

The World of Troy:
Homer, Schliemann,
and the
Treasures of Priam

*Proceedings from a Seminar
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Cover Photo
Minoan Vases found in Troia in 1995
Courtesy of
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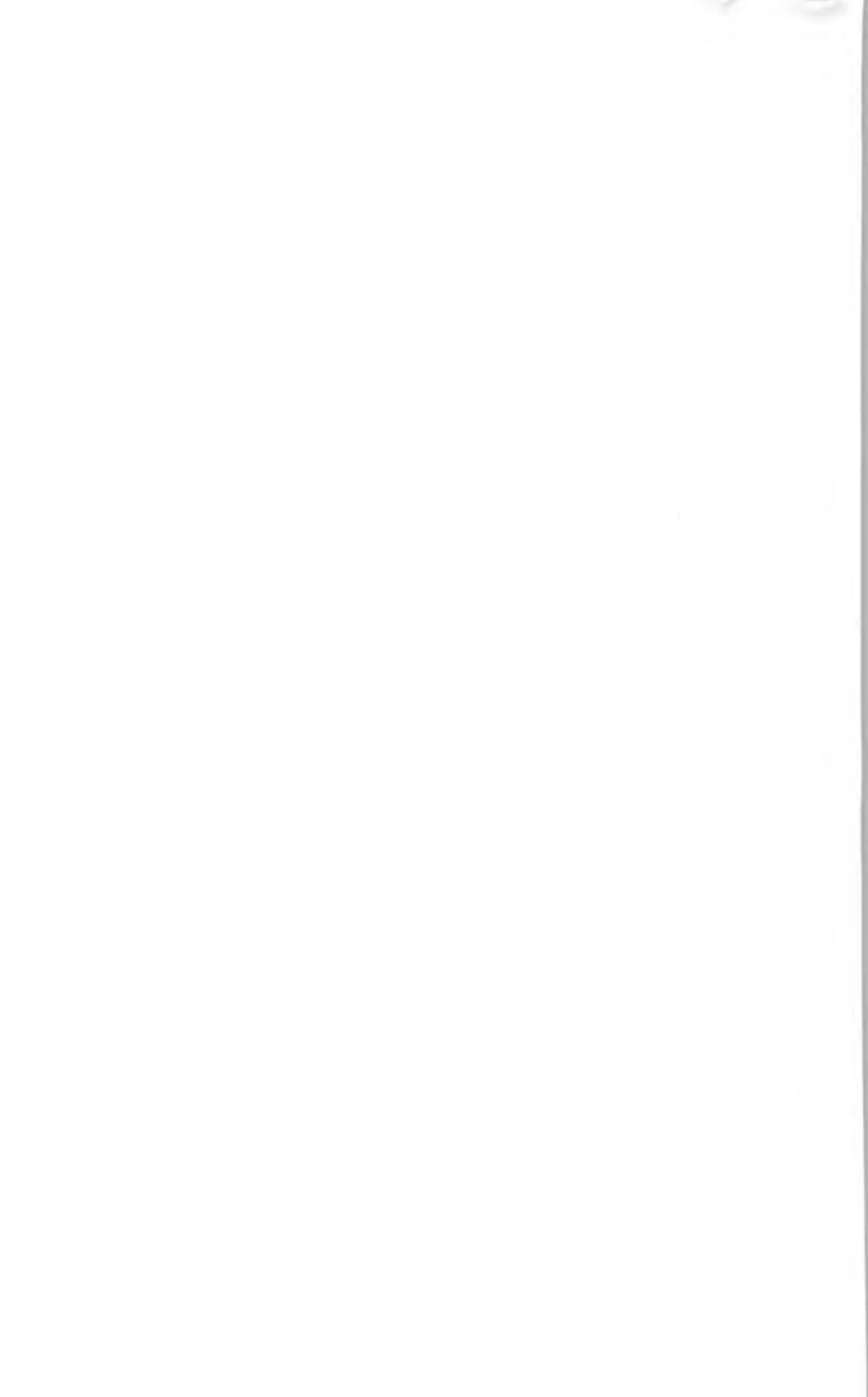


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Introduction

Deborah Boedeker

On February 21 and 22, 1997, the papers collected in this volume were presented at the Smithsonian Institution, in a seminar proposed and co-sponsored by the Society for the Preservation of the Greek Heritage, "The World of Troy: Homer, Schliemann, and the Treasures of Priam." The theme of the seminar was inspired by the reappearance of a remarkable group of objects some forty centuries old, "Priam's treasures." (Of course that is the wrong name for them—they are a thousand years earlier than the Troy of Homer's Priam—but Schliemann's nomenclature has stuck.)

These treasures have spent most of their life underground. A large cache of gold and copper vessels, jewelry, and other precious objects was buried, perhaps when the second city of Troy was destroyed by earthquake and fire in the late third millennium BCE. The objects were not to be seen again until 1873, when the German entrepreneur-turned-pioneer archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann tells us he unearthed them in his third season of digging at the mound of Hisarlik in western Anatolia, the spot he decided must be Homer's Troy. **Donald Easton** has made a special study of the controversies surrounding Schliemann; his paper in this volume considers the excavator's methods, motives, and accomplishments. **Susan Heuck Allen's** study, a welcome addition here to the papers that were given at the Smithsonian, adds an important dimension to our picture of Schliemann by showing how much he learned—and took—from Frank Calvert, his little-known predecessor at Hisarlik.

The treasures of Troy soon became world-famous, thanks in large part to the efforts of the excavator, including the famous photo of his wife, Sophie Schliemann, wearing the "jewels of Helen," the golden diadem, earrings, and other ornaments her husband had discovered. Schliemann smuggled Priam's and other treasures from Hisarlik out of Turkey, and sought what he considered a proper home for them—in Greece, in London,

perhaps in the U.S. or Russia too. Eventually he gave them to the German people in perpetuity, and they were housed in the Berlin Museum for Prehistory and Early History. There they were kept until May 1945, when the museum director, Wilhelm Unverzagt, was forced to turn them over to the Red Army.

For decades rumors flitted about: the Trojan gold was in Leningrad, or in the U.S., perhaps in Texas. Or it had been melted down and would never more be seen. The treasures, it turned out, were again underground, although this time for only a half-century, in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. This startling news was first officially announced in 1993 by Russian Minister of Culture Evgeny Sidorov. Then, beginning in October 1994, experts from Germany and other countries (including several participants in our seminar) were invited to work together with their colleagues at the Pushkin, to verify the contents of the treasure, catalogue and study them, and offer advice in preparation for the exhibit that opened at the Pushkin in April 1996. By now many visitors to Moscow have seen the treasures—the dazzling gold, and even more surprising objects crafted of materials that originated far from Troy. As **James Wright's** contribution demonstrates, early Troy had close contacts with a surprisingly wide and interconnected world.

After the ground-breaking work of Schliemann and his protégé Wilhelm Dörpfeld, carried out with interruptions between 1871 and 1894, the mound of Hisarlik slept again until Carl Blegen of the University of Cincinnati came to direct a series of excavations from 1932 to 1938. Digging resumed in 1988, when **Manfred Korfmann** of the University of Tübingen received a permit to begin new excavations. This work, carried on with great success by an international team, has continued every season since then. Professor Korfmann's paper firmly situates Bronze Age Troy in its Anatolian context, and describes a number of recent finds which, he argues, can be connected to descriptions of objects and events in the *Iliad*, and to the epic's religious background as well.

Priam's gold is back with us then, and even more important, we are back to discovering more about the long history of his city. But in another sense Troy has never been far away from us. Why is this city, remote from us in space and time, still so fascinating? Other archaeological finds have been more impressive than the walls of Troy and other artifacts more magnificent than the

treasures of Priam. Other wars have been more consequential than the one described in the *Iliad*. And, as **Kurt Raaflaub's** paper reminds us, there are serious reasons to question whether Homer's war has very much to do with the real history of the site of Troy.

We should keep in mind, however, Aristotle's paradoxical argument that poetry (meaning mythical narrative such as the *Iliad*) is more philosophical, and in that sense "truer," than history. In this view, history deals merely with what happened, whereas poetry (or fiction) operates on a level of general, not just specific, truth. For Aristotle, the *Iliad* was the quintessential example of such poetry.

The name of Troy resounds for us today, because in Homer's telling the Trojan War is fought by and for remarkably memorable characters. Distant as they are, we understand them and their motives, sometimes all too well. And we are fascinated still by the site of Troy, for the *Iliad* makes the physical city live, tying the setting deeply to the action and characters. Who would not want to find the streets where Helen walked, or to retrace Priam's lonely journey out of the city, over the River Skamander, through the gates of the Achaian fort—as he went by night to ransom Hektor's body from the dark and brilliant Achilles? We can picture the place on the city wall where Hektor caught up with Andromache and little Astyanax, took off his helmet when its plumes frightened the boy, while Andromache (smiling through her tears) pointed out where the wall looked vulnerable—as aware as Hektor was that this time, or the next, could be their last meeting. We want to find these walls. And so, as it did for Schliemann, for us too the excavation of Troy suggests a way to bridge the gap between poetry and history.

What has been found at Troy may or may not reveal the footsteps of Homer's characters, but it reveals a world more complex, more ancient, and more enduring than Homer dreamed of. Its history begins millennia earlier than the Late Bronze Age world (1200 BCE) we associate with the Trojan War. And the excavated city stretches through time for a millennium and more after Homer's age (700 BCE), to reveal what became of Ilium after Homer had made it immortal. **Brian Rose's** paper shows us what Troy meant to Greeks and Romans after the time of Homer, when the small city, rich in associations, could be a focal point for claims of ancestral glory.

Other obligations have prevented one of the speakers from including her paper in this format, but we are grateful to Machteld Mellink for participating in the SPGH/Smithsonian seminar. Professor emerita of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College, she is a renowned expert in Anatolian prehistory and a valued member of the Troia team. Like Donald Easton and Manfred Korfmann, Machteld Mellink was among the first Western experts to examine the Treasures of Priam when they re-surfaced at the Pushkin Museum. It is a pleasure as well for me to thank SPGH President Anna Lea and Smithsonian co-ordinator Constantine Tsatsos for their dedication and support in making this project possible. ■

Heinrich Schliemann: Hero or Fraud?

D. F. Easton

“**D**id Schliemann find Troy? The hero, the liar and the cheat.” “Schliemann’s fantastic exploits - but did they really happen?” “Was the man who found the treasure of Troy really no more than a fraud?” “The dirty digger.” These are headlines from the newspapers of June 1995, prompted by the publication of David Traill’s new biography, *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*.

Criticism of Schliemann is not new. Here are some views from past archaeologists: “a half crazy human being who has no idea whatsoever of the meaning of his excavations,” “a complete stranger to every scientific treatment of his subject.” But here are some others: “the father of scientific archaeology,” “pioneer of a new science” and “without doubt a scholar.” So what is the truth? The debate revolves around three questions: (1) Did he falsify his discoveries? (2) How good was he as an archaeologist? (3) Did he discover Troy? I should like to consider each in turn.

Did Schliemann Falsify His Discoveries?

The question has arisen because Schliemann is known to have been less than completely honest. Schliemann, as we all know, started out as a businessman; and Professors William Calder and David Traill have established that, for example, a banking operation which he ran in California in 1851 was almost certainly shady; that he lied to secure his U.S. citizenship and divorce in 1868, and that in his publications he exaggerated the degree to which the excavation of Troy had been his life’s ambition. They conclude that he was a liar. And they go further. A modern psychoanalytical profile by William Niederland suggested that Schliemann’s genius depended in part on *elements* of psychopathology in his make-up. Calder and Traill put this

together with their own findings and produce the equation: psychopathology + lies = pathological liar. "He was ill, like an alcoholic, a child-molester or a dope-fiend," writes Calder (1986:37).

It is no revelation that Schliemann sometimes told less than the unvarnished truth. His letters, published in part since the 1930s, show a man who would say anything to anyone if it helped his end. Here is an example from his earliest years of excavation.

He had been anxious to start work at Troy and had been waiting in Greece for a permit from the Ottoman government. It didn't come and didn't come, so finally his patience snapped and off he went to start some soundings with permission neither from the government nor from the landowner. His diary contains lugubrious comments on the weather. He complains bitterly about the indigestible diet of rice, peppers and tortoise. He shows very little interest in the pottery. His illicit digging came to the notice of the Turkish government, and he soon had to repair the damage. Here is how he writes to the Minister for Public Instruction:

"*Chance* having brought me once more into the Plain of Troy last April, my enthusiasm for the divine poems of Homer, and my love of archaeology, compelled me to make some small excavations over several days.... Seeing before me the Pergamos of Priam, which learned men of all lands have sought in vain for 20 centuries, my enthusiasm for science carried me away, my fanaticism for archaeology led me astray. I worked in driving rain thinking it was sunny; I thought I had lunched and dined when I had eaten nothing all day; every piece of pottery that I brought to light was for me a new page of history.

"I implore your pardon in the name of our common mother, Science, to which, you and I, we both devote our lives; in the name of Science for which we both have the same adoration, the same enthusiasm; in the name of Science, which you have taken under your mighty tutelage..." (Meyer 1953, 176).

This is vintage Schliemann: the characteristic blend of one third dissimulation, one third arrogant rhetoric, one third obsequiousness—the Schliemann we all know and love. The question is, does his dishonesty extend beyond such matters into his archaeological reporting? Does it affect his discoveries? Calder and Traill say that, since he was a *pathological* liar, of course it must;

when, therefore, they find any internal contradictions or discrepancies in his writings, they interpret them in that light. I think we should approach the matter the other way round: evaluate the evidence for fraudulent reporting *first*, and then draw the psychological conclusions afterwards. What then is the evidence?

The first thing to note is that we are not talking about fraud on any gigantic scale. No one is questioning whether he excavated the site, or whether he really found the buildings, pottery, stratigraphy he says. Much was drawn or photographed on the spot, and in broad terms it is all visible, verifiable and consistent with the findings of his successors. What is questioned is the authenticity of particular items.

Most attention has focussed on the so-called Treasure of Priam—the famous Early Bronze Age hoard of gold jewellery, of gold, silver and bronze vessels, of silver ingots, and bronze weapons and tools—which Schliemann says he found in May 1873. It is the most spectacular of the alleged hoaxes, and also the one where the documentation is fullest. The hoard is important in its own right. But to Schliemann, who equated it with the treasure mentioned in Book 24 of the *Iliad*, it was important as helping (in his mind) to identify the site and establish the historicity of the Trojan War. It was a vindication of his first three years of excavation and one in the eye for the academic establishment, especially in Berlin. It is the sort of thing he would have wanted to be able to announce.

Traill's thesis is that on 31st May 1873, one of the stated dates of the discovery, Schliemann genuinely did find a hoard, but a hoard of no more than a small group of bronzes. He argues that this hoard was subsequently fleshed out by the addition of gold, silver and other bronze items some of which had been found previously elsewhere on the site, and salted away for just this purpose. And he suggests that other pieces may have been added in from illicit excavation on other sites or bought from antiquities dealers (Traill 1983.185; 1984; 1988.227, 228, 234; 1992; 1995.120-21).

Depending as it does on detailed knowledge of Schliemann's notebooks and correspondence, the debate has become rather inaccessible to non-Schliemannologists. In fact it has more or less developed into a ping-pong match between David Traill and myself (Traill 1983, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1992; Easton 1981, 1984a, 1984b, 1992, 1994). But I think that there are good, easily comprehensible

reasons why the theory should be dismissed.

First, from early in 1872 Schliemann habitually drew all objects that he found. During the winter of 1872 he had them all photographed. Then during the 1873 season his new finds were drawn by an artist. Yet out of the 137 items and the 8750 gold beads in Priam's Treasure not a single one occurs in the earlier documentation. I do not believe that Schliemann was so well organised as to have been able to concoct a hoard without leaving some trace in these earlier records.

Second, only eight days before the alleged discovery of Priam's Treasure Schliemann did in fact find some silver vessels which would have made ideal pieces for the Treasure. Did he set them aside and include them in the later discovery? Not at all. He immediately mentioned them in his next dispatch, and always thereafter spoke of them as a separate treasure. Thus we have evidence that only a week before May 31st Schliemann was *not* compiling a phony hoard.

And third, all the objects in Priam's Treasure—with the possible exception of two earrings—are of a piece chronologically and culturally. They make a coherent group. This is something which we can appreciate after another 120 years of excavation at Troy and elsewhere, but which Schliemann was not in a position to know. I find it very difficult to believe that haphazard collection, tomb-robbing and purchases could have produced such a unified group.

Priam's Treasure has come under suspicion partly because Schliemann's initial account of the discovery, in his diary, is rather sketchy. It is suggested that at the time it was written the treasure was not yet complete. But we can see reasons for its sketchiness. May 31st was a busy day. Early in the morning the treasure came to light. Schliemann locked it away in his hut. There followed a violent contretemps with Amin Efendi, the government representative, who had caught wind of the find and wanted to see it. Two groups of unexpected visitors arrived, and there were 70-80 workmen to supervise. Come dusk, Amin Efendi, who had gone for reinforcements, was expected back from town at any time, and Schliemann hurriedly packed up the objects and sent them off the site. It is quite possible that by this time he had hardly had the chance to look at them.

So if, in this first account, he describes what we call a "sauceboat" as though it were a "champagne-glass" this is not necessarily sinister. He may have mis-remembered it or thought it had been squashed out of shape. And if in that diary-entry there is total silence concerning the jewellery, this too is not necessarily sinister. He himself says that he found it all in a silver tankard, and the coiled-up state of four gold torques is entirely consistent with this. What if, on that hasty night at Troy, he never emptied out the tankard, but did so only when reunited with it in Athens? That would explain the apparently shocking discrepancy.

One must admit, however, that Schliemann himself has compounded the whole problem, and in several ways. As time passed he increasingly said that the treasure had been found not *outside* the citadel wall of Troy II (where it really was found) but *on* or *inside* the wall. This was probably an innocent piece of semi-conscious rationalising so as to have the treasure contemporary with Priam; but if you are looking for lies of course it seems suspicious. Not so innocent was his smoke-screen over the date of discovery, designed to protect those who had smuggled it out of Turkey; or the really stupid lie that Sophie had been present and witnessed the whole discovery. He later explained that he was trying to give his young bride a sense of involvement.

One can see that there is dishonesty in Schliemann. He smuggled out valuables, he covered over his tracks, he lied to get what he wanted, he liked to portray himself in a favorable light. One can find exaggerations, misinterpretations and sloppy reporting. But the deliberate making-up of evidence, the invention of data in his excavations, is something which has not yet (I think) been demonstrated. I do not think that falsification is a very serious issue in Schliemann's archaeology. What is a serious issue is the quality of his work.

How Good Was Schliemann as an Archaeologist?

Let us take the question in the round. The perfect archaeologist needs a number of attributes. Which did Schliemann have? Money and drive: these are the first essentials, and

Schliemann had plenty of both. He had made a fortune on the St. Petersburg stock exchange, and at his death his estate was valued at 15 million francs—72 million dollars in today's terms. He could afford to finance large-scale excavations out of his own pocket, and the publications afterwards. He worked a punishing schedule of long hours, long seasons, incessant writing, ceaseless travelling. He supervised the excavations almost single-handed.

What did he *not* have? He did not have unmixed motives. Emil Ludwig's classic biography characterised him as a gold-seeker. The presentation is a bit Wagnerian—Ludwig compares him with Alberich—but there is some truth in it (Ludwig 1932.236). He was already smuggling finds out of Turkey in 1870, and he was still at it twenty years later, in the last year of his life. One should say that in this he was not on his own, as he seems to have had plenty of help and encouragement from the diplomatic community—American, Italian, British and Greek. And it is not entirely surprising. He was a money-conscious business man, spending out of his own resources an annual sum of nearly half a million dollars (in modern terms) on the excavations. He wanted some tangible return, even if, like Priam's Treasure, it became a white elephant.

It is often said that Schliemann was the first to test the "Homeric question" with the spade. This is not true. The site at that time generally believed to be Homer's Troy was Pinarbasi, a hilltop site at the south end of the Trojan Plain. It had already been tested, with just this question in mind, by the local expert, Frank Calvert, and by Consul von Hahn. And when Schliemann followed on with some soundings in 1868, it was not with the idea of *disproving* the identification, although that is how Schliemann later presented the story. He had not prepared the way by careful reading; so he was not, as has been claimed, consciously trying to "verify a hypothesis" or to find a "best fit" between facts and competing hypotheses. His approach, much less sophisticated, was simply that the previous excavations had suggested that there was no preclassical occupation there, but the guide-books told him that it was Troy, and he wanted them to be right. He was disappointed.

He then dug at Hisarlik, not because he had weighed the evidence, but because Frank Calvert had told him to (see further Allen's paper in this volume). He did not bring to the task much initial knowledge of the literature, or much sophistication of

thought. He came into archaeology in an intuitive rush, in a mid-life crisis, and the scholarship, reasoning and excavation-technique all had to be developed later. And were they?

It is clear that as an excavator Schliemann grew with experience. But from 1882 he was joined by a very talented young architect, Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Thereafter both the acuity of observation and the standard of recording in his publications improve very noticeably. Lack of documentation makes it difficult to determine how much of this improvement was due to the arrival of Dörpfeld and how much to the development of Schliemann. I think it is largely for this reason that opinions about Schliemann differ so widely. Most verdicts look at best subjective, at worst prejudiced.

His digging-methods were initially crude, using winches, crowbars and battering rams. But his strategy was not stupid. He opened a trench on the summit of the mound, and a trench down the side; and when he found the period of greatest interest he tried to expose it over a large area. He was perfectly able, with experience, to distinguish Early Bronze Age architecture from Late Bronze Age or Roman. He was not so good at disengaging mudbrick walls from the surrounding mudbrick debris, but we all know that that can be difficult. He saw the need to make plans of all the structures visible at the end of each season; unfortunately, in the earlier years, a lot was removed during the seasons without record.

Stratigraphy was one of his strong points, but it is not true to say that Schliemann was an innovator in this. Within Near Eastern archaeology he looks like one, but this is because there had been no European work of any consequence in the region since the Crimean War. But an interest in the significance of soil-strata had been developing elsewhere, and Schliemann had been alerted to their importance both by Frank Calvert, who had an interest in geology, and by Emile Burnouf, Director of the French School of Archaeology in Athens. As a result he became conscientious about noting major soil-differences and in thinking about what they meant. (Small ones he was usually not concerned with.) Broadly he understood the complicated structure of the mound at Hisarlik; he recognised that later material could occur low down around the edge of the mound, and he understood why. This is a first: no one

before had attempted to apply the principles of stratigraphy to such a large and complex site. It was only Dörpfeld who, by 1890, had the skill to pursue the analysis with precision and convey it on paper. Yet he too had had to learn. When he joined Schliemann in 1882 he persuaded him to accept an understanding of the multiple burnt strata of Troy II-III which, as we now know, was less accurate than that previously reached by Schliemann.

Schliemann dug without the benefit of a three-dimensional system of co-ordinates. He had no fixed points from which to measure the position of any building or object. I do not know how many excavators did. It is, at any rate, one cause of some of the confusions in his notebooks. But he did make an attempt at a spatial record. He described where he was working by measuring in from the edge of the mound and down from the surface. Each evening or two he would draw into his diary the day's finds, each with a note of the depth (in round figures) at which it had been found. He does this with surprising regularity throughout 1872 and 1873. The later notebooks are all missing until 1890, by which time he is tired and ill and has gone "off." The only problem is that he left no proper contour-plan to show where he was measuring from.

We do, though, have an impressionistic sketch of the original shape of the mound and a number of spot-heights for the surface; so a contour plan can be reconstructed. It seems to be fairly accurate when used at a small scale. This means that the door is opened to a reinterpretation of the whole excavation, with the possibility of locating buildings and objects only vaguely placed before, and of building up outline stratigraphies for each area that Schliemann dug. Fine stratigraphy is of course out of the question. One cannot identify pits. But it does mean that when it comes to excavation records Schliemann is not a hopeless case.

But in any event he knew how to compensate for his own weaknesses. His greatest assistant was undoubtedly Dörpfeld. Indeed, it is an old *bon mot* (which I do not entirely endorse) that Dörpfeld was his greatest discovery. Dörpfeld was a careful and observant man, who kept meticulous notebooks, and whose record of the architecture is still a monument of astute and skilled fieldwork. After Schliemann's death he continued work with two massive campaigns which completely changed what was then known of Troy.

But Schliemann also gathered around himself a wider specialist team: photographers, draughtsmen, surveyors, a physical anthropologist, people who could comment on the plant remains, the local flora, numismatics, ancient history. He had chemical analyses done of some of the metal artefacts. In all this he was surprisingly modern, and it is often this very far-sighted range of activities which is referred to when Schliemann is described as the father of scientific archaeology. It all reveals him as a natural prehistorian.

Did he, though, have an equal interest in all periods of the site as an archaeologist should? He did distinguish first five, then seven, then nine separate periods; and his books do describe the characteristics of each. Intellectually he found it all of interest. But there is no escaping the fact that what he was really interested in was the period he thought to be Priam's Troy. This was the only period whose architecture he recorded fully. Most of the rest was swept away—haste was his besetting sin—until Dörpfeld persuaded him to a more disciplined approach.

Here, with his determination to uncover Priam's Troy, we encounter both a strength and a weakness. One of his greatest strengths is that he had a genuine historical interest. He was not just a gold-seeker. He did not want to dig at the rich sites of Motya or Cyzicus because, to him, there was "no archaeological problem to solve" (Döhl 1981.87). What he wanted was to uncover the Homeric world, to know whether it existed, whether the Trojan War happened.

But here also is a weakness. He was not very good at separating fact from interpretation. It is a recurrent problem in Schliemann. The burnt citadel of Troy II *was* Troy; the gate *was* the Scaean Gate; the building inside the gate *was* Priam's palace, and the treasure *was* Priam's Treasure. He learnt to express himself more carefully as the years passed, but one still detects the underlying conviction. And he was wrong. Even in 1872 Frank Calvert could see from the pottery that Troy II had to be hundreds of years too early to be the Troy of the Trojan War, a point finally proved by the discovery of Mycenaean pottery in Troy VI in 1890.

We are now much more aware that archaeology does not necessarily give the answers to historical questions. It has its own story to tell; but when related to history it gives something more

like a series of snapshots: mute frames from a lost film. To recover the script you need documents. But this brings us to the question:

Did Schliemann Discover Troy?

This is a portmanteau question, containing several different issues. First, did Schliemann discover the site? The answer to this is “no.” The site of Hisarlik was first noted either by Richard Pococke in 1740 or by the French engineer Franz Kauffer in 1793. The first person to identify it as Classical Ilium was Edward Daniel Clarke, who did so in 1801 on the basis of coins and inscriptions. The first person to identify it as Homer’s Troy was the Scottish publisher Charles Maclaren (1820). And the first person to undertake excavations was John Brunton—an engineer building a British civil hospital nearby at modern Güzelyali during the Crimean War. His work seems to have been extremely brief. He was followed in 1863 and 1865 by Frank Calvert, who actually owned a part of the site and who tried unsuccessfully to interest the British Museum. So there is no accurate sense in which we can say that Schliemann discovered the site. The same goes for Frank Calvert. What is true is that Schliemann was the first person to dig it on a large scale.

But was it Troy that he dug? The Greeks who lived on the site from 730 BCE would have said that it was. They believed that their city, Ilion, was built on the site of Priam’s Troy. This was the general belief of classical antiquity, accepted by Xerxes, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Augustus. And it can be argued that this was the site which Homer had in mind when he sang of Troy. There is no doubt that he sets the events of the Iliad somewhere in the Trojan Plain; and had he visited the area in the eighth century he would have been aware of a ruined castle dominating the plain, and of a ruined lower town still partly visible. Those ruins stem from what we now know to have been a Late Bronze Age city, and they are certainly in the right place. What we still lack is the inscriptional evidence to prove that in the Late Bronze Age it really was called Troy.

When Schliemann claimed to have discovered Troy, what he really meant, of course, was that he had proved the historicity of the Trojan War. This is still the popular received view of his achievement: that in the face of academic pedantry he established

the historicity of the Trojan War.

He presented his argument as though it depended on the material evidence: a burnt layer, a gate, a supposed tower, two-handled goblets, figurines, all from Troy II. We now know that none of this is unique. Comparable arguments were used by Dörpfeld in favour of Troy VI and by Blegen in favour of Troy VIIa—three different sets of material evidence all supposed to prove the same identification and authenticate the same event. It all goes to show that the argument has never really depended on the excavated evidence at all, but on faith in the historical value of Homer—which at Troy archaeology has neither confirmed nor refuted. And it is not too much to Schliemann's discredit that he was a believer and argued in the way he did. His successors did the same.

Was He Then a Hero Or a Fraud?

You cannot realistically say that he discovered Troy or proved the historicity of the Trojan War. You cannot realistically say that he was pioneer of a new science, although he was surprisingly modern in some respects. He was no model of honesty and his motives were not unmixed. But you cannot say, either, that he faked his finds or cooked his results.

He had a real desire to enquire, to investigate, to communicate his results. All this he did with great energy, at no expense spared, in the glare of publicity. In time he became an expert. And he had an instinct for the big question. His lasting achievement was to open up Aegean prehistory, and to create a world-wide enthusiasm for archaeology—of which we are products and from which we still benefit.

If by "hero" you mean a faultless idol, a clean-cut guy, a paragon of all necessary virtues, then Schliemann fails the test by a considerable margin. But if you mean: a flawed human being, sometimes confused, sometimes mistaken, dishonest, inadequately equipped, who sets all his energies to one great end and who, despite his faults, changes the picture in a whole subject and leaves behind a lasting legacy of information and enthusiasm—then I think he might pass. ■

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A Personal Sacrifice in the Interest of Science: Calvert, Schliemann, and the Troy Treasures

Susan Heuck Allen

Frank Calvert (1828-1908) was a British subject who served the interests of the United States as their consul at the Dardanelles from 1874 until his death [Fig. 1]. In 1845 at the age of sixteen he had moved from Malta to the Dardanelles to join members of his family already established with his uncle who was the British consul. Calvert quickly became captivated by the historic landscape and began looking for archaeological sites connected with Homer and Strabo, several of which he later excavated. Much of his life was bound up with Hisarlik and Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890).

Calvert was not the first to recognize and map the location of an archaeological site at Hisarlik. That was done in 1793 by Franz Kauffer. Nor was Calvert first to suggest that Homer's Troy lay at Hisarlik, a theory first propounded by Scottish journalist and armchair archaeologist Charles Maclaren. Calvert was not even the first to dig into the mound, for that had been done by local Turks who had been



Fig. 1: Frank Calvert, detail of family photograph of 1866. Courtesy of Elizabeth Bacon.



Fig. 2: Thymbra Farm, estate belonging to Frederick Calvert and his descendants. Courtesy of Candace Bacon Cordella.

pillaging the tell for building stone for at least fifty years and by John Brunton, a British engineer who had turned loose 150 idle soldiers in a treasure hunt at several sites, including Hisarlik, in return for a day's extra ration of stout in 1856. (For more on the history of interest in Hisarlik, see Easton's paper in this volume.)

Calvert was, however, the first archaeologist to excavate the mound with the specific intent of proving that it covered the ruins of Priam's city. He was not just a dreamy Romantic looking for the rosy ruins of the past, for he knew the Plain of Troy well and had excavated more than a dozen archaeological sites throughout the Troad. In the course of exploring his brother's estates and guiding Europeans through the landscape, Calvert had discovered, identified and/or excavated many sites including Hisarlik, recognized as the site of Ilium Novum, the Greco-Roman city whose architectural remains littered the surface of a hill about two and a half miles from his elder brother's estate, Thymbra Farm [Fig. 2]. Calvert himself had owned the eastern half of the mound since the 1850s and, before digging there, had already conducted excavations at Pinarbasi, the hilly inland site that most scholars since Jean-Baptiste Chevalier connected with Troy, and

investigated another putative Troy in the Scamander plain between his brother's farm house and Hisarlik.

After refuting Chevalier's popular theory of Pinarbasi as the site of ancient Troy, Calvert turned his eye toward Hisarlik in 1863. He excavated along the steep north slope of the mound, the highest area of his land, and found and identified the remains *in situ* of the Temple of Athena built by Alexander the Great's general Lysimachus and completed in the early third century BCE. He dug down one meter, but found it very difficult to proceed due to the dense concentration of architectural remains. To the southeast he cleared the area of a theater, now known as the Roman Bouleuterion (see Rose's paper in this volume), eventually hitting what he thought was rock in both areas. In September of the same year, he approached the British Museum with a plan for excavating the site. Under the terms of his proposal he would give the museum all finds to which he was entitled as landowner. Aside from a mere £100 start-up money, he asked only for the privilege of directing the excavations and having his name associated with the results. Yet the museum formally declined his generous proposal.

Calvert was not independently wealthy and was working alone without the benefit of institutional support or private patronage. Critical to an understanding of the museum's decision were the circumstances that effectively destroyed Calvert's confidence, his source of patronage, and his promising archaeological career. In 1861 his elder brother Frederick, seventeen years British consul at the Dardanelles and supporter of Calvert's archaeological endeavors, became involved in a quick profit shipping deal that backfired when the native who masterminded the scheme framed the elder Calvert and disappeared with the advances. After the non-appearance of the ship, which later proved fictitious, Frederick Calvert was indicted for insurance fraud due to a claim for valuable goods lost. In desperation at his presumed guilt, Frederick Calvert absconded, lost his position and was declared bankrupt.¹ Although Frank Calvert was then at the pinnacle of his career: honorary member of the Archaeological Institutes of Great Britain and Rome, a published author, and an experienced excavator, he could not combat the irreversible effects of the scandal that destroyed the family's honor and financial base.

For two years Frank Calvert continued to probe the Hisarlik

mound on his own. In his northern trenches he continued to a depth of three to four and a half meters. He discovered that the foundations of all of the buildings were laid on "accumulated rubbish," but he found no pottery which could have helped in establishing a date for this debris (Calvert 1873). In his northeast trench he hit remains of a massive Roman wall.² In the end, the very richness of the overlay of Ilion/Ilium Novum defeated him.

As a seasoned archaeologist, Calvert understood that architectural remains were dated by the pottery found associated with them. He alone knew what prehistoric pottery in the Troad looked like, for he was the only individual who had ever excavated prehistoric remains in the area and was thus fully aware that none of the ceramics he had found at Hisarlik were prehistoric;³ there the earliest pottery dated from the Archaic period. But what of the unfamiliar "rubbish"? Although he had extended the site's history back in time more than a hundred years with the Archaic sherds, he still had no firm proof of his conviction regarding the prehistoric Bronze Age remains. Calvert had announced his findings in 1865, but the brief note attracted little attention since he had not mentioned the early remains nor ventured to claim that he had found Priam's citadel.

Following the principles of stratigraphy, Calvert knew he should find the earlier Homeric remains below the later debris. Instead, he found the "rubbish" and what he thought was rock. Nothing agreed with the material he had excavated elsewhere and judged to be "Homeric" in date.⁴ Although "for long years" the excavating of Troy had been his "particular ambition," he stopped, presumably due to lack of time and funds.

Frederick Calvert reappeared in 1867 after five years in hiding. Early in 1868 he was summarily tried, convicted, and imprisoned. Within a few months Schliemann arrived in the Troad. He had met a German architect in Athens who had told him about Pinarbasi where he believed he would find Troy. After a day and a half at Pinarbasi, searching and finding next to nothing, Schliemann became discouraged and quit. On 15 August on his way out of the Troad, Schliemann met Frank Calvert who showed him his handsome collection of artifacts from Hisarlik and elsewhere in the Troad. Calvert confided in Schliemann his conviction that Hisarlik was Homer's Troy and demonstrated the

site's potential with objects in his own collection, persuading Schliemann that Homer's fabled city lay buried in the mound, awaiting the spade. Calvert decided then and there in the interest of science to make an enormous personal sacrifice by offering to let Schliemann excavate on his land. Schliemann left elated and convinced, having transformed defeat into victory.

Since 1866 Schliemann had been attending the meetings of learned societies in Paris, seeking to establish a place for himself within the scholarly community there. Homer aside, prehistoric archaeology was "hot" at that moment. Conceptually it had evolved in Denmark where Christian Thomsen and Jens Worsaae recognized the relative chronology of materials from which prehistoric humans had fashioned tools, and coined the terms Stone, Bronze and Iron Age for eras represented by the changes in technology. John Lubbock, a protégé of Charles Darwin, wrote the instant best-seller, *Prehistoric Times*, in 1865. Schliemann must have realized the opportunity that Calvert had handed him. He could make a name for himself by excavating Calvert's site, build a personal collection of artifacts to rival the one that had persuaded him to proceed,⁵ and prove to the world that Hisarlik was the site of ancient Troy.

Unlike the overly cautious Calvert, Schliemann boasted that he had found Troy before he ever excavated the site. In fact, he made that claim several times with respect to remains of widely divergent dates. In his eagerness to be accepted by the public and to penetrate the closed halls of academe, he continually made sensational claims for the humble remains that he uncovered in his first seasons of sanctioned excavations at the prehistoric tell.

When Calvert pointed out that Schliemann's "Homeric" walls on the surface were later and postdated even those of the Lysimachus temple, Schliemann dug deeper and deeper, eventually reaching virgin soil at a depth of sixteen meters. Perplexed and depressed by the queer and unfamiliar prehistoric remains, Schliemann assigned Homer's Troy to the second stratum from the bottom. Calvert disagreed and wrote to Schliemann that there was a 1000-year gap between these early prehistoric remains and the Archaic Greek pottery (dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE and later) which he himself had excavated. When Schliemann refused to acknowledge this, Calvert published his

assessment in the *Levant Herald* on 4 February 1873, the English-language newspaper of Constantinople. After dating Schliemann's prehistoric strata to between 2200 and 1800 BCE via parallel assemblages from Ur in Mesopotamia, Calvert specifically charged that the gap included the era traditionally assigned to the Trojan War. Already disbelieved by many, Schliemann felt his support eroding so he lashed out, attacking Calvert in the press. At the same time Calvert understandably believed himself seriously cheated by the man he had helped in good faith.⁶ At this point Schliemann and Calvert ceased communication.

Just when Schliemann most needed a miracle, he got one. On 31 May, 1873 Schliemann struck pay dirt with a find of silver, gold, and bronze objects that he later named the "Treasure of Priam," the most spectacular of twenty-one "treasures" found at the site. A recent tally of the items in precious metals alone noted: a golden sauceboat, "two gold vessels, one of electrum, and nine of silver, six silver ingots, six gold bracelets, two gold headdresses, one golden diadem, four golden basket-earrings with pendant chains, 56 golden shell earrings, and 8750 gold beads, sequins, and studs" (Easton 1994.226). In addition the treasure contained many bronze weapons and tools (eight spearheads, thirteen daggers, fourteen flat axes, three chisels, one saw and several blades) and three bronze vessels.

The treasure was placed in a stone cist or box and deposited amongst the unrecorded buildings which Schliemann discovered above the remains of the then covered line of an earlier phase of the Troy II fortification wall on the western side of the citadel (Easton 1984 and 1994). The material is all of Early Bronze Age date, in late Troy II (2600 - 2480/20 BCE), with numerous parallels in the neighboring areas of the northeastern Aegean and western Anatolia.⁷ Views vary as to whether it was deposited as a hoard or part of a cist grave, but it clearly testifies to great wealth attained by individuals at Hisarlik in the late third millennium BCE.

Without informing Frank Calvert of the find, Schliemann duplicitously referred to it as "a little broken pottery" in a desperate letter to Calvert's brother Frederick. Subsequently, he smuggled the undisclosed contents out of the Troad, using the elder Calvert's farm house at Thymbra as a temporary safe haven [Fig. 2]. With the help of his own overseer, Schliemann successfully removed the

treasure from the Ottoman Empire to Athens, in complete defiance of the terms of his excavation permit. Frank Calvert was outraged and anonymous protests appeared in local papers condemning Schliemann's actions.

In 1873 laws were in force to safeguard antiquities discovered in Turkey. The purpose of these laws was to enrich the new Imperial Ottoman Museum, established in Constantinople four years earlier. In practice, most excavators found ways around the laws, but were reasonably discreet about their exports. Indeed, in 1872 the U.S. chargé d'affaires had cautioned Schliemann that if he found any gold or silver he should put it in his pocket. Moreover, after Schliemann had smuggled the treasure out of Turkey, the U.S. minister privately recommended that Schliemann keep silent, but not return the objects he had smuggled out. He never did return them, but he also could not keep silent. Within weeks of his successful smuggling operation he announced to the world that he had bearded the Ottoman authorities and had to suffer the consequences.

Schliemann was a fiercely competitive individual and viewed himself as being in competition with Calvert as he strove to discover the Homeric remains that had successfully eluded his predecessor. Just as he had eclipsed Calvert's collection of antiquities with the discovery of "Priam's Treasure," he would outbuild the Calverts (Allen 1995b, fig.3) with the planned construction of his monumental neoclassical house in Athens. Yet, even after exceeding Calvert in all these respects, Schliemann continued to belittle and discredit his benefactor.

Nevertheless, while others questioned the authenticity of "Priam's Treasure," Calvert stood up for the man who had so maligned him. "Although I have not seen the objects themselves—only photographs of them—I believe that Dr. Schliemann did discover a number of gold and silver ornaments at Hisarlik," while, at the same time, he denied their connection with Priam. When similar finds were seized from pilfering workmen in December 1873, Calvert wrote the press, "Dr. Schliemann has now the clearest proofs" against the rumors that the treasures had been manufactured. Calvert, however, was careful to reiterate that Schliemann's second stratum, the one of the treasures, was too old to be associated with Priam's Troy. Furthermore, he urged the

establishment of a fund to finance “energetic able men” who could pursue a course of “intelligent investigations” at Hisarlik and presumably he wished to be included in this group. Schliemann responded by writing Calvert out of the site’s history in the introduction to his 1874 publication, *Troy and its Remains*.

In the introduction to this book, where Schliemann sketched the entire history of excavations in the Troad, he omitted Calvert altogether. Elsewhere, in his field reports which became chapters and which were written after their falling-out, he portrayed Calvert, who had actually facilitated Schliemann’s work at Troy, as Calvert the adversary. Meanwhile, in a series of published letters to the *Athenaeum* and the *Guardian* in London, Calvert tried to set the record straight, stating that it was he who first convinced Schliemann of the identity of Hisarlik as Troy and persuaded him to excavate there. He wrote that it was he who had found the Athena temple and pointed out that Schliemann himself had published the plan that showed Calvert’s trenches on the mound (Traill 1993 and 1995). Then he expressed regret that Schliemann was so enthusiastic as to be induced “either to suppress or to pervert every fact brought to light that could not be reconciled with the *Iliad*.” And yet in the end, it was Schliemann’s enthusiasm coupled with his persistence and wealth, that caused him to surpass Calvert.

With the excavation and promotion of “Priam’s Treasure,” Schliemann firmly established himself as the premier excavator of Troy, forever relegating Calvert to the dust bin of history. As for Calvert, even if he had excavated anything as remarkable as the treasure, in all probability he never would have promoted it as Schliemann had, whipping up a frenzy among European museum directors who secretly vied to purchase the treasure and governments which expected it as a gift.

Subsequently, Schliemann hid the treasure in Athens as he sought to defend his actions in a lawsuit brought by the Ottoman Government. In December 1874 the U.S. minister promised to “cover ... [Schliemann and the treasure] with the American eagle’s powerful protection.” Schliemann, in turn, tantalized him with the veiled suggestion that the treasure and the larger collection might come to Boston, but when the Ottoman Government terminated their suit in return for Schliemann’s cash payment of FF50,000

(£2000), Schliemann buried the treasure in an Athenian bank vault. In other secret negotiations with London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, Schliemann the former commodities trader marketed the treasure and accompanying collection superbly. As a result of his warm reception in England, a personal promise to British prime minister William Ewert Gladstone, and a hope that the British Museum might purchase it, Schliemann exhibited the Trojan Collection first in London from 1877 to 1880. For three years roughly 4000 objects remained on view at the South Kensington Museum behind heavy glass and protected from crowds by armed guards.

In 1877 Calvert had sent the cream of his own collection for auction at Sotheby's in London. But with the world's attention focussed on Schliemann's spectacular finds from Troy and Mycenae, little fanfare greeted Calvert's offering. Whereas European museums were tripping over each other in their attempts to secure Schliemann's Trojan Collection valued at £50,000, Calvert's corpus was broken into lots and, in the end, brought less than £200. Some of the items which Calvert had not sent to England were later purchased by Schliemann. Others combined with those excavated by Calvert after 1877 remained for the most part in Calvert's possession at the Dardanelles (modern Çanakkale). In the two decades following Calvert's death in 1908, they endured revolution, counter-revolution, earthquakes, and four wars before the Calvert family finally gave them to the new Çanakkale Archaeological Museum in the 1930's (Allen 1997b).

Meanwhile, the final resting place for Schliemann's collection was far from fixed. When the South Kensington Museum staff requested that Schliemann remove his material to make way for other exhibitions in December 1880, he abruptly sent the entire collection to Berlin as a gift to the German people. Twenty-one "treasures" and assorted bits and pieces from Troy, including architectural sculpture from the temple of Athena, were now in Germany. During the next fifty-odd years, the collection would move back and forth between the Martin Gropius Bau and the Ethnographical Museum where a room had been dedicated to Schliemann since its founding in 1885. In 1939 the most valuable of Schliemann's treasures were crated and stowed in the cellar of the Museum for Prehistory and Early History in the Martin Gropius

Bau (Easton 1994). One container held all of the gold and some of the silver from "Priam's Treasure" as well as precious axes that Schliemann (without Calvert's knowledge or that of the Ottoman Government) had looted from Calvert's half of the mound in 1890, the last year of Schliemann's life. Additional silver objects and architectural fragments were boxed independently and were thus separated.

As the intensity of the war increased and concern about Berlin mounted, the most valuable material was removed from the cellar to a bank vault. After being held there for a time, it was transferred to a massive anti-aircraft structure known as the Flak Tower, built in the Berlin zoo between 1941 and 1942. Behind eight-foot-thick walls the treasures resided with Nefertiti's head, the disassembled Altar of Zeus from Pergamon, and other major treasures of the Berlin museums. In February 1945 some of the tower's treasures were evacuated to castles, caves, monasteries, and salt mines in Bavaria. But Schliemann's most precious troves were still there when the Flak Tower was surrendered and the Soviets raised their flag on the Reichstag.

For almost fifty years the fate of "Priam's Treasure" was unknown. Had the Nazis melted down the gold jewelry? Was it looted or destroyed in the Battle of Berlin? No one seemed to know. With the end of the Cold War, the veil of secrecy covering Soviet actions in World War II was lifted and the case of the missing treasure was finally cracked by a Russian and Ukrainian art historian and former museum curator, Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov. Poring over recently declassified files, they discovered that after Soviet troops had taken the zoo tower, they had systematically emptied it of its treasures and sent them to Moscow.

In 1994 European and American scholars were permitted to view the artifacts and pronounced them authentic (Easton 1995). With great international fanfare "Priam's Treasure" and equally valuable material from Schliemann's other treasures went on exhibit to the public in Moscow for the first time in 57 years on 15 April 1996. Since the announcement of their rediscovery, the newly surfaced treasures have riveted the attention of scholars and the public all over the world as once again governments do battle for their ownership. The governments of Germany, Turkey, Russia,

and Greece have all weighed in with their claims and an individual claim is being considered by descendants of Frank Calvert's brother, Frederick Calvert, but so far there is no resolution in sight. One appropriate home would be the new national park to be established in the Troad (see Korfmann's paper in this volume), perhaps on land which Frank Calvert generously gave to the Ottoman government in 1900. Without Calvert, Schliemann's genius might never have been unleashed at Hisarlik and the treasures might never have been found. As the world's attention is refocused on Hisarlik, Schliemann, and the treasures, Calvert's shadow is not far away. One can only hope that their two collections so buffeted by fate may be united once more at their place of origin in the Troad. ■

Notes

- 1 Marcelle Robinson discovered the documents regarding this affair in the Public Record Office. She mentions this affair, but interprets the documents very differently (see Robinson 1994 and 1995).
- 2 He later declared that he had missed the famous northeast bastion, excavated by W. Dörpfeld in 1893-1894, by only one meter!
- 3 In 1856 Calvert had excavated prehistoric ceramics at Hanay Tepe, a site on his brother's land, and published an illustration of a prehistoric vase from that site in 1859.
- 4 I.e. at Hanay Tepe, the Bronze Age site on his brother's property.
- 5 In the course of his excavations he continually badgered Calvert into accepting very low valuations for major finds which one had to buy from the other since according to their gentleman's agreement they had to split finds equally. Due to his financial situation Calvert never bought from Schliemann (Traill 1993 and 1995).
- 6 See footnote 5.
- 7 Easton 1997 suggests a date of 2150 B.C. for the end of Troy II.

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The Place of Troy Among the Civilizations of the Bronze Age

James C. Wright

Long before the era of Helen, Troy was already a place to be reckoned with. The recent reappearance of the treasures from the second city of Troy is vivid testimony to its centrality during the Early Bronze Age, that is, during the third millennium BCE. Troy's continuing development throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages bears witness to the importance of this settlement. But on what basis do archaeologists establish Troy's importance? How did this settlement compare, at different periods during its occupation, with other places? What was unique about Troy that set it apart from them? Or was Troy merely one important settlement among many?

To begin to answer these questions let us consider the uniqueness of Troy's location. We need only turn to a map and consider Istanbul. This great city lies at the axis of East and West, is known as a gateway between Europe and Asia, was capital of the Byzantine and Turkish Empires and finds itself today energized as the key port for many Balkan, Eastern European, and Central Asian countries, not the least of which is Russia (Fig. 1). In the late Roman and Byzantine period Istanbul was the capital of the great emperor Constantine and was known simply as "the city", so that if someone asked you where you were going you replied "to the city", which in Greek is "eis ten polin", whence the name Istanbul. The land routes lead to the city from the east—from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Syria; and from the west—from Thrace, Greece, the Balkans, and Europe. By water one may come from any of the great rivers that feed into the Black Sea, the Danube from Central Europe and the Bug, the Dniester, and the Dnieper from the Ukraine and Russia. To the south the Aegean Sea opens onto the Mediterranean with its ports in the Middle East, Egypt and the Nile delta, the North African, Italian and Spanish coasts, and ultimately, the Atlantic. Just as much as this location defines Istanbul today, it also defined the place of Troy in antiquity.

But there is a difference, one thoroughly examined by Professor



Fig. 2: Paleogeographic reconstruction of the vicinity of Troy, ca. 1250 BCE (Troy VI and VII), after George Rapp, Jr. and John Gifford, ed., *Troy, The Archaeological Geology* (Princeton 1982), p. 36.

Korfmann (1986) as he began his current campaign. This is the location of Troy not on the Bosphorus, but at the southern end of the Dardanelles on the western end of the Troad. Early geological research by John Kraft, İlhan Kayan and Oguz Erol (1982) had established that the landforms around Troy had changed significantly since the last ice age. In particular their analyses suggested that Troy was originally closer to the sea than it appears today, since the Simoes and Scamander rivers have dumped much alluvium that has moved the shoreline northwards over the

millennia (Fig. 2). More recent work by Professor Kayan, a member of Professor Korfmann's team, has refined our understanding of Troy's proximity to the coast during the Early Bronze Age and also shown that the embayment at Beşik southwest of Troy was deeper and afforded excellent protection for ships making their way to and from the Dardanelles (Kayan 1991, 1995). Remains of settlement there testify to the use of this harbor, and it seems clear that this last safe harborage before heading into the swift currents of the Dardanelles, was central to the establishment of Troy as the gatekeeper to the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea. Thus Troy's position seems to bespeak the prevalence of sea-voyaging during the Bronze Age, while control of land routes may have been more incidental to the city's fortune.

Clearly, so long as Troy was able to exploit its geographic advantage, it could maintain itself as a powerful and wealthy settlement. This seems apparent when one examines the material remains. Under the guidance of Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Heinrich Schliemann's Bronze Age Troy was divided into seven levels, which extend from ca. 3,000 to ca. 1,100 BCE. Despite destructions and vicissitudes in the life of the city, the material remains from these levels demonstrate a remarkable continuity over this long span. Thus archaeological examination of the artifacts from the site, such as the pottery and the objects of metal and stone, as well as the architecture demonstrate continuity in settlement. Likewise, even though there are substantial changes in the form of the fortifications over time, there are remarkable consistencies. During the Early Bronze Age the circuit wall is enlarged between Troy level I and Troy level II, but within the latter the changes have most to do with the structure and organization of the gates and walls. These continuities are also seen in the architecture, which progresses from the early rectangular house type of the earliest phase of the EBA into a more monumental form as expressed by the great rectangular buildings of Troy IIC, known to archaeologists as *megara*, a word adopted from Homer.

If we look at Troy in comparison with other areas, we observe several things happening. First, Troy seems to keep pace with developments elsewhere. When other sites begin to be fortified, so does Troy. When other sites begin to manifest centralized monumental structures, whether they are houses of strong men or

chiefs, royal residences, or centralized storehouses, Troy has them, too. When other places begin to manufacture elaborate jewelry of gold and silver or make vessels, tools and weapons of bronze, Troy is equally engaged in these activities. Second, when we compare the forms of these artifacts with other areas, we find that Troy was in contact with many other areas, either directly or indirectly. Thus finds of jewelry, pottery, and weapons, among other kinds of artifacts, link Troy to other places in central Anatolia and to the region of Cilicia, to more distant Mesopotamia, possibly as far east as Afghanistan, north to the region of the Black Sea and into Russia and the Ukraine, northwest to the Balkans and even further north to the Baltic sea (where there are sources of amber), and also west and south to mainland Greece, the Aegean Sea, and the western coast of modern Turkey. Thus it is easy to generalize that Troy was an important center in contact with other major centers and exchanging goods and services and information.

When, however, we consider the forms of the material remains of Troy, the famous site is clearly part of a regional group which shared traditions in the manufacture of artifacts and traded among its members. The first of these, manufacturing traditions, suggests close ties, since we may infer constant transfer of technological information as well as, perhaps, of craftpersons for the manufacture of artifacts, especially ceramics and metal objects. Mechanisms for these ties could have been as informal as neighborly association or more formal through intermarriage and the establishment of kinship or through formal exchange and sharing of resources. The cultural area of the Troad and of the Aegean islands of Lemnos and Lesbos to the southwest exemplify the general geography of this region. Similarities in pottery shapes and decoration, in metallurgy, and in architecture demonstrate this kinship during the Early Bronze Age. As we move later in time, Troy seems to dominate this entire region, and this may be also understood by noting the increase in the size of Troy, not so much the citadel as the area of the city outside the walls, as Professor Korfmann's team has demonstrated in its recent campaigns (Becker and Jansen 1994, Jablonka 1994, Korfmann 1995).

If Troy emerged as a strong center controlling an ever increasing region of Northwest Turkey and the Northeastern Aegean Islands during the Bronze Age, we must also consider its

relationship to other regional areas. This is sometimes a difficult problem for archaeologists to sort out. Many factors affect the definition of a region and they are not always accessible to archaeologists. One of these is the economy, which will include agricultural, maritime, manufacturing, mercantile, and other activities. Social factors are also important, for example how different people identify themselves, such as whether they are kin-based, linguistic, racial, economic, ideological, and any mixture of these. Geography also plays a vital role, as I have already indicated in discussing Troy's special position.

How then do we assess the relationship of Troy and her surroundings to other areas? First I will turn to the region of the west coast of Turkey, extending from both the European and Asian sides of the Bosphorus down at least to Miletus, near modern Izmir. Excavation of Bronze Age sites along the west coast of Turkey has lagged in comparison to the study of classical Greek and Roman sites, partly because settlement of later periods obscures and has destroyed earlier remains. It is of interest, however, that where archaeological research has focused on Bronze Age levels in this region, the evidence indicates both strong local cultural forms, for example at Yortan, where a distinctly local pottery tradition existed. Many of the western Anatolian sites manifest stronger contact with the Aegean islands, and often even the Greek mainland, than with Troy. This may be explained in part by two observations of geography. The western Turkish sites are located along the alluvial plains of rivers which run from the mountainous eastern interior, westwards to the Aegean Sea. Much of the coast consists of small archipelagos which form natural links to the eastern Aegean islands (Fig.1). Miletos is a good example of this. Probably named *Millawanda* in the Hittite texts, Bronze Age Miletos has disclosed in several different campaigns of excavation an increasing volume of material that indicates its close ties to the Aegean, especially to Minoan Crete and to Mycenaean Greece (Güterbock and Mellink 1983; Niemeier 1996, 1997). It is located on a natural route of traffic between the Turkish mainland and the islands, and, through them to Crete at the south and to the mainland of Greece at the west. In contrast to this situation Troy is isolated in the northeastern corner of the region. Thus when there emerges evidence of interaction among the settlements of the



Fig. 3: Anatolia in Hittite times (locations marked with a triangle are conjectural), after S. Lloyd, *Ancient Turkey* (British Museum 1989) fig. 12.

Aegean basin, Troy's position is that of a powerful, respected, but distant neighbor. In this regard Troy is like settlements in northern Greece in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, poised on the periphery of the Aegean sphere of interaction.

In no way does this circumstance detract from appreciating Troy's critical position as a crossroads, and surely the history of Troy at this time is that of a strategic player who could command considerable access to core areas, such as Mesopotamia, and emerging areas, such as the Aegean. But Troy was only as strong as traffic that was interested in gaining maritime access to the Black Sea from the Aegean, or *vice versa*, and in gaining access to Europe from Asia, or *vice versa*.

This circumstance of Troy's location can also be appreciated by studying the second millennium BCE when the region of central Turkey began to be consolidated by the emerging local potentates at such sites as Kültepe—ancient *Kanesh*—and Acmehüyük—ancient *Burushanda*—and subsequently under the Hittites at Bogazköy and other Anatolian strongholds. When scholars investigate the geography of the Hittite empire through references in Hittite archival documents, the areas to the west are ambiguously referred to as regions and places or cities and peoples that were troublesome to and largely independent of the Hittites (Fig. 3). We know the names of these regions and places: *Arzawa*, *Assuwa*, *Millawanda*, *Ahhiyawa*, *Wilusa*, *Aḫasa*, *Laspa*, and so forth, but we are not certain of their precise location, nor are we clear of their political position within the Hittite empire. Troy and her region are clearly located on the periphery of this world.

In fact it can be argued that the Hittites were able to develop their powerful empire because they were located to take advantage of the many resources in central and eastern Turkey that had fueled the early states of Mesopotamia, which relied on the Tigris and Euphrates as a corridor for settlements which belonged to a trading network bringing raw materials from Central and Eastern Turkey into Mesopotamia. The routes of a trading network connecting these areas are well known; archaeologically they are documented with the earliest evidence of the rise of civilization, extending back into the 6th and 5th millennia BCE. During the 4th and 3rd millennia the great cities of Sumerian Mesopotamia—Ur, Uruk, and Kish, to name some of the more prominent cities—gave rise to

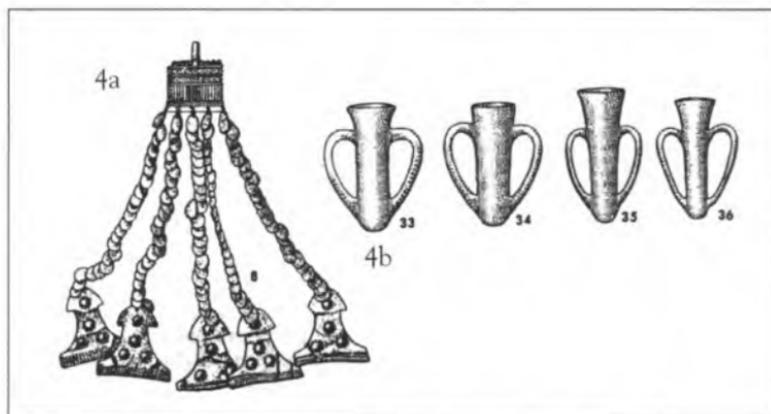


Fig. 4a and 4b: Early Bronze Age jewelry and pottery, after Hermann Müller-Karpe, *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte, III. Kupferzeit* (Munich 1974) plate 332.

the Akkadian empire, which consolidated the extensive commercial network that flourished along the Tigris and Euphrates basin and permitted the extension of control to reach from southern Iraq north and westwards to southeastern Turkey and modern Syria. Lying far to the northwest Troy is beyond the reach of this network. At best Troy was only a connective node along its outer periphery, providing access to exotic areas on the far horizon: northwestern Turkey, the Black Sea, the Balkans, and Europe.

Archaeologists make inferences about the economic, political and cultural interrelations among different areas through comparison of artifacts found at different places. In studying these distributions they are able to assess the intensity and degree of these relations and to understand the different forms of communication and exchange that existed in the past. Here we will examine the context of the treasures from Troy, which, it is generally agreed, fall between ca. 2400 and 2200 BCE, although some scholars have argued that the earliest group of material may be dated as early as 2650 BCE and others suggest the latest date might be in the 20th to 19th centuries BCE (Treister 1996: 225-29).

The Early Bronze Age is characterized by the production and exchange of manufactured objects. The development of such an economy encouraged an entirely different form and location of

settlement than had existed during the Neolithic era. People established settlements in locations where they had access to trade. A market economy developed that enabled communities to exist independent of the ability of the agricultural potential of the region. Thus we see for the first time the establishment of settlements, such as Troy, along coastlines and in strategic locations of transport. This economic market-driven network is characterized by Colin Renfrew as the "emergence of civilization," a term that is fitting since it implies the interdependence of many different societies over a wide geography. In the Aegean and Black Sea Basins Troy was a major player in this phenomenon.

Of course this transition occurred at different times in different places. In the Tigris-Euphrates basin in the fourth and third millennia the Akkadian empire was established. Thus it is very interesting to discover among the material found in the treasures from the second city of Troy (Fig. 4a) gold jewelry with similarities to jewelry found in Mesopotamia. Study of these similarities has not established direct connections and scholars are not in agreement as to whether the influences flowed primarily from Mesopotamia to Anatolia, from Anatolia to Mesopotamia, or both ways. In an article published in 1965, Dr. J. V. Canby proposed a mechanism for the exchange of ideas and objects (Canby 1965). She examined stone jeweler's molds. Studying the jewelry forms carved into them, she was able to plot the distribution of similar items of jewelry found in archaeological excavations throughout the Near East. Her conclusions demonstrated that the items represented on the molds were known from such disparate locations at Mesopotamia, Cilicia in SE Turkey, the Central highlands of Turkey, Troy, and the Aegean. Canby suggested that the best explanation for such a distribution would be to postulate the existence of a caravan route that extended from southern Mesopotamia into Syria-Cilicia and also up through central Anatolia linking finally to the west coast. An itinerant jeweler might have accompanied such a caravan and produced jewelry on the spot according to the tastes of different clients. More recently scholars have developed the notion of the exchange of prestigious items among elite leaders of early societies as forming important networks that created the basis for more formal economic exchange among states (Stech and Piggott 1986).

However one views the process of exchange, there is much in the Trojan treasures that represents a local tradition of jewelry making. The evidence for local workshops is strongly bolstered by the study of the copper and bronze industry at Troy and its neighboring communities. Evidence of materials for smelting and casting has been found in the form of terracotta tuyères, small pipes placed on bellows to direct the flow of air into a furnace, of crucibles which were used to heat and then pour molten metal, and of molds used in the production of articles. Likewise analysis of copper and bronze objects tracks the development of a sophisticated metallurgy, from early production of copper and of a form of bronze made from arsenic and copper to the more common bronze alloy of copper and tin. The development of a tin-bronze industry places Troy ahead of her neighbors in the Aegean, where local sources of copper encouraged metallurgy, but where access to tin was difficult (Muhly and Pernicka 1992; Treister 1996.229-34).

There has been much written about the ore sources that were used by Trojan metallurgists. Although there has been much analytical study to determine the major sources of copper ore exploited during the Early Bronze Age, there has been no satisfactory resolution to this matter as regards Trojan copper-working. Tamara Stech and Vincent Piggott have argued in favor of Afghanistan as the primary source of tin, a position long advocated by their colleague, James Muhly (Stech and Piggott 1986; Muhly 1985, 1993). This argument is perhaps strengthened by a similar argument for the source of lazurite, the stone from which one of the elaborate hammer-axes from the Troy treasure was made. If the tin used at Troy came from Afghanistan, then we have established two directions of contact between Troy and areas farther east. The first was based on the argument for the caravan route from Mesopotamia, and it may be amplified by comparing other objects found at Troy to sites along that route. A good example of this is the basket-shaped type of earring (Fig. 4a), which resembles objects from Ur so closely that they may have a common origin. Treister, in his recent assessment of the treasures (1996), has argued that the strong affinities between the Trojan and Mesopotamian jewelry argue for a direct connection and his implicit assumption is that these connections depend upon the exchange of prestigious objects among elites. The existence of jewelry such as the basket-shaped

earring at Poliochni on Lemnos in the northeastern Aegean is further evidence that this elaborate jewelry style was probably widely dispersed. Any survey of the material in the Trojan treasures naturally leads to the conclusion that the elite members of the Early Bronze Age society of Troy had access to abundant sources of gold and other precious metals, either as raw materials or as finished products. In trying to assess Troy's position relative to other societies of the Early Bronze Age, we may conclude that it was a production center from which finished products were disseminated. On the other hand, many of the objects found at Troy were products made elsewhere. Because of the abundance of jewelry, because of the many different types of jewelry, and because of the regional distribution of similar jewelry, Treister has argued that Troy was "one of the leading centers of jewelry-making in western Asia Minor and the Aegean during the middle to the third quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C." He also feels that Troy was a source for finished metal goods for the circumponitic region and central Anatolia. Evidence for this position depends upon one's interpretation of many of the finds from Troy. Raw materials have been identified by a number of scholars among the finds of the treasures, notably incised gold bars, gold bars with punched out holes (which Treister argues are left over from punching-out beads), and silver ingots identified in Treasure A by Dr. Easton (Treister 1996.214-16; Easton 1984). Stronger evidence is found in the discovery of implements associated with copper and bronze metal-working: crucibles, tuyères, and casting molds—evidence which is widely disseminated among sites within the Trojan region, such as the island settlements of Thermi on Lesbos and Poliochni on Lemnos.

In the central Aegean, among the islands known as the Cyclades, there is also some jewelry from burials of the Early Bronze Age. It is not, in fact, very common, nor is it widely distributed. Most of it comes from a few graves, and the richest of these are in the cemetery of Chalandriani on the island of Syros. It is limited to silver and may be all of local production. Further south, however, sites on the island of Crete have produced gold jewelry in some abundance. The small island site of Mochlos along the north coast of eastern Crete was apparently a very active settlement in close contact with the Cyclades. Discoveries of caches of gold jewelry in

tombs on the island provide interesting parallels to the Trojan material, for example pendants, leaves, and looped strands that bear technical and stylistic resemblance to the famous diadems from Troy, but in fact also bear striking similarities to pieces from much more distant Ur in Mesopotamia. These finds from Mochlos are not alone, for in the southern part of Crete, in the Mesara valley where the famous palace of Phaistos arose in the Middle Bronze Age, a collective tomb at Platanos also contained gold jewelry of this kind. For several reasons, however, we cannot assume that this distribution represents a direct link with Troy. The Aegean artifacts are not exactly the same as those from Troy and may have been manufactured elsewhere, even locally. Local sources of silver, and the possibility that the Aegean islanders had strong contact with sites other than Troy along the western coast of Anatolia and up its numerous rich river valleys must be taken into account. This is particularly the case since we know of substantial Early Bronze Age settlements with Aegean connection at such places as Iasos in Caria and Liman Tepe near ancient Klazomenae. If it is established some day that river valleys such as the Pactolus contained substantial deposits of gold that were exploited at this time, then these routes of connection may prove ultimately to be at least as important for the Aegean islands as Troy. Until then, however, Troy remains a strong candidate for the dissemination of products and of knowledge about jewelry production that has links eastwards to Ur.

The other matter to consider is that of the production of copper and bronze artifacts. Analysis of the artifacts from the northeastern Aegean and the Troad and of those from the Cyclades demonstrates that these areas originally developed independently. Much of the material from the former region consists of copper with naturally high contents of arsenic, which created an arsenical bronze alloy. Also there is early on a large number of artifacts with tin, such that the tin-bronze alloy was being used in the Troad. In contrast in the Cyclades abundant native sources of copper at Siphnos and other sites stimulated the mining and smelting of copper and the production of copper artifacts. Alloys are much less common in the Cyclades until later in the 3rd millennium when there is a dramatic shift to tin-bronze. This shift must be accounted for by the islanders gaining access to sources of tin, presumably from Anatolia, whether from deposits in the Taurus mountains

(and therefore through routes from them to the valley-systems of western Anatolia) or through Troy. The argument that Troy was a source for acquiring tin is strong when consideration is taken of the extent to which a tin-bronze industry was early established there.

This brief examination of the metallurgical evidence then argues for Troy's importance and centrality as a producer and transmitter of objects and technology. But we must reserve final judgment until more evidence from other yet undug or undiscovered sites is produced.

Turning to other categories of evidence, we can see that the same kinds of problems arise. Allow me to illustrate this by continuing to consider the evidence of sites in the Aegean. Although there is evidence of contact between the Aegean and Troy from at least the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, it is not until the end of the middle period (that is, Early Bronze Age II, ca. 2400 BCE according to the latest analysis of radiocarbon dates) that a strong and persistent appearance of Anatolian artifacts begins to appear at sites among the Aegean islands and on the Greek mainland. This event is often represented by the two-handled tankard, commonly known as the *depas amphikypellon* (Fig. 4b), a term used by Homer to describe the drinking cup of the heroes. But in fact the artifactual assemblage includes other kinds of cups, beakers, mugs, tankards, jugs, jars, and bowls. Moreover this assemblage also is accompanied by technological innovation, especially the advent of the wheel as represented by the introduction of wheelmade pottery, and by changes in pyrotechnology, as represented by pottery with a gray to black surface and paste, which is evidence of pottery kilns employing a reducing atmosphere. These changes transform pottery production on the mainland of Greece where these new pottery shapes, styles and technologies take root and persist throughout the Middle Bronze Age, notably in ways that strongly parallel developments in the later levels at Troy, namely cities III through VI, which cover the Middle Bronze Age and much of the Late Bronze Age.

It seems likely that the process of introducing these artifacts had a transformative effect on the Aegean world. However, placing the burden for these changes on Troy may be mistaken. Machteld Mellink has cogently argued that some of the innovations in pottery production that we find in the EB II and EB III Aegean

world did not necessarily originate at Troy or in northwestern Anatolia, for sites in central and southwestern Anatolia seemed to have produced some of the pottery types prior to their arrival at Troy (Mellink 1986). Thus the introduction of these forms and pottery technologies in the Aegean may just as likely be the result of contact with other centers along the west Anatolian coast.

Troy's position in the world of the Early Bronze Age was clearly important but Troy was not in a position to monopolize access to the core civilizations emerging during that time. Mesopotamia and Egypt were easily reached through the Eastern Mediterranean, and even the peripheral areas of the Aegean began to profit from their proximity to this sphere. Yet neither in the Levant nor in the Aegean did the settlements succeed to the level of economic and political organization whereby they could consolidate themselves into states as in Mesopotamia and Egypt. So far as we now know this situation also held true for Troy and for her neighboring settlements along the west coast of Turkey. If we consider the ancient world at that time in terms of spheres of interaction, we would place Troy on the periphery of several of them and far from the core areas of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Equally, during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages when we can speak of the palaces of Minoan Crete and the fortified and interrelated citadels of Mycenaean Greece, we are talking about a sphere of interaction that encompassed the central and southern Aegean basin, and which then linked itself through maritime trading networks to Cyprus, the Levantine city-states, and to Egypt. The spheres of interaction developed away from Troy and her regions of control. In Crete in the early second millennium a script was developed. By ca. 1500 the Mycenaeans learned to write, and the Cypriotes not long thereafter. The Levantine cities were inhabited by multilingual literate merchants and administrators, and the Kings of the Hittites and Pharaohs of Egypt exchanged royal documents, signed treaties, and established systems of emissaries. Troy, so far as we know, remained in the dawn of literacy, at the very most enjoying some proto-literate contacts with Luwians and Hittites, for no indications of the use of script have appeared during the over 130 years of excavation. The recent find in level VII of a bronze seal with Luwian characters only exacerbates this problem, for the context is late, at the time of the destructions of sites

throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, when the palace civilizations were collapsing and when the Hittite empire was disintegrating.

Troy is thus seen to have been situated as an important node on the edge of a world that first had turned its attention to the circum-eastern Mediterranean area before extending westward to the Italian peninsula and north and northwestward to the Black Sea, the Balkans and Europe. Recent discoveries from the shipwreck at Ulu Burun off the southwestern coast of Turkey and dated to ca. 1400 BCE provide evidence of direct contact with the region of the Danube and tantalize scholars who are interested in determining more precisely the role of the Black Sea region in the affairs of the states of the second millennium BCE. The Ulu Burun ship could not have made its way to the Black Sea without stopping at Troy. As Professor Korfmann has eloquently demonstrated (1986), during the entire bronze age, Troy was a gatekeeper between the Aegean and the Black Sea. No traffic could make its way without calling at its port. And thus it secured its wealth and power. ■

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Troia, An Ancient Anatolian Palatial and Trading Center: Archaeological Evidence for the Period of Troia VI/VII*

Manfred Korfmann

The summer of 1996 marked the twenty-fifth official excavation season at Troia (Troy), over a period of exactly 125 years. Since the earliest days of the discipline, archaeology has occupied itself with this site. Heinrich Schliemann, who thought he could identify the mound of Hisarlik as the location for the events outlined in Homer's *Iliad*, conceded that his Troia was in fact too small—but one must of course allow Homer a certain degree of poetic freedom. Subsequent excavators such as Dörpfeld (1893-94) and Blegen (1932-38) essentially restricted their research to the settlement mound made famous by Schliemann's excavations. Today, it must surely be regarded as an acropolis, or rather, the Homeric equivalent, *pergamos* 'citadel.'

After a hiatus of fifty years, work at Troia was resumed in 1988 under my direction. Soon classical archaeologists from the University of Cincinnati (Blegen's university), as well as Machteld Mellink of Bryn Mawr and other specialists, were invited to join the team, which I wanted to be an international group. From 1988 onward, our research in Troia has included an investigation of the so-called Lower City. It has become clear to us that a larger Troia actually existed. And this Troia VI is the topic of this paper—not the other seven Troias that we also deal with every year.

Recent advances in technology facilitated the discovery of a fortified settlement in the Lower City which dates to the second millennium BCE. First, a magnetic anomaly was discovered; then excavation in this area revealed a defensive ditch. This ditch was constructed, just as Homer describes, against chariots, the effective weapon of the second millennium BCE. The 1996 excavations showed that behind a bedrock interruption ten meters wide—a kind of dam, allowing an access from the outside to the city—there was situated a wooden gate, a good five meters wide. It was a

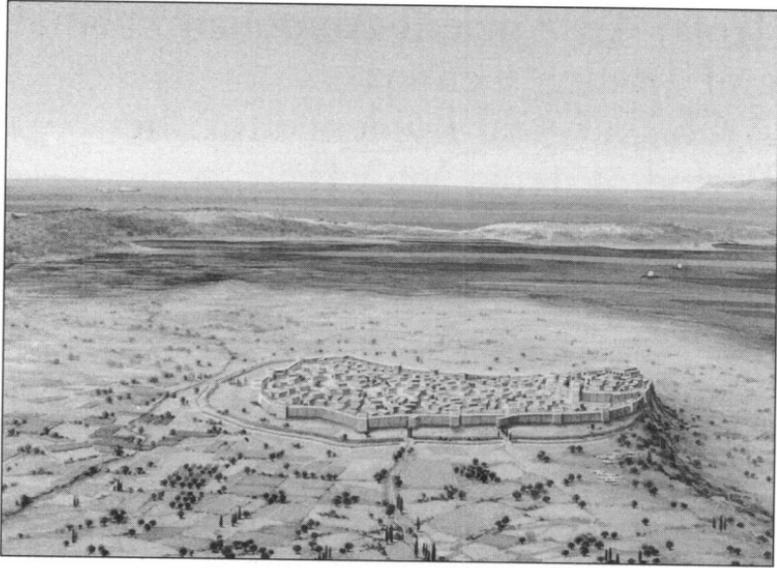


Fig. 1: City and Landscape of Troia, Reconstruction. © Christopher Haussner.



Fig. 2: Plan of Lower City

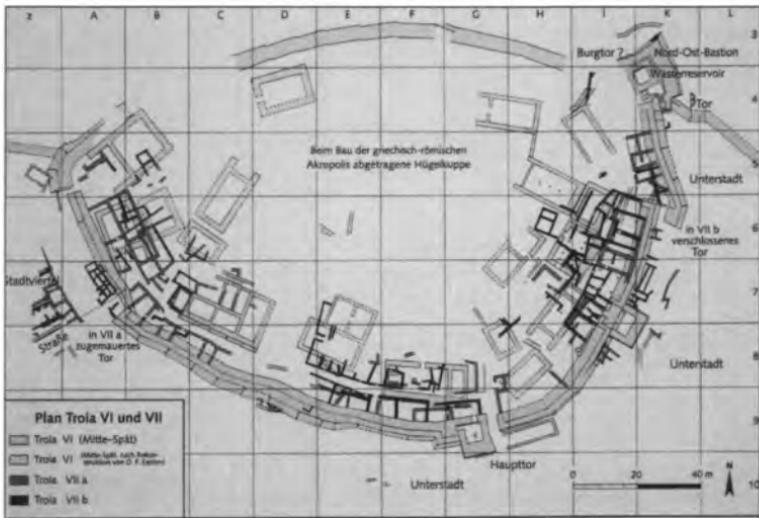


Fig. 3: Plan of Citadel

palisade of sorts, which could be closed by two doors. This gate could for example have prevented war chariots from crossing the ditch and attacking the Lower City.

Based on the latest excavation results, it is possible to say that we now have both a citadel and a Lower City (Fig. 1 and 2), which generally follows an Anatolian planning scheme. With its area of about 200,000 square meters, Troia is now ten times larger than previously suspected. We estimate the population to have been at most 5,000-10,000 persons. By the standards of those times it was a big and important city. The ruins of the citadel (Fig. 3), which had lain there for roughly 200 years, together with the ruins of the lower city, which already lay in ruins probably a century earlier, must have presented a magnificent scene for the poet Homer, who composed his epic around 730 BCE.

During the 1996 excavation season, we also reconstructed a bulwark (Fig. 4), a wooden fortification wall, on top of the surviving traces of its foundations. Grooves and other cuttings were set into the limestone rock at a depth of 70 cm. The bulwark follows a perfect line. The enormous wooden palisade was stabilized from the inside, the settlement side, with strong pillars at intervals

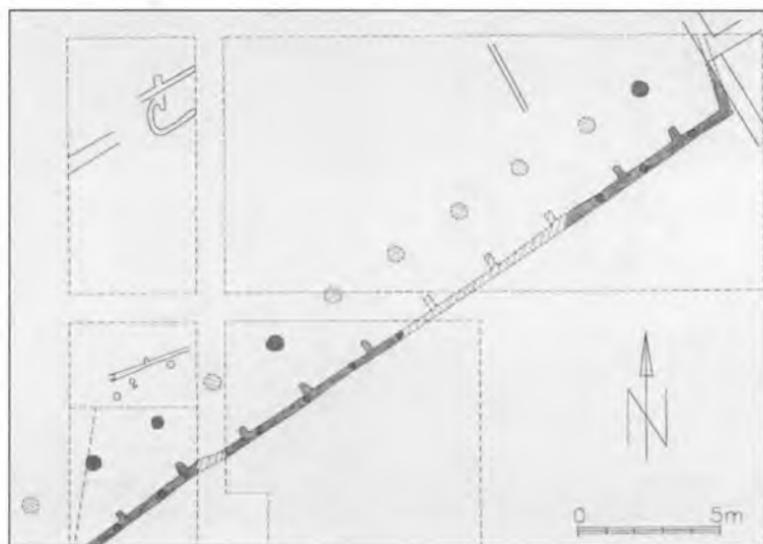


Fig. 4: *Bulwark Reconstruction*

of three meters, a plan carried out with a high degree of precision. The reconstruction, already 30 meters long, makes a commanding impression. We are dealing here probably with part of the fortification of the Lower Settlement, older than the thirteenth century BCE. The bulwark stops just at the point where we expected. Evidently it had an opening, as the presence of a street suggests, which would have lain exactly where the southern gateway of the Troia VI/VII citadel was extended.

Homer, as we all know, mentions two fortified structures which neither he nor his informants could possibly have seen. The first is a wooden fortress wall; the second is a trench which served as an obstacle for approaching chariots. Both constructions are described in detail by Homer in connection with the ship camp of the attackers. The question is whether such features represented standard building techniques or whether instead they embodied specific bardic traditions relating to Troia and its vicinity. At Troia, these two defensive features have now been archaeologically established for the first time in this part of the world.

Troia Was Oriented Toward Anatolia

In the second millennium BCE, Troia was first and foremost a city culturally oriented toward Anatolia, as both architecture and single finds attest. Its Anatolian orientation, however, has not yet been accepted in the academic community, for reasons perhaps easy to understand. Previous excavators in Troia, whether Schliemann (1871-90), Dörpfeld (1893-94), Blegen or Caskey (1932-38), all came from Greece and later returned there. They had (certainly unconsciously) their own geographical biases. In addition, the Homeric epic itself emotionally suggests a strong "early-Greek" component for the site of Troia. As a result, maps of "Anatolia" in the second millennium BCE hardly dared to identify the northwest corner of Asia Minor, the Troad, as belonging to ancient Anatolia or to the Hittite sphere of influence. In most interpretations, Troia and the Troad remained a "no man's land" (e.g. Forlanini 1992).

In recent years, however, a number of scholarly voices have risen in favor of the opinion that we are dealing with a Luwian language territory, and that Ilios/Troia can be equated with an area named in the Hittite sources (whether meaning the city or the land: see Starke 1997). Ten years ago at Bryn Mawr, for example, an assembly of scholars headed by Machteld Mellink concluded that Troia/Ilios and the Hittite ally Wilusa are one and the same. Using a different approach, Frank Starke, a specialist in ancient Anatolian languages, recently arrived at the same conclusion (Starke 1997).

The combination of a citadel and a densely populated, walled Lower City is foreign to the Aegean and to Greece, but coincides perfectly with the city model of the Ancient East and Anatolia (Korfmann 1995). In the architecture of Troia, for example, the use of sloping house and fortification walls or the appearance of mud brick superstructures shows a closer alignment with Anatolia than with Greece (a point emphasized by Jakovides: see Korfmann 1995 with references). Moreover, the pottery which constitutes the main body of finds indicates a clear Anatolian background, as Easton had already hinted at (Easton 1992:67). Tons of the so-called Grey Minyan Ware, which we now call Anatolian Grey Ware, have been found, whereas imitations of Mycenaean pottery (most of them



Fig. 5: Oriental God (bronze)

locally produced) account for less than one per cent of the pottery at Troia.

In the very important religious and cultic sphere, too, an Anatolian connection is indicated as well. In the cemeteries of Troia and the nearby Besik Bay, defining features include the construction of house-like tombs, the use of large storage vessels (pithoi) as funerary urns, and above all the practice of cremating the dead. All this is clearly Anatolian tradition rather than Greek. Especially important is the fact that the inhabitants of Troia around 1200 BCE were familiar with eastern gods, as indicated for example by the 1995 discovery of a small bronze figurine (Fig. 5).

In addition, certain Anatolian cultic or religious elements are



Fig. 6: *Stelai in front of South Gate*

reflected in the stelai located in front of the gates of Troia. Four rectangular pillar-like stones of almost human height are set next to each other in enormous and conspicuous square stone blocks. Near the end of the second millennium BCE, everyone entering the citadel from the south must have noticed these stelai, positioned at the left side of the South Gate at the base of the tower. These free-standing stelai, which serve no other apparent architectural function, appear to dominate the area (Fig. 6).

A smaller stele was located to the right of this gate, where a paved street leads from the South Gate into the center of the citadel. We have now found thirteen of such stelai at Troia, some of them found toppled over or laid down in a horizontal position. One stele attracts particular attention because of its egg shape and also a hole which pierces the entire width of the stone. Other stelai are distinguished by the small circular depressions incised either horizontally or vertically on the surface of the stone. These depressions or cup-marks are approximately 4 cm. in diameter and barely 1 cm. deep. We have now found stelai and/or cup-marks next to *all* the gates at Troia.

During the 1996 campaign, a stele was uncovered in the area of what was once either a public square or (more plausibly) a former gateway. This stele was used secondarily to block the entrance of a house dating to the next period, Troia VIIb2. The stele was placed horizontally across the entrance, on the side facing the street, in order to prevent moisture and rodents from coming into the house from the street. The "profane" use of such stelai indicates that they no longer carried the same meaning for the new foreign rulers or inhabitants of Troia VIIb2, the so-called "New People from the Balkans," thus underlining the cultural distance between the earlier and later groups.

Stone and pillar cults were common at this time across the entire East, as many studies show. In Syria and central Anatolia, however, pillars and stones were given privileged treatment in the second millennium. Many such pillars appear not only in excavation finds but also in ancient texts, where their names are *huwasi* or *sikkanum*.

Especially interesting are the stones with cup-like depressions. The former excavator of the Hittite capital, Peter Neve, observed that although many such stones were found in Bogazköy-Hattusa, they were confined to only two locations: either in funereal contexts or near the city gates. "They could . . . be associated with cults which were designated for the protective gods of the gate and, maybe in a broader sense, for the protective gods of the city" (Neve 1977/78). At Troia, such cup-marks have been recorded on stelai situated along gate areas as well as carved into gate walls, both directly in front of the Southwest Gate and on the outer face of the Northeast gateway. It is strange that these stones have received so little attention.

Volkert Haas and others have commented in great detail on Anatolian stone cults and their related ceremonies. The inhabitants of Asia Minor and Syria in the second millennium BCE believed that cliffs and stones were residences of gods and spirits. Such stones, which are roughly hewn and erected in sacred spaces, "serve at the same time as cult images, as they symbolize the actual presence of the divinity" (Haas 1982.18). For the gate stelai at Troia, it is significant that such stones played a special role in the Hittite Gate-Construction Festival, known as the KI.LAM-Festival (Singer 1983.172). According to a Hittite or rather a



Fig. 7: Map showing Beycesultan

cuneiform Luwian text, the *huwasi*-stones and the *danit*-stones, which undoubtedly belong to the religious domain as well, were positioned “in front of the gate” (Starke 1990.206)—like the stones belonging to Troia VI/VII.

Another plausible argument centers on the relationship between the Troia gate stele and the cult of Apollo. Many scholars, though not all, agree that this “most Greek of all gods” is a refinement of an old god who “came from the interior of Asia Minor” where “he appears first as a gate keeper, as *Agyieus*,” as the Greeks called Apollo in his function as a “driver-away of evil”



Fig. 8: Stele from Beycesultan

(Nilsson 1955.561-4). In Greece the finds associated with Apollo Agyieus, which are later than those at Troia, take the form of “open air monuments to the gods whose domain was the streets and public spaces of the town” (Fehrentz 1993.135), as well as the activities associated with these areas. It is well known that in Homer, our most important and informative early source for Apollo, this particular god is identified as the main divine guardian of Troia and the Troad. Apollo is described as one of the builders of the Troian walls (*Iliad* 7.452; 21.441-454) and he also had a temple in Troia (*Iliad* 5.446).

Apollo's connection with Troia is dramatically illustrated in a scene in the *Iliad*.¹ Together with Paris, Apollo slays Achilles, the arch-enemy of Troia, at the Scaean Gate; as the dying Hector prophesies to Achilles, “. . . on the day when Paris and Phoibos Apollo will slay you, though you are valorous, at the Scaean Gate” (*Iliad* 22.359). Here the protective god is shown defending his own town at its main gate.

The origin of Troian Apollo within Asia Minor is further clarified if the location of Troia is equated with the Luwian city of

Wilusa. This Apollo of Asia Minor should then be identical to the god who was called Apulunas or Apaliunas in Anatolia, familiar in the Luwian lands and one of the few chief gods of the city of Wilusa (Güterbock 1986.35). In a treaty of about 1280 BCE between the Hittite king Muwatallis and King Alaksandus of Wilusa (Güterbock 1986.35), the god Apaliunas from Wilusa is expressly named as a witness (Friedrich 1934.80-81; cf. Güterbock 1986.43) for the Wilusa side.

Interestingly enough, it is precisely the later Greek Apollo "who is closely associated with stone cult as no other god; this becomes even *characteristic* for the god" (Fehrentz 1993.204). The term *Agyieus*, which means "who is responsible for the streets within the city," functions as an epithet of the aniconic Apollo (Fehrentz 1993.124).

In light of these results, I do not think it merely a coincidence that three stelai were discovered on the way uphill to the (burned) palace complex of Beycesultan (Level V), the closest equivalent to Troia VI/VIIa as an ancient Anatolian palace (Fig. 7, 8). These stelai, rough-hewn and 2.5 meters high, were found standing immediately next to each other (Lloyd/Mellaart 1965.28-29, Fig. A.12 and Taf. 19a). The palace of Beycesultan, dating mostly from the eighteenth century BCE, is, like the surrounding area of Çivril-Beycesultan, indisputedly considered ancient Luwian territory. Along with many others, I provisionally accept that Ilios/Troia was in Luwian territory. In light of the information we have about similar stelai elsewhere, I postulate that the stelai at Troia allow us to identify Apaliunas the Luwian god and city god of Wilusa, provided that the identification of Ilios/Troia with Wilusa/Truisa (and now Tarawa) can be made even more convincing in the future.

Two new, extremely interesting inscriptions have recently been discovered or deciphered on metal finds, providing information about (1) a victorious battle with the Allies of the Country of Assuwa, which include Wilusa, and (2) the conquest of the city of Tarawa. The identification of Ilios with Wilusa is discussed by Frank Starke in detail in the 1997 volume of *Studia Troica*.²

Recent excavations underscore Troia's role not only within the cultic and religious systems of the larger surrounding area, but also within regional trade and political systems (Fig. 9). Although Troia was impressive in size, it was still a modest city on the periphery

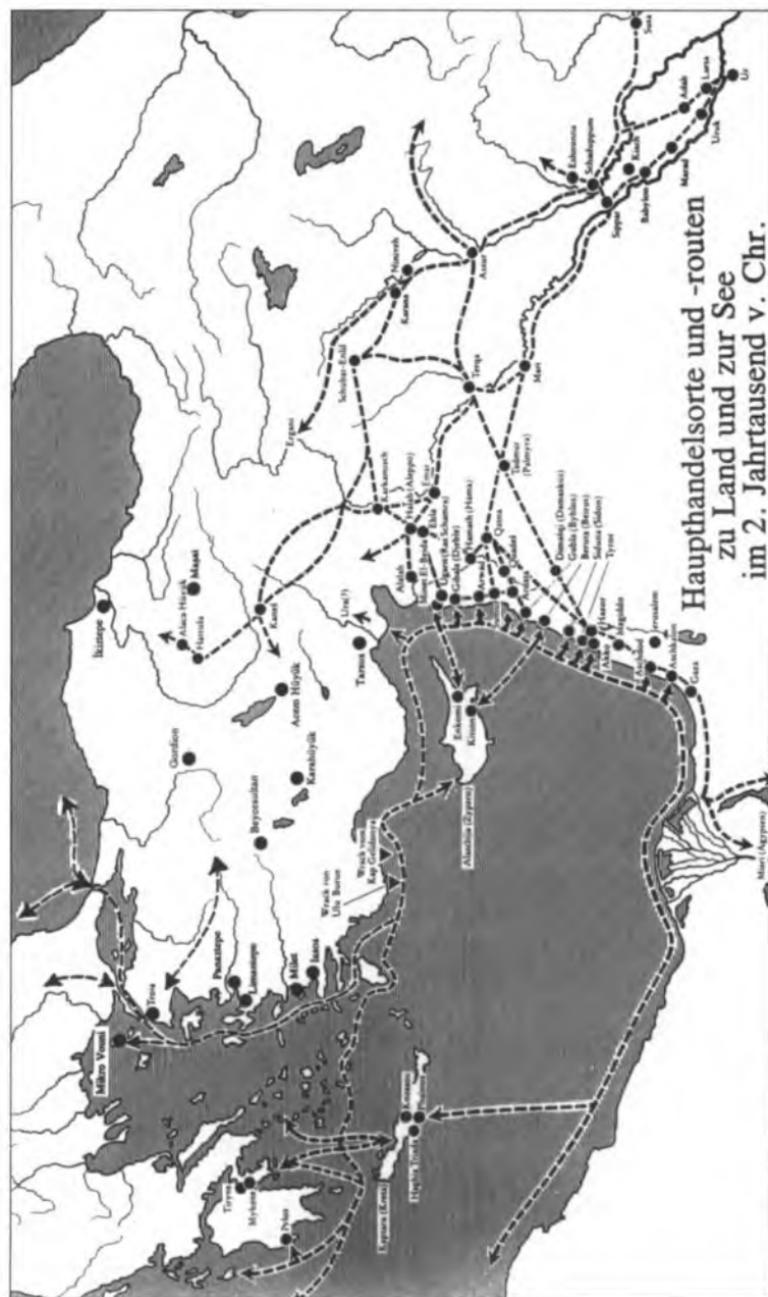


Fig. 9: Principal Trade Routes, second millennium BCE



Fig. 10: Seal found in Troia

when measured against Syria, Mesopotamia, and central Anatolia. It stands to reason then that one must look in all geographical directions if one is to understand the city. This observation applies especially to the subject of trade interests in the Black Sea region, in Central Asia and Europe. I shall return to this last point near the conclusion of this paper, when I discuss the Troian allies.

Given all of Troia's connections with Anatolia, it is not surprising that the first evidence for writing at Troia suggests that an Anatolian language was written on the site. Evidence of hieroglyphic-Luwian writing was discovered in 1995 on a seal made of bronze, a relatively uncommon material (Fig. 10). This kind of writing was indeed expected by us, the excavators. It is a biconvex seal similar to well-known examples from Bogazköy, the Hittite capital, and from other locations in Central and Southeast Anatolia and in Syria. This type of seal appears in approximately twenty cities. The high point of its use is placed roughly between 1280-1175 BCE (Gorney 1993:190; compare Boehmer and Güterbock 1987). This type of seal has been found in Hittite spheres of interest. As is common, the piece from Troia bears a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription. One side refers to a woman; the

other side mentions a man, perhaps her husband. (It is not so unusual to find women using seals just as men did at that time.)

Furthermore, according to the inscription on the seal the man was a "scribe," which suggests that Ilios/Troia had people who could write. Of course, as Aristotle reminds us (*Nicomachean Ethics* I vii.16), "One swallow does not make a summer." On the other hand, here at Troia, so far to the west, one must consider whether these "birds" are to be expected at all, on the basis of previous research. And indeed, it is not surprising to find Anatolian writing at Ilios/Troia or rather Wilusa.

At the same time, the discovery of the seal could be interpreted in connection with one of the significant events in Troia/Ilios, for example, with one of the *many* "Troian wars." The seal opens the possibility, for example, that such events could have been written down at Troia already in the twelfth century BCE. This was after the collapse of the Hittite empire based in Hattusa, but Luwian, a widespread Anatolian language, survived the breakdown of the empire (which is not astonishing) and persisted even into the Greek and Roman periods. In the vicinity of Smyrna, considered by many the town of Homer, an Anatolian language was spoken; in this region it was most likely "Luwian" or "Luwoid" (for example when traders came from the mountains to market in Homeric Smyrna).

This situation existed before 730 BCE just as it did in later times. The "Hittite" monumental rock-cut relief of Akpınar-Sipylos near Izmir/Smyrna, shows a goddess seated on a throne, with an inscription in hieroglyphic Luwian. Another rock-cut relief located near Kemalpaşa (Karabel), just under 30 km. inland from Izmir, depicts a vassal king of the Hittites, again with a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription. Both the Akpınar and Kemalpaşa reliefs indicate that smaller kingdoms strongly influenced by the Hittites did exist outside the actual Hittite sphere of influence (Bittel 1976.191), for example near Izmir/Smyrna. In this case, the reliefs are in the immediate vicinity of "Homer." If both the Hittites and their vassal kingdoms were involved in the transmission of stories/events, Homer would have only profited from these efforts.

The Allies Of The Troians

I would now like to return to a subject mentioned earlier, namely, Troia's role as an important trading center and the related topic of the Troian allies. At this point, it is irrelevant as far as I am concerned whether my line of argumentation is used by scholars for the eighth or the thirteenth century BCE. In the area of the Dardanelles, trade was equally intensive in both these centuries and also in the ones before, between and after.

As the excavation results increasingly demonstrate, Troia/Ilios belonged to the cultural world of ancient Anatolia and was included within the Anatolian political, military, and economic system. If Troia can be identified with Wilusa, an identification which I support, then contact with the Hittite state system would have been required or expected at least for the duration of several centuries. The strongest trade connections for Troia/Wilusa surely involved sea trade with the north Aegean, the Sea of Marmara, and the south coast of the Black Sea. The Lower City discovered during the new excavations reveals a new dimension to the question of trade, which I would like to outline briefly from an archaeologist's perspective.

During the second millennium BCE, Troia appears to have been an expanding and prosperous city. Sea travel was relatively secure, quick and the most economical means of transporting goods. For one shipload you would have needed more than 800 human carriers or more than 200 donkeys, and much more time. The profit of land trade was roughly 100%; in comparison, the profit from sea-trade must have been immense. But ship construction was an investment for which power and wealth were needed. Trading vessels could be easily destroyed or seized while docked in the harbors of port cities. If we take into account the dominant position of rulers in this period, it is easy to envision how dependent traders were on these harbor city-state leaders. Sea travel at this time simultaneously involved support or at least toleration by the ruling powers; it is difficult to imagine independent sea traders. Rather, the wealth resulting from this type of trade, if one discounts piracy, was based on friendly agreements or contracts.



Fig. 11: Minoan Vases found in Troia in 1995

Let us examine briefly the role of trade in the second millennium BCE as we know it from the textual sources. The major cities in the Fertile Crescent directed their foreign trade primarily to the east throughout the third millennium, but to the west in the second millennium. At that time the harbor city of Ugarit on the coast of Syria played an increasingly pivotal role within the territory of the Tigris and Euphrates and Syria. This development is substantiated by the texts from Mari which begin in the eighteenth century BCE and texts from Ugarit itself, which date to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Ugarit's importance was generally the result of a closer acquaintance with the eastern Mediterranean area and Anatolia. In the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries BCE, well-known Assyrian trading settlements in Turkey, Karum settlements, line up one after another in chain-like fashion. In this way, the Assyrians protected their

own interests in central Anatolia and as far north as Zalpa on the Black Sea shore. Obviously they were also interested in the Black Sea and its shores and no doubt especially in territories with such rich metal cultures as the Caucasian Trialeti Culture.

Who were these foreign traders? They were tolerated by the petty kingdoms of the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries BCE while the traders' families managed to lead their own lives in various ways. During times of crisis, trading communities of the same nationality could offer their support. The mother cities could also send aid, even military aid, which was legally possible as the situation required. These traders consisted of families which had already lived on site, namely, in a type of juridically extra-territorial region beyond those settled areas where the native population resided. The contact among the trading cities was extremely active and was fuelled by strong shared economic, military, and family interests.

The native population, especially the ruler and his household—or better, “the Palace”—profited from this trading. What may have spurred the sudden boom of Troia around 1700 BCE? This date, the beginning of Troia VI, we can deduce now from a wonderful Minoan vessel (Fig. 11, left), the first complete one found in Troia, of level Troia V, dated by Sandy MacGillivray, Malcolm Wiener and Phil Betancourt to an early MM IIIA date, that is in absolute terms about 1760-1730 BCE. After this comes a building period of perhaps another 30 years, and this gives the *terminus post quem* for the start of Troia VI, a little before 1700. The “sudden boom” can be explained if we assume that around 1700 BCE, Troia began extensive trade with the Black Sea just as the phase of Troian High Culture (i.e. Troia VI) was beginning, roughly when the Assyrian Karum settlements with their overland trade network came to an end. The newly established Hittite Old Kingdom no longer tolerated and participated in this Black Sea trade, most likely because the enemy territory of Kaska lay in between.

We know that in the ancient East, the entourage of traders often included high ranking persons, be it warriors or diplomats. If one believes that the primary sea trading partners and suppliers of Troia were allies and that much of their contact was managed by treaty—which I believe must necessarily have been the case—the

following scenario can be proposed. Clearly, the harbor cities and the surrounding populations of the eastern Aegean, the Marmara region, the south Black Sea region, and the northern Aegean coast, must have been interested in the continued safety and existence of the trading center Troia/Ilios or Tarawa/Wilusa. These areas, after all, would have been especially affected if the pivotal city of Troia were threatened or jeopardized.

If we think again of Homer's presentation of the Trojan War, it is not unlikely that the representatives and envoys of these harbor cities would have come together as allies such as those in the *Iliad*, where their representatives were apparently well-known or even members of the nobility. This scenario would also allow for the possibility that foreign traders from different seaports and sea-regions lived (as foreigners) in Troia. According to *Iliad* 2.797-806, various languages were spoken among the soldiers of the Trojan army. In addition, this same Homeric passage illustrates the communication problems between the Troians and their allies. The *Iliad* would suggest, then, that the inhabitants and soldiers of Troia and its vicinity did not speak one uniform language.

To our question, then, "Why did the Troians have allies?," the answer is: Because they were bound together in a mutually advantageous relationship based on trade agreements (in writing) and further solidified by private contacts such as intermarriage. The allies of Troia were essentially all those who did not belong to the state system of "Mycenaean Greece" or to the territories forming the Hittite empire. Rather, they were people in the area of the three seas, people who because of their advantageous geographical location were the primary suppliers for the harbor of Troia.

If one were to ask me as an archaeologist where the important sources of raw material lay in relation to Ilios/Wilusa, I would have to respond: (1) *Metal* such as gold, copper, and silver came from the Caucasus and the Anatolian high plains. (2) *Horses*, already trained for war with chariots, came from the Anatolian high plains and especially the Pontus and Steppe regions. (3) *Amber* came from the Baltic Sea. (4) *Tin*, most importantly, came from central Asia; tin was essential for making bronze by alloying it with copper. (5) In addition, at the beginning of the Iron Age in the thirteenth and twelfth century BCE, *iron* was still incredibly valuable. Later it became common, a development which had a fundamental impact

on the world. Iron technology, significantly, developed in the land of the Hittites and the Chalybians from the northeastern part of Hittite territory, who came to Troia "from afar."

Ultimately, we have every indication that Ilios/Wilusa was an important Late Bronze Age site that like many other cities enjoyed trading connections and official delegations or representatives from cities, populations, and also rulers who were acknowledged as friendly. In this way, mutual demands were satisfied and agreements formed which could be relied upon in times of crisis.

As I mentioned above, my intention is not to answer definitively whether the conditions described here apply to the thirteenth or eighth century BCE. Instead, I want to emphasize that we no longer have to follow the route previously established by ancient historians and philologists, the majority of whom maintain, as G.S. Kirk does in a 1993 publication, that Homer in the eighth century BCE had only a narrow geographical awareness and confined himself mostly to the well-known colonized coastal regions without any idea of the interior of Asia Minor. On the contrary, Homer's list of allied peoples and regions is completely plausible and convincing even for the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BCE. In its nucleus, the *Iliad* may reflect historical reality. ■

Notes

*I am grateful to the Turkish Republic and its council of ministers, who in 1988 granted me permission to carry out new excavations in Troia, and especially to Süleyman Demirel, President of the Turkish Republic, whose personal support enabled the area around Troia to be declared a National Historic Park in October 1996. By this act the Homeric landscape will be, we hope, protected from future "holiday villages" and soil speculation. I also want to thank all those who have supported the Troia Project over the years, especially the Daimler Benz Company, the University of Tübingen and the Taft Semple Fund of the University of Cincinnati. Finally, I express my deep gratitude to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and other supporting institutions, in particular the Friends of Troia in Germany, Turkey and America (the latter has been directed for nearly ten years by Prof. Getzel Cohen of Cincinnati), and to Jim Ottaway Jr., whose name is and will be affiliated with the new excavations at Troia.

- 1 My Tübingen and Troia Project colleague, Prof. Dietrich Mannsperger, has kindly pointed this out to me.
- 2 *Studia Troica* is a yearbook published by the Universities of Cincinnati and Tübingen, sponsored by Jim Ottaway Jr. and the printing house Philipp von Zabern.

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Time Table (All Dates BCE)

BRONZE AGE

- ca. 2200-1450 "Minoan" palace culture in Crete
- ca. 1700 Beginning of Troy VI
- ca. 1600-1200 "Mycenaean" palace culture in Greece
- ca. 1280-1240 Destruction of Troy VI
- ca. 1220-1180 Destruction of Troy VII
- ca. 1225-1200 Widespread destruction of Mycenaean sites in Greece
- ca. 1200 End of Hittite empire; "sea peoples" repelled from Egypt

"DARK AGES" (Early Iron Age)

- ca. 1150 Final destruction of the citadel of Mycenae
- ca. 1100-1000 Gradual invasion or infiltration of Dorians into mainland Greece
- ca. 1050-950 Migration of Ionian and other Greeks to islands and west coast of Anatolia
- ca. 1050-900 "Protogeometric Period"
- ca. 900-750 "Geometric Period"

ARCHAIC PERIOD (CA. 800-480)

- ca. 750-650 "Orientalizing Period"
- ca. 750-660 Composition of the *Iliad*

Homer, the Trojan War, and History

Kurt A. Raaflaub

In 1963 Carl Blegen, the excavator of Troy in 1932-38, made the following statement (Blegen 1963.20):

It can no longer be doubted, when one surveys the state of our knowledge today, that there really was an actual historical Trojan War in which a coalition of Achaeans, or Mycenaean, under a king whose overlordship was recognised, fought against the people of Troy and their allies... The internal evidence of the *Iliad* itself... is sufficient, even without the testimony of archaeology, to demonstrate not only that the tradition of the expedition against Troy must have a basis of historical fact, but furthermore that a good many of the individual heroes... were drawn from real personalities as they were observed by accompanying minstrels at the time of the events in which they played their parts.

This statement drew a fierce response from Moses Finley, author of *The World of Odysseus*:

Whatever "the state of our knowledge today" may be... one must insist that there is nothing in the archaeology of Troy which gives the slightest warrant for any assertion of that kind, let alone for writing "it can no longer be doubted". Blegen and his colleagues may have settled... that Troy VIIa was destroyed by human violence. However, they have found nothing, not a scrap, which points to an Achaean coalition or to a "king whose overlordship was recognised" or to Trojan allies; nothing which hints at *who* destroyed Troy... It needs to be reasserted... that all statements of the order of Professor Blegen's "the tradition of the expedition against Troy must have a basis of historical fact" are acts of faith not binding on the historian [and] that there is evidence which,

though far from decisive, at present weighs the balance the other way (Finley 1964.1).

Finley later revisited the issue and concluded: "Homer's Trojan War...must be evicted from the History of the Greek Bronze Age" (1977.177). Blegen's and Finley's views represent extreme positions in a debate that was already old in the 1960s and continues to this day. Finley's uncompromising stand attracted harsh polemics: a voice from behind the iron curtain blasted it as an expression of "late bourgeois cultural theory" and continued: "Only modern hypercriticism is capable of doubting the historical core of these events [the war]..., although the stones speak out clearly!" (see Cobet 1983.39). A British scholar suggested that critics of the Trojan War's historicity "have not always been actuated by a pure spirit of scientific enquiry" and, "Only by an uncommon perversity could one prefer" to doubt this tradition, "unless one's choice were influenced by powerful external factors" (Hooker 1979.5, 15). I suspect that some of Finley's followers might have said this precisely of the other side!

Whatever the preponderance of opinion today, the success of Michael Wood's television series and book *In Search of the Trojan War* demonstrate that attempts to show that Homer was right after all can count on a great deal of public enthusiasm. More than a century ago Schliemann went to Greece and Anatolia, with Homer in his head and pocket, to prove that the epics were about historical places and events—and his results were spectacular beyond belief. He found Mycenae and Troy—but were these the Mycenae and Troy described by Homer in his story of the Trojan War? And what was the Trojan War—if there was one?

At a meeting in the early 1980s the great Hittite scholar, Hans Güterbock, discussed some of the Hittite evidence that mentions names of places, peoples and kings reminiscent of those figuring in Homer's Trojan War. Emily Vermeule, a lucid interpreter of the world and art of Bronze Age Greece, thanked Güterbock exuberantly, declaring that his paper "has restored to us connections in history and archaeology that were needed, clicked the dislocated phases of east-west exchange back into place, making sense of the archaeological scene and giving us back parts of the poems in Homer" (1983.143, my emphasis). Why such

enthusiasm? Why is it important to believe that at the base of Homer lies a tradition about an “actual and real Trojan War” and that Homer describes the world of this Trojan War? Why is this question so fascinating to scholars and amateurs alike? In part, this is a sign of the remarkable appeal that great archaeological discoveries and mysteries have always had for scholars as well as the broad public; in part, it shows the appeal of Homeric epic with whose heroes young and old can identify even today. As Robert Fagles’ new translation of the *Odyssey* demonstrates, Homer still makes headlines. Emily Vermeule writes (1964.x):

Homer is every Mycenaean scholar’s passion. All the other great ancient cultures have their quotable, instructive contemporary literature—Sumerians, Akkadians, Hittites, Canaanites, Egyptians... From such texts in law, cult, folktale, and historical narrative a far sounder, more lively reconstruction of civilization can be made than for the Mycenaean unfairly deprived of Homer.

This reminds us that we are actually dealing with two problems. One is the historicity of the Trojan War: an event. The other is the historicity of what is often called “Homeric society.” My topic today is the event. I shall first summarize some of the evidence that might encourage us to believe in the historicity of the Trojan War tradition, then present arguments that discourage us from doing so. As will become clear, this is a complex, multifaceted problem.

II

Our question, then, is how—if at all—Homer’s *Iliad* and the ruins of Troy are connected. If they are, such a connection would extend over five to seven centuries, depending on when we date the Trojan War. This is a long time, though not necessarily unbridgeable. For “Homer,” the poet of the *Iliad*, stood at the end of a long tradition of epic song. Some linguistic features of the extant epics seem even to predate the language of the Mycenaean Linear B tablets, and epic song may have originated at least as far

back as the mid-second millennium. From this perspective, Blegen's minstrel witnessing the fall of Troy and immediately eternalizing it in song is not as crazy as it may appear. To us, unfortunately, Homer is nothing but a name; he may not even have been a real person. But from all we can make out the poet or poets of the extant epics, whom we call "Homer," performed in the late eighth or perhaps early seventh century on the Aegean coast of Anatolia and the adjacent islands (see Latacz 1996.23-69). His epics are monumental, masterpieces of unique quality. Whether or not writing played a role in their composition or immediate fixation, it is certain that down to Homer's time epic song was oral poetry, composed in performance. Such song probably was performed at festivals and, as the *Odyssey* illustrates, at the men's feasts in the great halls of elite leaders.

Separated from Homer and the early archaic age by the destruction of the Bronze Age palace centers and the end of Mycenaean civilization as well as the deep rupture of the so-called "Dark Ages," there lies Bronze Age Troy. As Manfred Korfmann and his team have shown, it was located in an important place, the center of many trade connections, and its harbor provided safe anchorage for those ships that had to wait, sometimes for weeks on end, for favorable winds to sail into the Hellespont and Black Sea. Archaeologically speaking, the city's more than 4000-year history comprises over forty strata, overall more than twenty meters high. Many of these settlements were violently destroyed by earthquake, fire or enemy action. No doubt, this city was involved in and destroyed by several wars. To cite Manfred Korfmann:

Especially significant are the fortification systems of the successive settlements with their battered walls interrupted at intervals by bastions and gates... Where else north of Tiryns and Mycenae does one encounter ruins of such monumentality as early as the second half of the second millennium? Such architecture must reflect not only the importance of the settlement itself, but a certain continuous threat as well, felt by the inhabitants because of the critical geographic location of the site. The wealth and power of the settlement are attested over a long span of time, most conspicuously in the fourteenth and

thirteenth centuries B.C. The conquest of such a city would have repaid the efforts of an invader many times over (Korfmann 1986.1).

There are two traditional candidates for Homeric Troy: Troy VIIh, destroyed in the first half of the 13th century, and Troy VIIa, destroyed in the second half of the 13th or early in the 12th century. Emily Vermeule has recently proposed a much earlier date in the 15th century, others a later date around 1100. Whichever we prefer, nothing identifies the destroyer; many still think that Troy VI was brought down by earthquake and fire. Finds of Mycenaean pottery attest to trade connections with the Mycenaean world. The fact that the Trojans chose to copy in their wares a number of very specific Mycenaean pottery shapes and did so as much as, or even more than, any other site in Anatolia or the Levant perhaps indicates, as Susan Allen suggests (1990), that such connections were rather close.

This brings us to Mycenae and the great fortresses and palaces in mainland Greece, with their elegant frescoes depicting (among many other things) feasting and a bard with a lyre, and with their centralized economy, with scribes registering on clay tablets storage and deliveries of foodstuffs, raw materials, products, arms and armor, and chariots. Much evidence suggests that this was a society of warriors. However, nothing that was found in these mainland Greek palaces gives a clue to power relations and, despite widespread cultural homogeneity, nothing allows us to decide whether or not Mycenae was the capital of a ruler whose power reached far beyond the Argolid. Conversely, many finds attest to far-reaching connections, by trade and perhaps diplomacy, to Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Egypt. Nothing confirms political, as opposed to economic, relations with Troy, whether friendly or hostile.

Written documents from Egypt and the Hittite capital in Boghazköy add exciting but tantalizing information. For the year 1437 BCE the annals of pharaoh Tuthmosis III list a precious gift he received from the lord of *Danaya*. Another inscription, from a statue base in the temple of Amenophis III (who ruled 1390-52) mentions a country, *Danaya*, with place names, including Mycenae, Thebes, Messene, Nauplia, Kythera, Elis and probably Amyklai. If the list begins with the capital, then we may have here evidence

for the existence, in the 15th and 14th century, of a kingdom of *Danaya*, centered in Mycenae and controlling large parts of mainland Greece. Homer indiscriminately calls the Greeks *Achaioi* (Achaeans) and *Danaoi*. The Egyptian evidence confirms that *Danaoi* was a term used already in the Bronze Age.

Now the "*Danuna* from the islands in the middle of the sea" appear also in the documents of Medinet Habu, commemorating Ramses III's victory over a mixed mass of invaders, often called the "sea peoples," early in the 12th century. These same documents mention a people named *Ekweš* whom some scholars identify with the *Ahhiyawa* we know from Hittite texts and who, in turn, may well be the *Achaioi*/Achaeans of Homer. The Hittite texts, few, fragmentary and dated variously from the 15th to the 13th century, offer fascinating glimpses into the world of diplomacy and wars between the Hittites and some of their neighbors. The king of *Ahhiyawa* is sometimes treated as equal with, sometimes as inferior to the Hittite king; the nature of relations varies from friendly to hostile. A sherd found in Boghazköy perhaps even preserves a picture of an *Ahhiyawa* warrior (Bittel 1976). The location of this kingdom is uncertain: west of Anatolia, including islands and cities on the coast, especially *Milawanda*-Miletus; a naval power with interests reaching as far as Cyprus and relations to Assyria. Some scholars conclude that this kingdom must have been close to Asia Minor, perhaps centered on Rhodes, and thus different from that of the *Danaya* on the Peloponnese, especially since the name *Achaea*/Achaeans is attested in Greece only in post-Mycenaean times and then north of Mycenae and the Argolid. Others, including Donald Easton, think that the evidence permits the identification of *Ahhiyawa* and Mycaenaean and that the Hittite documents illustrate the expansion of their sphere of power across the Aegean to the coast of Anatolia. If so, we would have here a perfect confirmation of Homer's identification of Achaeans and Danaans, and it would seem "legitimate to use the *Ahhiyawa* texts to illuminate Mycenaean involvement in West Anatolia" (Easton 1985.192). Or, to cite Machteld Mellink (1983.141), "From the archaeological point of view the hypothesis [that the *Ahhiyawa* are the Achaeans] is workable and stimulating, as are the equation *Millawanda* = Miletos and the tentative location of the *Ahhiyawa* king at Mycenae, the principal Achaian dynastic center, also

referred to by Amenophis III.”

The Hittite documents mention other names: *Wilusa/Wilusiya* is perhaps Ilion, and *Taruisa* may be Troy. We even hear of an *Alaksandus*-Alexandros, ruler of *Wilusa*, a vassal of the Hittite king Muwatalilis in the early 13th century; we immediately think of Paris-Alexandros, Priam's son, Helen's seducer and the cause of the Trojan War. Was *Alaksandus* perhaps his ancestor? All this is terribly exciting, I readily admit. New evidence, mentioned in Manfred Korfmann's contribution in this volume, helps clarify the picture further. But linguistic, geographical and chronological problems remain. To cite Donald Easton again, "given the present state of Hittite geography all such identifications must be regarded as uncertain" (1985.192); especially, there still are doubts about whether *Wilusa* could have been located as far northwest as Troy. Moreover, if I am not mistaken, with one exception the texts that prove Hittite involvement with *Wilusa* do not mention the *Ahhiyawa*, and those dealing with the latter say nothing of *Wilusa*. The exception is a letter written by an unnamed Hittite king (perhaps Hattusilis III, who ruled about 1255-1230) to an unnamed Great King of *Ahhiyawa*. Although the text is slightly damaged, Hans Güterbock (1986.37) accepts the reading that the king of *Ahhiyawa* is asked to remind a third person of the fact that they (the two kings) had been "at odds over the matter of *Wilusa*. He persuaded me in that matter and we made peace." Güterbock concludes: this sentence "may indicate that it was only a diplomatic confrontation, but the possibility of actual war is not ruled out. Whatever event is meant here, it would be very different from the Trojan War of tradition!"

What does all this amount to? There is archaeological and, if the *Ahhiyawa* are the Achaeans, textual evidence for Greek presence and involvement on the west coast of Bronze Age Asia Minor, for conflicts and battles between *Ahhiyawa* and Hittites, and at least one such conflict about *Wilusa*, but there is no certainty that *Wilusa* is Troy and that the Hittite texts refer to "the" or even "a" Trojan War. Finally, there are great difficulties in fitting the end dates of Troy VIIa and even of Troy VI, both much debated and quite uncertain, together with the dates of the Hittite documents. But it is not hopeless. I cite Easton once again: "While so many uncertainties of dating and of political geography remain, there can

be no grounds for claiming that the historicity of the Trojan War has been proved. But—for those who wish to believe—faith is once again possible” (1985.195). Emily Vermeule explains eloquently what this means (1986.85):

Now that...Güterbock and Mellink have taught us more about the situation in Anatolia in the fifteenth century B.C., and the Achaians exploring the southern river valleys of western Anatolia with chariots and infantry, engaging the Hittite army with one hundred chariots, fighting duels with their chief generals, and playing power games with the Minoans of Crete who were established at sites like Miletos... the possibility that the Trojan War was one of these engagements with an Anatolian dynast in his walled castle at the height of the early Mycenaean age must at least be considered.

As Vermeule's and Güterbock's statements make clear, however, the Trojan War thus attested would have been very different from the war described by Homer. Let us not forget that among all the Trojan allies Homer does not once mention Hittites—unless the Keteioi, the people of Neoptolemos' victim Eurypylos, mentioned in the *Odyssey* (11.521), really are the Hittites (Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989.108). In addition, Homer mentions no Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor, and in the *Iliad* Agamemnon as lord of Mycenae is the overall leader because he brings most ships and most men to the war and because the other leaders are *personally* obliged to follow him but not because he rules over a large kingdom on the Greek mainland or the islands. In other words, the states of the *Danaya* and *Ahhijava* do not have a correspondence in Homer. If we say, then, that faith in the historicity of the Trojan War is not excluded by the extant evidence, we do *not* mean a Trojan War largely as described by Homer. Blegen's statement, with which I began, is definitely not tenable. What is possible is, much more modestly, that there was a war of Greeks against Troy that resulted in the latter's destruction, whatever the causes, details, and exact dates.

This would apply to many types of wars, and, indeed, what some scholars have proposed has little to do with Homer. I already

cited the scenario given by Manfred Korfmann: a wealthy city located at an important trading post and a point where many ships were forced to put in for long times; hence its wealth and situation were well known and it was a logical target for raiding expeditions. Another scholar suggests, more specifically, that there was a shortage of copper in Greece, while Troy continued to have access to sources of copper in the Black Sea area; given Troy's highly strategic location, this provided all the ingredients for a large-scale conflict at the Dardanelles (Bloedow 1988). This thesis, of an ancient "world war" about economic resources, has not been received favorably. Another thesis views the *Iliad* "as the record of all the Mycenaean adventures overseas, telescoping and combining memorable episodes in epic song" (M. Jameson, cited approvingly by Vermeule 1983:142). If so, the historical core of the Trojan War tradition is reduced to a minimum—which, of course, is unobjectionable: the tradition preserved in epic song and used by Homer certainly may have retained some vague memories about a war or wars between Greeks and Trojans. Even so, this means essentially that by Homer's time the highly elaborate and dramatic epic songs probably had little to do with historical reality; they were dramatic fictions.

Let me be absolutely clear: I consider it likely that there were wars about Troy, probably many, even involving Achaeans and thus Greeks. I also think it possible that some historical memories are preserved in the *Iliad*, and that its descriptions perhaps retain many more scattered memories from the Bronze Age: fighting with chariots and bronze weapons, the scope of international relations, raiding expeditions overseas and so on. Sarah Morris (1989) has recently made a beautiful attempt to relate the Minoan miniature frescoes found on the island of Thera to similar experiences and to link them to an ongoing tradition of epic song. But I also think it possible that, despite this tradition, Bronze Age experiences and the *Iliad* may be almost completely unrelated. Let me explain why this might be the case.

III

To recapitulate, neither the archaeological evidence nor the contemporary documents tell us who destroyed Troy and why. The only reason why Greeks should have been targeted as the culprits is the *Iliad*. The main reason why the event is usually dated to the late Bronze Age is the desire to reconcile destruction layers in Troy, Homer's identification of Mycenaeans as destroyers, and the chronological calculations of ancient authorities. Herodotus dates the Trojan War to about 1300, Eratosthenes, the third-century Alexandrian scholar, precisely to 1183, and there are many other proposals, ranging from 910 to 1334. Although, amazingly, several of these calculations are not more than one century off the mark (compared to modern dates for the destruction of Troy VIb or VIIa), unfortunately, upon close inspection, they all turn out to be mere speculation, based mostly on constructed king lists, both Greek and near eastern. As one eminent scholar concludes (Burkert 1995.146):

The Greeks knew nothing about the dates [of the Trojan War]. Serious genealogies led back to the... 11th/10th centuries. Beyond this there was a blank, in which the "heroes" as delineated in Homeric poetry could dwell at ease. This would overlap somehow with what we call the end of the Bronze Age. The precision of calculations should not disguise the fact that they were nothing but guesses... [T]hat one or the other figure should agree with the actual destruction of Troy VI or VIIa is...inescapable coincidence.

But still there is Homer. Is it likely that he knew much about a historical Trojan War in the Bronze Age because such knowledge was transmitted with some precision over all those centuries? To answer this question we have to look at the nature and tradition of oral epic song and the characteristics of epic diction and composition in Greece and in other cultures.

Oral poetry is a craft, learned from childhood by singers who grow up in a tradition that uses an elaborate system of formulae and

set pieces as well as mnemonic devices to recreate in performance songs about memorable events and great individual exploits. Heroic song used to be popular in many parts of the world. Comparative analysis has revealed a surprising amount of shared characteristics. Although the Homeric epics seem to be longer, more complex, more carefully composed and integrated, and artistically more accomplished than almost anything comparable, these epics too are the end product of such an oral poetic tradition reaching perhaps back into the Mycenaean period.

It has long been assumed that formulaic diction with its repeated phrases and set pieces was inflexible and unadaptable, preserved from a distant past by repetitive use of generations of singers. Hence it seemed easy to believe that knowledge of events and social or political structures in the Mycenaean Age (such as the Trojan War or the remarkable Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 of the *Iliad*, a veritable muster roll of the Achaean army), enshrined in fixed poetic language, could be transmitted faithfully over centuries, eventually to be shaped into Homer's great epic. This view is no longer tenable. Recent research has demonstrated, to the contrary, that all the compositional units in the epic language are dynamic and flexible and must have given the poet much freedom to expand, condense and vary any component of his story.

Moreover, except for very specific texts, such as king lists or invocations recited at important ritual occasions when accuracy is crucial and transmission *must* be precise, oral tradition normally does not keep precise memories of persons and events beyond a limited timespan of perhaps three generations. The past is not remembered for its own sake but because it is meaningful to the present. Hence oral tradition is highly adaptable; it constantly adjusts to changing experiences and needs of the society involved. Equally, oral poetry, thriving in an atmosphere of intense interaction between singer and public, is successful as long as it is meaningful and attractive to the audience. Entertainment value is essential, but so is the potential for the audience's identification with the song's content. Hence oral poetry prefers to focus on typical conflict situations and ethical dilemmas. Under these conditions, the content of epic song tends to adapt to changing conditions rather rapidly. Nothing is protected from such change. On the one hand, the backbone of facts, the outline of the epic

story, itself constantly changes and develops. On the other hand, the facts or events the singer (or his audience) choose to perform, are in each performance elaborated into a new full narrative with detailed description of background, scenes, actions and individual items. Taking advantage of the flexible composition technique of oral epic, each poet and each generation create a new song and with it a new picture of the past with a story that uses old elements but is meaningful to the present, using as filling or background material conditions familiar to the audience and corresponding to its changing needs and expectations.

Epics in other cultures, where we do have independent historical information about the events in question, reveal how massive the distortion can be, even over a short period of time. A case in point is the *Song of Roland*. As we learn from contemporary chronicles, in 778, returning from a campaign in Muslim Spain, the rear of Charlemagne's army was ambushed and massacred at Roncevaux in the Pyrenees by the Basques, who were Christians. Count Roland, one of the victims, soon became the subject of a heroic tradition that spread all over Europe, and, as Finley puts it (1964.2):

a champion of Christendom against the infidel, a completely unhistorical role... [Already in the earliest extant version, dated about 350 years after the event,] the ambush at Roncevaux had become an heroic battle of the paladins of Charlemagne against a Saracen host of 400,000 led by twelve chieftains, some of whom had Germanic or Byzantine names. The courtly atmosphere of the poem is not that of Charlemagne but rather that of the First Crusade, whereas the political geography fits neither period but the tenth century. In sum the poem seems to have retained precisely three historical facts about Roncevaux...: that Charlemagne led an expedition into Spain, that the expedition ended in disaster and that one of the victims was named Roland.

The distortion of history in the German *Nibelungenlied* is even more drastic. Similar examples can be cited from former Yugoslavia and, very instructively, from post-World War II Crete, where a

famous episode, the abduction of the commander of the German forces by Cretan guerillas and two British officers, was mythologized in heroic song only nine years later.

The *Nibelungenlied* shows us another trait typical of oral epic: its ability to combine into one narrative figures that were actually separated geographically and chronologically and have nothing to do with each other or with the events "narrated." In this case, the epic weaves together Attila the Hun who died in 453, Theoderic, the king of the Ostrogoths whose rule began forty years later, and a bishop of Passau in Germany who lived 400 years later. The *Iliad* reveals a similar pattern: at least some of the figures and fights it describes originated in local stories scattered throughout the Hellenic world and originally unconnected with Troy. For example, the duel between the Lycian Sarpedon and the Rhodian Tlepolemos in *Iliad* 5 reflects a local story concerning attempts of Rhodians to set foot in Lycia (in south-western Anatolia). The fight of the Cretan Idomeneus against Phaistos (a telling name, eponymous of the Cretan city Phaistos) obviously comes from a Cretan legend. Hector turns out to be fighting mostly against opponents from central Greece and Thessaly; a tomb of Hector was shown in Thebes; hence it is likely that these fights originally figured in central Greek traditions and Hector was located there long before he became the leader of the Trojans. In short, heroic epic functions as a magnet for myths and tales and has an almost unlimited ability to integrate and adapt originally separate stories.

Let me add two more observations. First, the discovery that the Mycenaean Linear B tablets contain a number of names familiar from the epics was initially welcomed as proof that the epics had retained the memory of historical personalities. This is possible but not necessary. Several of these names are attested in parts of the Greek world as old divinities; for example, Helen is a tree goddess on Rhodes and has a connection with vegetation cults in Laconia and the Argolid. Like Menelaos, she also had a hero cult in Sparta from the archaic period. Her human role in the *Iliad* thus probably is the result of a transformation: an ancient goddess of fertility became, in the epic tradition, a mortal counterpart to Aphrodite, fully human but still endowed with considerable magic powers.

Second, representations of sieges and battles on Mycenaean artifacts have encouraged scholars to interpret the prominence of

such themes in the extant epics as reminiscences of Bronze Age conditions. Again, this is possible, but the same themes were familiar to eighth-century Ionians from actual experience (Gauer 1996) and extremely popular in the Near East at the time of Homer. We know that just about then a massive movement of cultural interaction between the ancient Near East and Greece began (hence we talk of the "Orientalizing Period"), that the Greeks borrowed generously from their eastern and southern neighbors in all spheres of life, and that Homer's epics show many traces of such eastern influences. For example, a plausible case has been made recently that the motif of the destruction of the Achaean camp at Troy by diverting the rivers and flooding the plain (which happened by divine intervention after the war but is announced twice in the *Iliad*) was prompted by reports of the conquest of Babylon by the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 689 BCE who diverted the Euphrates against the city's mudbrick walls (West 1995). Similarly, the motif of the Trojan horse may well be based on knowledge of siege machines on wheels, as we see them on Assyrian reliefs of the ninth to seventh centuries (S. Morris 1995). Not very romantic, I'm afraid.

Let us return to the question of long-term oral epic traditions and assume for a moment that a large-scale war about Troy in the 15th century (the time preferred by Emily Vermeule) soon became the subject of heroic song and that such song was performed regularly at the courts of the Mycenaean nobility. Already during these two or three centuries the story would probably have undergone considerable elaboration and transformation. The crucial question is, what happened to it after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces and kingdoms? For a while it might have survived, now representing a nostalgic memory of great times that were quickly receding into a remote past. The world was changing rapidly, however; the elite, whatever its nature, was no longer that of the Mycenaean palaces, and relations to the outside world, though never completely interrupted, were much more limited and in most places local and regional rather than international or "intercontinental." In short, soon conditions became so different that such ancient songs had no relation anymore to the world in which singers and their audiences were living. Mycenaeanist John Bennet thinks that for tenth- to eighth-century Greeks the

disjunction caused by the collapse of the Mycenaean palace societies and the subsequent period of instability was an unbridgeable gap; in all essential respects, the Bronze Age simply was inaccessible to them (1997). Hence bards entertaining the chieftains and their men in the apsidal houses found in some villages of the "protogeometric period" more likely sang about heroic exploits in local wars and raids than about great and complex wars in a distant past and in distant lands. The earlier songs consequently would be forgotten or adapted to the new realities and thus transformed beyond recognition.

Then, in the ninth and eighth centuries, the world changed again; the horizon widened, the population increased, the economy improved, and new social and political structures emerged, including the city-states, predominant in the archaic and classical periods, and panhellenism, a belief in common traits, values and customs shared by most Hellenes and visible in the emergence of great "panhellenic" sanctuaries, festivals and games, in the nature of poetry, and in the society's outlook. Again, epic song would adjust to such changes, and new concerns and interests would continue to prompt the transformation of traditional themes and the integration of new ones. Hence what we should expect to find in the extant epics are stories and conditions that, perhaps not immediately, but fairly closely reflect the outlook and circumstances of the poet's own society. We are not surprised, therefore, to see that the poet has Achilles, Agamemnon and Odysseus live and act in a world of city-states and the Achaeans undertake a panhellenic expedition to Troy.

Similar tendencies are attested widely in oral epic poetry that is or was still alive in our own century. Recall that in the *Odyssey* we learn that people always want to hear the latest song (1.350-52) and the bard is praised for describing the events "as if you had been there yourself or heard it from one who was" (8.488-92). The Trojan War and the sad returns of the leading Achaeans, recent events, have become subjects of fame and song. In the *Iliad* (books 9 and 11) old Phoenix and old Nestor tells stories about "old" events that, however, lie back only one generation and deal with heroics in raids for booty and wars between neighboring cities, that is, in wars of a type which would have corresponded precisely to the experience of an eighth-century poet's audience.

In fact, even the fortified Achaean camp on the beach resembles a typical city, although an improvised and temporary one, without wives and children. Hence the description of the Trojan War—a war between two cities at opposite ends of a large plain, a war that resulted from and is combined with raids for booty, and a war that is motivated largely by considerations of status, revenge and personal obligations—fits a pattern typical of the eighth century. The same could be said more generally of “Homeric Society” (Raaflaub 1997a).

IV

What results, then, from our brief discussion of the nature of oral epic is that, even if the poetic technique of heroic song and the mythical traditions which Homer used to create his large and complex poems had existed for generations if not centuries, even if they originated in the Bronze Age, a thousand years before Homer, the extant epics may have little, if anything, to do with events and conditions in the Bronze Age. Let me introduce here yet another line of research which is broadly comparative and concerned with mythopoesis (the way myths are formed), with historical memory and historical consciousness. It suggests that the stories themselves, like their elaboration and social background and the historical dimension in which they were couched, may be much younger than is usually believed (see Patzek 1992). Although this is not my own field of expertise, the insights offered by these perspectives are relevant to our present question; hence I shall present, with due caution and probably in vastly over-simplified terms, a few of the pertinent arguments. I emphasize two points.

First, collective memory, especially in early societies without museums and historiography, is neither comprehensive nor automatic. It is interested in the past, however great it may have been, not for its own sake but only insofar as this past is relevant to the present. The past therefore is never fixed; it is constantly reshaped and re-interpreted. Events that have receded beyond the period of direct memory (spanning about three generations) and entered the “mythical” sphere are likely to bear little resemblance to their historical origins.

Nor is historical consciousness automatic. By historical consciousness I mean that a society is collectively aware of the existence of a long-term historical dimension and that this dimension is relevant to society and culture; such historical consciousness goes far beyond the awareness of a short-term past that is tied to memories of the individual and his immediate ancestors. It emerges only at relatively advanced stages of social development, requires a strong sense of community and serves to further integrate the community. Its relevance, again, is tied to the meaning of the past for the present.

Furthermore, myths and oral traditions are important to society because they help explain and legitimize present conditions. They *can* transmit historical memories; they can also be constructs that are retrojected into the past without having any grounding in the past. Especially in societies that have developed historical consciousness, such "traditions" or myths can be provoked by remarkable historical objects, monuments or ruins. For example, the "myth" of a war between Trojans and Greeks led by the king of Mycenae *could* have been prompted simply by the fact that Troy and Mycenae were the most famous monumental ruins existing in Dark Age and archaic Greece.

Now a society which has developed historical consciousness will not be able to retrieve memories that were lost in previous generations that lacked such consciousness. In other words, unless the memory of certain events or conditions of a distant past remains constantly and essentially important to all successive generations, it will be lost. Hence if a society, having developed historical consciousness after an interval without such consciousness, boasts a rich array of myths dealing with events of a distant past, such myths are likely to reflect historicizing fiction rather than genuine historical memories. At the end of the Bronze Age the Greek world experienced deep and widespread ruptures; conditions during most of the Dark Ages were hardly favorable to fostering historical consciousness. In mostly small and scattered villages myths, traditions and songs must have been concerned not with an increasingly remote past, however memorable it once was, but with the exigencies of survival and the challenges or excitement of competitive relations in a small world.

Moreover, to the archaic Greek city-states the centuries *after*

the end of the Bronze Age, not the Bronze Age itself, were the formative period. Similarly, the core of the German heroic sagas seems to have been formed soon *after* the end of the tribes' migrations and settlement. It is possible, therefore, that the great Greek myth cycles emerged during the Dark Ages, after the convulsions at the end of the Bronze Age and the so-called Dorian and Ionian migrations. Their attachment to the great Bronze Age ruins thus would again appear artificial, not necessarily reflecting a historical connection. In addition, as we noted before, heroic sagas are virtual magnets of myths: they tend to incorporate migrating stories, materials connected with etiologies and rituals, and local legends. All this is well visible in the Homeric epics as well. Conceivably, therefore, the mythical material of which they are composed emerged in the timespan of only two or three centuries before Homer and was combined to form the outline of a grand war story centering on the site of Troy not too long before Homer himself.

The second point concerns heroic traditions—that is, traditions which explicitly refer to great deeds and events in a distant age of heroes. They are often built around a core of historic persons and events. These, however, are grouped together and interpreted in completely unhistorical ways. What triggers heroic song is not interest in history *per se* but in human conflicts and drama: situations that are generally valid, though heroically exaggerated, and with which the audience can identify. The historical facts are incidental; the human deeds, decisions and concerns are primary. This suggests that the extant epics should be understood as historical documents of the time in which they were created, informing us not least of the audiences' concerns.

It is significant, therefore, that several new phenomena document the emergence of historical consciousness precisely at the end of the late Dark Ages, among them hero cults at sites of earlier burials, and sanctuaries connected with ancient sites and objects. The creation of a heroic age, dramatized in the Homeric epics and conceptualized in Hesiod's *Theogony*, fits well into this context. It is no less significant that some of the seemingly oldest objects in the *Iliad* occur in parts of the poem that have always been recognized as showing especially "young" or "modern" linguistic features. The famous boar's tusk helmet is described in such a section (book 10, the "Doloneia") and, according to a recent

study of the technique of epic verse making, the catalogue of ships, often thought to be of Mycenaean origin, is a product of the eighth century and shows an eighth-century outlook throughout. Such examples betray a conscious historicizing or antiquarian intent. Possibly, therefore, many other seemingly old elements in the cultural and social picture are the result of deliberate archaizing rather than genuine survivals of early traditions embedded in an old formulaic language.

Finally, the focus of heroic epic on problems of general human interest helps explain its spreading over wide areas and assuming supra-local or supra-regional significance. In the case of Greek epic, this focus is responsible for its panhellenic appeal which, however, requires a corresponding perspective in the culture producing the epic—a perspective which, in all likelihood, was lacking earlier in the Dark Ages. Both Greek epics betray a wide horizon and world view. In the *Iliad*, a joint venture of a panhellenic army opposes the combined forces of the eastern non-Hellenic world, while the *Odyssey* elaborates a homecoming story in a broad Mediterranean context. The latter seems typical of the age of colonization beginning in the eighth century (which has left specific traces especially in the Cyclops and Phaeacian stories). The conception underlying the *Iliad* clearly is tied to other panhellenic and supra-regional phenomena emerging in the eighth century, when the Greek pantheon was homogenized and Greeks from many cities began to collaborate in religious federations and participate in large-scale joint ventures, such as festivals and games at great sanctuaries. Conceivably, therefore, the grand idea underlying the elaborated Trojan War myth—a war waged by a coalition of leaders and contingents from all over the Greek world against a coalition of peoples from all over the eastern world—is itself the product of the panhellenic worldview of elite society in or shortly before Homer's time, artificially connected with an especially suitable site and retrojected into the heroic age. Homer then elaborated and reshaped this story in a highly refined and dramatic way that was aesthetically pleasing and ethically meaningful to widespread contemporary and later audiences.

All these observations point in the same direction. We have no way of finding out what kind of traditions may have survived from earlier periods. There is no evidence to confirm the existence

of genuine historical traditions about a Trojan War that may have taken place in the 15th century or at the end of the Bronze Age, and reason to believe that few, if any, such traditions survived. If we accept these conclusions, we have to resign ourselves to the fact that Homer is no guide to a Trojan War and that the events he describes and the combination of persons participating in these events, whatever their individual background, are historicizing fictions. In every respect, despite the prehistory of myth, traditions and epic song—no matter how far back they reach—the epics are the product of and grounded in the time of their creation. They reflect the outlook, ideology and culture of the eighth century.

V

In conclusion, I have presented both the reasons that—still or again—make faith in the historicity of at least a core tradition on an historical Trojan War possible, and the reasons that militate against such a belief. In fact the two views may not be as incompatible as it seems. What seems more significant to me, however, is that ultimately this question, though fascinating, is purely academic and of secondary importance. The human greatness, sensitivity, and drama of the Homeric epics remain meaningful to us, as they were to all ages ever since they were created—quite independently of their historical value. Let me end by citing once more Emily Vermeule:

Why has the western world such powerful memories of an old, old fight far away? Why does the Trojan War stand in some way for all wars, and supersede many more recent wars in interest? Of course it is the power of Homeric poetry, the *Iliad* the first poem that gives equal dignity to Trojans and Achaians and shows the “enemy” in a compassionate and noble light. In its long celebration of heroic death the *Iliad* may be an especially Greek contribution to human ideas of what poetry was for, that the attackers could be just as greedy and short-tempered as the defenders could be frivolous and luxurious, and that we are all caught up in the same short life under the sun and face disasters in the same ways, gallant in failure (1986.77). ■

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Troy And The Historical Imagination

Charles Brian Rose

Many think that the Trojan legend plays a fairly minor role in contemporary life, but once you look around for traces of the legend today, you soon find how widely it continues to be used. One of the more prominent examples is the famous 1974 *Newsweek* cover which shows Nixon and his henchmen in the pose of the Trojan priest Laocoon and his sons, although the entangling snakes have been changed into tapes. In western civilization the legends of Troy have maintained their popularity in virtually every country and at virtually every time since antiquity, although the legends meant different things to different people at different times.

In speaking of Troy we have to distinguish between the site of Troy and the legends of the Trojan War, since they are not synonymous, and in this paper I will try to explain how they differed from each other, and how the legend influenced the topographical development of the site. I would like to begin with a description of the early history of the site of Troy along with a synopsis of the history of excavation.

The site is located in northwestern Turkey, only a few kilometers from a narrow strait called the Dardanelles or the Hellespont. This body of water links the Aegean with the Sea of Marmara (Propontis), and any vessel sailing from the Aegean to Constantinople and the Black Sea would have to sail through these waters. Troy was therefore strategically located along one of the most important trading routes in antiquity—a point to keep in mind throughout this paper.

The site was first excavated systematically by Heinrich Schliemann between 1870 and 1890, and then by his associate Wilhelm Dörpfeld in 1893/94. After this second campaign excavation would not resume until nearly 40 years later, in 1932, when Carl Blegen of the University of Cincinnati began a new campaign that would last seven years. In 1988 the current excavation began under the direction of Manfred Korfmann of the University of Tübingen in partnership with the University of



Fig 1: Storage vessels of Troy VII, after C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans (1963) fig. 63.

Cincinnati. Our goal is to investigate all phases of habitation at the site, from the beginning of the settlement through the end of the Byzantine period, with all phases receiving equal attention.

The site was occupied more or less continuously for ca. 4500 years, from the later 4th millennium BCE through the late Byzantine period, ca. 1300 CE. At the time of the first settlement the waters of the Dardanelles appear to have reached the northern edge of the mound, although in the course of the last five thousand years the coastline has moved approximately five kilometers away, primarily due to earthquake activity. As Bronze Age settlements were destroyed and rebuilt, the mound gradually grew higher and the size of the settlements steadily increased with each new phase. The largest of the Bronze Age citadels was that of Troy VI, which was destroyed ca. 1250 BCE, although there is no uniform agreement on whether the destruction resulted from invasion, earthquakes, or a combination of the two.

In the subsequent phase (Troy VII), which lasted into the 11th century BCE, much of the population moved within the walls of the citadel. New housing occupied most of the previously open space and they were filled with large storage vessels which, filled with provisions, would have enabled them to stay behind the fortification walls for longer periods of time (Fig. 1). There was a major destruction in the middle of this phase, almost certainly an invasion, and its end point is not certain. Some of the earlier archaeologists thought there was a 400-year gap in habitation between the end of Troy VII and the beginning of a Greek settlement ca. 700 BCE, but we have now found enough evidence to demonstrate that the site was probably never abandoned after the end of the Bronze Age. The settlement certainly decreased substantially in size, but the discovery of amphoras from the late 11th, 10th, and 9th centuries BCE shows that imports from the Aegean islands and from mainland Greece were continuing to come to Troy. By the late 8th century sacrifices were occurring in a holy place (the "Sanctuary") on the southwest side of the mound. We still do not know which god or gods were worshipped here, but in the course of the 7th and 6th centuries the Sanctuary developed into a major religious center, with two altars, a large Aeolic temple, and a wealth of votive offerings. It is also worth noting that the imposing limestone fortification walls of the late Bronze Age would still have been visible, thereby demonstrating how strong the city had been at some point in the past.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed in the second half of the eighth century BCE and scenes from the Trojan War began to appear in art in the 7th century BCE—one of the most famous examples being the relief pithos from Mykonos which shows Greek soldiers hiding in the Trojan horse. One might expect that works of art representing the Trojan legend would have appeared in the archaeological record at Troy, but there have been no such discoveries in any of the Greek levels. During the Archaic period, at least, there is nothing to suggest that the city of Troy or Ilion had been identified as the site of the Trojan War.

Not far from Troy, however, a recent discovery provides us with a remarkable representation of one of the Trojan legends. The find in question is a marble sarcophagus dating to ca. 520-500 BCE, and it was discovered in a burial mound located about a 90-minute

drive east of Troy (modern Biga). The front and one of the sides illustrate the myth of Polyxena, the daughter of Priam, who was killed by Greeks near the tomb of Achilles. In the primary scene, Polyxena's body is held by several Greeks while Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles, plunges a dagger in her neck. On the other side of Achilles' tomb, Hecuba crouches under a bare tree and mourns the death of her daughter. This is the earliest stone sarcophagus with figural scenes to have been found in the eastern Mediterranean, and it is therefore a discovery of tremendous significance. It is also the only Archaic discovery in or near the Troad of a work of art featuring one of the legends of Troy.

The earliest literary reference in which Troy is identified as the site of the Trojan war comes from Herodotus, who notes that in 480 the Persian king Xerxes sacrificed 1,000 oxen at Troy on his way to attack Greece (Herodotus 7.43). Herodotus refers to the site as Priam's citadel and mentions sacrifices to the heroes who were believed to have been buried in the mounds that surround the Trojan landscape. The site's identification with the Trojan legend did not translate into any increased prosperity during the fifth century. In fact all indications suggest that this was an economically depressed time for Troy, and it continued through the first half of the fourth century, but things would change dramatically with the advent of the Hellenistic period.

Alexander the Great visited the site in 334 and reportedly promised to build up the city to a position appropriate to its legendary heritage. He died before he could carry out his promise, but through the efforts of his associate and several local benefactors, a new building program was begun which included a new temple of Athena and a theater with a capacity of about 8,000 spectators. Toward the end of the fourth century, Troy also became the capital of a new league of cities focused on the cult of Athena Ilias, and a Panathenaic festival, possibly modelled on the one in Athens, was also inaugurated. Building continued on and around the mound during the Hellenistic period, and by the second century BCE the city had developed into a major religious center.

I would now like to turn back to the Troy legend and examine how it developed during the same period we have been discussing. Prior to the fifth century BCE the iconography of the Trojans in Greek vase painting was more or less indistinguishable from that of



Fig. 2: The Judgement of Paris, ca. 465 BCE. After Hellenike Mythologia (1986) vol. 5, p. 18.

the Greeks—they dressed the same, worshipped the same gods, and engaged in the same kind of everyday activities (Fig. 2). But during the Persian Wars in the early fifth century the iconography begins to change, and by the end of the century there are artistic representations of Trojan men in oriental garb more or less indistinguishable from that of the Persians (Fig. 3). In other words, the Trojans and Persians were grouped together as peoples of Asia and the former was assimilated to the latter.

The Trojan-Persian conflation was also in a sense apparent in the decoration of the Athenian Parthenon. The building served as a kind of victory monument commemorating the Greek victory over the Persians, and it featured a series of combat themes which included the Trojan War. This is not to say that fifth-century attitudes toward Persians and legendary Trojans were the same: in both art and literature the Trojans were frequently presented in a decidedly sympathetic light, especially during and after the sack of the citadel. But they had nevertheless undergone a redefinition stimulated in large part by the Persian Wars. I have continually used the term “legendary Trojans” here because historical Troy at this time was a fully Greek city with the same kinds of temples,



Fig.3: The Judgement of Paris, ca. 420-400 BCE. After S.Woodford, The Trojan War in Ancient Art (1993) fig. 10.

inscriptions, and clothes that one would have found on mainland Greece. In other words, the Greek city of Troy became identified as the site of the Trojan War, but the Trojans of legend became increasingly identified with eastern barbarians.

In the Hellenistic levels of the site no Trojan-themed souvenirs have been unearthed, although the new temple of Athena appears to have contained an Ilioupersis ("Sack of Troy") cycle, with Greeks fighting Trojans, on one of its sides. At the site of Chryse in the southern part of the Troad, however, a new temple to Apollo Smintheus was built with a frieze focused solely on the Trojan War. This complex probably dates to the second century BCE and includes iconographically unique scenes such as Odysseus carrying the wood that would be used to build the Trojan horse, and Achilles mourning at the deathbed of Patroclus. It seems likely that other cities in the Troad would have also had monuments featuring some aspect of the Troy legend, but they simply do not survive.

In Republican Rome there was a wealth of material relating to the Trojan legend, although the enthusiasm for Troy was the



Fig.4: Iliac tablet. After J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986) fig. 215.

product of a different set of circumstances. It was probably during the third century BCE that the Trojan hero Aeneas came to be identified as the founder of the Roman people, and at the Peace of Apamea in 188 BCE the Roman Senate officially recognized Troy as Rome's mother city. Beginning in the second century BCE Troy began to benefit both politically and economically from this link with Rome. She received more land and was declared a free and federate city, which meant no taxes needed to be paid to Rome. The city also became a favorite pilgrimage spot for aristocrats, emperors, and members of the Imperial family, and this would last until late antiquity.

Villas and houses in Rome began to be decorated with sculptures and paintings representing Trojan themes. One of the most interesting examples in this group is a house in Bovillae, not far from Rome, where two reliefs were found together: one is the "Apotheosis of Homer", which represents the poet enthroned and

flanked by personifications of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the other is one of the "Iliac tablets" (Fig. 4). These were small reliefs decorated with key scenes from the *Iliad* next to which was a synopsis of the principal events in the epic, and they have consequently been compared to our "Classics Illustrated" comic books. Such scenes would have marked—or attempted to mark—the owner of the house as a learned individual familiar with the great epics of the past. They would also have functioned as a visual reminder of the legendary link between Troy and Rome.

The fortunes of Troy and the Trojan legend received even greater prominence during the first century BCE. Both Julius Caesar and Augustus were members of the Julian family, which traced its descent from Aeneas and his mother Aphrodite. For them Troy was both the mother city of the Romans and the root of their family's genealogical tree, and this additional link between Rome and Troy would usher in one of city's most prosperous periods. Troy was in need of considerable assistance during this time since it had suffered greatly during the wars begun by the Pontic king Mithridates in the early first century BCE. In 85 BCE the city refused to submit to the Roman legate Fimbria, who nearly destroyed the town, and most of the buildings had to be completely reconstructed.

Julius Caesar died before he could provide any of his promised assistance, but the city was completely rebuilt during the reign of his son Augustus (31 BCE-14 CE). This emperor stressed his Trojan ancestry more forcefully than any other Roman before him; images associated with the Trojan saga began to fill the public spaces of Rome, and Vergil published his magisterial epic recounting the adventures of Aeneas in 19 BCE. It is no surprise that Troy would have benefitted so substantially from his patronage, but this is something which has only recently been confirmed by the new excavations. During this period the Hellenistic Temple of Athena was repaired, as were the Sanctuary and theater, and a new Bouleuterion and Odeion were built. The decoration of the new theater is particularly interesting in that it contained a relief of Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome. The other reliefs belonging to the decorative program have not survived, but it seems likely that the Romulus and Remus relief belonged to a cycle chronicling the Trojan origins of Rome.

A large area south of the citadel of Troy (the "Lower City") was now developed for residential use, and the town grew substantially in size. During the Hellenistic period the area seems to have been marked as sacred land belonging to the temple of Athena, but the Mithridatic Wars showed how vulnerable the surrounding area was, and there must have been considerable pressure to re-zone the land closer to the citadel. We now have a good understanding of the orthogonal layout of this residential district thanks to magnetic prospection, which measures variations in the magnetic field of buried objects (Fig. 5). This technique enables the archaeologist to locate walls, houses, and streets without the necessity of excavation, although we have dug a number of trenches to verify the magnetic readings. Some of the houses were quite large and decorated with elaborate mosaics and wall paintings, and the region appears to have thrived until an earthquake in the late fifth century CE destroyed much of the town.

There was another town in western Asia Minor with a strong connection to the Trojan legend, and it too prospered during the reigns of Augustus and his successors. This was Aphrodisias, the site of one of the most important sanctuaries of Aphrodite in the eastern Mediterranean. The city's local goddess was identified with the Roman Venus Genetrix, and she was thereby effectively presented as the matriarch of both the Romans and the Julian family. Augustus bestowed the same privileges on Aphrodisias as he had on Troy, and the city responded by erecting a large Sebasteion (center of the ruler cult) which honored the Julian and Claudian families. The complex consisted of a temple to the emperors and a street flanked by a three-storey portico on either side. The intercolumniations of the portico were filled with reliefs which focused on several themes, but one of the most prominent involved the story of the Trojan War, Aeneas' journey from Asia Minor to Italy, and the birth of Romulus and Remus, all of which were set below images of the Julio-Claudian family. In the case of both Troy and Aphrodisias we have a system that was mutually advantageous: in paying homage and providing funds to these cities the emperors honored the ancestors of their dynasty and strengthened their claims to Trojan ancestry; by focusing on this connection in their coinage and honorific monuments, Ilium and Aphrodisias ensured



Fig.5: Magnetic Prospection of the Lower City at Troy. After Studia Troica 2 (1992) p. 64, fig. 4.

that their privileged status as free cities would be continually maintained.

Both Julius Caesar and Augustus had visited Troy, and Imperial visits to the site continued during the second, third, and fourth centuries CE. Hadrian arrived here in 124 and reportedly restored the tomb of Ajax as well as the road along the west coast of the Troad. The statue of Hadrian recently discovered in the Odeion of Troy may have been dedicated to him on this occasion (Fig. 6).

There was little activity at Troy after the earthquake in the later fifth century, but the popularity of the Trojan legends did not diminish. A number of groups in medieval Europe traced their origins from Troy, including the Ostrogoths, the Franks, and the British, and the legends continued to live in the form of the Troy Romances of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

I mentioned before the re-identification of legendary Troy as an Asiatic city with links to Persia, and this identification resurfaces in an unusual way in the fifteenth century. Cyriacus of Ancona tells us that ten years after Mehmet the Conqueror's sack of Constantinople (1453), he visited Troy and claimed that in conquering Constantinople he had avenged the wrongs suffered by Troy at the hands of the Greeks. In other words, he acknowledged a link between the Trojans and the Ottomans as peoples of Asia



Fig. 6: Statue of Hadrian from the Odeion at Troy. After *Studia Troica* 4 (1994) p. 92, fig. 19.

whose common enemy was the Greeks.

At this point Troy's location was known, but by the nineteenth century it was no longer certain. Most of the scholars who looked into the question of Troy placed it within the Troad, but the fortification walls were now covered and other mounds in the area were also potential candidates. In 1870 Heinrich Schliemann arrived in the Troad with the intention of locating the site and proving that the Trojan War was not a myth. In the course of several campaigns between 1870 and 1890, he uncovered evidence for nine successive "cities" or phases of habitation, one built above the other, as well as a number of precious metal treasures which he cited as proof that he had discovered Priam's legendary city. His evidence was disputed then and it continues to be controversial

today, as discussed in Donald Easton's contribution to this volume, but for our purposes we should focus on the intellectual climate that gave rise to Schliemann's investigations. The century was characterized by a wave of philhellenism in part stimulated by the liberation of Greece; there was also a more pronounced interest in Classical texts and Classical legends, especially those of Troy, and the new science of archaeology served as a means of testing the validity of those legends.

I have spoken a number of times of rulers co-opting the Troy legend for their own purposes and one final example should be cited. When Benito Mussolini assumed control of Italy in the 1920's, one of his goals was to rebuild an empire centered on Rome. His campaign of conquest was a dismal failure, but in Rome he began an extensive program of excavation and restoration of the ancient buildings, and this signalled a revived interest in Troy. Scenes of Aeneas and the Trojans appeared in the newly-reconstructed monuments, such as the Ara Pacis, and a series of scenes from the *Aeneid* was even featured on postage stamps.

It should be clear by now that Troy was not just an ancient city, but rather a concept that could be molded to fit a variety of times and places. One is left with the question of what "Troy" means today to the occupants of the Troad. The myth is in fact still very much a part of contemporary life, and this is readily apparent in the annual staging of a Judgment of Paris beauty contest on the slopes of Mt. Ida, where the original contest was believed to have taken place. The site is ringed by golden delicious apple trees, and the story of Paris' judgment is told in Turkish in the course of the contest. For the spectators in the audience, questions of the war's historicity, Trojan ethnicity, or Homer's identity are not pressing concerns. Most of them have visited the archaeological site and heard about the legends since they were children, and they would tell you that Troy would always occupy a central place in their lives. ■

Bibliography

Yearly excavation reports and articles on all aspects of life in the Troad appear in *Studia Troica*, a journal published by Philipp von Zabern under the auspices of the Universities of Tübingen and Cincinnati. Six volumes have appeared so far, beginning in 1991. The final results of the excavations of Carl Blegen (University of Cincinnati) were published in four volumes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-58). A comprehensive presentation of the excavations of Schliemann and Dörpfeld appears in W. Dörpfeld, *Troia und Iliion*, Athens: Beck and Barth (1902). For an overview of the site and its myth, a very readable account is provided by Michael Wood's *In Search of the Trojan War*, New York: New American Library (1987). The iconography is conveniently summarized in Susan Woodford's *The Trojan War in Ancient Art*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press (1993). For the tradition in later Western civilization see Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*, New York: Oxford University Press (1949); Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration*, London: Warburg Institute Studies vol. 32 (1971).