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REVIEW

Jorrit Kelder, Günay Uslu, and Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu (eds.) 2012: *Troy. City, Homer, Turkey*, Zwolle/Amsterdam, 184 pp. ISBN 978 90 400 0973 4 [Dutch edition: ISBN 978 90 400 0750 7; Turkish edition: ISBN 978 90 663 0001 9]. Price 24.95 EURO.

The work to be reviewed here is the English version of the catalogue of the exhibition held in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam from 7 December 2012 to 5 May 2013 in commemoration of 400 years of diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and Turkey. It is beautifully illustrated with numerous color plates and well edited. The contents divided into 9 chapters with contributions by various authors covers the entire history of Troy, from its beginning at the outset of the Early Bronze Age to its 'Nachleben' in modern times. In the following, I will focus on the first 4 chapters, covering the history of Troy during the Bronze Age and earliest phase of the Early Iron Age (pp. 12-75).

Chapter 1 entitled *The Story of Troy* sets out with a contribution by Irene J.F. de Jong about the poetry of Homer as preserved in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and its promise of eternal renown, the typically Indo-European concept of *kleos afthiton*. In the next section, Jorrit Kelder discusses the origins of the Trojan cycle. It is duly remarked here that the Homeric tradition about the Trojan war, although written down in the 6th century BC, has a much longer history as an epic tradition handed over from one generation of bards to the other and ultimately originates in the Mycenaean period (*ca*. 1400-1200 BC). This conclusion is based not only on the analysis of the language, but also on the mention of objects which are clearly of Late Bronze Age date, like the boar's tusk helmet. To underline the Bronze Age nature of the cycle of the Trojan war, Willemijn Waal rightly draws our attention in an additional note to a phrase from the songs of Istanuwa as preserved in the archives of the Hittite capital Boğazköy/Ḫattusa and which can positively be assigned to the Arzawan language as spoken in the Late Bronze Age in the province of Ḫapalla, situated in the Sangarios basin. This particular phrase confronts us with the opening line of what may well have been an Arzawan Wilusiad or *Iliad* and runs as follows in translation: "When they came from steep Wilusa (= Troy)" (note that the verb is not in the 3rd person singular †*awita*, but plural *awienta*). In the third section, Willemijn Waal sets the Homeric *Iliad* in its proper Near Eastern context and points out some astonish-

ingly detailed parallels between the *Iliad* on the one hand and the epic of Gilgamesh on the other hand.

Chapter 2 about *The Archaeology of Troy* begins with a lucid discussion by Gert Jan van Wijngaarden of the archaeological layers from Troy I to Troy V of the Early to Middle Bronze Age, and by the same author together with Wendy Richter of Troy VI and VIIa covering the latest stage of the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age. From this overview it is clear that Troy was not occupied before the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, *ca*. 3000 BC. One of the highlights of Troy I is the orthostat from the citadel's southern gate with the depiction of a human face, presumably representing a deity. It belongs to the Indo-European tradition of erecting so-called statue menhirs. From Troy II originates the famous treasure wrongly attributed by the excavator Heinrich Schliemann to the Homeric king of Troy, Priamos. Instead of during the Early Bronze Age, this king, if not a figment of Homer's imagination, ruled during the Late Bronze Age, the two possibilities for Homeric Troy suggested in the recent literature being Troy VIh or VIIa (see below). One of the controversies about Troy VI is if it was not confined to the citadel but had a lower city of some note. The latter point of view is defended by the excavator of Troy in the years 1988 to 2005, Manfred Korfmann, whereas the evidence presented by Korfmann in this respect is heavily attacked and marginalized by his former colleague at the university of Tübingen, Frank Kolb. It may be true that, because of the fame of Homer and the Trojan war, every archaeological find at Troy receives more attention than similar finds in other excavations, but I think the evidence for a lower city at Troy presented by Korfmann and his team is valid, and, related to this issue, the function of Troy as a hub of maritime trade between the Aegean and the Black Sea may reasonably be inferred from the relevant material evidence at hand. As far as script is concerned, much attention is paid to a seal with a Luwian hieroglyphic legend found in a layer of Troy VIIb dating to the 12th century BC. On the basis of the parallels, this seal must have belonged to a Hittite scribe who was active in the 13th century BC and therefore the object has obviously been secondarily been disposed of in a later layer. For some reason not mentioned in this connection are the Linear A inscriptions, one of the scripts of Minoan Crete, presumably to be assigned to the period of Troy VI and published by Louis Godart in 1994 and Paul Faure in 1996. The destruction of Troy VIh, which represents the most flourishing period of the city, is generally attributed to an earthquake, whereas that of Troy VIIa, which clearly shows evidence of decline, to human intervention. After Troy VIIb the city was deserted from *ca*. 900-700 BC, precisely the period in which Homer is supposed to have been active, and as such this provides us with yet another argument in favor of the view that the poet drew from an earlier source, *in casu* a Late Bronze Age bardic tradition. The final contribution to chapter 2 is the one of Floris van den Eijnde, who discusses the period of Troy after the hiatus of *ca*. 900-700 BC. He takes the references to the Phrygians in the Homeric epics as evidence of their post-Bronze Age date, because the Phrygians are generally assumed to have entered

the region of the Sangarios basin only after the fall of the Hittite empire *ca*. 1190 BC. In reality, however, the population drift of Phrygians and Thracians from Europe into the Anatolian peninsula already started in an early phase of the Late Bronze Age as deducible from the evidence for Phrygian and Thracian onomastics among the personal names of the Kaska, a population group inhabiting the southern Pontic littoral, in the Hittite documents. It is due to this population drift that the Hittites, whose realm included the Black Sea coast in the Old Hittite period (17th to 16th century BC), were unable to control the latter zone during the entire period of their later history (Woudhuizen 2012). As such, therefore, the Homeric references to Phrygians in the Sangarios basin are not anachronistic but chronologically adequate within the entire Late Bronze Age setting of the story.

Chapter 3 about *Troy and its Neighbours* starts with a contribution by Willemijn Waal about the Hittites. Of chief importance in this section is the so-called Alaksandus treaty, a treaty between the Hittite great king Muwatallis (1295-1271 BC) and his vassal Alaksandus, king of Wilusa. There can be little doubt, namely, that the name *Alaksandus* is the Hittite rendering of Greek *Alexandros*, the name of one of the sons of the Trojan king Priamos in the Homeric epics also known as Paris who plays a crucial role in the onset to the Trojan War by his abduction of Helena, the wife of the Spartan king Menelaus. In this treaty furthermore mention is made of the Wilusian god *Appaliunas*, no doubt the Hittite rendering of Greek *Apollon* who according to Homer sided with the Trojans. In this manner, then, we arrive at the following three identifications: (1) Wilusa = (W)ilios, (2) Alaksandus = Alexandros/Paris, and (3) Appaliunas = Apollon. Now, in my opinion, this is too much evidence in favor of the Bronze Age setting of the Homeric epics than to be dismissed as mere coincidence. In the second section, Alwin Kloekhorst discusses the evidence of relevance to the nature of the language spoken in Bronze Age Troy. After discarding various options, among which are Luwian and Phrygian – the latter of which he unjustifiably rules out before the period of the upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age (see above my remarks on the Phrygian and Thracian population drift from Europe into Anatolia from an early phase in the Late Bronze Age onwards) –, between the lines he actually maintains that the language of the Trojans is of a non-Indo-European type. This view, however, is extremely unlikely against the backdrop of the archaeological evidence, according to which, as we have seen, there is no Neolithic layer before Troy I and Troy I is characterized by a typical Indo-European statue menhir (see above). What is more, it also seems to be ruled out by the relevant linguistic data from the Late Bronze Age sources, like the fact that the place-name *Wilusa* bears testimony of a reflex of the Proto-Indo-European root **wel-* "grass" in like manner as Hittite *wēllu-* "meadow", that the alternative reference to the region of the Troad, *Tarwisa*, likely comes into consideration as a reflex of Proto-Indo-European **dóru-* "wood, tree" in like manner as Hittite *tāru-* of the same meaning (Mallory/Adams 2007, 163-164; 156), and that the divine name *Appaliunas* is based on Proto-Indo-European **apelo-*

"strength" (Pokorny 1994, 52). Therefore, the suggestion that the language of the Trojans is of a non-Indo-European nature may safely be dismissed. The third section of chapter 3 is by Jorrit Kelder, again, who now focuses on the Mycenaean Greeks. Key to this section is the fact that in various Hittite texts from the 13th century BC the king of Aḫḫiyawa or the Akhaians is referred to as a great king (LUGAL.GAL), which is a prerequisite of only a few rulers at the time. This brings to mind the Homeric tradition that the king of Mycenae, Agamemnon, could muster a pan-Greek force by calling on the service of the various vassal-kings in his realm as evidenced by book II of the *Iliad*, the so-called catalogue of the ships. Surely, therefore, the latter document is founded in the Late Bronze Age political reality. As duly notified, part of this reality was the archaeologically demonstrated colonization of Miletus on the western coast of Anatolia by the Mycenaean Greeks, which brought them in direct contact with the Hittites. As soon as this bridgehead was lost to the Greeks, the Hittites deleted the title great king in reference to the Akhaians as in the Sausgamuwa treaty from the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC).

Chapter 4 on *Homer and Troy* opens with a third section by Jorrit Kelder, this time about the critical issue of the historical reality of the Trojan war. Rightly it is pointed out in a note by Willemijn Waal that a war between the Hittites and the Akhaian Greeks about Wilusa or (W)ilios may well be referred to in a Hittite text known as the Tawagalawas letter. It is generally assumed that this letter dates from the reign of Ḫattusilis (1267-1239 BC), but according to the view of a minority headed by Oliver Gurney (2002) it rather should be assigned to the reign of Muwatallis II, the Hittite king of the Alaksandus treaty already mentioned in the above and presumably to be identified with the Motylos of Greek tradition, who hosted Paris in Carian Samylia after the latter's abduction of Helena. Two theories about the dating of the Trojan war have been put forward: Wilhelm Dörpfeld proposed the end of Troy VIh (*ca*. 1280 BC), which, as we noted above, is generally attributed to an earthquake, and Carl Blegen suggested the end of Troy VIIa (*ca*. 1190 BC), which is generally attributed to human intervention or war. Kelder seems hesitant to choose between these two options, but rightly stresses that by *ca*. 1190 BC the Mycenaean palaces had been razed to the ground and therefore, by implication, their rulers were no longer capable to partake in a pan-Greek coalition to fight against Troy. By means of deduction, then, the end of Troy VIh seems the better candidate, and the Akhaian besiegers may well have profited from the damage the earthquake caused to the Trojan walls. Indeed, Fritz Schachermeyr (1950, 189-203) explained the myth of the Trojan horse as a reference to Poseidon, the earth-shaker who is also the protecting deity of the horse – a suggestion Kelder duly refers to. What in snooker terms clinches the frame is that the end of Troy VIa coincides with the evidence from the Tawagalawas letter – if only dated to the reign of Muwatallis II. In the margin, it may be noted that Kelder makes a slight mistake in his discussion of Hittite evidence about Wilusa: its king Walmus is not mentioned in the Manapatarḫundas letter from the reign of Muwatallis II but in the so-called

Milawata letter from the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV. The second section of chapter 4 is by Floris van den Eijnde, again. He is a follower of Moses Finley, who dates the Homeric epics in the 'Homeric period' of *ca*. 900-700 BC, when Troy, as we have noted in the above, was deserted. This approach leads him to the assumption of a monstrous construct like the "Homeric mud brick hut-palaces" in order to patch literary things up with archaeological evidence of Early Iron Age houses in Greece. As opposed to this, the Mycenologist John Chadwick speaks of "luxurious stone-built palaces" as the fitting habitats of Homeric kings (Chadwick 1988, 180) – i.e. the palaces actually found in Late Bronze Age Greece. The third and final section is from the hand of Mathieu de Bakker and deals with the Homeric description of Troy and the Trojans.

This collection of papers on Troy offers a valuable overview of the scientific research in the field and provides indispensable background information for visitors of the highly interesting exhibition about Troy in the Allard Pierson Museum to keep a vivid memory of it or for those who missed the exhibition but are nonetheless interested in the topic. The editors and contributors are therefore to be congratulated with this fine publication.

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