣil, Hebr. ṣēl “shadow”
- Zaläuna (Splügen) < Akk. sillu, Arab. ṣil, Hebr. ṣēl “shadow”

- Zalön (Safien) < Akk. *sillu*, Arab. *ṣil*, Hebr. *šēl* “shadow”
- Zalum (Schattenhalb (“Shadow-Side”, Vorarlberg) < Akk. *sillu*, Arab. *ṣil*, Hebr. *šēl* “shadow”, Akk. *ūmu* “day”, Gen. *ūmi* “of the day”
- Zamuor (Vrin) < Arab. *ḍamura* “to dry out, to be meager”
- Zaná (Molinis) < Raet. \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zanal (Ziraun) < Raet. \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zanella (Verdabbio) < Raet. \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zanez (Pagig) < Raet. \**sanētiu* “folds, pens” (> Pre-Roman \**tsanno*) < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zaniz (Breil) < Pre-Roman \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zannan (Flims) < Pre-Roman \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zanusch (Flims) < Pre-Roman \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zans (Ramosch) < Pre-Roman \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zanutsch (Says) < Pre-Roman \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zaplina (strong fountain in Schmitten) < Akk. *ṣapû* “to water”
- Zaverligns (Bonaduz) ” < Arab. *ṣafir* “empty”, *ṣafira* “to be empty” (hence “cipher” = 0)
- Zavraggia, Val “uninhabited valley” or “clearing of a forest” < Arab. *ṣafir* “empty”, *ṣafira* “to be empty” (hence “cipher” = 0)
- Zavena (Brusio) < Arab. *ṣawān* “granite”
- Zernez, 1347 de Zarnetz < Raet. \**harranētiu* < Akk. *harrānu* “way, street”, Pl. *harrānāti* (where the streets cross)
- Ziano (Fleimstal) < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Zianos (Castiel), 1084 Seinaus < Raet. \**tsanno* < Akk. *ṣēānu* “small-cattle”
- Ziggam (Vorarlberg) < Akk. *saḥam* “dark painting”
- Zizers, old Zizür < *tītūru* “bridge, dam”, cf. *Turīcum* = Zürich, or Akk. *sikkūru* “bolt, bar” (Patnal)
- Zoldo, Val di (Italy) < Arab. *ṣald* “hard, solid, dry, infertile, dried out”.
- Zoppanaina (Sent) “Giesserei”? < Raet. \**supiku* “ich habe gegossen”
- Zora, Hohe (Jenaz) < Hebr. *šūr* “rock” or Akk. *ṣurru* “firestone”
- Zuoz, old Zuze, Züzas < Akk. *ṣuṣû* “reed”
- Zupò, Piz (at the Italian border) < Akk. *ṣuppu* “to cover”, Hebr. *šāfan* “to hide”
- Zuppellon (San Vittore) < Raet. \**supiku* “I have founded”?
- Zürs (Vorarlberg) < Hebr. *šūr* “rock”, Aram. *tūr* = Tyros
- Züzas (Ramosch) < Akk. *ṣuṣû* “reed”

Linguistic proofs for the correctness of our Raetic toponomastics are the double-names and the translated names. Amongst double-names we find: Allhöhe, Malans und Weite, Munteschin, Petra Vanna, Sesvenna, Tīt Arschiglias, Crep da Vana, Vanistein,

Sass Venà, Wannaköpfe, perhaps also Sarottatal and Schanielabach. Amgonst translated name we have: Mauren vs. Eschen, Rankweil vs. Vinomna, Rothenbrunnen vs. Giuvaulta.

## 11. Raetic words as loanwords

The following list of Raetic loanwords brings three groups of words: First words that are testified explicitly as Raetic according to the testimony of antique authors. Second words that appear in the Raetic inscriptions. And third words from modern languages that denominate objects that are considered to be Raetic inventions or products by Raetic authors.

Pre-Roman ALB-, Retorom. *alva* “hill, mountain” < Arab. *‘alū-* “to be high”.

German *Alm* “Alpine meadow” < Arab. *‘alam* “hill”.

German *Alpen* “Alps”, Latin *Alpes* “pasture for the cattle”, is derivation from Sem. *alpu* “bull”, \**alpī* “belonging to cattle, cattle-”.

Pre-Roman \**AMPUA*, \**AMPUANA*, \**AMPIA* “raspberry” (Hubschmid 1950, p. 15) > Eng. *ampa*, Lower Eng., Val Müstair *ampua*, Surs. *puauna*, Middle Bündn. *ampia*, am(p)ća, Bergell. *ampia*. Pre-Roman \**AMPONE* > Tess., Northern Piedmont. *ampun*, *lampun* (with agglutinated article), Tosc. *lampone*, Grödn. *ampom*, Fleimstal. *ampome*, Nonsberg. *ampom*, Trent., Cremon., Bresc., Bergam. *ampoma* and the Trent. derivation *ampomola* (Hubschmid 1950, p. 15). Schorta notes in his article “ampa” in the “Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun”: “The dissemination of the word lets state pre-Roman origin for sure” (DRG I, 1972, p. 244). Pre-Roman \**AMPA* etc. < Akk., Raet. *enbu*, *unbu*, e.g. in the inscription of Schuls (Brunner 1983): *ATUKU RITI UNPHIU* “My Ritu, I have given berries” and Bravi 83, Brunner und Toth, p. 58: *E[N]B[IU] ETAU* “I give berries”.

Retorom. *ansiel*, *ansöl* “kid (little goat)” < Arab. *‘anz* “goat” + Latin *-iolum* or perhaps crossed with Latin \**HAEDIÓLUM*.

Pre-Roman \**BAGA* “belly” (Hubschmid 1955, p. 91) > Jura *bagòt* “ram” (Hubschmid 1955, p. 93, note 1) < Arab. *‘abġar* “big-bodied”.

Pre-Roman \**BAITA* “house, hut” (RN II, p. 629) < Akk. *bītu*, *bētu* “id.”.

Pre-Roman \**BAKKO-*, \**BIKKO-* “little, young” (Hubschmid 1961, p. 247) > Retorom. *pitschen*, etc.: to Arab. *bakara* “to come earlier”, *bikr* “first-born”?

Pre-Roman \*BARR- “crossbar” (Hubschmid 1955, p. 31) > Old Prov. \*bárrica “pen, fold, stable” (Hubschmid 1955, p. 36) < Akk. bāru “to be solid, to be strong”?

Pre-Roman \*BARRUM “loamy soil” (L. Brunner, card-index) < Arab. burma “earthenware pot”, barnīya “clay-vessel”.

Retorom. bod “big”, bot “hill, rise, swelling” < Arab. baduna “to be big”, buduna “corpulence”.

Retorom. brena, brina (Hubschmid 1950, p. 17; 1960, p. 61) “juniper” to Akk. daprānu, duprānu “id.”?

Pre-Roman \*BREV- “cold” (RN II, p. 635) < Arab. baruda “to be cold”.

Pre-Roman \*BULIUM “cattle trough, watering place” (RN II, p. 626), derivation from Akk. būlu “cattle”, \*būlī “belonging to the cattle, cattle-”.

Retorom. burschin “Alpine juniper” < Akk. burāšu “juniper”.

Pre-Roman \*CARAVOS “stony meadow” (RN II, p. 715) < Arab. ḥarāba “field of ruins, ruin”.

Retorom. cauma “resting place” < Arab. qauma, Hebr. mā-qōm “id.”.

Pre-Roman \*CISSO (?) (RN II, p. 874) > Retorom. tschess “eagle” < Akk. kasūsu “falcon” (> Hung. sas /šas/ “eagle”?)

Pre-Roman \*CLAM- “gap in the fence” (RN II, p. 660) < Arab. ḥalā’ “open space” > ḥalal “gap”.

Retorom. clappa “hoof of an ox” is haplology instead of \*calalappa < Arab. ḥalḥal “iron footing” + Sem. alpu “ox, cow”.

Pre-Roman \*DASIA “fir-branch with needles” (RN II, p. 673) < Akk. dešū “to sprout”.

Pre-Roman \*FERRUTA (L. Brunner, card index) > Alpine Lomb. farüda “cooked, but not peeled chestnut” < Akk. pāru, parru “skin”.

German Föhre “fir”, Trent. porca, Piedm. olca < \*orka “Arve (Alpine fir)”, otherwise “no clear possibilities of connections” (Kluge, p. 306). Akk. parāḥu “to open, to sprout”, perḥu “shoot”?

Retorom. furca, furtga “fork”, etc., German Furkla “little pass” not < Latin FURCA “fork” or FURCULAM “little fork”, but < Akk. warḥu, urḥu “route, distance”.

Pre-Roman \*GABA “ravine, ditch, brook” < Akk. ḥalū “safekeeping place; jug”?

German Gaden “one-room house” (cf. Berchtes-Gaden, German city) < Akk. ḥatānu “to protect”. A protecting room for mountain farmers. The restriction of the word to Southern Germany and parts of Northern Switzerland points to a Northern Raetic dialect.

Pre-Roman \*GANDA “pile of stones” (RN II, p. 703) < Arab. ḡandal “stone”.

Pre-Roman \*GIMBERU “Arve (Alpine fir)” (RN II, p. 839) < Pre-Roman \*gu(m)peru “fir, cypress”, Hebr. gofer > Eng. dschember, also German Zypresse is related. Tirol. Zirm, Zirbl (> Central Ladin. čirum, tsirm, čiar, tsyèrmo, etc.)?

Pre-Roman \*GIR “acre turned into meadow” (RN II, p. 802) < Arab. ḡir “chalk” (cf. Algier).

Pre-Roman \*GRAVA “pebbles” (RN II, p. 640) < Arab. ḡarafa “to rinse off”, ḡurf “shore”.

Pre-Roman \*GRAVA, \*GROVA “sled” (RN II, p. 640) > Surs. gurvét, curvét < Arab. ḡarāfa “harrow, rake”.

German Heim-at “homeland”: “The second part of the word is unclear” (Kluge, p. 628). Probably the same ending like in Mon-at “month” < Middle High German mǎn-ōt < IE \*mēn-ōt = Hebr. -ōth, Arab. -āt(in), -āt(un). It is unclear why Kluge separates the endings of Mon-at and Heim-at: Both words are semantically Plural, the first means “moons”, the second “homes”.



Pre-IE \*KAL- “stalk, stock” (Hubschmid 1961, p. 249) < Akk. halbu “forest”?

German Kanne “jug” < Latin canna “id.” perhaps go back to Raetic, too, since together with the Raetic wine that the Romans loved and mentioned often, also the vessels had a Raetic name: Akk. kannu (perhaps < Sum.) “wine-jug”. Since Hung. kanna “id.” comes from Sum. gan, <sup>giš</sup>gan (Gostony 1975, no. 534), Raet. and/or Akk. borrowed the word from the Sum. substrate

German Kar “mountain basin” is according to Kluge, p. 470 an “old Wanderwort” and is brought in connection with Assyr. kâsu “bowl”, Arab. ka’s, Aram. kāsā, Hebr. kōs “mug”. To here belongs probably also the derivation German Kasten “chest” (Kluge, p. 476: “origin uncertain”). As Alpine word that is already testified in Assyr.-Akk., Kar may have been directly taken over from Raetic.

Pre-Roman \*KARR- “stone” (Hubschmid 1960, pp. 60s.): Akk. qar-nu “mountain” < Sum. har “millstone”.

German Käse, Engl. cheese < Latin CASEUM, Retorom. caschiel, chaschöl, etc. “cheese” < \*CASEÓLUM. However, CASEUS must be dialectal, i.e. it cannot be pure Latin since the –S- has not undergone rhotacism. The etymology cannot be explained satisfactorily in IE. All these words go back to Akk., Raet. kaššu “massive” (in opposition to milk), since the Raetic cheese was highly appreciated even at the Roman emperor’s court. If the message that the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius died after he ate excessively “caseum Alpinum” (Script. hist. Aug., Antoninus Oius 12, 4), refers to the Raetic cheese or rather to the Docletaian cheese (after the suburb of the tribe of the Docleates, today Duklja in Montenegro, in the North of the Skutari Lake), mentioned in Pliny XI 240, or to the Vatusic cheese of the Ceutrones (in the West of the Little St. Bernhard), as whose descendant Howald and Meyer (pp. 76 and 370) suppose the Reblochon, may stay unanswered. According to Strabon IV 6, 9 typical Raetic products besides cheese were wine, resin, pitch, firewood, wax and honey.

Pre-Roman \*KLAPP- “to split” (cf. Hubschmid 1951, p. 36) < Akk. kalabu “splitting tool, axe” or to Akk. palāqu “to cut down, to knock down”?

Pre-IE \*KOTTA “head, neck” (Hubschmid 1960, p. 34; 1961, p. 157) < Akk. qātū “to finish, to stop”, qētu “end”?

Pre-Latin, Latin LEPUS “hare”, Massil. λεβηολις “rabbit”. Walde and Hofmann (1938, p. 786) write: “Each IE explication of the word is thus invalid”. The words could belong to

Akk. labānu, lapānu, lebēnu “to flatten”, because of the body-shape of the hare; cf. Hung. nyúlárnyék “asparagus”, lit. “hare-shadow” (Hung. nyúl “hare”, árnyék “shadow”), normally Hung. spárga, that also means “string”.

German Lilie, Swiss German Gilge, Retorom. gelgia, gilgia, etc. “lily” < Latin lilia, Pl. zu lilium and Greek λειριον “id.” come according to Kluge, p. 576 “from a substrate language”. The origin could be Akk. lilū (< Sum. lil) “name of a bad demon”, that could also have been existing in Raetic, since in the Alps the lily is represented amongst other flowers with the fire-lily (Feuerlilie) and the Türkenbund.

Pre-Roman \*LUT- “Rhododendron” (Hubschmid 1961, p. 135s.) < Akk. latitu “a plant”?

Pre-Roman \*LUTA > Belluno luda “sliding ravine, course of avalanches” (Hubschmid 1960, p. 29) < Akk. latū, letū “to split (boulders)”.

Pre-Roman \*MAL “hill, mountain” (RN II, p. 742) < Sem. \*ma’al = Akk. mēlū “hill”.

Pre-Roman \*MALGA “herd, pasture” (L. Brunner, card index) < Arab. malaka “to possess”.

Pre-Roman \*MARRA “scree, rubble” (RN II, p. 746) < Arab. marw “pebble”.

Werdenberg German Masla “vessel, in which in making sour-cheese the cheese-mass is separated from the whey” (Dr. K. Gabathuler, personal comm., 2001) < Sem. masala “to filter; to coagulate” (Prof. L. Brunner, Ms.), f. ex. in Arab. masel “Molke”. According to Vasmer (1955, p. 102) the word exists also in Russ., Ukrain., White Russ., Old Russ., Old Bulg., Bulg., Serbocr., Slowen., Czech., Slow., Poln. and Lower Sorb. Probably the Raet. word was first borrowed by Illyrian dialects such as Venetian and from there went to the adjoining Slav. languages

Pre-Roman \*MATT > Surs. mat “boy” (RN II, p. 793) < Hebr. metīm “men”. Is the Raetic word also in German Matz “rascal”, Piep-matz (familiar for “bird”)? According to Kluge, p. 605 this is supposed to be a hypocorism from Matthias, what is semantically unsatisfactory.

Pre-Roman (Pre-Romanic?) \*MATTEA “club” (RN II, p. 778) < Hebr. matteh “stick”.

Retorom. motta “hill, mountain” (Hubschmid 1951, p. 24: Pre-Roman \*MUTTA) < hebr. mōtāh “yoke”. Latin iugum “id.” is a calque (Lehnübersetzung).

German Marmel-Tier < Old High German muremunto, later murmenti, Middle High German mūrmendîn < Latin mus (murem) montis > Retorom. murmont “marmot”. According to Bächtold-Stäubli we have here a “romanization of word of Raetic origin” (1934/35, col. 630). All these words hang together with Akk., Raet. marū “fat”. It was believed that the fat of the marmots has magic-medical effects.

Pre-Roman \*NAVA “vessel, trough, hollow” (RN II, p. 884) < Hebr. nābab “to hollow out”. Related is Latin navis “ship (originally = “hollowed tree”).

Wartau German Pfarr “breeding bull” < Hebr. par “bull” (Akk. pāru?)

Pre-Roman \*PITINO “fortress” (RN II, p. 776; Hubschmid 1961, p. 278: Pre-IE \*pit- “mountain, hill”) > Retorom. Patnal, Pednal, Pedenal, Pedinal, etc., pre-Roman fortress, “fortress of the village” < Akk. patānu “to fortify, to strengthen” + Arab. -ālī “of the village”.

Raet. PLOUM “plow with wheels” (Plin. XVIII 172) > Langob. plovum “plow”, plodium “plow; acre-measure”, plovare, plovegare “to plow”, piollum “plow”. Reflexes pyo, pyof, plof, pyoda “plow; knife of the plow” in Trentino, Lombardia and as well as single records in Ticino and Southern Piedmont. German Pflug, Engl. plough, plow, etc., Arab.-German Fellache < akk. pālāh “to plow”.

Werdenberg German Rafen “roof beam” (Dr. K. Gabathuler, personal comm., 2001), Swiss German Räf “wooden backpack” < Sem. rafada “to carry”.

Retorom. rascha “resin” < Arab. ratīnaġ “id.”.

It is interesting that the name of the Raetic wine, praised by Pliny XIV 16; 67, survives in the Western Alps, thus in an area, in which there were certainly never Raeti, namely in the Patois words rèze, rèdz(ě) in Lourtier and Leytron, rèdz in Savièse, rēdz in Conthey and Isérables, rēdzi or rēdzi in Nendaz, rèzě in Évolène, rēzi in Venthône and in Val d’Anniviers, rēzě in Montana and rēzě in Lens and Vernamiège (Aebischer 1937, p. 360). We quote here Howald and Meyer (1941, p. 370): “Two times, Pliny praises the Raetic grape and the Raetic wine. In the first passage he declares that before the time of the emperor Tiberius the Raetic grapes from the farmers’ houses in the Verona area were preferred by the gourmets. In the second passage he reports that amongst the good

wines in the Verona area the Raetic stands out to which Virgil preferred only the Falernian (the Château-Mouton-Rothschild of the Roman time, A.T.). Strabon IV 6, 8, too, declares that the Raetic wine grows in the areas settled by the Raeti, that according to him stretches out farther than Verona and Como. Therefore, with Raetic wine there is meant rather the wine from Alto Adige in South Tyrol than from the Valtellina, hardly the wine of the Churer Herrschaft and of the St. Galler Oberland, even if it is true that these Northern Alpine vineyards go back pretty surely also to the Old Ages, since in the Rhine Valley viticulture is already testified for the 8<sup>th</sup> century”.

Ritscha, in the Retorom. sage (legend) the water fairy < Akk. rimku “bath”.

Pre-Roman \*ROCCA “boulder” (RN II, p. 813) < Arab. ruqq “id.”.

Pre-Roman \*ROSA, ROSS “glacier, earth-avalanche” (RN II, p. 815) < Hebr. rāsas “to break out”.

Pre-Roman \*ROVI-, \*ROVA- “scree, rubble, terreno ghiaioso, detrito di una frana” (RN II, p. 682; Hubschmid 1950, p. 47; 1951, p. 48, note 28: genetically related to Latin ruere “to break down”) > Central Ladin. roa “scree, rubble” < Akk. rabū “to disappear, to go down”?

Pre-Roman \*RUGIA, \*ARRUGIA, \*RUIA “canal” (RN II, p. 649; Hubschmid 1950, pp. 35, 93) < Akk. raqū “to hide o.s.” or Akk. rahāṣu “to moisten; to inundate”?

Pre-Roman \*SANIA “swamp, reed” (RN II, p. 820) < Arab. sanā, Akk. šanū “to water”, Hebr. zānaḥ “to turn into a swamp”.

Pre-Roman \*SANION (RN II, p. 825) > Eng. sain, signun (cf. Hubschmid 1951, p. 23), German Senn “cheese-maker in the Alps” < akk. sanānu “to let flow through, to filter”.

German Schopf (in the sense of “barn” as well as of “mop of hair”) and Schober “barn” are explained by Kluge, p. 823 under the assumption that the meaning “barn” comes from “piles of hay or straw, brought together”, by aid of Serb. čupa “bunch, tuft, cluster” and Czech. čub “barn”. The German saying “die Gelegenheit beim Schopf packen” (literally “to catch the occasion at the mop”) would go back to the Greek καίρος, thus probably meaning to bring the hay into the barn at the right time. This explications seem to be artificial and thus unconvincing. To the same word-family belong probably German Zopf, Zapfen, Zipfel, zupfen, Engl. top; “further origin unclear” (Kluge). Kluge overlooks, however, Retorom. tschüf “mop of hair” and Swiss

German 'Tschuppe "id.", and these as well as all the other words with alleged parallels only in the Slav. languages seem to be of Raet. origin: Arab. tsūf "wool".

Pre-Roman \*SEL "wooden way" (L. Brunner, card index) < Hebr. sālāl "to force one's way".

Pre-Roman \*SENA "sowing field" (RN II, p. 842) < Hebr. šadeh "field", Raet. Pl. \*sadēnu.

Retorum. serrar, Ital. serrare, French serrer etc. "to shut, to close" hardly hang together with Latin sera "gate-beam" (whose etymology is unknown, too) because of -rr-, but come from Raet.: Hebr. sāgar "to shut, to close", Arab. šīgar "bolt, bar" besides Arab. sakara "to shut, to close".

Pre-Roman \*SIL- "water channel, river" (RN II, p. 842) < Arab. šallāl "torrent, waterfall". Perhaps also in German Rinn-sal, Irr-sal.

Pre-Roman \*SOR "Sorbus aria, Mehlbeere" (RN II, p. 854) with red fruits < Akk. šēru "dawn", Hebr. šered "red chalk". Latin sorbum "rowanberry" is itself derived from the Sem. words.

Pre-Roman \*SPELMO- "a rock" (L. Brunner, card index) < IE \*pel(s) "rock" < Akk. pēlu, pīlu, pūlu "limestone".

Surs. spilgè "canal" < Hebr. peleg "canal, river", Arab. falğ "cleft, tear". In IE s- can be prefixed without changing of meaning.

Surs. tgaper "raven" < Arab. ṣufārīya "black bird", Hebr. šippōr "bird".

Retorum. tina "acre-bed" < Arab. tīn(a) "field, clay-soil".

Pre-Roman \*TORVA, \*TORBA (RN II, p. 858) "granary, warehouse" < Arab. taraf "abundance".

Pre-Roman \*TROGIO "way, path" (RN II, p. 850) < Arab. ṭruqa, ṭariq "id.".

Pre-Roman \*TSANNO- “fold, pen” (RN II, p. 826), derivation from Akk. šeānu, Hebr. šōn “small cattle”.

Pre-Roman \*TSAPP- “he-goat” (RN II, p. 905) < arab. šāfir “id.”.

Pre-Roman \*TSUPP- (RN II, p. 787) > Retorom. zuppar “to hide” < Akk. suppu “covered”, Hebr. šāfan “to hide”.

Pre-Roman \*TSUPPO- “little swamp” (RN II, p. 787; Hubschmid 1960, p. 82; 1961, p. 131) > Retorom. zup < Akk. suppû “watered”.

German Wacholder “juniper” comes according to Kluge, p. 966 < Middle High German wachsolter, wahsholunter + tree-name suffix -er like in Holunder “elderberry” and is formed “on a not certainly clear basis”. The first word-part seems to be influenced by German wach “wake”, the second by German Holunder “elderberry”. Because of the strong smoke and its thereby caused mythological meaning we propose as etymon Akk. bahru “smoke utensils”.

German Wein < Latin vinum, Greek oinos come according to Kluge, p. 980 “from a non-IE language”: Akk. īnu “wine” that is perhaps itself borrowed from Asia Minor or Armenia (Zimmern 1917, p. 39). Since the Raetic wine was after the Falernian the most famous wine of the antiquity, all words for “wine” that are related to one another could originate from Raet.

Retorom. zavrun “fold, pen” < Hebr. šābar “to assemble”, Arab. šubra “pile”.

German Ziege = Engl. goat, Swiss German , Geiss, Gitzi = Engl. kid (etymologies according to Klug, p. 1010 unclear), Hung. gede, gida, also in the place name Gödöllő and in many other languages < Raet. KHAT for \*GADA “kid (little goat) (Acc. Sing.)” = Arab. ğady, Hebr. gedī “id.”. According to newest genetic researches by Prof. Pierre Taberlet (Université Joseph Fourier, Grenoble, France, the goat comes originally from the Zagros mountains in Mesopotamia (cf. [www.tagesanzeiger.ch/dyn/news/print/newsticker/675070.html?art=newsticker](http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/dyn/news/print/newsticker/675070.html?art=newsticker)))

German Ziger (lacking in Kluge), Surs. tschagrun, Eng. tschigrun “kind of fresh-cheese made with fenugreek and other herbs” < Akk. tuh-du “cream, fat”? Perhaps from a dialect of the Raeti of the Grisons, since in Lombardia there is the type mascarpa (whose etymology is unknown, too).

## 12. Bibliography

Preliminary remarks: The present bibliography does not substitute the long Raetic bibliography in Brunner and Toth (1987, pp. 101-138) that goes from the ancient times up to 1985. ESOP (formerly OPES) stands for The Epigraphic Society of America Occasional Publications.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS



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LINUS BRUNNER was internationally one of the most unique, original and productive linguists ever. Originally trained in Classical Philology, Indo-European and Germanic Linguistics, he worked also in the fields of Semitic and Polynesian Linguistics. After a couple of years as a house-instructor for wealthy noble Swiss families, he was from 1941-1953 Professor of Classical Philology at the private College “Institut auf dem Rosenberg” in St. Gallen and from 1953-1974 Full Professor of Classical Philology at the State College of St. Gallen. After his retirement, he was until his death Visiting Professor at the University of St. Gallen. With an invitation to a Visiting Professorship of the University of Jakarta (Java) in 1986 he could not comply anymore because of his rapidly declining health.

To Brunner’s most outstanding contributions belong his books “Entwicklung der Funktionen der lat. Konjunktion dum” (Tübingen 1936), “Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln des semitischen und indogermanischen Wortschatzes” (Berne 1969), “Malayo-Polynesian Vocabulary with Semitic and Indo-European Roots” (Arlington, MA 1982, appeared as ESOP 10, part

2), and “Die rätsche Sprache enträtselt” (St. Gallen 1987, together with Alfred Toth). Already in February 1975, Brunner joined the Epigraphic Society of America at the invitation of Professor Barry Fell (cf. OPES/ESOP 2, no. 25, p. 7). In December 1979 Brunner was appointed “Fellow of the Epigraphic Society” by Barry Fell, Norman Totten and Renee Fell. Shortly after, he was also elected “editorial consultant” i.e. member of the scientific board of ESOP and herein especially defended many attacks against Fell (cf. the obituary “In Memoriam Prof. Dr. Linus Brunner” in ESOP 17, 1988, pp. 9s.)

How famous Brunner was not only in Europe, but also in America, is obvious from the fact, that Fell cited Brunner as the authority in Celtic on the back cover page of his 1975 book “America B.C.”: “As Linus Brunner has written, ‘the activity of Barry Fell is marvelous ... in matters of decipherment he is a great master. I think ... he will go down as one of the great decipherers of all time’”. In “Saga America” (1980), Fell considered Brunner “probably the world’s leading authority on the etymology of the Indo-European and Semitic languages”. But not unlike Fell, Brunner, too, had to undergo what he called in one of his late articles “Decipherer’s Fate” (ESOP 14, no. 379, September 1985, pp. 216s.). Between 1975 and 1987, Brunner published 25 articles and one book (in two editions) in OPES/ESOP. The whole list of Brunner’s papers contains over 200 articles and books.

Now 20 years have passed, since the standard work of the research of the Raetic language has appeared (Brunner and Toth 1987). In fact, Professor Brunner and I wrote the text already in 1985, but due to financial problems of the Swiss government, which sponsored the publication of the book, it could appear only in July 1987, less than five months, before Brunner passed away brutally amidst his ongoing work. Because, moreover, in June 2007, it will be 25 years, since the first Raetic inscriptions, deciphered and translated by Brunner, appeared in OPES/ESOP 9, No. 212, June 1981, it seems to me a good time and opportunity to summarize up the basics of Raetic linguistics and its developments in the last two decades.



ALFRÉD TÓTH was born in 1965 in St. Gallen (Switzerland), his native tongue is Hungarian. Received two PhD's (1989 Mathematics, University of Zurich; 1992 Philosophy, University of Stuttgart) and an MA (General and Comparative Linguistics, Finno-Ugristics and Romanistics, University of Zurich 1991). Mr. Tóth is since 2001 Professor of Mathematics (Algebraic Topology) in Tucson, Arizona. He is member of many mathematical, semiotic, cybernetic and linguistic societies and scientific board member of eight international journals. Lives in Tucson and Szombathely where his family comes from.