

PHANTOM TROJANS AT THE DARDANELLES?¹

Frank Kolb

The assumption that a Trojan War took place in the so-called Troas at the Dardanelles depends on the belief that there once existed a population called Troes in this region, as the Ilias maintains. However, the Troes in the Ilias do not carry Anatolian, but only Greek and Thracian or Illyrian names; there is no Trojan identity. Furthermore, in ancient literature the existence of a people called Troes is not mentioned outside the legend of the Trojan War. Ancient geographers, too, knew about a region called Troie/Troas only from the Ilias and were uncertain about how to define it. Besides the Troes, the Ilias locates several other populations in the Troie, among them Dardanoi, Pelasgoi and Leleges. According to other Greek authors, however, Pelasgoi and Leleges lived in Greece. Of all peoples mentioned in the Ilias, only the partly Illyrian, partly Thracian Dardanoi can be proved to have inhabited the Troas. They left their traces not only in the name of the Dardanelles and the polis Dardanos, but also in other geographical, topographical and personal names of the region – and in the Trojan myth. In the Ilias, Troes and Dardanoi is a standard formula to denote the nation of Priamos' kingdom. The Dardanoi even mark the beginnings of this nation; Dardanos is the forefather, the ancestor of the Troes and of their royal house whose members are called Dardanidai. Aineias is the leader of the Dardanoi-troops. A Balkanic population must have immigrated to Northwest Asia Minor around 1200 at the latest, as is demonstrated by Balkanic pottery from hill Hisarlık. But Dardanoi/Dardaniya are attested already in Egyptian documents towards the end of the 14th century and, along with troops from other Anatolian regions, as a contingent in the Hittite army in the battle of Qadesh in 1274. Already in those times they must have lived at the Dardanelles. This means that in the Late Bronze Age the region of the Troas was probably called Dardaniya and certainly not Wilusa, which was clearly situated in Southwest Asia Minor. It is notable that, in contrast to the fictitious Trojans, the Dardanoi who according to the Trojan legend were equally involved in the Trojan disaster, did

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not disappear from the region, but continued to live there into the Iron Age and met with the Aeolian Greeks who immigrated into the region, probably from the 11th century on. These immigrants carried the tale of a war between Achill's Achaeans against other tribes of Central and Northern Greece, like the Pelasgians, Leleges, Dryopes, and the Troes with their leader Hektor, to the Dardanelles and fixed it at the Bronze Age walls on hill Hisarlık. They integrated the Dardanoi into this story. The poet of the Ilias continued this melting of traditions into the Trojan legend, e.g. by transferring to the Dardanelles conflicts between Cretan heroes/towns, those between the Lycians and the Rhodians and the bravery of Lycian condottieri with their troops in battles fought in Western Asia Minor.

Troes never existed at the Dardanelles. They were annihilated by Achill's Achaeans in a war in Central Greece and disappeared from history like other Greek tribes of the Early Iron Age. That war was transferred to the Dardanelles in a similar way as the Nibelungen Saga transferred the battle between the Burgundians and the Huns from the Rhine to the Middle Danube.

On May 31 of the year 2009, the Turkish newspaper Cumhuriyet published a satirical article which discussed the eventual erection of a Hector statue in the city of Çanakkale at the Dardanelles. The Turkish Secretary of Culture had proposed such a project. Yet, the same politician, member of the present Islamic Turkish government, had just before expressed his approval of moving a Heracles statue from its position in the centre of the Black Sea town of Ereğli to the entrance of a cave called 'Gate to Hell'. He had argued that a statue presenting Heracles in the guise of a naked hero offended Muslim moral feelings. With regard to the proposed Hector statue at the Dardanelles he suggested it should be dressed in accordance with Anatolian moral sentiments in the uniform of a Mehmetçik, a Turkish soldier. The statue was to represent Hector as Anatolia's defender against Western aggressors, that is as the forerunner of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his Turkish soldiers, who had defended the Dardanelles against the invasion of Western forces in the First World War battle of Gallipoli.

The project of a Hector-statue was finally realised by the erection of a five-meter high marble monument that represents him as an ancient warrior but in a dismembered looking, abstract shape. This was hardly due to the publication of my book on Troy² in which I have suggested that there might never have existed a Hector as leader of Bronze Age Trojans in a defensive war against Western, i.e. Greek, aggressors in the region of the Dardanelles, the so-called Troad.

² Kolb 2010. A careful summary of the discussion and controversy about the Troy question is offered by Weber 2011. It is very regrettable that Anglo-Saxon scholarship tends more and more to ignore publications in other languages than English and is therefore often in danger to be insufficiently informed. In other cases, there is a clear tendency to one-sided opinions; see, e.g., Cline 2008.

The name Hector is, indeed, not an Anatolian name; it is not attested in Bronze Age Anatolian sources, but on Mycenaean Linear B tablets together with other names of Trojan figures, as there are Tros, Antenor, Alexandros, the more frequently used name for Paris in the *Ilias*, furthermore a female form of the name Priamos. The same is valid for names of Greek heroes of the Trojan War, e.g. Achilles or Aias. There is, however, nothing heroic about their role in the Mycenaean World; they appear as servants, artisans or administrative functionaries in Mycenaean palaces³. But not only are names of legendary Trojans part of Greek onomastic already in the 14th/13th centuries BC; throughout the *Ilias* the large majority of the personnel on the Trojan side bears Greek names. There are no Trojans with Anatolian names, but Dardanos, Aineias, and Paris seem to be of Thracian or Illyrian origin and have to be seen in context with Thracian or Illyrian immigration into the so-called Troas, to which I will return below⁴.

This justifies the question, if there ever existed Troes, as the *Ilias* calls them, in North West Asia Minor. There is reason for scepticism. In Greek sources the existence of Trojans in this region is not attested outside the context of the Trojan War legend. Nor do Anatolian historical and geographical sources mention a people called Troes. One might be tempted to explain this as the result of their almost total extermination. Yet, according to the Trojan legend only the inhabitants of the central settlement Ilios have been killed or captured and transported to Greece, and the *Ilias* prophecies that Aineias and the dynasty of the Aineiadae will continue to rule over the Troes⁵.

Therefore, even if one would be inclined to believe in an at least partial historicity of the Trojan War, there remains the question what happened to the Troes who inhabited the extensive region of the Troas. Were they absorbed by other people settling in the area soon after the end of that war? This would in turn raise the question, why the region was nevertheless called Troïe, Troia or Troas in historical times, although since the end of the Heroic Age, that is since immemorial times, a people called Troes did not exist any more at the Dardanelles.

The Augustan geographer Strabon confessed to be confronted with a strange dissonance of terminology and definition of what the Troïe or Troas did mean geographically⁶: “The Aeolians, then, were scattered throughout the whole of that country which, as I have said, the poet called Troie. As for later authorities, some

³ Bennett/Olivier 1973, 44-45: PY An 519.1; 39 v 6. Ep 705.6. Chadwick/Killen/Olivier 1971: KN, 83, Dc 5687. Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2006, 7. Hiller/Panagl 1986, 248-249. Wathelet 1988, 285, 472, 909-910, 1028-1029. Bennett 2011.

⁴ Wathelet 1988, 181-183, 400, 817. Wathelet 1989, 23-28. Von Kamptz 1982, 283-284.

⁵ Hom. *Il.* 20.307-308.

⁶ Str. 13.1.4.

apply the name to all Aeolis, but others to only a part of it; and some to the whole of the Troas, but others to only a part of it, not wholly agreeing with one another about anything”.

It is obvious that the boundaries of what was called Troie, Troia, Troas were defined very differently (Fig.1). The Northern boundary was drawn somewhere between the mouth of the river Aisopos and Abydos, the southern one variably at Cape Lekton or as far south as the so-called Lower Aeolis. Strabon himself viewed the matter in Homeric terms. To him the Troas was the whole area ruled by nine dynasties he supposed to have been subjected to Priamos, and, consequently extended from the Aisopos mouth to the border of Ionia⁷.

The geographer Pomponius Mela, writing in AD 43/44, reveals the extent of confusion with regard to a definition of the Troas. When he enumerates the various regions along the West coast of Asia Minor, proceeding from south to north, he first mentions the Aeolis, then the Troas as bordering the Hellespont. Later on, he designates the coast opposite the island of Lesbos and the island itself as situated in the Troas. The same author drops an important hint at the background of the designation Troas: “The next region [i.e. after Ionia] became the Aeolis from the time when it was settled by Aeolians; before it was called Mysia and where it borders on the Hellespont it was Troas when it was in the possession of the Trojans”, *Troianis possidentibus Troas fuit*⁸. This means that, according to his opinion, in his own time the designation Troas was no more really adequate and should have been chronologically confined to the Heroic Age.

It is evident that Troas as a designation for a more or less vaguely defined region was in the eyes of ancient geographers a result of the epic tradition. It was not attached to a historically verifiable period. A similar uncertainty concerning the definition of the Troas can be found in historiographical sources. For Herodotus it is the region at the Gulf of Adramyttion, i.e. east of Lesbos. Later writers tend to define the Troas in accordance with the extension of the Ilian League, the confederacy of Ilian *poleis*, founded in the 3rd century BC, when the Trojan legend and Ilios as its scene experienced a revival supported by Hellenistic rulers. This definition of the Troas was obviously a historical construction and not accepted by all ancient authors⁹.

Modern research displays a similar uncertainty in defining the Troas. W. Leaf criticizes Strabon for extending the Troas from the Aisopos to the Southern border of the Aeolis, the river Hermos. He prefers a narrower definition on the basis

⁷ Str. 13.1.5-8.

⁸ Mela 1.14; 2, 101; 1, 90.

⁹ Hdt. 5. 26; 122. See also X. *An.* 7.8.7. Ephor., *FGrH* 70 F 163a calls the whole region only Aiolis. For later ancient authors see the references in Tenger 1999, 107.

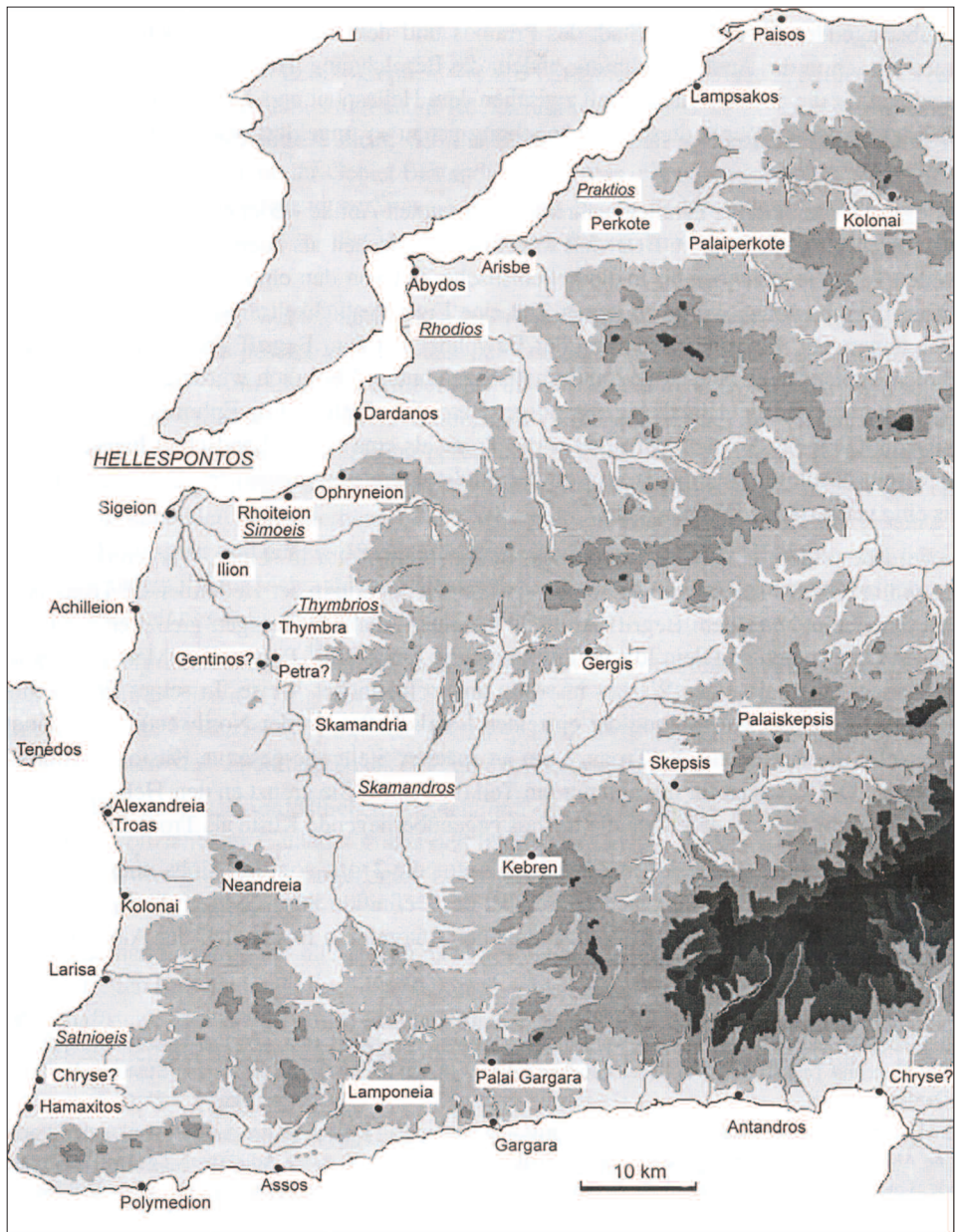


Fig. 1. Map of Troas (© Tenger 1999, p.105).

of the *Iliad*'s ethnic geography on the one hand, the orography and geology of the region on the other hand: "The Troad is the country watered from Ida". J.M. Cook limits his survey of the Troas to the region between Abydos and Antandros, explaining that "no particular justification can be offered for this", since "the term Troad has no precise geographical or political connotations"¹⁰.

To sum up: In historical times there were no Trojans at the Dardanelles. The historical settlement on hill Hisarlık was not named Troia but Ilion. The name Troas was attached to the region, because it was called Troïe in the *Ilias*. In historical times no precise knowledge existed of what Troïe or Troas really meant. Therefore, opinions about the extension and borders of the Troas were extremely vague. It is obvious that in Antiquity the Troas formed neither an ethnic nor a political unity. Nor was it a clearly defined geographical region. The ancient Troas appears to have been a construction based on controversial interpretations of the *Iliad*, on pretensions of *poleis* to belong to the Trojan heritage and on historical realities created by the presence of Aeolian Greeks in the region.

With regard to the Heroic Age, the population of what the *Ilias* calls Troïe is a mixed assemblage of tribes, among which the Troes are a rather ill-defined group. Besides them, the *Ilias* mentions Dardanoi, Pelasgoi, Leleges, Kilikes, and Kaukones, and at least one Lycian, Pandaros, who is said to rule Zeleia in the Troas¹¹. Later writers still enlarge the number of tribes in the region, in particular by such of Thracian or Illyrian origin: Teukroi, Phryges, Thrakes, Bebrykes, Treres, Mysoi, Dryopes, Bithynioi, Brigioi, Maryandynoi; furthermore, there are Lydoi and a people called Azeiotai. Strabon regards these reports about so many different populations inhabiting the Troas as *mythopoiiai*¹².

It is evident that this mixture of populations at best reflects a long historical development, and there are some tribes mentioned in the *Ilias* whose alleged presence in the region arouses suspicion. The Kaukones, e.g., are of enigmatic quality, and the presence of Kilikes around an unidentified settlement called Thebe is no less suspicious than that of the Lycian Pandaros at Zeleia (see below).

From which sources did the poet of the *Ilias* or the preceding oral tradition draw their informations? How did those populations get into the Troas? The Dardanoi must have immigrated from the Balkans, where still in Hellenistic and Roman

¹⁰ Leaf 1923, XIV-XXIV (quotation on p. XXII). Cook 1973, 1. See also Trachsel 2007, II, who distinguishes "la Troade imaginaire ou littéraire de l'*Iliade*" from "la Troade réelle" in later ancient authors and modern research. Each ancient author constructs his own Troas according to his respective reading of the *Ilias*, and only from Roman imperial times on the real landscape increasingly influences the interpretation of the poem.

¹¹ Hom. *Il.* 2.819, 840-841; 20.92-96; 6.397, 415-416; 10.429; 2. 824-828; 5, 168-204, etc.

¹² Str. 12.8.4; 13.1.8-9, 48-49, etc.

times they are attested as a powerful tribe. Immigrations from the Balkans continued until the 7th century BC, when, historically attested, the Thracian Treres appear in Western Asia Minor¹³.

Yet, the presence of other populations mentioned in the *Ilias*, like the Pelasgoi and Leleges, is more than questionable. In mythological and genealogical studies of later learned Greek literature, they are regarded as pre-Greek, autochthonous populations and located in various regions of the Greek mainland, Crete, the Aegean islands, and Asia Minor. Their names serve as generalized designations for populations that did not speak Greek. In early Greek literature, that is in Hesiod, the *Odyssey*, Alkaios, and in the *Ilias* itself the Leleges and Pelasgoi are still assigned to only few regions. In the *Ilias* Leleges settle in the Southern Troas around Pedasos and Lyrnessos, historically unidentified sites; Alkaios adds Antandros. But Hesiod locates Leleges in Central Greece¹⁴. The Pelasgoi of the *Ilias* inhabit Larisa which by some later writers is tentatively located at the Southern West coast of the Troas, by others, however, identified with a historically verifiable *polis* Larisa in the Southern Aeolis north of the lower Hermos valley¹⁵.

Together with Leleges and Pelasgoi the *Ilias* mentions Kaukones as fighting on the side of the Troes, though – just as in the case of the Leleges and in contrast to the Pelasgoi – they do not show up in the catalogue of allies. The *Ilias* does not assign them a certain settlement area. In the *Odyssey* they seem to live close to Ithaka, according to Strabon in Triphylia, Messenia, and Arcadia, but also at the river Parthenios that separates Bithynia from Paphlagonia¹⁶.

What these population groups have in common, is the striking phenomenon that they are located in Greece as well as in Northwest Asia Minor. This systematic doubling of populations can hardly be due to migrations; it does conspicuously not concern the Dardanoi, for which migration is beyond doubt; they do not show up in Greece. Furthermore, the doubling of population groups is paralleled by the doubling of place-names like Larissa, Thebe, and so on, on the Greek mainland and in the Troas. I will come back to this later.

¹³ Dardanoi: Plb. 2.6.4; 4.66,1-7, etc. Papazoglou 1978. – Treres: Str. 1.3.18, 21. Th. 2.96.4. Wirth 1967, 47-52.

¹⁴ Pelasgoi: Hom. *Il.* 2.681, 840-843; 10.429; 17.288-301; *Od.* 19.177. Hes. Fr. 319 Merkelbach-West (Fr. 212 Rzach). Hdt. 1.57. Pherecyd.Ath., *FGrH* 3 F 25. Ephor., *FGrH* 70 F 113. Str. 13.33. D.H. 1.17.1-3 – Leleges: Hom. *Il.* 20.92-96; 21.86-87; Hes. *Cat.* Fr. 234 Merkelbach-West (Fr. 115,1 Rzach). Alc. Fr. 337 Lobel-Page. Hdt. 1.171. Pherecyd., *FGrH* 3 F 155. Str. 7.7.2. D.H. 1.17.3. RE XII, 1925, 1890-1893 s.v. Leleger (F. Geyer).

¹⁵ Str. 13.3.2-3 mentions 11 sites called Larisa, among them one situated north of the later Hamaxitos, about 35 km from Ilion.

¹⁶ Kaukones: Hom. *Il.* 10.429; 20.329. *Od.* 3.366. Hecat., *FGrH* 1 F 119: Kaukones were no Greeks. Str. 7.7.1-2; 8.3.11, 16-17.

Before, however, it seems worthwhile to have a closer look at the role of the Dardanoi in the *Ilias* and in the Troas. They are not just one among several Thracian or Illyrian tribes from the European North Coast of the Aegean Sea which according to the *Ilias* are fighting on the Trojan side, as there are the Thracians from the Chersonnesos, the Paiones, and the Kikones¹⁷. The Dardanoi are much more prominent. They are listed right after the Troes in the catalogue of troops; their place of residence is Dardania at the foot of Mount Ida; their prince and commander is Priamos' son-in-law Aineias, whose name is probably Thracian or Illyrian. The *Ilias* presents the Dardanoi even as part of the inner circle of Priamos' kingdom. *Troes kai Dardanoi* is a standard formula in the *Ilias* (e.g. 3.456) that denotes the 'Staatsvolk', the nation of Priamos' kingdom. In fact, it is the Dardanoi who in the *Ilias* mark the beginnings of this nation, since Dardanos is the forefather of the Troes. He is the ancestor of Tros, Ilos, Laomedon, and Priamos. Ilos and Priamos are called Dardanidai. According to later sources, Dardanos was an immigrant to the Troas: He arrived there from Samothrake, an island whose name betrays its Thracian associations¹⁸. Another Dardanos, son of Bias, is one of numerous Trojan warriors killed by Achilles¹⁹. For the presence of Balkanic people in the Troas since the late Bronze Age there is archaeological evidence (see below pp. 37-38). Thracian populations and language deeply influenced geographical, topographical, and personal names of the Troas, often doubling names of the Thracian region on the opposite side of the Dardanelles. This is an important backdrop for understanding the role of the Thracians and especially the Dardanoi in the *Ilias* and in the oral tradition which was its source. The Dardanelles and the *polis* Dardanos later carry on onomastic residues of that historical reality of massive Thracian and Illyrian presence in the region²⁰.

There is clear evidence that Balkanic peoples settled in the Troas since the 12th century at the latest, but perhaps already since the 14th century or even earlier. There are only two population groups attested in Late Bronze Age written sources that might be regarded as candidates for inhabiting the Troas: the Dardanoi and the Teukroi, another tribe of Balkanic origin, whose presence in the Troas is attested not in the *Ilias*, but in a roughly contemporary source, the 7th century poet Kallinos from Ephesos²¹. Their mythical forebear Teukros is later promoted to the role of oldest king in the Troas and father-in-law of Dardanos, and he is

¹⁷ Hom. *Il.* 2.846; 17.73 (Kikones); 2.848; 10.428; 16.287; 17.350; 21.154-155 (Paiones); 2.844-845 (Thrakes).

¹⁸ Dardanoi: Hom. *Il.* 2.819; 3.456; 7.348, 368, 414; 8.173, 497. – Dardania: Hom. *Il.* 20.215-218. – Dardanidai: Hom. *Il.* 3.303; 11.166, 372. – Dardanos as immigrant: Hellanic., *FGrH* 4 F 23. D.S. 5.48.3. Str. 7, fr. 20b. See Wathelet 1989, 97-98.

¹⁹ Hom. *Il.* 20.460.

²⁰ Str. 13.1.21. Chiaï 2006.

²¹ Callin. Fr. 7 West 1992 (quoted by Str. 13.1.48).

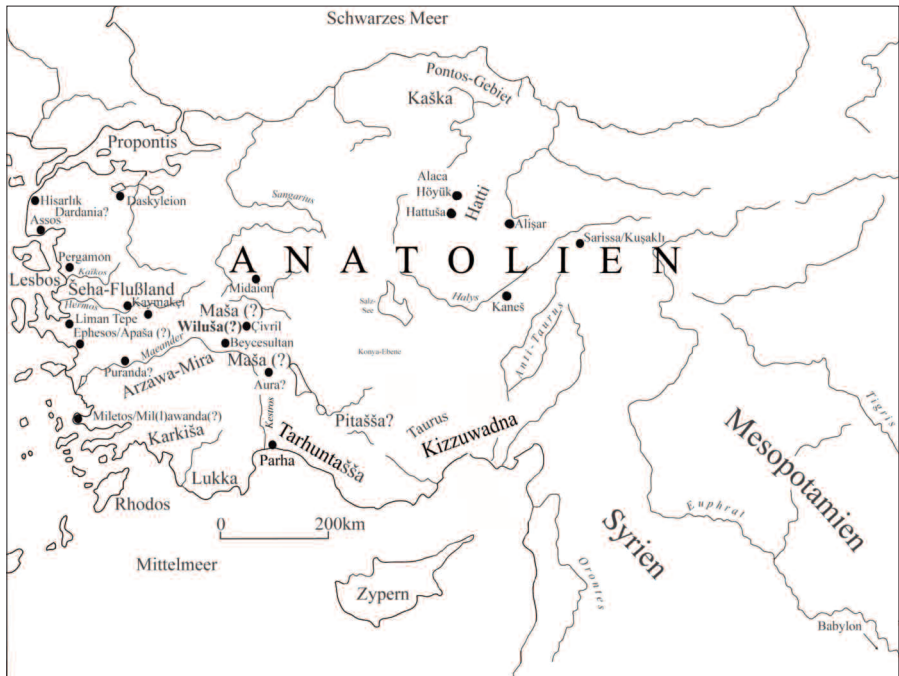


Fig. 2. Map of Late Bronze Age Anatolia (Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Universität Tübingen).

said to have come from an Athenian demos once called Troes²². According to Egyptologists, the Dardanoi and also the Teukroi appear in Egyptian documents, as Drdn and Tkr. If the transcription is correct, the Teukroi would be mentioned together with other so-called Sea Peoples which attacked Egypt under Ramses III in the first decades of the 12th century²³. The Dardanoi or Dardaniya are attested in Egyptian sources already in the first half or middle of the 14th century, and appear again in Pharaoh Ramses II's triumphal war report about the battle of Qadesh in 1274, this time as a contingent of the Hittite army, along with troops from different Anatolian regions, as there are Arzawa, Pitašša, Maša, Karkiša, Kaška, and Lukka²⁴ (Fig. 2).

Since the other denominations of Anatolian states or regions in Egyptian documents correspond closely to those in Hittite sources, Dardaniya, too, should be

²² Apollod. 3.139-140. D.S. 4.75.1. Str. 13.1.48.

²³ Medinet Habu II Taf. 46, 15-18, quoted by Edel 1985.

²⁴ Drdny/Dardaniya: Edel/Görg 2005, 22-27, 32-36.

trusted to render correctly the name of this people in the Late Bronze Age. Yet, in contrast to the other doubtless Anatolian regions enumerated in Ramses' report, the Dardanoi are never mentioned in the rather rich Hittite documentary evidence. At first sight, this might point to their status of mercenaries from outside Anatolia, just as Nubians and Šardana served as mercenaries in the Egyptian army²⁵. There is, however, no evidence for the Hittites using auxiliary troops from outside Anatolia, except for contingents of Near Eastern allies.

It is probable that the Kaška and the Lukka both of whom tenaciously resisted Hittite domination, served not as regular allies, but as mercenaries in the Hittite army at Qadesh. Thus, a possible participation of Dardanoi as mercenaries in the campaign against Ramses does not exclude that they were inhabitants of Asia Minor. The notoriously rebellious Kaška, who lived immediately north of Hatti in the Pontos region, are the only ones mentioned in Hittite sources and in the array of Hittite auxiliary troops who did not come from countries situated in the southern part of the Anatolian peninsula, for which Hittite documents attest frequent diplomatic and military interventions of Hittite kings. That the Dardanoi are missing in Hittite records may therefore be due to the fact that there is no convincing evidence for Hittite interventions, not to speak of Hittite dominance, in Northwest Asia Minor. Recently, there were much discussed and highly controversial intensive attempts to locate the Hittite vassal state Wiluša and another state called Taruiša in the Troas and to proclaim their identity with Ilios and Troia as definitely proven. The arguments that have been brought forward in this regard, have provoked justified criticism concerning the linguistic problems of an identification of Wiluša with Ilios and Taruiša with Troia as well as their geographical location, in particular that of Wiluša²⁶. The Hittite documents circumscribing the alliance duties of Wiluša towards the Hittites point clearly to Wiluša being geographically surrounded by the countries of Lukka, Karkiša, Mira-Arzawa, Šeha and Maša. Wiluša must have been situated in Southwest Asia Minor, and Southern Phrygia would appear to be a good candidate for the position of Wiluša. In this region several important Bronze Age Höyüks still await excavation, and the site of Beycesultan with its impressive Bronze Age settlements is not yet identified by its Bronze Age name. In this same area a *polis* and bishopric called Ilouza is attested. This appears to be a Hellenized indigenous Anatolian name that linguistically seems to conform well to Hittite Wiluša²⁷.

²⁵ Tausend 2012, 16-17, refers to the widespread use of mercenaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, in particular by the Egyptian pharaohs.

²⁶ Identification of Wiluša with Ilios has been argued especially by Hawkins 1998; Easton/Hawkins/Sherratt/Sherratt 2002; Starke 1997; Latacz 2005, 99-147. – Contra: among others, Haider 1999; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004, 2006, 2012; Steiner 2007; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, 98-102; Freu/Mazoyer 2009, 136, 140; Marek 2010, 120-121, 131; Kolb 2010, 87-105. See also the sceptical remarks by Palaima 2007 and Weber 2011, 235-237.

²⁷ Ilouza: Pantazis 2009; Kolb 2010, 100-102.

The conclusion is that in Hittite documents there is no evidence concerning the Troas. This region was far off the focal points of Hittite political and military interests. On the other hand, the only reliably attested Late Bronze Age people for which there is firm evidence that they were living in the Troas since the Early Iron Age at the latest, are the Dardanoi, with the Teukroi, however, being a further candidate. Quite certainly, neither the poet of the *Ilias* nor Hesiod nor any other Greek author knew anything about a presence of Dardanoi or Teukroi in Bronze Age Northwest Asia Minor. But it is certain that inhabitants of that region were still identified as Dardanoi in the age of Hesiod and Homer, that is the mixed inhabitants of the *polis* Dardanos who in the usual Greek manner used the name of the settlement for designating their political community²⁸. The inhabitants of the Troas at the time of the composition of the *Ilias* must still have been vaguely aware of a historical Thracian and Illyrian past in the region, and this must have influenced the oral tradition of the Trojan legend in constructing the alleged populations of the Troas in the Heroic Age, the important role of Thracians and Illyrians as Trojan allies, and in particular the thorough integration of the Dardanoi into the tradition about a Trojan people, up to the degree that Dardanos became the forefather of the Troes and two of the most important Trojan heroes, Hektor and Aineias, were closely associated with the Dardanoi, Aineias even as their leader.

At what time the oral tradition about a Trojan War integrated the Thracians and especially the Dardanoi into the story, whether in the 9th/8th century or earlier, depends on the question, since when Aeolian Greeks arrived in the Troas: not before the 8th century, as some scholars believe, based on archaeological evidence that seems to testify to a foundation of Aeolian settlements in the region not before that date? Or already during the 11th to 9th century, as recent archaeological discoveries on hill Hisarlık itself appear to suggest, where early Greek Protogeometric pottery of the 11th and 10th centuries and apparently Greek sanctuaries of the 9th century have been found²⁹? In this case, Greek immigrants would probably have encountered Balkanic settlers on Hisarlık. The excavations there have shown that pottery of Balkanic type that – according to the results of chemical analysis – was not produced in the Troas, followed the destruction of Troy VIIa, that is around 1200 according to the conventional date³⁰. Recent dendrochronological results from excavations in Macedonia might, however, necessitate a revision of traditional chronology by fixing this date half a century earlier³¹ and thus the end of Troy VIIa at about 1250, consequently the destruction of Troy VI at around 1350 instead of 1300. Whatever may have caused the destruction of Troy VI with its spacious buildings, most probably an earthquake, the fol-

²⁸ See, e.g., X. *HG* 3.1.10.

²⁹ Rose 2008. – Contra: Hertel 2008, 187-193.

³⁰ Hertel 2008, 125-136; Hnila 2012.

³¹ Strobel 2008, 10-11.

lowing settlement VIIa presents a considerably less impressive sight: more primitive building techniques, much smaller houses with a noticeable function as store rooms, as if they were prepared for a siege, and a reinforcement of fortifications around the acropolis.

The Balkanic people settling in Troy VIIb1, using the so-called Barbarian pottery during the 12th century, and those settling in the succeeding Troy VIIb2, introducing the so-called Buckelkeramik, have not necessarily been the only inhabitants there; their pottery represents a relatively small percentage of the total ceramic inventory which essentially continues the tradition of Troy VI and VIIa. We have to take into account a process of more or less peaceful assimilation of diverse population groups. Furthermore, the question remains who were the people inhabiting Troy VI and VIIa? If Dardanoi were settling in the Troas already in the 14th century, as Egyptian sources may suggest (see above pp. 35-36), they could have been assimilated culturally to their surroundings up to a degree that they can not be identified archaeologically. Various scenarios are conceivable: the destruction of Troy VI by an earthquake might have enabled the Dardanoi to cross the Straits and settle in the Troas. From then on they would have presented a menace to the inhabitants of hill Hisarlık and offered sufficient reason for them to prepare the settlement Troy VIIa for a siege. The end of Troy VIIa, caused by whatever incident, would have offered the Dardanoi the possibility to occupy hill Hisarlık introducing the so-called Barbarian pottery. They may have been compelled to defend the settlement against other Balkanic tribes following as invaders of the Troas, among them the Buckelkeramik people of Troy VIIb2, perhaps Mysoi and Phryges, which Peter Haider³² assumes to have destroyed Troy VIIb, or the Teukroi. Yet, another scenario, heretical as it may appear, is imaginable as well: Dardanoi might already have been the inhabitants of Troy VI and Troy VIIa. According to the prehistorian Bernhard Hänsel, the size and structure of those settlements on hill Hisarlık have much more in common with that of prehistoric Aegean and Balkanic examples than with contemporary Anatolian ones³³.

In any case, among the people which the Greek immigrants met with, were such of Balkanic origin. It is open to speculation, if their first encounters with them were of a rather peaceful nature, leading to cohabitation on hill Hisarlık side by side, or marked by violent conflicts that might have contributed to produce or enrich a legend of a Trojan War, as some scholars think. It is obvious that the presence of Dardanoi and other Balkanic peoples in the Troas together with the still largely intact fortifications on hill Hisarlık could not but promote the Dardanoi to a prominent role in a legend of a war about this site – and quite naturally on the side of the defenders of that place.

³² Haider 1997. 1999. See also Weber 2011, 240.

³³ Hänsel 2003, 115-116.

Was the name of the prehistoric settlement on hill Hisarlık perhaps Dardania? In the *Ilias*³⁴ a settlement called Dardania is located at the foot of mount Ida, but no traces of a Dardania have been found there. According to the poet, it existed “before sacred Ilios was built”. Had the name Dardania to be moved from hill Hisarlık in order to make room for the name of the Greek settlement called Ilios which was to become Priamos’ splendid and embattled city? We have seen that the name of the prehistoric Bronze Age settlement on hill Hisarlık was certainly neither Wiluša, nor Ilios or Troïe. Troïe is an adjectival form derived from the tribal name Troes; it means ‘Trojan’, for example when the *Ilias* speaks of Troïe *polis*, the Trojan *polis*. This adjective is, however, used about 50 times like a noun, mostly to designate the region, less often (about a dozen times) the ensemble of central settlement and the area controlled by it. In the *Ilias* the name of the central settlement as political and religious centre is Ilios, used 106 times in the poem. The use of the variant *Troïe* depended on metrical reasons. Thus, despite the fact that in later times Troïe or Troia became a standard denomination for the legendary city, the *Ilias* itself does not really indiscriminately employ two names for the settlement centre of the Troes³⁵.

The name Ilios/Ilion was that of the settlement founded on hill Hisarlık by immigrant Aeolian Greeks. The course of their conquests of North Aegean islands and Northwest Asia Minor is probably reflected in the heroic accomplishments of Achilles, as reported in the *Ilias*³⁶. A siege and conquest by Greeks of a site called Ilios on hill Hisarlık can, however, not be historical. The legendary tradition of a war against Trojans used this name, because that of the Late Bronze Age settlement was not remembered any more. On the other hand, according to Greek custom, the inhabitants of Ilios could only have been called Ilieis, not Troes. The name Ilieis, however, is never used in the *Ilias*. The Achaeans never wage war against Ilieis, reasonably enough, because this would have meant to wage war against the Greek inhabitants of the Greek *polis* Ilion. For the same reason, Athena, who in the *Ilias* is the principal deity of Ilios³⁷, and consequently should be its protective goddess, can not and does not support the Troes but the Achaeoi, not Hector but Achilles³⁸. Obviously, the epic tradition got tangled up in a contradictory construction. In the original version of the Trojan legend, Athena can

³⁴ Hom. *Il.* 20.216-218.

³⁵ *Troïe polis*: Hom. *Il.* 1.129; *Od.* 11.510; Bethe 1927, 19-22; Meyer 1974, 809; Wathelot 1988, 41-46; Mannsperger 2002, 853; Letoublon 2003; Szlezák 2012, 34-35; Visser 1997, 83-94, especially 88-90.

³⁶ Hom. *Il.* 9.328-329: Achilles’ conquest of 23 *poleis*; see also 2.690-693; 6.414-416, etc.

³⁷ Hom. *Il.* 6.87-96, 297-311: Theanos, Athena’s priestess implores Athena as “Protrectress of the *Polis*” to bring about Diomedes’ death; the goddess, however, refuses without further comment. It appears plausible that she felt deeply offended by Paris’ judgement and therefore openly sided with the Achaeans 24.27-30.

³⁸ Hom. *Il.* 15.70-71 (Athene as enemy of the Trojans); see also 2.156-181, 445-452; 8.30-37, 350-380. Athene assists Achilles: 1.194-198; 19.352-354; 20.94, 438-440; 22.214-299, etc.

not have been the principal deity and protectress of a Trojan settlement, be it on hill Hisarlık or somewhere else. But it is obvious that there is an inseparable connection between her epithet Ilias and the place-name Ilios.

On the Greek mainland, the cult of Athena Ilias is attested in only two Aeolian *poleis*: at Physkos in Lokris, and at Echinon in the neighbouring Achaean Phthiotis, Achilles' native country³⁹ (fig. 3). Only in these two *poleis* in the whole of Greece was Athena Ilias the principal deity of the political community. Fritz Graf suggests that Athena Ilias was originally the family goddess of Oileus, the father of Lokrian Aias. The latter is said to have committed a horrible religious crime: He violently removed Cassandra from the altar of Athena, whose statue tumbled down from its pedestal. The Lokrians are told to have done penance for this crime by sending every year Lokrian virgins to Ilion as servants in Athena's cult. This is evidently an *aition* which has the function to explain the close connection between Lokrian Aeolians and the cult of Athena on hill Hisarlık⁴⁰.

Bethe⁴¹ has observed that the personal name Ilos/Ileus and the place-name Ilios/Ilion are firmly rooted on the Greek mainland. It is, of course, possible that *Poleis* called Ilion in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Eastern Thrace have received their name under the influence of the Trojan legend. This is, however, improbable in the case of a mountain called Ilios or Ilion near Las at the West Coast of the Lakonian Gulf, and the name Wirios/Ilios which seems to be attached to a Peloponnesian or Cretan settlement already in an Egyptian document of the early 14th century⁴². And whereas Hesiod mentions a Trojan called Ileus, the Odyssey knows a person of the name Ilos in Greek Ephyra⁴³. In the Ilias the name *Oileus* is on the one hand attached to a Trojan charioteer, on the other hand to the father of Lokrian Aias. Scholars agree that in the Ilias metrical reasons are responsible for changing an initial Digamma of the name *Fileus* into an O which resulted in Oileus⁴⁴.

We have seen that names of Trojan heroes appear already in Mycenaean Linear B texts. No less revealing is the frequent doubling of personal and topographical

³⁹ IG IX 1, 351. SEG 16,354-361 (Physkos); 54,554 bis (Echinon).

⁴⁰ Graf 1978. Morris 2007.

⁴¹ Bethe 1927, 69, 138-144.

⁴² Paus. 3.24.6. Meyer 1974 and 1975. Hampl 1975, 51-99. – Edel/Görg 2005, 184-187, 191, 208-209; Kolb 2010, 80-85. Efforts to identify the Wirios/Ilios in the Egyptian text with Ilios in the Troas (see, e.g., Breyer 2010, 334; – contra: Bennett 2011, 160) go astray, since this Egyptian list of place-names otherwise only mentions Peloponnesian and Cretan sites.

⁴³ Hes. Fr. 116 ed. Rzsch. Hom. Od. 1.259.

⁴⁴ Oileus = (F)Ileus: Hom. Il. 2.527, 727-728 (father of 'little Aias'); 11.93 (Trojan charioteer). Bethe 1927, 141. Meyer 1975, 161 with note 10. Von Kamptz 1982, 295-298. Hertel 2008, 184-186.

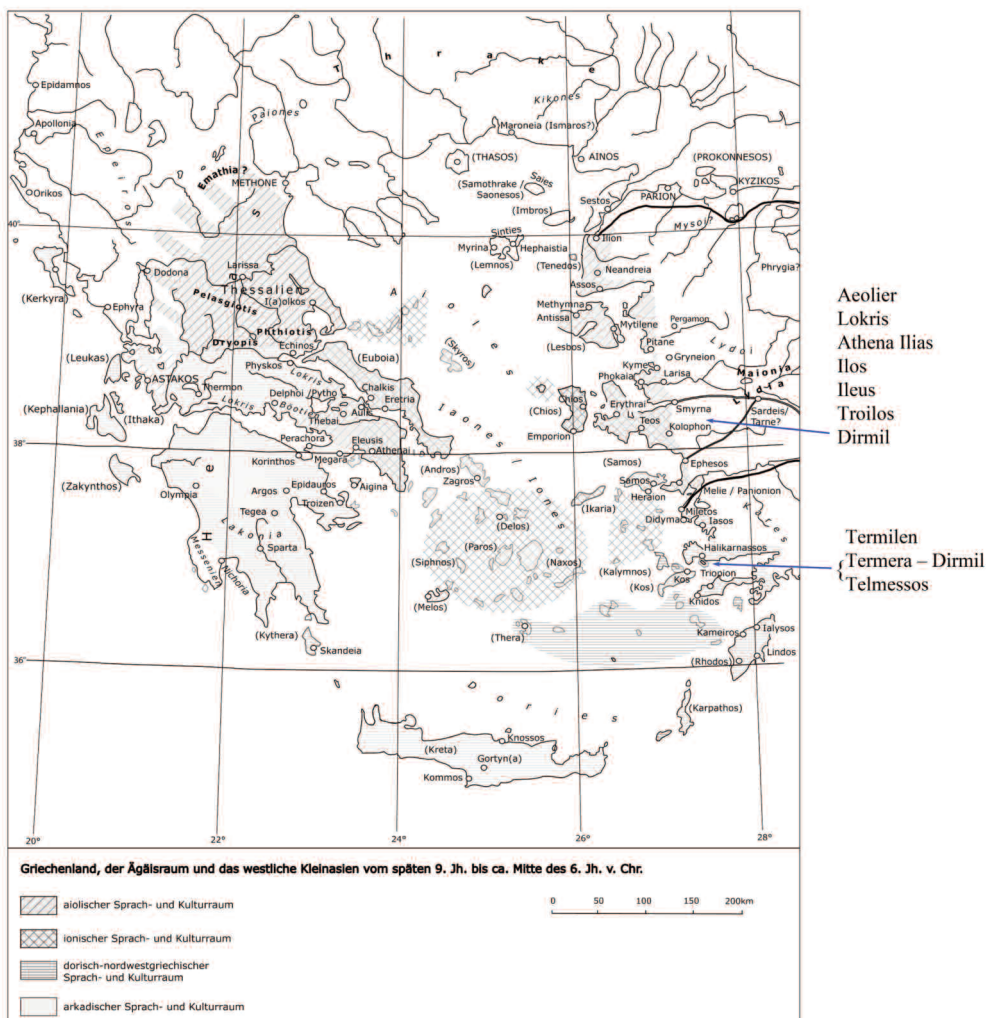


Fig. 3. Map of Archaic Greece and Western Asia Minor (Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Universität Tübingen, based on map, © A.M. Wittke).

names in the *Ilias*. Anchises, for example, is not only the name of Aineias' father, but also of a renowned aristocrat at Peloponnesian Sikyon. He was the father of Echepolos who is presented as owner of racing-horses – just like Aineias⁴⁵. The doubling of geographical and topographical names that we have already observed

⁴⁵ Hom. *Il.* 2.819; 23.295-300. Wathelet 1989, 29-30, 112, 165.

in the case of Thracian or Illyrian designations, concerns in particular Aeolian Greece: A place called Thebe in the Southern Troas was allegedly conquered by Achilles. Several *polis* centers of this name existed in Greece, and one of them in Achilles' native country Achaia Phthiotis. Larisa, according to the Ilias inhabited by the Pelasgoi among the Trojan allies, finds its equivalent in Thessalian Larisa, situated in a region called Pelasgiotis and adjacent to Achille(u)s' Phthiotis. In the Ilias the Pelasgian hero Hippothoos, who fights on the Trojan side, dies "far away from the fertile fields around Larisa"; this seems not to fit neither a Larisa in the Troas nor the Aeolian Larisa in the Hermos valley – but does fit Larisa in Thessalian Pelasgiotis, which is conspicuously absent from the catalogue of ships, whereas the Ilias mentions Greek warriors from Pelasgian Argos in Achilles' contingent of 50 ships⁴⁶. The warriors of Thessalian Larisa may have been enemies of Achilles' Achaeans in the original story. Furthermore, the Leleges, which the Ilias locates in the Troas, are attested by Hesiod as inhabiting parts of Central Greece, of Lokris, with a Lokros as their leader. In the Ilias, Dryops, one of Priamos' sons, is killed by Achilles. It can hardly surprise that one finds Dryopes in the region of Mount Oita and the Spercheios valley, in the neighbourhood of Achilles' home. The alleged Trojan Dryops was, of course, nothing else than the heroic forebear of these Dryopes in mainland Greece⁴⁷.

Altogether, the Troas of the Ilias appears to be largely populated by tribes and settlements which in mainland Greece surround the native country of Achilles and against which he excels in battle during the Trojan War. One population group, however, is missing in Central and Northern Greece: the Troes. But as we have seen, they are also absent from the Troas, they do not exist outside the legendary context of the Trojan War story. The names of Trojan heroes are mostly Greek names, some are of Thracian or Illyrian origin. There are no traces of a particular ethnic Trojan identity. How, then, did the Troes come to play the central part in the story about a Trojan War?

Erich Bethe, Ernst Meyer, and recently Thomas Szlezák argue that Achilles' duel with Hektor can not have been fought at the Hellespont, but reflects a war between neighbouring tribes in Central Greece, a war between Achilles' Achaeoi and Hektor's Troes who may have lived in Southern Thessaly⁴⁸. Ernst Meyer suggested that after their defeat their name has simply disappeared from the record,

⁴⁶ Thebe: Wathelet 1988, 48-49; 1989, 183-185. – Larisa: Hom. *Il.* 2.840-841; 17.301. – Hippothoos: Hom. *Il.* 17.288-301. – Pelasgian Argos: Hom. *Il.* 2.681.

⁴⁷ Leleges: see note 14. – Dryops: Hom. *Il.* 20.455. – Dryopes/Dryopis: Hdt. 1.56; 8.31, 43. Str. 7.7.1; 8.6.13. Plin. *Nat.* 4.7.28. RE V, 1905, 1747-1749 s.v. Dryopes (J. Miller); 1749-1750 s.v. Dryops (Escher).

⁴⁸ Bethe 1927, 23-24; Meyer 1975, 166-169; Szlezák 2012, 35-36. See also Hampl 1975, 62-63, 72; Kullmann 2011, 111-112. Wathelet 1989, 183, who – following Bethe – locates Hektor at Boeotian Thebe.

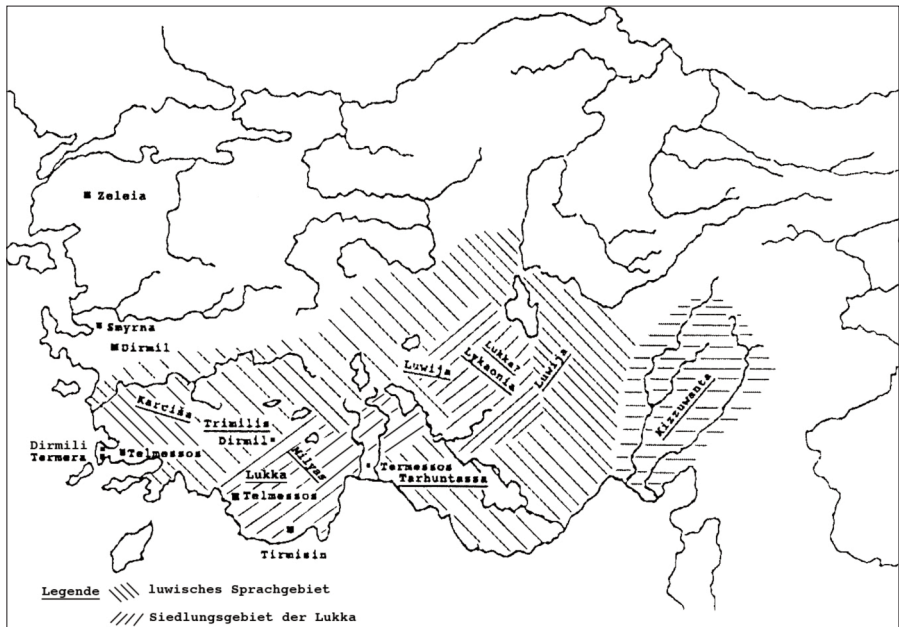


Fig. 4. Map of Bronze Age Anatolia with Luwian and Lukka (Trimili) settlement areas (Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Universität Tübingen).

as was the case with the names of other Greek population groups mentioned in the *Ilias*, for example the Danaoi, the Epeioi, the Myrmidones, and also the Hellenes, the latter name living on only as designation for all Greeks. Also other historically attested tribes, like the Kaukones, the Enetes or the Azanioi, the latter ones settling in Northern Arcadia in the Early Iron Age, disappeared as *ethne* together with their name⁴⁹.

I agree with these scholars and others who are convinced that the legend of the Trojan War was formed in Greece, transported by Aeolian Greeks to Northwest Asia Minor and fixed at the fortification walls on hill Hisarlık. Together with the Trojan legend, the names of persons, settlements, and tribes were transported into that region which thus became a kind of look-alike of central Greece around Achilles' Phthiotis. Achilles' Achaeans developed into the Achaioi embracing all Greeks. The landscape at the Dardanelles became the backdrop for the war, received the name Troas, and in the course of time more legendary tales were integrated into the original core of the story, some of them before about 700, others probably by the poet of the *Ilias* himself. It is controversial, whether the tale about

⁴⁹ Azanioi: Nielsen/Roy 1988. See also Str. 9.4.11 on the fate of the Anianes.

Achilleus' conquests in Northwest Asia Minor belongs to the oldest version of the Trojan legend or was integrated later. In any case, it was one of several tales that were joined together to constitute the legend of the Trojan War. Philologists and historians, like Erich Bethe, Ernst Meyer, Franz Hampl, and others have long ago realized that, for example, the duels between the hero Idomeneus from Gortyn on Crete and the alleged Trojan heroes Phaistos and Asios have nothing to do with Northwest Asia Minor but reflect wars between the Cretan towns of Gortyn, Phaistos and Hyrkatina. The duel between the Lycian Sarpedon and the Rhodian Tlepolemos has rightly been interpreted as allegory of the warlike conflicts between Lycians and Rhodians, historically attested since about 700⁵⁰.

Moreover, the outstanding role played by the Lycians in the *Ilias*, a much discussed enigma, is, according to my opinion, another example of this process of integrating historically rather late experiences into the legend. Why of all peoples are the Lycians, with their leaders, their *basileis* Sarpedon and Glaukos, the most important allies of the Trojans, collectively praised as *mega ethnos* and *antitheoi*, godlike? They alone of all Trojan allies are even addressed as representing the totality of those allies. Sarpedon is introduced as the commander of all allies. Several times in the *Ilias* Hektor, cheering on his troops to fight, calls on the *Troes kai Lykioi*, and only Glaukos, who after Sarpedon's death is sole chief of the Lycians, has the authority to accuse Hector of cowardice, because he flees from Aias. Glaukos threatens the withdrawal of the Lycians from the war, prophesying Troy's inevitably ensuing destruction⁵¹.

Scholars like Peter Frei and Martin West have tried to explain this by suggesting that Homer had knowledge of Lycian epic tales recited at a princely court at Xanthos and relating the heroic feats of Lycian heroes⁵². But archaeological evidence in Lycia including Xanthos speaks against a level of civilisation already around 700 or in the first half of the 7th century that could have produced a kind of princely court and a Lycian epos⁵³. Furthermore, later Lycian evidence demonstrates that the Lycians knew about the legend of a Trojan War, including the Lycian heroes, only in its Greek version – and even this obviously not a long time before about 400 BC⁵⁴. The poet of the *Ilias* learned about the Lycians from Greek sources and – this is my suggestion – from events in his own lifetime.

⁵⁰ Bethe 1927, 23-24; Hampl 1975, 63; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1920, 331-339; Wathelet 1989, 166. – Idomeneus-Phaistos-Asios: Hom. *Il.* 5.43-47; 13.383-388. Asios is an epithet of Cretan Zeus; – Tlepolemos-Sarpedon: Hom. *Il.* 5.628-669.

⁵¹ *mega ethnos, antitheoi*: Hom. *Il.* 12.330, 408. – *Troes kai Lykioi*: Hom. *Il.* 8.173; 11.285-286; 13.150; 15.424-425, 485-486; 17.184, etc. – Sarpedon as commander of all allies: Hom. *Il.* 12.101-102. – Glaukos blames Hektor: Hom. *Il.* 17.140-155.

⁵² Frei 1978; 1993. West 2011, 23, 31, 64-65.

⁵³ Kolb/Kupke 1992, 39-40. Des Courtils 2003. Marksteiner 2010, 62, 70.

⁵⁴ Kolb 2014.

In Herodotus one finds rather enigmatic information about Ionian *poleis* in Western Asia Minor which appointed Lycians, descendants of Glaukos, as their *basileis*⁵⁵. Does a historical background to this exist? According to the poet Kallinos from Ephesos, whose lifetime is usually dated to around the middle of the 7th century, the Lydian capital Sardes was conquered first by Kimmerians and again by Lycians and the Balkanic Treres who were allies of the Kimmerians⁵⁶. In modern research, these events are dated around the middle of the 7th century. Since the beginning of the 7th century the Kimmerians were raiding Asia Minor and since 665 they were attacking the Lydian kingdom of Gyges⁵⁷. Possibly, the Treres and the Lycians were taking part in the Kimmerian raids already well before their attack on Sardes. Furthermore, the Lydians under their king Gyges at those times tried to subjugate the Ionian coastal *poleis*, and Herodotus' information on Lycian *basileis* in Ionian *poleis* of that region may reflect a kind of emergency alliances of Ionian *poleis* with Lycian warlords.

There is further evidence for an involvement of Lycians in Western Asia Minor. The Lycians called themselves Trmmili and their country Trmmis. This appellation has been preserved in ancient and Turkish geographical and topographical names on the Lycian peninsula in the case of Termessos, Telmessos, Trimilinda, Tirmisin and Dirmili. Yet, also on the peninsula of Halikarnassos it has left traces in ancient settlements like Termera and Termessos as well as in the Turkish place-name Dirmili. In the present context it is particularly interesting that just south of Izmir, the ancient Ionian *polis* Smyrna, the Turkish place-name Dirmili testifies to the presence of Trimili, i.e. of Lycians, in ancient times⁵⁸.

This evidence may be valued as indirect confirmation of Herodotus and Kallinos. It suggests that Lycian warlords with their warriors were active in Western Asia Minor as conquerors, raiders and mercenaries, perhaps sometimes as enemies, sometimes as allies of Ionian *poleis*. Dirmili south of Smyrna, a *polis* often hailed as Homer's home, may have been a settlement of Lycian warriors. The poet Mimnermos, probably native of Smyrna and writing during the 2nd half of the 7th century, mentions a battle between the Lydian king Gyges and Smyrna⁵⁹. Lycians may have taken part in this war, perhaps on the side of the Smyrnaeans.

⁵⁵ Hdt. 1.147.

⁵⁶ Callin. Fr. 5 West 1992 (quoted by Callisthen.Olynth., *FGrH* 124 F 29 and Str. 14.1.40).

⁵⁷ Marek 2010, 151-153.

⁵⁸ Hdt. 1.173; 7.92 etc. Panyas., *EGF*, F 18 (= Hecat., *FGrH* 1 F 10). Philipp.Theang., *FGrH* 741 F 3. Str. 14.5.23. Laroche 1976. Frei 1993. Carruba 1996. – For Termera and Telmessos on the peninsula of Halikarnassos see RE V A 1, 1934, 729-730 s.v. Termera (W. Ruge). Plin. *Nat.* 5,29.107. Frei 1993, 89, note 18. – Dirmil(i): Sahin/Adak 2007, Text p.39, STR 24/line 32 and p. 170-172). Zgusta 1984, 27-28. – Dirmili near Smyrna/Izmir is entered in older Turkish maps on 38° 15' N, 27° 26' E (information by V. Höhfeld, Tübingen).

⁵⁹ Mimn., 578 F 5. Marek 2010, 153. See also Paus. 7.3.7 for Lycians as early settlers at Ionian Erythrai.

Several scholars, like Walter Burkert, Martin West, Wolfgang Kullmann, and – with some reservations – Thomas Szlezák, date the composition of the *Ilias* to the first half or middle of the 7th century⁶⁰. I think, this is a plausible suggestion. In the case presented here, it would explain why the Lycians play such an important role in the *Ilias*. The poet himself may have made the experience formulated in his poem: “The Lycian leaders, who of old have ever been fierce in mighty conflicts”⁶¹. It would also explain, why in the *Ilias* the Lycian Pandaros commands the Troes of Zeleia. The Scholia to these verses erroneously concluded that Zeleia was *he mikra Lykia*, “little Lycia”. Modern research has got lost into misinterpreting the *Ilias* as well, postulating the existence of two Lycias, one in the North, the other in the South of Asia Minor⁶². Pandaros, however, commands Trojans, not Lycians. He is a Lycian *basileus* ruling over Trojans, just as there were Lycian *basileis* ruling over Ionian *poleis*. The poet of the *Ilias* transferred this Ionian experience to the Troas.

Conclusion

To sum up: I suppose that the outstanding role of the Lycians in the *Ilias* is to be interpreted as a transfer of experiences which the Ionian Greeks made in the lifetime of the poet of the *Ilias* who had witnessed himself or heard of the extraordinary warlike virtues of Lycian condottieri with their troops in battles in Asia Minor. As non-Greek inhabitants of the Asian continent, the Lycians were excellent candidates for playing the most important part among the allies of the Trojans. Their participation in a Trojan War and the Lycian Pandaros as ruler over the Trojans of Zeleia are, of course, poetic invention.

In view of the fact that battles between Cretan towns, warlike conflicts between Rhodians and Lycians, the presence of Lycian warlords with their troops in Ionian Asia Minor etc., have been transferred to the Troas and integrated into the story of a great war, why should the presence of Troes in the so-called Troas and their battles with Greeks claim greater historical probability? I agree with representatives of the neoanalytical interpretation that the *Ilias* is a complex composition in which various legendary traditions have been melted. A similar process of melting different traditions and of displacing the localities, persons, and events is represented by another famous legend, the *Nibelungen Saga*. Its original stage is historically verifiable at the Rhine and in neighbouring regions west of it. Yet, in the poem the scene of the deadly conflict between the Burgundians and Attila’s Huns is moved to Attila’s residence at the Middle Danube, to Gran, Roman Solva,

⁶⁰ Burkert 1976. West 1995. Szlezák 2012, 43–47.

⁶¹ Hom. *Il.* 12.359–360.

⁶² Pandaros: Hom. *Il.* 2,824–827; 4,88–126; 5,95–105,166–296. *Scholia in Hom. Il.* 2,824–827. West 2011, 64–65. The same opinion already in Treuber 1887, 14–18. Macqueen 1968. Bryce 1977. Jenniges 1998; – contra: Frei 1993: Northern Lycians are poetical invention.

nowadays Hungarian Esztergom⁶³. What would have happened, if we had no reliable historical record? The satirical journal *Kladderadatsch* which ridiculed Schliemann's naivety in believing he had found Priamos' treasure, portrayed him going now on search for the Rheingold treasure⁶⁴. Without historical knowledge about those events, archaeologists would probably have been tempted to excavate at the site of Attila's residence the material remains of the Untergang of the Burgundians and thus to verify the historicity of the *Nibelungen Saga*.

Let me conclude with a short statement: I am inclined to remove the question mark behind the title of my contribution: Trojans and a Troas at the Dardanelles are probably a phantom created by the legend of the Trojan War.

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⁶³ Kramer 1982: v. 1550: Gran.

⁶⁴ Anonymus, *Kladderadatsch* 27, vols. 14-15 (1874), 56: cf. Samida 2009, esp. 149.

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Frank Kolb
 Eberhard-Karls-Universität
 Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften
 Seminar für Alte Geschichte
 Wilhelmstraße 36
 D-72074 Tübingen
 Germany
 frank.kolb@uni-tuebingen.de