

## TROY, TARUIŠA, AND THE ETRUSCANS

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During the reign of the pharaoh Rameses the Third, Egypt was attacked by a horde of sea-borne invaders who have come to be known as the "Peoples of the Sea". Where they came from, and where they settled after their assault on the Nile delta, have proved difficult to establish with certainty, and efforts to elucidate the situation have proceeded more than in any other way from analysis of the names which the Egyptians gave for the invaders in inscriptions celebrating victories over them.

Following this line of inquiry, the Pá-ra-sa-ta<sup>1</sup> are equated generally with the Philistines (Hebrew plural: Pēlištim), the Ša-ar-da-na with Sardinia, the Tī-ka-ra less surely with the Sikels, and the Tu-ru-ša (variants: Tu-ur-ša, Tu-ri-ša) with the Τυρσᾶνοι<sup>2</sup> of the Greeks, the Tusci (from Oscan \*Tursk-) or Etrusci of the Romans.

The question to be answered is, assuming the identifications to be correct, whether or not the peoples concerned (with the exception of the Philistines, who were obviously newcomers to Canaan) occupied already their later homes in Italy and adjacent waters, or whether they migrated there subsequent to the raid on Egypt, carrying with them the names which survive today as designations for large provinces and/or islands in the territory of Italy. With regard to the Ša-ar-da-na and the Tī-ka-ra the matter is still open, but the eastern origin of the Tu-ru-ša is now generally admitted.

The evidence for this is both literary and epigraphic (omitting the oriental elements in Etruscan culture). Herodotos tells us (I 94)

<sup>1</sup> These transcriptions are taken from William Foxwell Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, Am. Or. Soc. (New Haven: 1934) III-XXIII, pp. 42, 48, 57, 64, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Τυρσᾶνοι is the original form, surviving in some Doric dialects. Other forms, known to me are: Τυρρᾶνοι (late Doric), Τυρσηνοι (Ionic), and Τυρρηνοι (Attic). See article "Tyrrhener" by W. Brandenstein, in *Realencyclopaedie der Altertumswissenschaft*, Pauly-Wissowa edd., (abbrev.: RE), Band VII A, 2 pp. 1909-1938.

that the Τυρσηνοί are of Lydian origin and migrated thence to Italy because of a famine. The Τυρσηνοί were famous as pirates in the Aegean long before the Greeks learned of their settlements in Italy, as can be seen from the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos (7-8).<sup>3</sup> Herodotos equates them with the Pelasgians (I 57, cf. Thucydides, IV 109) who dwelt on Lemnos and other places in the north Aegean, in northern Thessaly, and in former times in Attica itself. The epigraphic and linguistic evidence backs them up: two inscriptions on stelae found on Lemnos are written in a language almost identical with Etruscan. In his discussion in RE, W. Brandenstein remarks that the phonology of Lemnian is "mindest so ähnlich (to Etruscan) wie das Ionische und Dorische".<sup>4</sup> Most striking is the total absence of voiced stops and spirants in both languages, a feature unique among known languages in the Mediterranean and Anatolian areas,<sup>5</sup> and the possession by both of a four vowel system, /a,e,i,u/ in Etruscan, /a,e,i,o/ in Lemnian, a system common in old Anatolia.

Grammatically there are also close similarities, and W. Brandenstein believes that the declension of the noun, for example, is identical (gen. -al, dat. -eši, acc. -ø) in both languages, with Lemnian innovating by introducing the suffix -θ as a mark of the nominative.<sup>6</sup>

The northern Aegean origin of the Tyrrhenians/Etruscans seems therefore secure, and it appears logical to make a further identification of the Tyrrhenians/Etruscans/Tu-ru-ša with the north-west Anatolian city of Taruiša. The name of this town occurs in the chronicle of the Hittite monarch Tudhaliyas IV<sup>7</sup> as having revolted from a (presumed) state of vassalage to the Hittite Empire along with 21 other countries of the Land of Assuwa.<sup>8</sup> Assuwa is to

<sup>3</sup> Hugh G. Evelyn-White, trans., *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homericica*, (Cambridge, Mass.: 1950) (Loeb Classical Library), p. 429, cf. also footnote p. 429.

<sup>4</sup> W. Brandenstein, "Tyrrhener" RE p. 1925.

<sup>5</sup> Some writing systems, notably Hieroglyphic Hittite, may have lacked specific signs for the voiced : voiceless contrast, but there is every reason to believe that voiced spirants and possibly stops did exist, judging by HH's close relative Lycian, and by transcriptions such as Phoenician *štwā* for HH *a-šī-ti-wa-ta-s(a)*.

<sup>6</sup> W. Brandenstein, "Tyrrhener" RE pp. 1925 ff.

<sup>7</sup> KUB XXIII, 11 and 12, line 19, reprinted and edited in John Garstang & O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, (London: 1959) p. 120-123.

<sup>8</sup> Garstang and Gurney, pp. 105-107.

be located in north-western Anatolia, north of Arzawa, and its name may plausibly be connected with the Greek 'Ασία, 'Ασίη, which referred at first only to the region around Sardis, in other words Lydia.<sup>9</sup> There is a tradition that the Tyrrhenians came from a city called Τυρρῆα (<\*Tursa) in Lydia (Etym. Graecum 537.26); since Herodotos says that the Etruscans come from Lydia, it is not surprising to find the name of this place, Taruiša, in the Land of Assuwa, which is probably Lydia and Mysia, in the Chronicle of Tudhaliyas.

Riskier is the identification of Taruiša with the Homeric Troy/Ilion, first suggested by Forrer in 1924.<sup>10</sup> The weight of evidence, however, seems to favor the equation, as can be seen. The best argument is derived from the position in the Chronicle of Tudhaliyas, of Taruiša and right next to it, of the Land of Wilusiya. The latter is almost certainly a variant of Wilusa, a kingdom in north-western Anatolia with which the Hittite King Muwattalis made a famous treaty about fifty years before the campaign of Tudhaliyas, and the name of whose prince, Alaksandus, recalls Alexandros, the usual name for the Trojan prince Paris in the *Iliad*. The similarity of the two names, Taruiša with Troia and Wilus(iy)a with \*Wilos (the name of Priam's grandfather) and (W)ilion, Troy's alternative appellation, is so striking that an ascription of it to chance taxes the credulity of the most hardened skeptic.

*Ta-ru-i-ša* or *Ta-ru-ú-i-ša*, as the name appears in the cuneiform script of the Hittite archives,<sup>11</sup> is further removed from *Troia* than it is from *Tu-ru-ša*, but the gap is not insurmountable by any means. The cuneiform script is unable to express initial (or final) consonant clusters, so the scribes at Hattusas were given to using consonant + vowel or vowel + consonant signs to express a consonant alone.<sup>12</sup> Hittite has no phoneme /o/, so *a* and *u* are used in

<sup>9</sup> As Wilusa alternates with Wilusiya, and Huwallusa with Huwallusiya, so one could postulate \*Assuwiya as a variant of Assuwa. Assuwiya could be pronounced /Aswiya/, and borrowed thus into Greek. We have the Mycenaean a-si-wi-ja, probably = /Aswia/ on PY Fr 1206, with loss of digamma, Asia, Ἀσία, adj., *Iliad* B 461, with compensatory lengthening.

<sup>10</sup> *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, no. 63, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad* (Oxford: 1970), p. 178.

<sup>12</sup> See full discussion in Edgar H. Sturtevant's *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, (New Haven: 1951), pp. 14-16.

the script (we presume). Thus Ta-ru-i-ša *could* be Troisa as Forrer maintains.

This leaves the *š* of the Hittite form to be explained. The difficulty has been overcome by comparing the name of the city Karkisa, which is written Ka-ra-ki-ša (Madd. rev. 81 and KUB XXIII 12, ii, 8), Ga-ra-ki-ša (KUB XV, 38, i, 8) and Kar-ki-ja (KBo II, 9, i, 10 and Tawagalawas Letter, iii, 53; iv, 6) and positing a form \*Taruiya = Troia.<sup>13</sup> This is dangerous, because Karkisa/Karkiya is the only instance of this published so far. The alternation of Wilusa and Wilusiya is paralleled by that of Huwallusa and Huwallusiya, but Karkisa/Karkiya has no parallels.<sup>14</sup>

A better explanation is achieved by proceeding from the facts of archeology and linguistics. Troy had a rich culture in the Troy II period, as is well known from the discoveries of Schliemann and Blegen. This city, dated to roughly 2500-2200 by its excavator Carl Blegen, exported timber, pottery, livestock, and woolen materials (large numbers of spindle whorls were found at this level). In addition, it may have charged toll on overland traffic crossing the Hellespont and maritime commerce sailing through it. Its imports were mainly metal and obsidian (the last from the famous deposits on Melos), including the gold found by Heinrich Schliemann, which Trojan artisans had transformed into objects of refined beauty.<sup>15</sup>

The proto-Hellenes, who probably dwelt in Macedonia at this time, must have been visited by Trojan merchants and would have come to know the name of the city well. The root was Trōs (or perhaps \*Torōs, for later Turus-, if Lemnian /o/ instead /u/ is original), which is also the name of the eponymous hero and founder(?) - King of Troy. Its Homeric genitive is Τρωός, which shows the Trōs- as the root (Trōos < Trōhos < Trōsos). Since the development of PIE \*/s/ to /h/ and then /ø/ is regular in Greek in intervocalic position, the above development of the genitive is normal in Greek, as is the shift Trosja > Trohja > Trojja > Troia (cf. the PIE \*-osjo genitive: -osjo > ohjo > ojjo (Mycenaean?) > oio

<sup>13</sup> Garstang and Gurney, p. 105 and 107.

<sup>14</sup> See list, Garstang and Gurney, pp. 127-131, and exhaustive list of Hittite placenames.

<sup>15</sup> Carl W. Blegen, *Troy and the Trojans*, (New York: 1963), pp. 86-90, with table of periods at back.

(Homeric)). The genitive to-ro-o (Trōhos) actually occurs at Pylos (PY An 519.1)<sup>16</sup> as does the feminine to-ro-ja (PY Ep 705.6) = Trojja.<sup>17</sup>

Trōs itself is one of a group of non-Greek names,<sup>18</sup> with Anatolian affinities ending in -ōs, including *Trōs*, a city in Lycia<sup>19</sup> and *Minōs* which is not only the name of several legendary Cretan kings, but of the "Minoan" people themselves, judging by the Egyptian *Mn-nw-s*, a people closely connected with *Kft'w*, Crete.<sup>20</sup> The Greeks included the -ōs as part of the stem, indicating that if it was originally an independent suffix, it was very old. It may however, be related to the -ša suffix often occurring after Aegean and Anatolian peoples in Egyptian inscriptions including that of the 'A-qi-ya-wa-ša (= Akhaiwoi?), another of the Peoples of the Sea.<sup>21</sup>

One may add in this connection Tiras one of the sons of Japheth in Genesis 10:2 (the other brothers are mostly Anatolian: Tubal (a neo-Hittite realm); Meshech (the Phrygian tribe of the Mushki in Assyrian archives) or partly so: Javan (the Ionian Greeks) and Madai (the Medes)). Since this must reflect the political situation in or around the seventh century, it may be an indication of the continued importance of the Taruisan stock in Anatolia after the departure of the Etruscans for the West and the destruction of Troy VIIa.

The thesis of this paper, then, is that Trōs, Troia, Tu-ru-ša, Ta-ru-i-ša, Tursenoi, and Tiras are all related, designating a land and a people of the north-western region of Anatolia, as well as the northern Aegean. Since we know that a branch did go west and make an important contribution to the emerging civilization of Italy, and in particular, Rome, it is also clear that more research is needed into the story of Aineias, a story which is not just a fabrication of status-hungry Romans.<sup>22</sup> It is perfectly possible that

<sup>16</sup> Anna Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon*, (Rome: 1963), p. 337.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Ventris & John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, (Cambridge; 1959), p. 426.

<sup>18</sup> Edzard J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen*, (The Hague: 1972), p. 188.

<sup>19</sup> Garstang and Gurney, pp. 80, 82.

<sup>20</sup> Albright, *Vocalization*, p. 10, footnote 28.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> See RE, Band I, 1, pp. 1010-1022, sv. Aineias, cf. the prediction, *Iliad* XX 307 f. that Aineias would live to rule the Trojans καὶ παίδων παίδες.

the Etruscans carried the story with them, as a myth of origin and memory of their wanderings, and that the Etruscan Kings and nobility at Rome transferred the story there, so that in the hands of local mythographers, it became the foundation myth of Rome itself.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> For this insight I would like to thank my colleague, friend, and mentor, Dr. Frank J. Frost of this University. He has long maintained the relationship between the Trojans and the Etruscans, and the Etruscan origin of the story of Aineias.