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CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

On the probable Connexion of the Rhaetians and Etruscans with the Thracian stock of nations.

THE country known by the name of Thrace formed but a very small portion of the regions over which the Thracian race was once spread. For the Thracians, taking the name in its widest sense, were not merely the inhabitants of a single district or country, but were, like the Celts and Germans, one of the great families of nations, in each of which many tribes and peoples were comprised¹. Their importance in ancient times is satisfactorily established. The Thracians are spoken of by Herodotus as being, next to the Indians, the greatest nation in existence; that is to say, the most important nation in respect of numbers with which he was acquainted, the Indians only excepted². Several branches of this family were established in the modern Anatolia, all the ancient peoples in Asia Minor to the west of the Halys being of kindred race with one another, and with the proper Thracians³. With respect to each of these peoples, the relationship to the Thracians is beyond a doubt. Between the Mysians, Lydians, and Carians, a certain degree of brotherhood was known to exist⁴; and the Mysians and Mœsians, in Europe and Asia, are mentioned by Strabo as being Thracians⁵. The Bithynians,

¹ Grimm (*Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 6. Ed. 1853) divides the European nations into ten races: Iberians, Celts, Romans, Greeks, Thracians, Germans, Lithuanians, Slavonians, Fins, and Scythians.

² Herod. v. 3.

³ Grote, *Hist. Greece*, III. p. 277.

⁴ Grote, III. p. 277. 'The Carians

looked upon the Lydians as a kindred race, and acknowledged Lydus as the brother of Car, as well as of Mysus.' Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, II. c. 13. The Lydians appear to have been a Thracian tribe, who conquered the Mæonians, probably Pelasgians, the earlier inhabitants of Lydia.

⁵ Lib. vii. cap. 3.

Mariandynians, and Paphlagonians, were all recognized branches of the Thracian stock¹. Indeed the Bithynians are spoken of as Asiatic Thracians; while several tribes among the Thracians of Europe were called Thyni or Thynians². The Phrygians also were of Thracian origin. According to Strabo, they were identical with the Briges, a Thracian people³; and they were supposed not to have passed into Asia till after the destruction of Troy⁴. The affinity of the proper Thracians and the Phrygians was further evinced by the analogy observable between the two nations in respect of music and religion⁵. We thus find that all Asia Minor, as far as Mount Taurus and the Halys, with the exception of the Greek colonies, and perhaps of some remnants of earlier nations, such as the Pelasgians, was occupied by nations of Thracian race, who had in all probability emigrated from Europe.

It is however in Europe that we find the Thracians most widely spread. Not only did they possess the country usually called Thrace, but under the names of Mæsians, Dacians, and Getæ, occupied the whole district between the Hæmus and the Carpathians. "Thus the Thracians extended not only from the Ægean to the Ister, and from the Bosphorus to the Strymon, but, before the Gallic immigration, in the interior as far as Croatia; so that Servia, Bosnia, and Slavonia belonged to them; and on the north of the Danube, the whole extent of country which was afterwards called Dacia, was occupied by Thracians⁶." Yet even this extent of territory, wide as it is, formed probably but a part of the regions which were peopled by the Thracians in very remote times. "How much farther," says Niebuhr⁷, "may not the Thracians have extended over the north-western countries, before the time when the Illyrians penetrated into those countries from the north, and drove the Liburnian race from its seats? I have no doubt that they did extend much farther, but the limits cannot be determined, for these things lie beyond the reach of history." It is, however, unnecessary to ground merely upon conjecture the theory of the ancient extension of the Thracian

¹ Grote, III. p. 278. Strabo, Lib. vii. cap. 3.

² Grote, III. p. 278.

³ Strabo, Lib. vii. cap. 3.

⁴ Grote, III. 279.

⁵ Grote, III. 286. See also Strabo, Lib. x. *Dissertation on the Curetes*.

⁶ Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, Schmitz's transl. p. 142.

⁷ *Lectures on Ancient History*, p. 142.

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Excerpt

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race to the west of Dacia. We shall find reasons of considerable weight for supposing that the early population of Pannonia and Noricum, before the Gallic invasion, was derived from the Thracian stock. For the inhabitants, or at least the Gallic inhabitants, of Noricum and Pannonia, were included under the denominations of Boii, Taurisci, and Scordisci. The Boii occupied the northern districts of these countries, where their name appears in the town of *Boiodurum* and in the *Deserta Boiorum*. The Taurisci, mentioned by Strabo as a branch of the Norici, and identified by Pliny with the Norici, dwelt (Plin. III. 24, 29) on the banks of the Drave, from its source on the Rhætian frontier, as far, or nearly as far, as its confluence with the Danube. The Scordisci occupied the part of Pannonia watered by the Save, and probably extended into Illyricum and Mæsia. But these three nations, who seem thus to have been spread over the whole extent of Noricum and Pannonia, are expressly said by Strabo (VII. 3) to have been mixed with Thracians¹, a race which would, in all probability, have preceded the Gauls as settlers². This conclusion agrees extremely well with the

¹ The population of the eastern Alps, and the countries bordering on them, seems to have been of a very mixed character. Thus the Breuni and Genauni in Rhætia were Illyrian tribes. The Istrians and Liburnians were sometimes considered to be Illyrians, and sometimes denied to be so (Grote, IV. 1). Another authority describes the Istrians as a nation of Thracian race (Cramer's *Italy*, I. 135). The Gallic Scordisci, again, are by Florus (III. 4) called Thracians, a race with which we know, from Strabo, that they were mixed. Illyrians, Gauls, and Thracians would have been much intermingled in these countries. Of these three nations, the Gauls would have been the latest settlers: but it seems very doubtful which of the two nations, the Thracians and the Illyrians, preceded the other. Niebuhr considers that the Thracians were the earliest settlers, and that the Illyrians came upon them from the north, and conquered the country as far as the district to which their name

was attached. It may, however, seem as probable, that the Illyrians preceded the Thracians, and that the Thracian migration from the east cut off the Breuni and Genauni from their kindred tribes. As the Venetians are classed among the Illyrians, and as the Rhætians and Etruscans were probably, as we shall endeavour to shew, Thracians; it is perhaps most reasonable to conjecture that the Illyrians, who are found in a body on the Adriatic, within, or to the south of, the Thracian stream of migration, were the predecessors of the Thracians in these parts. In what ethnical relation the Illyrians stood to the Thracians there would probably be no evidence to determine with any approach to certainty.

² It is rather remarkable that the word Noricum (*Νώρικον*) is Phrygian, *i. e.* Thracian. "Plutarchus flumin. p. 51. (s. v. Marsyas): *νώρικον οἱ Φρύγες τῆ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἄσκον καλοῦσιν*. Eustathius Dionys. 321: *τινὲς ἱστοροῦσιν, ὅτι νώρικον οἱ Φρύγες τὸν ἄσκον καλοῦσι*

extension which Strabo assigns to the Getæ. For this branch of the Thracians, according to Strabo, bordered on the Suevi, and extended as far as the Hercynian forest, a part of which

τῆ σφετέρᾳ διαλέκτῳ." Bötticher's *Arica*, p. 38. It is perhaps not readily conceivable, how a word signifying ἀσκός can be applied to a tract of country. The coincidence of the names is however so singular, that a conjecture may be hazarded. The word ἀσκός seems certainly connected with the Latin *vas* and *vasculum*, and with adjective *vascus*, 'hollow.' The fundamental idea contained in the word νόρικον may thus, it is possible, have been that of 'hollowness.' Now, with the Latin *vascus* and *vacuus*, the word *vallis* seems connected. In like manner we have in Greek words derived from κοῖλος, such as κοιλός and κοιλωμα, signifying 'a valley.' We find also that the valley between Libanus and Anti-Libanus was called Κολλη Συπλα. It is, besides, exceedingly common to find valleys, or districts enclosed by mountains, called by the names of vessels: e. g. Germ. *Kessel*, (as in the case of Bohemia;) Eng. *basin*; and, in the Pyrenees, *oule*, a corruption of *olla*. The French, again, frequently speak of valleys as being *évasées*. It is, however, in the Welsh, that the connexion of ideas which is sought to be established may be most perfectly traced. There we have *cw*, 'a concavity;' *cuwb*, 'a cup-like form;' *cwbd*, 'a bag,' 'a sack,' 'a pouch' (ἀσκός); *cwm*, 'a hollow,' 'a place between hills,' 'a dingle or deep valley' (*vallis*;) and *cuman*, 'a large wooden vessel,' 'a tub.' It seems not improbable that from some Latin root such as *va*, corresponding to the Welsh *cw*, we may derive in a similar manner the words *vas*, *vanus*, *vacuus*, *vascus*, *vasculum*, *vallo*, and *vallis*; nor is it impossible that in other languages, such as the Phrygian or Thracian, a similar collection of words, of which νόρικον (= ἀσκός) was one, might have existed, and that another of these words, or perhaps the same, corresponded to

the Welsh *cwm* and the Latin *vallis*. Indeed, if we suppose that the English *comb* or *coomb*, a certain measure of capacity, is derived from the Welsh *cuman*, and not, according to the common etymology, from the Latin *cumulus*, and that consequently *comb*, in its primitive signification, denotes some particular kind of vessel; we should then have, in our own language, as *comb* or *combe* also signifies a valley, a word possessing the two meanings which we suppose may have possibly been attached to the Phrygian νόρικον. We may also mention as an additional instance supplied by another language, that Dante (*Inf. cant. xviii. et seq.*) uses the words *valle* and *bolgia* (properly a 'bag' or 'pouch,' = *borsa*, Span. *bolsa*) as synonymous terms. Assuming this conjectural meaning of the word νόρικον or *noricum* to be correct, then the name of this Alpine district would be analogous to the names of two other Alpine districts, the 'Val-lais' and the 'Pays Vaudois,' while *Noricum* would signify 'Vaudois' or 'Vallaisans.' *Noricum Mediterraneum* does in fact consist chiefly of one great valley, that of the Drave. This may have been the original 'Vallais,' whence the name might have been extended, as in the case of Cœle-Syria, to the adjoining country.

There was, besides, in Phrygia, a city called *Noricum*, (Plutarchus *flamin. s. v. Marsyas*) but this city is said to have been so called on account of its containing the νόρικον (al. νόρικον) or vessel, in which the remains of Satyrus were deposited. In the country called *Noricum* there was also a place called *Noreia* or *Noricia*, from which the name of the country might have been derived. Yet *Noreia* or *Noricia* may be merely a name like *Laval*. There is a village called *Noriglio* near *Roveredo* in the *Tyrol*.

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they even occupied; an assertion which, if exact, would cause Moravia and Bohemia to be included in the Getic territory. Perhaps, before the invasion of the Marcomanni and Quadi, these countries were, like the countries on the other side of the Danube, partly occupied by Celtic, and partly by Thracian tribes. Combining this result with the conclusion previously drawn as to the early population of Pannonia and Noricum, we should find that not only all the modern Hungary, but even all Austrian Germany north of the Save, the Tyrol excepted, was probably occupied at a remote period by Thracian tribes.

We have thus been enabled to trace the existence of a Thracian population as far as the frontiers of Rhætia, a country which we know to have been occupied by tribes of the same race as the Etruscans, but with respect to whose more general affinities history is silent. The following question now naturally arises. Was there at a remote period any separation of races on the common frontier of Rhætia and Noricum, or did the Thracian race extend still further to the west than we have traced them, and include the Rhætians also among their number? Now, as the Etruscans were not Gauls, and as the Gauls were the neighbours of the Rhætians on the west, it seems certain that there must have been a separation of races on that side of Rhætia. From this fact there arises a certain amount of probability in favour of the conjecture, that it is on the east of Rhætia, among the Thracians, that the kindred of the Rhætians should be sought. It is, indeed, possible, that the Rhætians might have come from the north or the south, from the plains of Bavaria or of Lombardy. Neither of these suppositions seems, however, very natural: the theory of a comparatively narrow band of population traversing the Alpine system, and perfectly distinct in origin from the mountaineers on either hand, must lie open to some objection. Neither would it be in accordance with Livy's account, from which we learn that not merely the Rhætians, but also some other Alpine nations, were of the same origin as the Etruscans. 'Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Rætis.' (v. 33). From this statement we derive the conclusion, that the Rhætians were akin to some other of the Alpine tribes, a conclusion which considerably favours the idea of their belonging to the Thracian race. For the only races which we can find in the Alps are Ligurians,

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Gauls, Rhætians, Thracians, and perhaps Illyrians. We should consequently be induced to consider the Rhætians as either Ligurians, Gauls, Thracians, or Illyrians. But as we may conclude that the Etruscans, and therefore the Rhætians, were neither Ligurians, Gauls, nor Illyrians, we have only the Thracian race left, to which to refer the Rhætians. Livy's expression '*maxime Rætis*' falls in extremely well with the fact, that the population of Noricum was mixed, and that both Thracians and Gauls were there to be found together. The Etruscans would thus have had a closer affinity to the Rhætians than to the Noricans.

The supposition of an affinity between the Rhætians and the Thracians seems to derive some additional force from the similarity of their names. Nor is it merely in the names of the two nations that this similarity is to be remarked; for other resemblances to the word Rhætia, and also to the Etruscan term Rasena, are to be found among the Thracians. Before however proceeding to notice these resemblances, it must be observed, that the force of such coincidences is somewhat weakened by the fact, that the words Rhætia and Rasena seem derived from a root which may be found in many languages, not only Indo-Germanic, but also Semitic. If we investigate, as we shall proceed to do, the meaning of the word Rhætia, we shall easily perceive the wide prevalence of the root, from which it appears to be derived.

From our finding the name Rhætia applied to an Alpine district, coupled with the circumstance of a Rhetico Mons existing in Germany, and a Rhæteum Promontorium in Mysia, we easily infer that all these names contain a root expressing a property belonging to mountains. We have besides in Arabia Petræa, the 'rocky' or 'mountainous' Arabia, a people called Ratheni or Rhæteni. The word *ras*, again, signifies in Arabic a 'promontory,' and the same word is also given as a name to a promontory in Brittany, in which case the name is clearly allied to the Welsh *rhac*, 'what is in advance, forward, upper or opposite.' The common root in all these cases probably appears in the English *raise*, *rear*, *rise*, in the German *ragen*, *recht*, in the Latin *rectus*, *erigere*, *regere*, *rex*, in the Gothic *raisjan* (erheben), and finally in the Hebrew *rosh* 'a head, whatever is highest or supreme, a prince, the head or summit of a

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mountain¹. This last collection of meanings seems to leave but little doubt as to the fundamental idea expressed by this widely prevailing root, which we may call for convenience *ra* or *ras*. This fundamental idea must be that of 'height,' 'eminence,' or 'projection.'

We can now perceive how words derived from this root are applied to princes, mountains, and towns. For towns would very frequently have their origin in fortified heights, and would then derive their name from the circumstance of their position, just as we find the English *borough* derived from the German *burg* 'a fort', while *burg*, again, is connected with *berg*, 'a mountain.' We can thus account for such names of towns as *Ragæ*, *Ratæ*, *Resen*, *Rama*, &c. Indeed the Hebrew *Rama* signifies 'a height;' and we may conjecture that the name of *Rome*, with that of the *Ramnes*, who built the original *Roma* on the Palatine hill, is to be derived from a similar source. In such words as *rock* and *crag*, the root seems also to be involved, as well as in the Swiss *grät*, a mountain-ridge, and in several other words. The name 'Rhætia' will signify 'the Highlands,' 'das Oberland,' or 'the mountain country;' and the appellation 'Rhætian' may be considered as perfectly identical in meaning with the Celtic 'Pennine,' a term derived from *pen* 'a head,' and applied, like 'Rhætian,' to one of the Alpine groups².

From this almost universal prevalence of the root *ra*, it is clear that the force of coincidences in words where it appears will be necessarily weakened. Now several of the coincidences which will be noticed in the following pages are in words of this nature: and it has therefore been thought advisable to determine at the outset what force is to be attributed to them. As the words which involve this root may, however, readily be perceived, it will not be necessary continually to advert to the fact of the existence of such a root in the words cited. We now return to

¹ To these may be added the Sanskrit *ṛtu*, Zend *ratu*, dominus, magister; Armenian *retel*, gubernare, regere. See Bötticher's *Arica*, p. 88. The French frequently speak of mountains as 'dominant' the surrounding country.

² The name of the mountain-chain, the Rhätikon, dividing the Grisons

from the Tyrol and Lichtenstein, means simply the 'mountain-ridge' or the 'rocky ridge.' The old castle and rock of Hohen Rhätie, near Tüsis, is merely the 'high fort' or the 'high rock.' The names Rätzius and Realta are to be explained in the same manner.

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notice what names occur among the Thracians akin to those of the Rhætians, or of the Etruscan Rasena.

Proceeding eastward from Rhætia into the districts occupied by branches of the Thracian race, the first coincidence we find is presented by the Dacian tribe, mentioned by Ptolemy, called Rhatacensii. They are generally placed in the Carpathians, being probably, as their name indicates, mountaineers. The town of Ratiaria on the Danube, and the Rhæteum Promontorium in Mysia, present two other instances of coincidence. In the names of Thracian princes there is also a resemblance to the name of the Rhætians, and to that of the Etruscan Rasena. Rhæteia is the name of the daughter of a Thracian king, and Rhascus and Rhascuporis, or Rhescuporis, are the names of Thracian chiefs. The name of the Thracian king Rhesus, to which the name Cræsus seems allied, is an additional instance¹.

On these coincidences, however, not very much stress can be laid. More important is the fact, that we find mountains in the Grisons and the Tyrol called in the Rhæto-romansch dialects by names having an obvious and close affinity to the name of the Carpathian or Krapack mountains, and that those dialects supply the means of explaining the name of this chain, which has borne, without material alteration, the same appellation from the earliest times, and which may be regarded as a Dacian mountain-system. In the Grisons we have a mountain called Crap Alv, 'the white rock,' and in the Tyrol another called Creppa Rossa, 'the red rock.' *Crap*, in the dialects of the Grisons, is equivalent to the German *Stein*²: and the German *Felsen* is, in the dialect of the Grison Oberland, *gripp* or *grippa*; in the dialects of the Engadine,

¹ The word Rasena, as it involves the root *ra* or *ras*, may have two meanings; that of mountain-habitation, or that of sovereignty. In the first case, it would have the same meaning as Rhætians, i. e. 'mountaineers.' The second meaning, however, seems to be the true one. For the Rasena, according to Dionysius, derived their name from a certain prince of their nation. The historian consequently makes Rasena a proper name, and thus probably falls into an error very similar to that which was made in the case of the Etruscan title

Lucumo. It seems more likely that 'Rasena' signifies 'princes' generally, than that it was the name of a particular prince. For the Rasena, in fact, were the princely race, the aristocracy of Etruria, standing to the other inhabitants in a relation similar to that which the Spartans bore to the Lacedæmonians. There may, however, have been among the Etruscan princes, as there were among the Thracians, individuals in whose name the root *ra* or *ras* was contained.

² Carisch's *Rhæto-romansch Dict.*

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crippel; in the Tyrolese Badiotisch dialect, *crepp*; and in the Tyrolese Grednerisch dialect, *creppes*¹. We have also in the Grison dialects, *carpun*, *carpuigl*, and *crapun* 'grosser Stein,' *crapett*, 'kleiner Stein,' &c.

Not very many similar words are found in other parts than the Carpathians and the ancient Rhætia, to impair the force of these resemblances. We have, indeed, the Italian *greppo* 'a mountain top,' which appears to be a kindred term to *crap*. The island *Carpathus* might probably have received its name from the Carians, a branch of the Thracians, and consequently a people having some degree of relationship to the Rhætians. Among other instances where similar names occur in different parts of the world, there may be cited, the *Carpasiæ Insulæ* lying off the coast of Cyprus, the tribe called *Carpetani* in Hispania, and the town called *Carpis* in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Some additional cases of resemblance in names might also be found. Still, notwithstanding such cases, and that the root *ra* seems involved, the coincidence with respect to the Carpathians and the Rhæto-romansch words and names of mountains must be allowed to be of some importance².

We have just alluded above to the Rhæto-romansch dialects, from which, by a comparison of them with the relics of the Thracian languages, we now propose to deduce another description of evidence. These singular dialects are confined to two different districts of ancient Rhætia³,—to some parts, including altogether about one half, of the Swiss Canton of the Grisons, and to a small tract of country in the east of the Tyrol. There are comparatively but few words in Rhæto-romansch, which, however altered, may not be referred to the Latin or the German; but more especially, as the name *Romansch* implies, to the

¹ *Ibid.*

² A collection of names in Rhætia, Noricum, Thrace, &c. resembling each other, will be found in a note at the end of this article.

³ It may be advisable to mention here the modern districts comprised in the ancient Rhætia. They are, very nearly, the following: (1) the Tyrol, including Vorarlberg, and excluding the upper part of the valley of the Drave

and the small valley of Kitzbüchel; (2) the six Swiss Cantons of Tessin, the Grisons, Glarus, St Gall, Appenzell, and Thurgau; (3) the Lombard districts of the Bellunese, the Val Camonica, and the Valteline, including Chiavenna and Bormio; (4) the Piedmontese provinces of Ossola and Palanza, which compose the valley of the Tosa with its tributary lateral valleys.

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Latin. Some few words, however, there exist, which appear to have an independent origin, and which probably represent the last remnants of the ancient language of the Rhætians. It is in the highest valleys of the Canton of the Grisons, and on the northern declivity of the main chain of the Alps, that the Rhæto-romansch is spoken. The Münsterthal, belonging to the basin of the Adige, is the only valley on the southern declivity of the Alps where such a dialect prevails. In the Zehngerichte Bund, and in the neighbourhood of Coire, (the village of Ems excepted) the language is German. The German language is also spoken in the districts of the Rheinwald, Avers, Savien, and Vals, the inhabitants of which are said, according to one account, to be the descendants of a Suabian colony planted by Frederick Barbarossa, but whose settlement is referred by other authorities to the time of the Ostrogothic invasion. In the valleys of Calanca, Misocco, Bregaglia, and Puschiavo, Italian dialects are spoken. In the rest of the Canton the Rhæto-romansch is the native tongue, and is divided into four, (sometimes only into three) principal dialects: (1) the Oberländisch, or dialect of the valley of the Fore Rhine: (2) the Unterengadinisch, the dialect of the Lower Engadine, or valley of the Inn: (3) the Oberengadinisch, the dialect of the Upper Engadine: and (4) the Oberhalbsteinisch, or dialect of the district of Oberhalbstein¹, which is, however, not always distinguished from the Oberengadinisch, to which the dialect of the valley of Schams has also been referred. These are the Grison dialects: in the Tyrol there are two principal dialects. The first is the Grednerisch, or dialect of the Grednerthal; the second the Badiotisch, or dialect of the Gaderthal. These two contiguous valleys, which communicate with each other by an easy pass, lie among the dolomite mountains rising to the east of the high road between Brixen and Botzen. The Grednerthal opens from the east into the valley of the Eisach at Kollman; the Gaderthal from the south into the Pusterthal about two miles below Brunecken. No complete vocabularies of these Romansch dialects probably exist. The words which will be here cited are taken from Carisch's *Taschen-Wörterbuch der Rhätoromanischen Sprache in Graubünden, besonders der Ober-*

¹ i. e. the district 'above the defile,'
Stein being used to signify 'a defile.'

The 'Stein' in this case is the defile so
called, immediately above Tiefenkasten.