

THE TROJAN HORSE
The Present Debates on Troy and the Art of Fundraising¹

Jan P. Stronk

Introduction

According to tradition the Trojans lost their war against the besieging Achaeans by a ruse. A number of Achaean warriors hid themselves inside a huge wooden horse, allegedly an offering by the Greeks for the goddess Athena. In spite of various warnings – *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* (“I fear the Greeks even when they are bearing gifts”: Vergil, *Aeneis* II, 49) – the Trojans pulled the horse inside their city: the rest of the story – if not already known – may be guessed. Today, archaeology is, in many respects, as much in danger as Troy once was: as a consequence archaeologists look round for help. Whether all offered help is real, beneficiary, and of lasting use remains, however, to be seen.

From March 2001 until April 2002 the exhibition *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit* was presented to the public in, subsequently, Stuttgart (March 17th-June 17th, 2001), Brunswick (July 14th-October 14th, 2001), and Bonn (November 16th, 2001-April 7th, 2002). The exhibition, and especially the accompanying catalogue which was published under the same title as the exhibition itself, triggered a renewed debate on Troy (the catalogue will further in this paper be referred to as *TTW*), as might be expected. As regards Troy the opening words of the *Iliad*: Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά (“The wrath do thou sing, goddess”), are still always valid. Its main issue was this time not whether the excavated site at Hisarlık confirmed the description of the battle in Homer’s *Iliad*; in the words of Korfmann/Mannsperger (1998, 19): “*Nicht belegt werden kann ein historischer Kampf um Troia in der Form, wie er in der Ilias beschrieben ist.*” Though officially focused on Troy,

¹ I am indebted to the following persons for help and suggestions: Prof. J.M. Bremer (University of Amsterdam), Prof. T.P.J. v.d. Hout (Oriental Institute, Chicago), Dr. M.D. de Weerd (University of Amsterdam), and F.C. Woudhuizen (executive editorial board of TALANTA). Nevertheless I, of course, remain completely responsible for any errors left and all views presented. I am grateful to Prof. F. Kolb (Tübingen) for his permission to reproduce the “Schematischer Plan etc.”, Fig. 19 of this paper.

its position and status, and the Trojan War, the background of the present debate is ultimately ethical by nature: where lie the borders of interpretation of excavated data? The protagonists of the current debate are Prof. Manfred Korfmann and Prof. Frank Kolb, both University of Tübingen (Germany), representing opposing views. It would be easy, too easy, to dispose of this debate as just another typically German “Historikerstreit”: yet some have done so. Nevertheless, something much bigger than a debate about the interpretation of finds is at stake: the very integrity of scholarship is, essentially, being discussed. The need to follow the debate is, therefore, obvious.

Before we will enter upon the discussion it seems proper to present, shortly, the indisputable facts. These facts are of archaeological, historical, and literary nature and we will deal with them in two parts with a divide in the late-1980’s, which, not accidentally, coincides with the beginning of Korfmann’s work in the Troad.

Before 1988

*1. Archaeology*²

The settlement hill or *tepe* of Hisarlık consists of the remains of nine (or ten, if one includes the Byzantine village) successive settlements (cities) in which 46 *strata* (construction phases) could be discerned. The hill of Hisarlık measures about 150 m x 200 m and its original top rises some 26 m (plus *c.* 15 m of habitation layers, at the top eroded and/or flattened to 38.30 m) above sea level on the limestone plateau between the valleys of the Menderes Çay (Scamander) and Dümrek Su (Simoeis; *cf.* Fig 1). In 1822 Charles Maclaren published his *A Dissertation on the Topography of the Plain of Troy* (Edinburgh), in which he suggested that the mound of Hisarlık concealed what had remained of Troy. A field-trip to the Troad in 1847 convinced him of the rightness of his views: in the second edition of the *Dissertation* (Edinburgh 1863) he vigorously reiterated his views. Attempts to prove the presence of a city of satisfactory antiquity elsewhere in the Troad, like at Alexandria Troas, Sigeum, or, mainly, Ballı Dağ (a mound situated some 10 kms nearly due S of Hisarlık, near the village of Pınarbaşı steeply rising above the gorge of the Menderes River: *cf.* for this site Cook 1973, 128-45) failed. Some even considered any attempt to locate Troy a waste of time: in their view Troy was a mere fiction.

² For this section I heavily relied, *a.o.*, on Korfmann/Mannsperger 1998, the *lemma* Troia in the *DNP* (the part describing the archaeology was written by Korfmann and may, therefore, be slightly prejudiced), the *OCD*, *s.v.* Troy, Müller 1971, Pfligersdorffer 1985, and Akurgal 1986, *s.v.* Troie, 52-67: the dates given in this book for Troy I-VII are, generally, more than a century ahead of the other dates. This, too, no doubt has its reasons. I have tried to keep out of “politics” as much as possible and tried to limit myself to factual observations. To retrace the relations between Calvert and Schliemann (and Calvert’s roots in the Troad) Allen 1999 has been very useful.

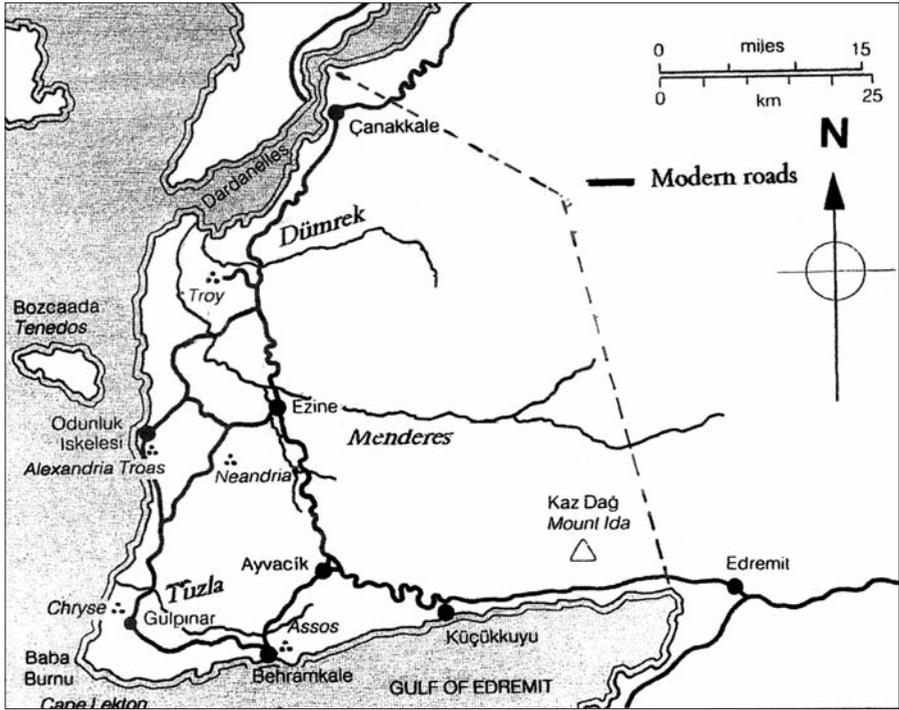


Fig. 1. The Troad.

In the years 1863-1865 the Englishman Frank Calvert (whose brother Frederick managed a farm, which was owned by the family and was situated about 4 miles SE of Hisarlık) dug the first exploratory trenches in the hill and concluded it to be a settlement hill (or *tepe*). Moreover, he sincerely believed (well aware of the latest results of scholarly progress) that the hill concealed the city of Troy, described in, a.o., Homer's *Iliad*. Since he was unable to raise the necessary money to start a proper excavation himself, he did the next best thing he could think of at that moment. He convinced the German (and, by the way, also Russian and U.S. American) Heinrich Schliemann that the latter's search for Troy, which he was in fact conducting anywhere in the Troad but at Hisarlık, might be fruitfully concluded on Tepe Hisarlık. A further exploratory trench (cf. Figs. 2 and 4; also Figs. 13 and 14), which Schliemann dug in 1870, convinced the latter to be, finally, on the right spot indeed. This trench, some 40 m wide, Schliemann cut straight across the middle of the mound from N to S and he cleared away everything above the lowest *stratum*. When I visited the site the last time, in 1993, the trench was still a landmark.

From 1871-1873, 1878-1879, in 1882, and in 1890 Schliemann returned to



Fig. 2. Schliemann's great trench in 1871-3. Engraving.
From: Müller 1971, 51, fig. 14.

the site for his excavations, digging, as a visitor wrote, 'like a farmer grubs up potatoes' (*cf.* Figs. 2, 3, and 4). Nevertheless, it is perhaps too easy to criticize Schliemann for the way he excavated: "... it is only fair to remember that before 1876 very few persons, if anyone, yet really knew how excavations should properly be conducted. There was no science of archaeological investigation, and there was probably no other digger who was better than Schliemann in actual field work" (Blegen 1963, 26-7). Though perhaps true in a general sense, Blegen's remark is, in its absolute form, nevertheless wrong: Caspar Reuvers (the world's first to be appointed as a professor of archaeology at a university, *i.e.* at Leiden (the Netherlands) in 1818, after a prior professorship in classics at the university of Harderwijk (also the Netherlands) from 1815 till this university, also in 1818, closed its



Fig. 3. View from the hill to the north. On the right Schliemann's great trench. In the centre the remains of 'Priam's Palace'. On the top of the hill still stand Schliemann's house and some magazines. 'Priam's Treasure' was found almost directly beneath Schliemann's house. From: Traill 1995, 113, fig. 9.



Fig. 4. Looking west from the Scaean Gate after demolition of Schliemann's house. The letter 'a', somewhat to the left, marks the location where 'Priam's Treasure' was found. Cf. also figs. 15-7 for present situation around Scaean Gate. From: Traill 1995, 117, fig. 12.

doors) already conducted modern systematic research, a.o. – from 1826 – at Forum Hadriani (situated on the country estate of Arentsburg near The Hague)³. After Schliemann's death in December 1890 his associate and architect Wilhelm Dörpfeld (according to many 'Schliemann's greatest find') concluded the excavations at Hisarlık with two final campaigns, in 1893 and 1894.

Work at the *tepe* was resumed in the years 1932-1938 by a team of the University of Cincinnati (U.S.A.) led by Carl W. Blegen. It was he who, by advanced archaeological techniques, was able to distinguish 46 *strata*. Schliemann himself had already been more or less able to recognize the several settlements of which the *tepe* was made up and had, in 1890, abandoned the idea that he had excavated Priam's treasure or Helen's jewellery⁴ (cf. Fig. 5).

The earliest settlement, consisting of 11 layers, dates from the Early Bronze Age II (c. 2900-2450 BC). It was a fortified village (with a diameter of c. 90 m) of which the means of subsistence were mainly agricultural. The ceramics found were generally dark coloured and hand-shaped and quite similar to ceramics found elsewhere in the region of the Northern Aegean and Sea of Marmora, both on the Asiatic and European sides. Settlement II (c. 2600-2450 BC) is partly contemporary with the first settlement. It is

³ Prof. Reuvers outlined the very rules (though some have modified somewhat due to evolved social relations) which archaeologists still observe today in his *Dagboek van de opdelving op Arentsburg (=Diary of the excavation at Arentsburg)*, vol. II, regarding the period 1828-1834 [Reuvers Archive at Leiden 27, number 54]. Cf. Brongers 2002, 95-8. Among other more or less important academic forerunners of Schliemann we may count, a.o., the Dane Ch. Thomsen, the 'father of typology' and founder of the three-periods theory, and J.J. Asmussen Worsaae, who became a professor in prehistory at Copenhagen University in 1855. Schliemann's contemporaries, E. Curtius and F. Adler, conducted the German excavations at Olympia between 1875 and 1881, stressing the importance of measuring the finds three-dimensionally and to ensure a correct stratigraphy; the same goes for A. Conze during his excavations at Samothrace from 1873 onwards. All this means that, in the times of Schliemann, archaeology may still have been an awakening discipline but was nevertheless a discipline guided by essential rules observed by at least diligent scholars.

⁴ Schliemann secretly transported these finds, primarily golden objects, to London (a small part) and Berlin. By last will and testament Schliemann bequeathed the finds (also those in London, which were subsequently transferred) to the city of Berlin "zu ewigem Besitz und ungetrennter Aufbewahrung". There they were originally incorporated in the "Königliches Museum" and displayed in the "Kunstgewerbemuseum", but after some years included in the "Staatliches Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte" until the second world war, when they were hidden in the so-called Flakbunker am Zoo. There the finds remained until the Soviet Union's troops took Berlin in 1945. In that year Wilhelm Unversagt, the director of the museum, handed over crates containing the most valuable pieces of the collection to the Soviet authorities. After that, sight on the finds was lost until after the disintegration of the Soviet Union after 1989. In 1991 the first rumours went round that probably the vast majority of these objects lay hidden in the vaults of the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts at Moscow. The formal acknowledgement of this

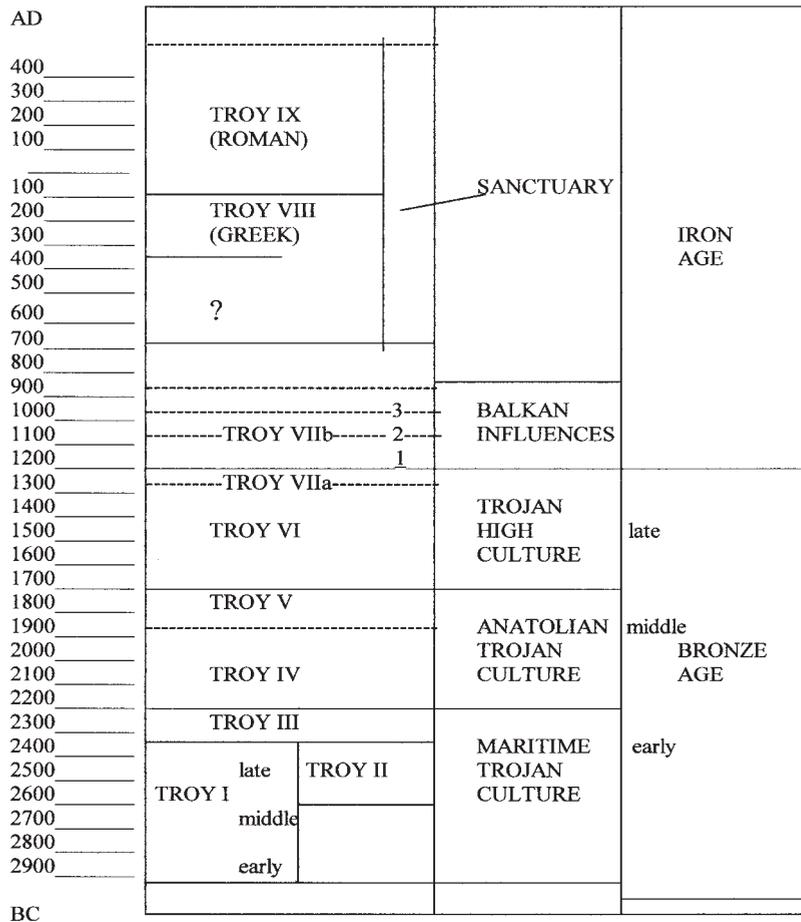


Fig. 5. Troy: time-table.

1993, and in 1994 it was announced that the Trojan gold would go on display to the general public in 1995. In total 13 ‘treasures’, numbering 259 artefacts, are now exhibited to the public (cf. Tolstikov/Treister 1996, a catalogue of all objects now on display). Since 1993 both Germany and Turkey (the latter on the not unfounded claim that at least part of the objects had been illegally taken out of the country by Schliemann and, therefore, *de iure*, still were Turkish state property) have asked for the return of the objects. The debate on this matter is still ongoing and will, probably, last at least as long as the discussion on the Elgin marbles (their return to Athens, at least in virtual reality, was scheduled for 2004 as an side-event of the Olympic Games). Apart from Berlin and Moscow, the rest of Schliemann’s and Dörpfeld’s finds is mainly housed in the archaeological museums of Istanbul and Athens: numerous universities and museums own duplicates of especially the objects preserved in Berlin. The finds made during the campaigns of Blegen are displayed in the archaeological museums of Istanbul and Çanakkale.

described as a royal seat, in which 8 construction phases may be discerned, that show twofold destruction by large fires. The second fire put an end to settlement III (and therewith settlement II) and left a 2 m thick burning deposit. Settlement II was partly constructed over the first settlement (layers Ia-e) and defended by a c. 330 m long and 4 m wide mud brick wall erected on a stone base. The pottery found in settlement II was largely (locally) wheel-made and of various shapes: dishes, bowls, cups, *e.a.* Some show striking similarity with ceramic finds from Thrace. It proves beyond doubt that, at that time, Thrace and NW Anatolia were at least in very close contact with each other (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Merpert 1984, 204; *Ezero, passim*). The striking similarity of the settlement plan of Kanlı Geçit (Turkish Thrace) and a number of settlements excavated in modern Bulgaria, all contemporary with settlement II, points in an identical direction (*cf.* Leshtakov 1995; *cf.* also Leshtakov 2002). Typical, though, in settlement II are vessels with representations of anthropomorphic faces (*cf.* Fig. 6; *cf.* also *TTW*, 360, fig. 393) and beakers with opposing conspicuous handles, the so-called *depas amphikypellon* (*cf.* Fig. 7). The wealth of settlement II is in marked contrast with the less conspicuous finds of settlement I. The presence of raw materials like tin and lapis lazuli in combination with the nature of settlement II suggests existence of a dominating group. The wealth present is also shown by the various finds of golden objects, which Schliemann labelled with fancy names, like ‘Priam’s treasure’. In majority these objects were probably found in the remains of settlement II (though some may have come from settlement III): unfortunately Schliemann’s notes on these finds are, to put it mildly, less than accurate⁵.

It is possible that a short hiatus of about 75 years separated the end of settlement II and the beginning of settlement III (4 phases). Settlements I, II, and III are frequently taken together and indicated by the common name of Maritime Trojan Culture, which ended about 2100 BC. Like settlement IV (5 phases) and V (4 phases) settlement III is poorly documented. The three settlements taken together are dated from c. 2450-1700 BC (Early Bronze Age III / Middle Bronze Age). The settlements appear to have been inhabited by relatively poor people (perhaps with the exception of some people living in settlement III). They lived in small houses, separated from each other by narrow streets. New in the archaeological record are the domed ovens or kilns. It seems that hunting increased as a means of subsistence. The ceramic repertoire hardly changes: noteworthy is that the vessels with representations of anthropomorphic faces and beakers with opposing con-

⁵There is conclusive evidence that Schliemann wilfully adapted, altered, and forged his notes and diaries to impress his readers. It is even likely that he collected finds from various spots to a single spot to be able to present them as a new ‘treasure’, *i.e.* as a so-called closed find. Especially William Calder III and David Traill (*cf.* *infra* note 11) have done much to expose Schliemann’s archaeological fraud.

Fig. 6. Anthropomorphic pot.
Troy II-V. At present in the
Museum für Ur- und Früh-
geschichte, Berlin.



Fig. 7. So-called ‘*depas amphikypellon*’. Troy II-V. At present
in the Museum für Ur- und
Frühgeschichte, Berlin.

spicuous handles (*depas amphikypellon*) continue to exist. This period of occupation of the *tepe* may have finished with another short hiatus of some century and a half: the material, however, is very inconclusive. Certain is, however, that the last phase of settlement V was destroyed by fire. In contrast to settlements I-III, settlements IV and V are also known as Anatolian Trojan Culture.

Settlement V was succeeded by settlement VI, consisting of 8 *strata*, a kind of lordly seat constructed as a citadel. It is dated from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age, *c.* 1700-*c.* 1250 BC. The construction of this settlement marks such a sharp division line, culturally, with preceding settlements that it can only be explained as indicating “the arrival and establishment on the site of a new people endowed with a heritage of its own” (Blegen 1963, 111). It surpasses previous settlements at the hill in size, if not in importance, measuring some 20,000 m² (*cf.* Fig. 8). It was protected by a technically

sophisticated wall of new design, 552 m long, slightly sloping, and provided with strong towers (cf. Figs. 9 & 10). The width of the walls varied between 4 to 5 m, their height was over 6 m, with a superstructure of mud bricks. Several gates led into the city. The houses were probably built on terraces, constructed as a number of mounting rings behind the walls. It is suspected that the main dwellings were situated in the centre: their remains were, however, destroyed during the construction of an Athena-temple and other buildings in the 4th and/or 3rd century BC at the time of settlement VIII. The excavation of settlement VI was the achievement of Dörpfeld. He believed this settlement to have been Homer's Troy. Nevertheless, according to Blegen, this city was not destroyed by war but by a catastrophic earthquake: this view, however, is not uncontested (cf. Vermeule 1986, 87-8; Mellink 1986a, 99; cf. also Korfmann 1986b, 25 and his note 4).

Among the frequent finds of settlement VI is grey ceramic ware (often decorated with a wave pattern), the so-called grey-Minyan ware. It is called after the legendary King Minyas of Orchomenos (Boeotia). Typical of this type of ceramic ware is that it frequently seems to imitate vessels made out of metal. This ware, wheel-made pottery, was (as the name may indicate) quite ubiquitous on the pre-Mycenaean mainland of Greece. On the Greek mainland early types of Minyan ware are found as early as the late Early

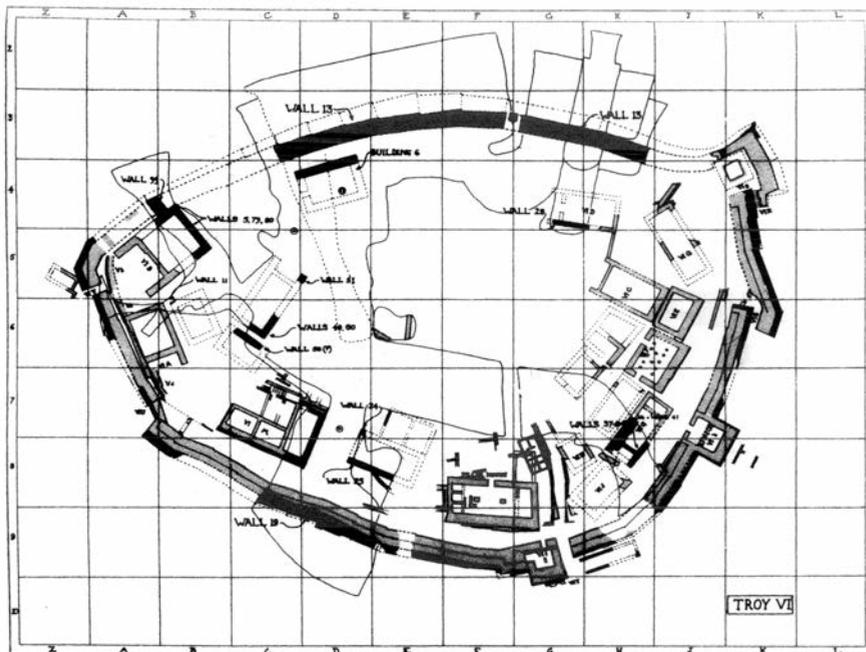


Fig. 8. Plan of the citadel of Troy VI c. 1300 BC. From: Easton 1990, 436, fig. 8.

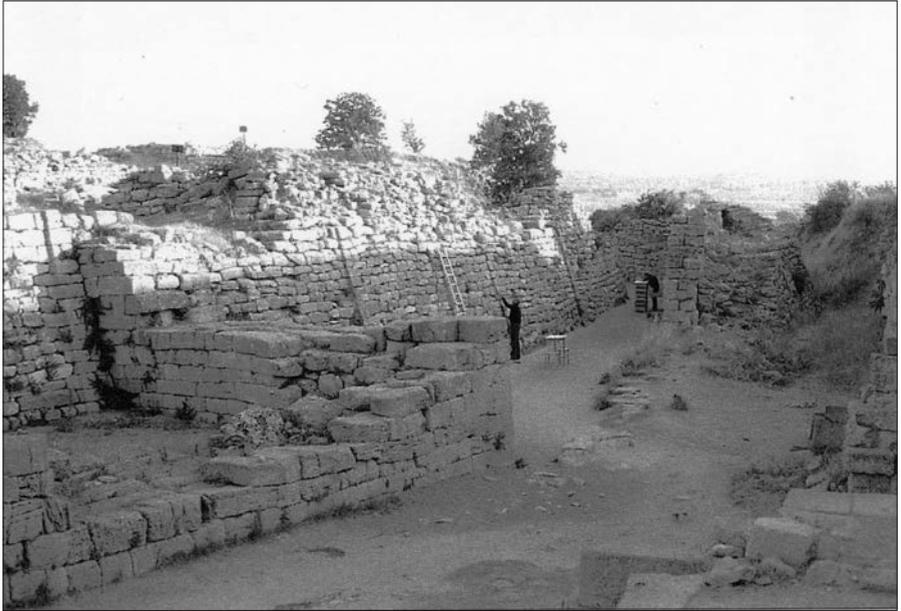


Fig. 9. Citadel wall and E Tower and Gate of Troy VI, c. 15th-13th century BC. From: Korfmann/Mannsperger 1998, 34, fig. 51.

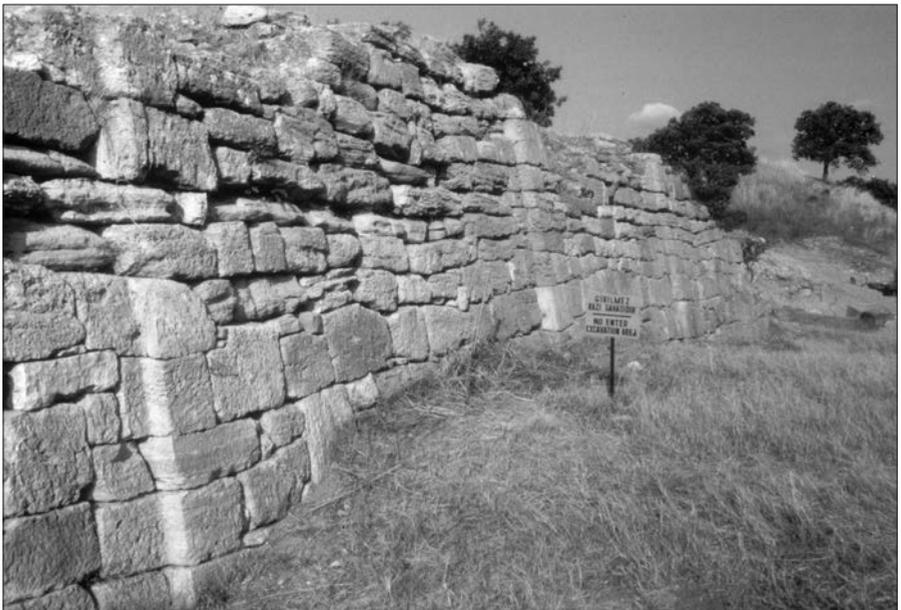


Fig. 10. NE Citadel wall of Troy VI in 1993.



Fig. 11.
Grey Minyan ware from Orcho-
menos and Drachmani. From:
Buchholz/Karageorghis 1973,
304, Figs. 882-4.

Bronze Age (Early Helladic) or early Middle Bronze Age (Middle Helladic) in Lerna IV (*cf.* Fig. 11; *cf.* also *TTW*, 353, fig. 379). By Korfmann (and consequently in the catalogue) this ware is described as “Anatolische Grauware (Grauminysche Ware)”. Strong contacts – or even relationship – between the pre-Mycenaean inhabitants of Greece and the people living in settlement VI might be supposed on the basis of the fact that grey Minyan ware was discovered both on the Greek mainland and in NW Anatolia. J.T. Hooker, however, finally concluded that it originated and developed, though roughly simultaneously, independently in both areas (Hooker 1977, 18-28; *cf.*, *e.g.*, also Macqueen 1975, 34-5 and note 14). Less frequently than the Minyan ware, also remains of Mycenaean imports (like the so-called stirrup jars) have been found at Tepe Hisarlık. Though the close relations between Thrace and the Troad that existed before *c.* 1900 BC had apparently ceased, some connections still continued to exist. The ritual cremations occurring during settlement VI and discovered by Blegen may confirm this (*cf.* Bonev 1984, 214).

Settlement VII (*c.* 1250-early 10th century BC, Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age) should be divided in two distinct main periods, VIIa and VIIb. Settlement VIIa seems, in a way, to have been a continuation of settlement VI. It shows identical pottery (though the number of Mycenaean ware may have increased slightly) and, wherever possible, the houses and defences destroyed during the earthquake or whatever it was that finished settlement VI have been reused. The new settlement looks, however, to have been built on a more modest scale than its predecessor. Its end came somewhere about 1170 BC and its end was almost certainly violent. The destruction is shown by fallen masonry, traces of fire, and remnants of human bones in houses and streets.



Fig. 12.
Pottery with flutes
and bosses, Troy
VIIb2. From: *TTW*,
354, Fig. 380.

Settlement VIIb1 appears to be a transitional phase. Some of the previous phase – as far as it had not been completely destroyed – was used again but new elements are showing, too. These new elements, especially the pottery, introduced fabrics and styles strongly related to widespread especially Thracian but also other East-European types of ceramics. Prominent was pottery showing decoration with flutes and bosses (*cf.* Fig. 12), much of it no longer wheel-made but, after an interval of nearly 1000 years, again hand-shaped. According to *TTW*, 354 also new dress, construction methods, and religious practices are demonstrable. It strongly points at the arrival of a new population, a movement that demonstrably continued during VIIb2 and 3. Settlement VII probably lasted until the beginning of the 10th century BC. The end of the last phase, VIIb3, can not be determined exactly. After the desertion of settlement VII the *tepe* of Hisarlık remained virtually unoccupied until about 700 BC. At that time a sanctuary (that lasted until far into the Roman period) was established on the mound of Hisarlık, to serve, a.o., the Aeolian Greeks who had settled in the Troad. Whether they then already also occupied the *tepe* of Hisarlık can, unfortunately, not be proven conclusively from the, literary or archaeological, evidence. Settlement VIII, called Ilios, was essentially a Greek city: it certainly existed as such c. 334 BC when Alexander the Great visited the place, but we are not sure precisely when it started. It lasted until 85 BC, when it was destroyed by the troops of the Roman general Flavius Fimbria. Reconstruction, settlement IX, called Ilium, started soon after, especially due to the Iulian family, which traced its descent to Aeneas (and, of course, through him to the goddess Venus, the Roman assimilation, more or less, of Aphrodite). Though C. Iulius Caesar, viewing this site, would, according to Lucan (*BC IX.969*), have remarked that *Etiam periere ruinae* (“Even the ruins have gone”), most

noticeably the Emperor Augustus contributed to the growth of Ilium and made new buildings and temples erect. The city lasted until *c.* AD 500. Both during the construction of settlements VIII and IX much of previous settlements, most noticeably VI and VII, was destroyed. In this review I treat both settlements VIII and IX (that was deserted after a devastating earthquake had destroyed the city in AD 476) but cursory, not because they would not be sufficiently interesting, but only because they do not play any part in the scholarly discussion presently at hand. It is therefore rather an economical than an academic choice. This is obviously even more so with a Byzantine settlement X, Ilion, which existed in the 13th and 14th centuries AD on Tepe Hisarlık.

2. *Literary sources*

a. Greek sources

Differently from a number of other contemporary sites, like Hattuşa (present-day Boğazköy, the capital of the Hittites), Knossos, Hagia Triada, Mycenae, Pylos, or Thebes no remains of any kind of archive or any other kind of evidence of record-keeping have been found at the site of Hisarlık to this day. Certainly it is true that absence of proof does not equal proof of absence, but it is a little bit inconvenient that at present we do not have direct evidence to label the settlements found in this *tepe* (*v. infra ad 2b* and Finley).

In Greek literature – and art – we frequently encounter a major conflict between “the Greeks” and “the Trojans”, fought in NW Anatolia in a landscape that appears to match the ancient geography of the surroundings of Hisarlık pretty close (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Korfmann 1986a). In the 10th year of the war (what is distinctly different from: “After 10 years of war”) the city of Troy was taken, allegedly by a ruse that implied the concealing of a number of men in a wooden horse. After the horse had been pulled into the city by its inhabitants the Greeks emerged at night, opened the gates, and conquered and subsequently destroyed the city.

The earliest account of this war (or at least part of it, relating the quarrel between two of the leaders of the Greeks during the final stage of the war) is found in the *Iliad*, a poem in which the city is called alternately Ilios and Troiê and ascribed to a poet called Homer. However, the poem contains so many elements from different periods, from pre-Mycenaean to Iron Age (*cf.* Vermeule 1986, 85, 90-2), and shows such knowledge, not only regarding the geography of NW Anatolia or Greek customs, etc., but also regarding Luwian political and familial structures (*cf.* Starke 1997, 459-66, esp. 465-6), that some scholars think it inconceivable that this work may be ascribed to a single author. Emily D.T. Vermeule remarks: “Still, it seems fairly clear that no one used the name “Homer” to refer to an individual person until, about 500 BC, Xenophanes and Herakleitos created him to find fault with him. Most serious scholars now agree that Homer is not a person but a

process, not a noun but a verb, ὁμοῦ + ἀράρισκω or something like it, a verb of fitting multiple parts together to make a single whole, like a carpenter using timbers and pegs to make a hall or a ship” (Vermeule 1986, 86-7)⁶. Noteworthy in the light of the archaeological record is the prominent position in the *Iliad* of the Thracians, led by their King Rhêsos, as allies of the Trojans. Apart from the *Iliad* the so-called Epic Cycle, at least some 13 epics including the *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliu Persis* (the epic that related the story of the wooden horse), and the *Nostoi*, has been a major source of information for the Greeks on the Trojan War. Unfortunately only fragments of this Epic Cycle have, thanks to a summary in a work called *Chrestomathia* compiled by one Proclus (it still is a matter of dispute whether this Proclus is identical with the 5th century AD Neo-Platonist scholar: cf. *OCD*, s.v. Epic Cycle).

Be it as it may, the *Iliad* and the Epic Cycle have had a tremendous impact on the whole of Greek cultural life including, naturally, the historians. They considered especially the *Iliad* a non-mythological and non-fantastic work (and perhaps not completely unjustly so: cf. Vermeule 1986, 90) and the Trojan War an historic fact (which, in Homer’s shape, is less than likely). As

⁶ In spite of Vermeule’s assertion the situation is less straightforward than she suggests. Basically three views divide the field. I will try to describe them briefly, necessarily neglecting subtleties of various kinds:

* there is a view that various epic tales from different regions and different periods were transmitted by a kind of guild of public reciters, the *rhapsodes*, and gradually developed, like strands of a rope, into more coherent tales which, almost organically, developed into a comprehensive epic that was, more or less, canonized (there being evidence for a written text of the *Iliad* in Athens in the 6th century BC, most likely in the time of Hipparchus (527-514)); an eloquent advocate of this theory (which is in line with Vermeule’s views) is Milman Parry: cf. Parry 1971/1987 (a collection of writings from the period 1928-1937) and, to some extent, Patzek 2003, esp. pp. 40-95;

* contrary is the view as expressed by Kirk, though recognizing the correctness of Parry’s views as to the strength of oral tradition, that, about 750 BC, a single poet (Homer), exploiting the availability of the Greek alphabet, composed the *Iliad* as a single work – book 10 being a potential exception as there might be indications that it originated, perhaps, somewhat later: cf. Kirk 1962. Also today this view is still adhered to: cf., e.g., Ruijgh 1995. Ruijgh, however, believes that there is compelling evidence to date the creation of the Greek alphabet considerably earlier, around the end of the 2nd millennium on Euboea (*op. cit.* 26-46) and, consequently, an earlier date for Homer as well, at the end of the 9th century BC (*op. cit.* 47, 91);

* finally there is a view that though the *Iliad* itself was composed by a single author (Homer), the poems were recorded by various scribes (accounting for the differences that may appear) as the poet himself was illiterate: I believe that most classical scholars nowadays reject this view *stricto sensu*, though, e.g., Ruijgh (*op. cit.* 47-49, 91-2) appears to leave this possibility, or at least part of it, open. A concise, sometimes very original, personal, and challenging, but generally very informative account on ‘Homer’ or Homer may be found in Patzek 2003. It frequently conflicts with the views of Latacz 2003. However, since there are so many views on the creator, true or alleged, of the *Iliad*, it is useful to look into the matter from different angles.

Munn puts it: “That which is *alethes*, “true” in Greek, is, etymologically, that which is “unforgettable”. That which has proved itself memorable, therefore, is *alethes*. Such a subjective construction of truth gave first place to the test of time ... Critical scholarship about the past, among Greeks both before and after Thucydides, was less concerned with systematic criteria for separating the verifiable past from legend than it was with determining which legends deserved credence, ... , and which ones had been distorted” (Munn 2000, 15-6). And, somewhat further: “An event that had not passed through the filters of communal telling and retelling could not be measured by the standards of consensus. A reliable account of recent events depended upon the established wisdom and veracity of the source or informant” (Munn 2000, 16). Of course the Greeks of the archaic and, especially, classical periods tried to date the events of the Trojan War. Their calculations varied from (in our time-reckoning) 1334 BC (Duris of Samos), past “about 1250 BC” (Herodotus), through 1183 BC (Eratosthenes and several others), to 1135 BC (Ephorus)⁷.

It appears needless to say that all this has had an enormous impact on following generations, both in antiquity and later. This impact was reinforced by the presence in the landscape of the remnants of the site (*cf.* Hertel 2003, *passim*). The ‘identification’ of the settlements found in Tepe Hisarlık with the city of Troy, by Schliemann and others, has, therefore, respectively, been accepted at face value or taken for granted or, sure, wishful thinking. It should be stressed again: we have no shred of firm archaeological or historical evidence to conclusively establish such an ‘identification’. Apart from this, we do not have any firm evidence in relation with the simultaneous use of the names “Ilios” and “Troie”. For the moment the best solution for the problem (not identical with the right solution: the evidence therefore is lacking!) is the one presented by Mannsperger (*DNP*, s.v. Troia, 854): “Zumindest für die Griechen des 8. Jh. v. Chr. bestand also ein organisches Nebeneinander von T. als Land und Siedlungszentrum der Troianer und Ilios als städtischer Mitte, vergleichbar dem Verhältnis von Lakadaimon/Lakedaimonioi und → Sparta”. Taken to the letter it excludes all previous settlements from a certain identification with an established name. In spite of all problems I will, for convenience’s sake, nevertheless further refer to the settlement found at Hisarlık as ‘Troy’.

b. Anatolian sources

As we have seen Greek literature can help us no further with a formal identification of the settlements of Tepe Hisarlık. For evidence regarding this region we have, therefore, to look elsewhere. The first place to do so are the archives of the kings of the Hatti (Hittites) at Hattuša, presentday Boğazköy.

⁷ All data have been collected by Forsdyke 1956, 62-86.

The cuneiform texts found there have been (and, in fact, still are) published in two series: the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (KBo, Leipzig/Berlin 1916 —>) and the *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (KUB, Berlin 1921 —>). Some of these documents appear to deal with occurrences in W and NW Anatolia. One of the best known texts in this respect is a vassal treaty between the Hittite King Muwatalliš II (c. 1290-1272 BC) and Alaksanduš, ruler of Wiluša. It relates a period of at least 150 years of, mostly friendly, relations between the Hittite kings, the rulers, and their subordinates, the lords of Wiluša. As early as 1924 the name of Alaksanduš was connected with Alexandros, prince of (W)Ilios (cf. Forrer 1924). In the same paper a Hittite place name, Taruša, was equated with Troy (cf. Güterbock 1986, 25 and n. 1). Since, this topic has been fiercely debated within the framework of the so-called Aḫḫiyawa-problem, the question whether the Aḫḫiyawa-people of the Hittite documents refer to the Achaeans of the Greek literary texts: one of the essential problems in the debate is whether Aḫḫiyawa is to be located inside or outside Anatolia. The so-called Philhellenists support the latter view, while the so-called anti-Mycenaeans allege that there is nothing in the texts to suggest that Aḫḫiyawa is to be found outside Anatolia⁸. Güterbock 1986 concisely reviews this debate (cf., however, also Starke 1997, 451 and n. 25; cf. also Mellink 1986a, 95-8).

Among the so-called Aḫḫiyawa texts that may be of interest for this specific issue is KUB XIV 3 iv 7-10: “The king of Hatti and I / as for the matter of Wiluša, on this / we were enemies. Now he has changed my mind [litt.: he has made me bow] / and we have been at peace (since). A ... – war is not right”. This text suggests a (recent) conflict between the Hittites and the king of Aḫḫiyawa (who, as a matter of fact, is addressed as a ‘Great King’, i.e. as an equal, by the Hittite king) regarding Wiluša⁹. What kind of conflict remains unclear as does the

⁸ Cf., e.g., Macqueen 1975, 40-1, stating that “he must admit at once that he is an anti-Mycenaeans”. The result is a map (his fig. 15, p. 38), where Aḫḫiyawa forms the westernmost part of the Troad, stretching from Baba Burnu to Çanakkale (v. Fig. 1, *supra*), while Millawanda is situated directly E of the peninsula of Arctonnesus (where Cyzicus was later founded). The land of Wiluša we find almost exactly halfway between the coast of the Troad and the Hittite capital Ḫattuša.

⁹ The Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa is now, more or less securely, thought to have been located on mainland Greece, its centre likely in the region of Boeotia: cf. Niemeier 2002, 295. Consequently, of course, also the probability of the equation Aḫḫiyawa - Achaea has increased. Of at least one ruler of Aḫḫiyawan origin we even know the name: Attariššiyaš, a name that may be Hellenized to Atreus. Probably this Atreus was a nobleman who lived in or around Miletus (the Millawanda of Hittite sources). In the Late Bronze Age (Mycenaeans Period) Miletus was an Achaean outpost in W Asia Minor: cf. Gorman 2001, 23-7 and references. In this respect a passage in Euripides’ play *Iphigenia in Aulis* (ll. 952 *sqq.*) is striking, where Achilles contrasts his homeland with Sipylus, “that barbarian corner whence the leaders of the army [*i.e.* Agamemnon and Menelaus, the Atrides] have their origin”. Sipylus is the name of a Lydian mountain ridge and region, stretching inland for some 20 miles from the Gulf of Izmir. The so-called Tawagalawaš-letter (v. *infra* note 10) reveals another Aḫḫiyawan name, that of the Aḫḫiyawan king’s brother, i.e. Tawagalawaš: this name is the Hittite or rather Luwian rendition of the Mycenaean proper name Etewoklewēs, Greek

cause. The fragment is taken from a letter known as the Tawagalawaš-letter. Most Hittitologists ascribe this letter to King Ḫattušiliš III (c. 1265-1239 BC): Smit, however, dates it to the reign of Muwatalliš II and, if this attribution is correct, it, therefore, may have been written some years before the battle of Qadesh¹⁰. It does, however, not provide us with firm geographical evidence to locate Wiluša precisely.

One of the toughest nuts to crack in the debate is *KUB XXIII.11.i* a text ascribed to the Hittite King Tudḫaliyaš I or Tudḫaliyaš II of about 1430-1390 BC. In this text the king mentions a coalition of some 20 countries that started hostilities against the Hittites. The last preserved items of the list mentioning the members of this coalition (lines 14-19) are “land of Wi-lu-š i-ya, land of Ta-ru-i-ša”, (W)Ilios and Troy seem here to exist as equals (and both clearly identified as ^{KUR}, land, country) next to each other, both as ‘Teilländer’ of a larger entity or country called Assuwa. The controversies regarding this text will, no doubt, still continue for some time. Reviewing the evidence produced by the various scholars until 1986, Güterbock concludes: “Wilusa was a country, perhaps, but not certainly, with a capital city of the same name”. Geographical evidence for the location of the countries mentioned still lacks.

A bronze tablet, found in Ḫattuša in 1986, stipulating a state treaty between the Hittite King Tudḫaliyaš IV (c. 1239-1209 BC) and his cousin Kuruntaš of Tarḫuntašša may offer, however, some perspective: it firmly places Wiluša as a state in NW Anatolia (Starke 1997, 448, 454-6), in the region we nowadays call the Troad. As it appears from the Anatolian, or rather Hittite, sources the localization of Wiluša in the Troad is thoroughly possible and even highly likely, but not yet *proven* beyond doubt. The suspicion remains that the identification may have been influenced by the presupposition of the scholars that Homer’s Troy was necessarily the only candidate (or at the very least a very likely one) for the capital of Wiluša. Moreover, there is nothing in the glimpses we get of Wiluša’s history that has any similarity to the Trojan War. We finally cannot but accept, perhaps reluctantly, Güterbock’s conclusion that “The relation of Wiluša to Wilušiya and T(a)ruiša remains unclear.” (Güterbock 1986, 42-3). This holds also and perhaps even more so for an equation of the area mentioned in the Hittite documents with the region dominated by the city excavated at Tepe Hisarlık, let alone the stage of the conflict described in the *Iliad*. The main obstacle in this respect is the absence of a library or archive. Especially the Alaksanduš-treaty demonstrates a regular correspondence between the rulers of Ḫatti and their vassals at Wiluša. Moreover this specific letter stipulates that it should be read aloud in front of the prince thrice every year (§ 19, A III 73-4): how could this be achieved without a minimum of an archive? It suggests three possibilities to me:

¹⁰ Cf. Smit 1990-1. Cf. also Starke 2001.

1. the archive has been destroyed previously;
 2. the site of Hisarlık can not be equated with Wiluša and therefore also the claim that Homeric Ilios is discovered is likely to be vain and void;
 3. the archive will be found during future excavations.
- Only in the last case a definite proof of the identity of the city presently under excavation at Hisarlık can be secured.

c. An Egyptian source?

In 1966 Elmar Edel published a stele (stele E_N) from the North face of the mortuary temple of King Amenophis III (c. 1390-1352 BC; Edel 1966, 46-8). The list it represents is interesting for us, because it seems to describe the Aegean region. It relates to the territory of the “strangers on the islands beyond the Great Green”, perhaps more or less in the shape of a kind of itinerary (cf. Dickinson 1994, 249). Headed by two collective denominators, Kftiw (= Crete) and Tanaya (which has been read as ‘country of the Danaans’), appear 12 largely legible place-names and a very partially readable one: it appears that two more names are missing. Among names that may be interpreted as Amnisos (2x), Phaestus (?), Kydonia, Mycenae (= Mukanu), Thebes (?), Nauplion *e.a.*, we also encounter a place called W₃-jw-rjj-i (≈ Wiry), which *might* be read as (W)Ilios/Wiluša. Whether this interpretation is correct or not is still hotly debated, though the probability seems remote considering the distance between NW Anatolia and the other places mentioned in this list. Even if it is correct, it only proves that the Egyptians knew Troy or even may have had some contact with it. What this text, however, fails to provide is any clear indication where to locate Troy even remotely. It therefore does not add to our knowledge regarding the real name of the majority of the settlements found during the excavations of Tepe Hisarlık.

3. *Finley*

So far the main evidence, and some of its interpretations, regarding Troy until about 1988. However, as already indicated, serious doubts about the correctness of attributions have been expressed. Though this section is called ‘Finley’, he was by no means the first to express his doubts. His status as a scholar, however, made him the most influential advocate against the so-called Troy-lobby by far.

Already in the period that Schliemann was digging in the mound of Hisarlık he was criticized, a.o., because of his dilettantism and lack of method (cf., e.g., *Troia* 1991, 17 and note 15, 27 for references). Since, such remarks have emerged time and again. One of the most critical positions against Schliemann was taken by William Calder III and David Traill¹¹: they ques-

¹¹ Calder III 1972; Traill 1979; Calder III/Traill 1986; Traill 1995: this book is a fairly balanced biography on Schliemann and his methods and really fascinating reading.

tion his integrity both as a person and as an archaeologist (based upon Schliemann's own notes and diaries: these they compared with known and indisputable facts) and even go as far as to suggest that the so-called Priam's treasure and the mask of Agamemnon as presented by Schliemann might be, up to a degree, fictions. Though the conclusions of Calder III and Traill are based upon sound and methodological correct research, arguments of many of Schliemann's other opponents are, unfortunately, often at least as suggestive, biased, and speculative as those they try to expose.

Finley, like Calder III and Traill later did, discussing the problem methodologically, chose to approach the matter from another angle than his colleagues from the U.S.A. He questioned the reliability of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* as historical sources just because they were so long remembered, *i.e.* so frequently repeated. Already in *The World of Odysseus* (London/New York 1954) he expressed doubts as to the reliability of (Greek) epic poetry as a source for history. In a paper, "Lost: the Trojan War", completely revised in December 1976, he summarizes his objections. In his opinion, modern 19th century historical criticism: "destroyed faith in that sort of argument [*sc.* the reliability of epic as historical source, JPS], leading to serious doubts, and then to outright rejection of the historicity of the Trojan War" (Finley 1977, 35). What Schliemann had done was to uncover an important citadel with a long history, but not a citadel that matched Homer's Troy. The site does not fit the description, the city was not levelled to the ground once and for all, there are difficulties with the date of the war, *nothing* has been found in the city to indicate who destroyed Troy VIIa, and also no single find from the Greek mainland from that period gives any clue (Finley 1977, 36-8). All these objections are correct: only his remark (Finley 1977, 39) that "Troy is never mentioned, at least not in any recognizable form, in a Hittite document" may, possibly, not hold (*cf. supra ad 2b*: the problem remains, however, that it is hard to determine whether Wiluša was the name of a country, a city, or both, a problem that becomes even greater if we infer the name of Taruiša). Finley believes it absolutely possible that the city of Troy VIIa has been destroyed, around 1200 BC, by invading forces, *e.g.* by the so-called Sea Peoples. He suggests, moreover, that there may have been some Achaean participants as well. That, however, is all that may be regarded as "plausible" (Finley 1977, 40-1). The *Iliad* is not to be used as a source: historical parallels for the *Iliad*, like the epic of *Kosovo Polje*, the *Chanson de Roland*, and the *Nibelungenlied* are not very assuring as to the value of epic works as a historical source (*cf.* Finley 1977, 42).

After 1988

1. Archaeology

So far, in a nutshell, some of the views held on Troy until the late-eighties of the 20th century. In 1982 a team of the University of Tübingen led by Manfred Korfmann, soon joined by scholars of the University of Cincinnati, started work

in the Troad, a.o. at the Smintheum, the temple of Apollo Smintheus, some 25 miles down the Aegean coast South of Tepe Hisarlık near ancient Chryse, close to the modern village of Gülpınar (cf. Fig. 1). Finally, in 1988 this team that, by this time, had expanded to a multi-national and multi-disciplinary team, resumed, after a period of 50 years, archaeological work at the site of Hisarlık. Its first task was to clean the site to make further methodical and proper research possible at all. The difference in appearance of the site between my two last visits there, in 1987 and in 1993, is almost beyond description. Where Troy had been, to put it bluntly, a collection of piles of indistinguishable rubble encircled by some highly impressive walls in 1987, it appeared a well-stratified and even more impressive site in 1993 (cf. Figs. 10, 13-17). At the main site, the cleansing operation also enabled the team to even further refine the stratigraphy established by Blegen, now counting a total of 56 layers. Another improvement introduced by this team is the yearly publication of the *Studia Troica* (published at Mainz), containing preliminary reports on the results of the excavations of the previous season and some special studies (it should, though, be stressed that also Schliemann published the results of his excavations quite quickly). The objects found during Korfmann's excavations are exhibited in the (new) archaeological museum of Çanakkale, not a very large but a very interesting museum housing objects from the entire Troad, which opened in 1984.

Methodologically Korfmann took one more or less revolutionary step by almost merging Troy VI and VIIa ("troianische Hochkultur", Trojan high



Fig. 13. Schliemann's great trench in 1987, looking N.



Fig. 14. Schliemann's great trench in 1993, looking N. The houses visible date from Troy I.



Fig. 15. Access to Scaean Gate and Towers, Troy II, in 1993. Somewhere down the remains of the tower in the foreground 'Priam's Treasure' was stated to have been found.



Fig. 16. Detail of fig. 15.



Fig. 17. Access to the Scaean Gate, situation in 1993.

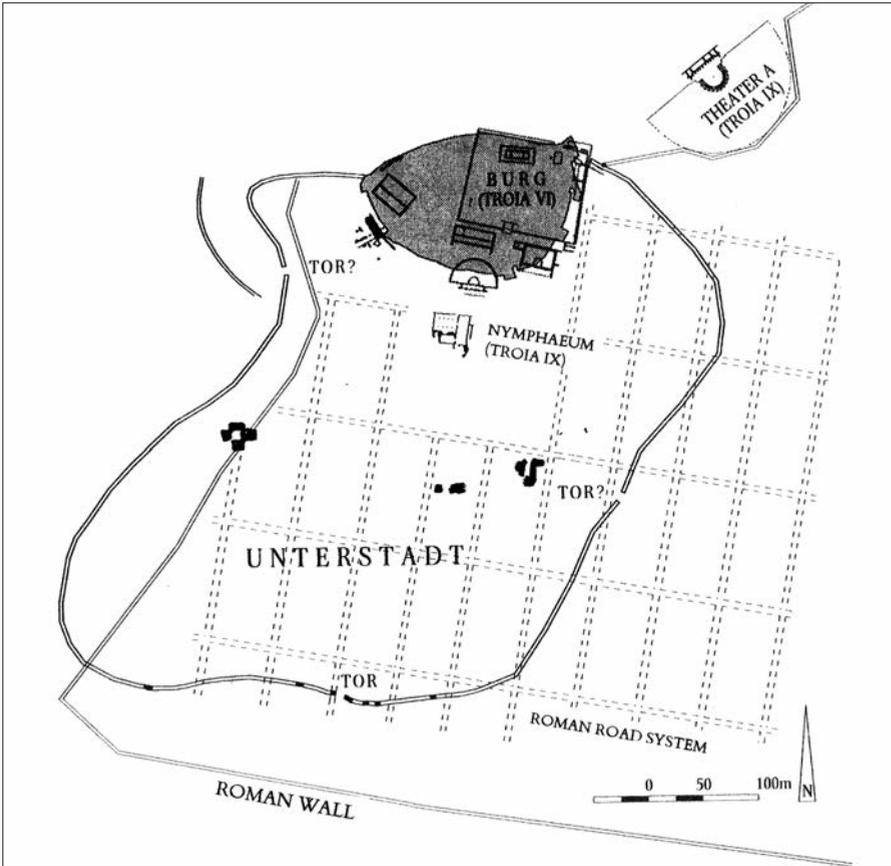


Fig. 18. The citadel of Troy VI (in grey) and the alleged outline of the lower city of Troy VI set in the city plan of Troy IX (Roman period). The black areas both in and inside the wall indicate attested remains from the period of Troy VI. After: Hertel 2001, Fig. 15 and *TTW*, 381, fig. 425.

culture: VIIIb1-3 are described as the Balkan dominated period). Of course, culturally and probably also archaeologically (*viz.* the continuity of habitation) there are several arguments to understand Korfmann's step and, perhaps, even to reconsider the stratification of the 'cities' (in which VIIa would, in fact, become VI-something, probably VI-i). Actually, such a merging has already been suggested by Blegen, based on the archaeological evidence: the cause for not putting the theory into practice was, for Blegen, the confusion it would generate in the general notion of the stratification (*cf.*

Blegen 1963, 31). As such, Korfmann's action is, though perhaps at least somewhat high-handed, therefore, not really surprising. What makes Korfmann's action noteworthy is the fact that he has hardly judged it worthwhile to present a well-reasoned argument for his case (which should not be too difficult, as Blegen's argument shows), but appears to base himself on "established" facts without even mentioning those facts. Even so, in the light of Korfmann's claims regarding the Trojan War it would have been wise to devote more attention to such details.

Even more noteworthy, even revolutionary, is Korfmann's claim that his team has found a lower city, south of the *tepe*, increasing the surface of the city to an astonishing 200,000 m², about ten times larger than the city was believed to have been (*cf.* Fig. 18; *cf.* also the description in Latacz 2003, 39-55). If we, however, look at the map of the 1999-excavation (*cf.* *TTW*, 381, fig. 425) it may be clear that this claim is, at this moment, hardly substantiated, even though it appears to be, at least partly, confirmed by the preliminary excavation results as they are published in the *Studia Troica*. However, most of the structures found, including the wall, were made of mud-brick instead of stone (as might, perhaps, have been more or less in line with its alleged importance) and from about the middle of the 'Unterstadt' down to the south exist no Bronze Age layers at all to corroborate the hypothesis, due to soil erosion¹². Based upon Korfmann's published results Kolb *e.a.* have drawn a map showing the actual finds that substantiate the lower city (Fig. 19).

Moreover, Korfmann deduced that size and location of the whole settlement (citadel and lower city) indicated that Troy's wealth and power had been based on trade and commerce (though the archaeological record has not, so far, documented any such relation), and that the Trojan War was essentially a trade war. Here, too, Korfmann goes at least one step further than Blegen, who only underlined the economic opportunities that the site of Troy offered (Blegen 1963, 24).

The claims by Korfmann appear to suggest that Korfmann the archaeologist is more cautious, and rightly so, than Korfmann the publicist: here, however, we risk plunging in the middle of the debate and therefore it seems right to leave the matter for the moment. As for the archaeological record: excavation of the site still continues and certainly new developments will occur in due course. The last surprise seems to be that during the excavations of 2003 Korfmann has acknowledged that part of what he considered to have been the wall of the lower city should actually be described as the cover of a drainage-canal: this discovery means that the reality of a defensive system

¹² Korfmann, *Studia Troica* 2 (1992), 138 *sq.*: "Offenbar zieht sich vom Burghügel eine nach und nach dünner werdende Bronzezeitschicht nach Süden. Etwa in der Mitte der Unterstadt befindet sich die Grenze zwischen Sedimentations- und Abtragszone. Südlich davon sind alle bronzezeitlichen Schichten durch Erosion zerstört".

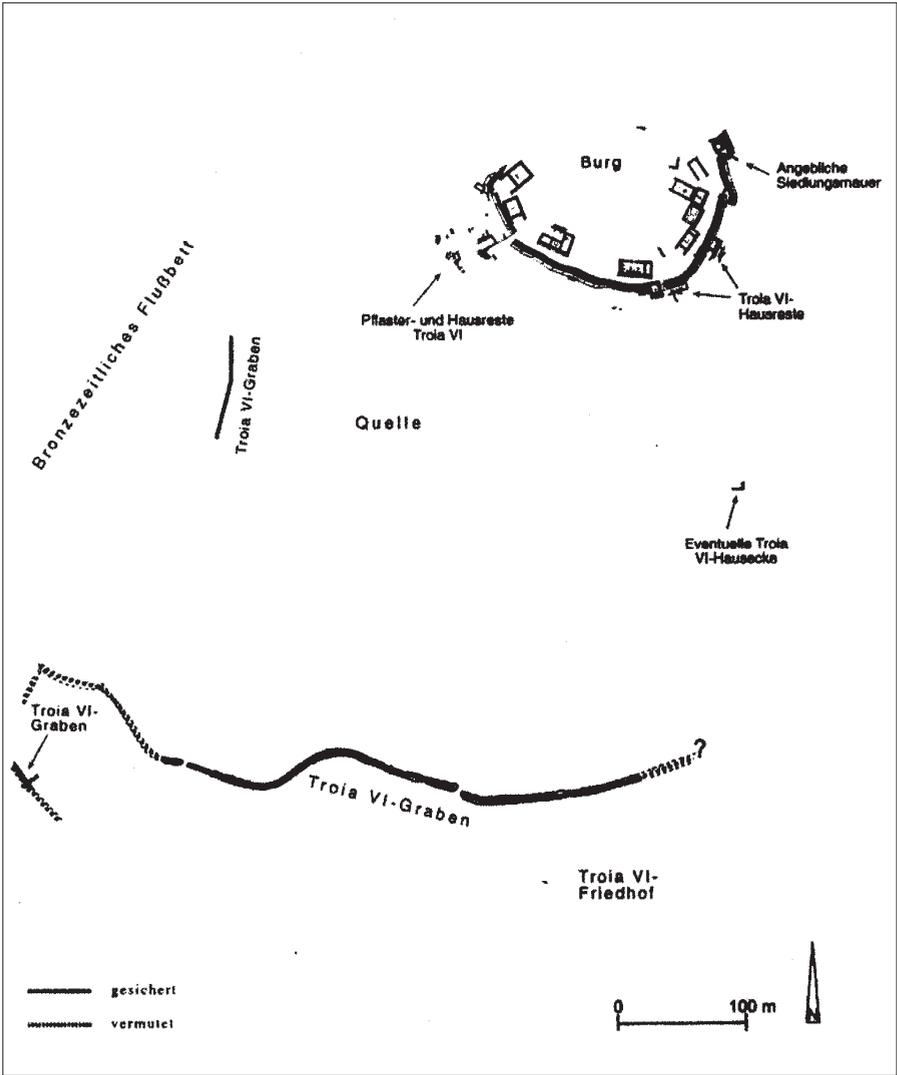


Fig. 19. Attested finds from Troy VI until 2001 according to F. Kolb, C. Drosihu, and A. Thomsen, based upon the excavation reports of Korfmann in *Studia Troica*. Reproduced with permission from Prof. Kolb.

for the lower city is, perhaps, in need of some reconsideration (*cf.* www.uni-tuebingen.de/dekanat-geschichte/ag/ag_aktuelltroia2), though Korfmann states that the construction may have been part of a mud-brick bastion.

2. *Literary sources*

a. Greek sources

Though a substantial amount of research, especially into Homer, has been carried out since the late 1980's¹³, nothing really new and spectacular has emerged from this field. Recently a new edition of Greek Epic Fragments, including the Trojan cycle, has been published: M.L. West (ed./transl.), *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, Cambridge, MA 2003 (= Loeb Classical Library).

b. Anatolian sources

Over the past decade a substantial amount of mainly Hittite texts has been published, and the location of Wiluša in the Troad appears now to have been, more or less firmly, established. Moreover, Starke demonstrated in 1996 that Wiluša, Wilušša, and Wilušiya and (W)ilios or Ilios could be equated (Starke 1997, 448), but only if a number of morphological and phonetic changes is accepted (*cf.* Heinhold-Krahmer 2003 and Hajnal 2003). Starke's conclusions (Starke 1997, *v. supra*) were confirmed by J. David Hawkins, W.-D. Niemeier, and, most recently, G.A. Lehman¹⁴. Noteworthy is the, unfortunately, unstratified find in Troy in 1995 of a Luwian hieroglyphic bronze seal of a writer (*cf.* *TTW*, 47, fig. 45, also: Latacz 2003, 90-2). It is dated to the 12th century BC, probably later than Troy VIIa: it is at the moment tentatively dated to Troy VIIb2, *c.* 1130 BC. The discussion regarding a potential coexistence of a city called Wiluša next to a city called Taruiša in at least one major Hittite document remains, for the moment, basically unresolved: no scholar has, so far, been able to convincingly master all problems involved (*cf.* also the contributions by Heinhold-Krahmer 2003 and Hajnal 2003).

¹³ *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Crielaard 1995, Morris/Powell 1997, Mylonas Shear 2000 (quite interesting and relevant, though the author lets herself, as the book proceeds, be carried away by her argumentation), Burgess 2001, Latacz 2003 (with sufficient bibliography to follow the argument): like Mylonas Shear and Burgess, Latacz believes in a Mycenaean nucleus of events preserved in the Homeric and Epic cycles, though their interpretation varies. *Cf.* also Heitsch 2001, a collection of papers, ranging from 1968 to 2000, on 'Homer' and early epic; also: West 2001, a companion to his edition of the *Iliad* (an edition that has met various appreciation), Stuttgart/Leipzig/München 1998-2000 and, last but not least, Patzek 2003, esp. pp. 96-118 for several 'special subjects'.

¹⁴ Hawkins 1998; Niemeier 1999; G.A. Lehman in an interview published in *Die Welt* of October 27th, 2001.

c. Egyptian sources

The state of the present knowledge regarding the Egyptians' acquaintance with NW Anatolian geography is described by P.W. Haider in Ulf 2003, 174-92: in fact nothing changes in comparison with the situation before 1988.

Present discussion

In 2001 Korfmann showed the world his views on Troy, or more precisely: a part of the history of Troy, by means of a grand exhibition, *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*. It was, to a great extent, limited to the settlements VI/VIIa and the Trojan War. Among the items shown was a wooden model of “Troy VI/VIIa”, showing its walled citadel, amply provided with large houses, and a lower city that linked up with those walls, itself also provided with wall, ditch, and gates. Remarkably it was this model, showing an elaborate lower city (the number of houses in the lower city was, however, noticeably down-scaled in an accompanying video-presentation displayed at Bonn, as was the number of its inhabitants: from some 10,000 to ‘several thousands’ to ‘some 1000’¹⁵), on which centered a considerable part of the public reaction. Remarkably, since the idea of the elaborate lower city was not a new one. It had already been presented by Korfmann /Mannsperger 1998 (a publication which had met with some criticism in a review by J. Cobet in the *Historische Zeitschrift* 272 (2001), 422 *sq.*), on a CD-ROM by W. Zöllner and R. Ackermann (ISBN 3-8062-1573-1: www.theiss.de), by Korfmann from 1991 onwards in the preliminary reports of the project in the *Studia Troica*, and, as a matter of fact, as early as 1953, by Carl Blegen (*Troy*, vol. III: *The Sixth Settlement*).

The exhibition finally opened the newspaper pages for Korfmann's critics, who had, so far, been given little opportunity to voice their disagreement with Korfmann's views: Korfmann, on the other hand, had, largely due to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and its reporter Michael Siebler, received all publicity he needed *c.g.* wanted to express his views on Troy. In an interview published in the *Berliner Morgenpost* of July 17th, 2001 (also: www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia/deu/stellungnahme.html) F. Kolb rejected Korfmann's three main themes: the size of the lower city, the historicity of Homer's Trojan War, and the idea of Troy as a major centre of trade. As

¹⁵ It is, to put it mildly, less elegant that Korfmann blamed museum authorities for the construction of the model. In a letter to Prof. Kolb dated to March 18th, 2003 (*cf.* Anlage 3, www.uni-tuebingen.de/dekanat-geschichte/ag/ag_aktuelltroia1.htm), Wolfgang Zöllner of the ‘Service für Architekten’ relates how the model was constructed “nach den detaillierten Vorgaben” of the excavation team at the department of Presentation of the faculty of Architecture of the Stuttgart University, led by Prof. W. Knoll, with the assistance both of Korfmann and a number of his co-workers: I have no clue why Korfmann distanced himself so drastically from this model other than that he was annoyed at being

to the claimed lower city he remarks: “Das Modell ist eine Fiktion: Traum, nicht Rekonstruktion”. Also the theory of Troy as centre of trade is, so far, in his opinion insufficiently supported by the finds. Regarding the suggestion by Korfmann that it should be clear that Homer – and his presentation of Troy – was right, Kolb remarks that Homer’s Troy has not been found, not by Schliemann and not by Korfmann: all they uncovered was the place myth leant on (*cf.* also Hertel 2003, 185-309, *passim*). In the week that followed the publication in the *Morgenpost*, Kolb reiterated his statements in various interviews, a.o. in the *Schwäbisches Tagblatt* (July 24th, 2001), calling Korfmann “ein ‘Däniken’ der Archäologie”, the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* (July 25th and 26th, 2001) and the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*. Also the merging of Troy VI/VIIa presented as self-explanatory was criticized.

Korfman replied (July 27th, 2001, *cf.* Projekt Troia: www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia *c.q.* www.troia.de) that Kolb reacted like a typical classical scholar, but that he (Korfmann), being an archaeologist of prehistoric sites, did not have the luxury of written sources. The archaeologist in (t)his position has to rely on a multidisciplinary approach, which may involve interpretations going beyond the limits of historical sciences¹⁶. That Troy was a trade centre goes from a combination of factors: its geopolitical location and the obvious need felt by its inhabitants to defend their city with massive walls. You only need to defend yourself in such a way if you own wealth and the obvious way to collect wealth for a city on such a site is trade. As for Homer, Korfmann’s objectives were not to verify or falsify Homer: working in the Troad you just have to deal with his work, whether you like it or not. In an addendum Charles B. Rose (University of Cincinnati) stated that, though at the time indeed only one percent of the lower city had been excavated, each trench dug in the presumed area of the lower city shows Late Bronze Age walls and other materials, thereby showing “the enormous *potential* [my italics, JPS] of the Unterstadt as a source of late Bronze Age housing”. His view is, naturally, supported by the excavation team, in a statement of August 5th, 2001, but also by Gernot Wilhelm, the ‘Gutachter der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft’ in the period 1988-2001: “Übrigens ist an der in Abrede gestellten Unterstadt von Troja kein vernünftiger Zweifel möglich” (published in ‘*Die Zeit*’, August 2nd, 2001). Since it is, at least, slightly embarrassing when two respected professors, colleagues at the same university, show such a lack of respect for each other, it was deemed necessary that a conference be organized to settle the differ-

¹⁶ This view, claiming an apparently separate (superior?) status for the ‘science of the spade’ as opposed to the ‘scholarship of the armchair’ in the research of the past, has, rightly in my opinion, been fiercely and realistically opposed by Hertel 2001, 8-9. I think that, in historical *and* protohistorical research (like that of Troy VI/VIIa) archaeologists and historians are necessarily ‘condemned’ to each other and that, provided that the research questions have been formulated properly and adequately, the net result of the interdisciplinary approach exceeds by far the results of the sum of the individual disci-

ences. It was held in Tübingen on February 15th and 16th, 2002¹⁷. Here both adversaries and their followers met. Korfmann stated his case and Kolb answered (the following day). His lecture “Handelsmetropole-Handelsstadt-Stadt?” dramatically minimized the importance – and size – of Troy¹⁸. Korfmann *c.s.* could not but admit that their presentation of the results was somewhat overdone or at least premature. Further than this he and his followers could not – nor obviously wanted to – retreat. In spite of the contributions of in total 16 experts in various fields, who argued pro and contra the various opinions, the final result of the conference was and remained undecided. It seems that the matter has become a battle between black and white (or rather Korfmannians and Kolbians) – in which one has to take side on the basis of beliefs rather than arguments – instead of a discussion on the mere interpretation of archaeological finds. To what extent personal feelings play any part is hardly to be valued by an outsider in the German academic world, though the passion is tangible. Surprising is that especially the *Korfmannians* do not seem to bother to answer the, often quite founded, questions put forward by the *Kolbians*, but simply reiterate their views and appear to neglect the fact that simply repeating your view does not make it more true. Possibly out of frustration because of the lack of respect shown by their adversaries the *Kolbians* frequently appear to be tempted to act (and write) *ad personam* instead of *ad rem*, thereby weakening their arguments if not their position. Both parties fight each other, *in academis* and in public, both using the media and judicial proceedings.

¹⁷ The program of the conference may be found at http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/dekanat-geschichte/ag/dat/ag_troia3.htm. The meeting showed the huge interest from the public for the subject: both days some 800 people attended the meetings; the conference was broadcasted directly on one of Germany’s radio stations, and was a main topic in both the ARD’s and ZDF’s (Germany’s national public television stations) news-programs, *Die Tagesschau* and *Heute-Journal*. As to broadcasts on regional and commercial radio- and/or television stations I have no information. At the same time this coverage shows the role of the media during the debate and their enormous impact on the general public. Publicity, therefore, may well create a self-propelling action. A useful review of the conference, “Die Bedeutung Trojas in der späten Bronzezeit (Tübingen, 14.-15. (sic!) 02.2002)” is presented online by M. Sehlmeier (<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=9>).

¹⁸ The lecture of Kolb is to be found as Anlage 6 to Troia-Debatte (www.uni-tuebingen.de/dekanat-geschichte/ag/ag_aktuelltroia1.htm). Kolb elaborated part of his attack in Ulf 2003, 120-45 in a paper, titled “War Troia eine Stadt?”, a question which he answered as follows: “Eine Bezeichnung Troias als Stadt ist weiterhin nicht gerechtfertigt. Daran ändert auch die inzwischen zum Programm erhobene, fragwürdige Gleichsetzung mit dem in hethitischen Dokumenten genannten Wilusa nichts.” In an illuminating article, regrettably (for non-Dutch readers) so far only published in Dutch, Josine Blok reviews both Korfmann’s and Kolb’s views as brought forward at Tübingen: based on strong archaeological and historical evidence she supports the arguments brought forward by Kolb. In essence she acknowledges Korfmann’s qualities as an archaeologist but she believes that his desire to use and to please the media (and his

Obvious is that in the meantime many, if not most, questions remain unanswered by those with the best access to the archaeological record. Equally obvious is that some of the most fundamental problems of this site, not least among them some of those put forward by Finley, remain unsolved and will be so, unless attitudes change. In that respect Troy is bound to remain a dream and is still far away of becoming a reality. Though Hertel restates, in this respect, Finley's view that neither from philological and ancient-historical nor from archaeological point of view there may be spoken of a 'historical nucleus' of the Trojan War as described in the *Iliad* or the Epic Cycle (Hertel 2001, 9), both he and the other participants in this controversy should be aware of the distinct possibility that in the present circumstances any breakthrough – in whatever direction – in the field of research would become a subject of contention rather than of diligent study and discussion.

The Trojan horse

One remark of Kolb (like Korfmann leading a highly interesting project in Turkey, the "Tübinger Lykien-Projekt", a.o. excavating the city of Kyaneai) in the interview in the *Berliner Morgenpost* of July 17th, 2001, suggesting a political motive for Korfmann's theory of Troy as a centre of trade, thereby strongly supporting Turkish national feelings, may have been rather close to the mark. Similar sounds were ventilated during the "Deutsche Historikertag" at Halle in September 2002 (cf. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 16th, 2002). Whether or to which extent such allegations may be true I can not judge, nor do I want to. However, if there is only the slightest truth in the accusations it is necessary to blow the alarm.

Over the last years we have witnessed an increased interest of the public for archaeological research: it is shown by the copy-numbers of popular archaeological magazines and the ratings for archaeological programs on, e.g., Discovery Channel or National Geographic Channel, to name but a few examples. At the same time one may notice a shift in interest *in academis*, swayed by the political issues of the day, from the *humaniora*, expressly including (ancient) history, archaeology, and the classics, to more profit generating fields. As for the Netherlands the situation is clear. The total amount spent by the government on scientific education went from € 2115.7 million in 1980 to € 2640.5 million in 1999, an increase in amount but a decrease in percentage of the national income from 1.54 to 0.82¹⁹.

Simultaneously some departments at universities have vanished, like the department of the Ancient Near East at the University of Amsterdam (once probably only second to Chicago), and restructuring still is ongoing. At the same time new fashionable studies have developed like leisure (free-time)

¹⁹ The data were obtained from the website of the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics: www.cbs.nl/cijfers/kerncijfers/index.htm#Onderwijs.

sciences *c.q.* management or communication sciences. The net result is that the amount of money that some *humaniora* departments may spend today is roughly identical – incidentally even less than that – with that in the late seventies of the 20th century. As for archaeology: Dutch archaeology *in academia* is, nowadays, largely embedded in Archaeological Heritage Management in order to preserve its existence at least up to a minimal level and to be able to provide an elementary training for students. Quite some Dutch archaeologists either depend for their work on projects *ex patria* or have even left the country completely. The loss of the *humaniora* is not restricted to the Netherlands, or Europe, as the need for “academic populism” in the USA, caused by “consumerism, crass materialism, and utilitarian demands on education”, proves (*cf.* Hanson *e.a.* 2001), but that is of little comfort.

Scientific research is expensive and archaeological excavations are no exception to that rule. This certainly holds for Korfmann’s excavations at Troy²⁰. If the university can not (or does not want to) afford itself all the expenses of such an undertaking, one has to find sponsors from outside. Korfmann’s team was (and still is) heavily sponsored (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Korfmann/Mannspenger 1998, 75). Among the sponsors, the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* was prepared to pay 13 % of Korfmann’s yearly expenses, Daimler Chrysler even as much as 20 % (*cf.* www.welt.de/daten/2001/07/26...): the amount that the Ministry of Culture of Turkey (the country that presents itself as the gateway to Europe and seeks association with the European Union) contributed is kept silent. Sponsoring in itself is no problem and may have its benefits, both for the ones who are sponsored and for the sponsor personally (or commercially). It was probably no coincidence that the first stop of the exhibition *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit* was in the home-city of the main sponsor of the project led by Korfmann. Sponsors, however, also like publicity: it may be an incentive for any researcher to go, wittingly or unwittingly, a step further than his results should allow him to go, at least at that moment. Moreover, positive publicity may also serve in the play to attract new sponsors: companies tend to think to take a greater benefit by association with high profile research than with the, at least equally useful and even indispensable, everyday work (though, as far as I know, no really conclusive evidence is present for such an assumption: it only looks very probable). At the same time such spectacular ideas arouse the interest of the media,

²⁰ Yearly the amount needed is about € 500,000 (£ 300,000: www.thetimes.co.uk/article/0,,72001284132,00.html). Though this is, admittedly, a huge amount of money such a sum is, on the other hand, by some government services as well as by some private companies apparently considered as pocket money. During the so-called “bouwfraude-affaire (construction-fraud affair)” in the Netherlands in 2002, *e.g.*, such amounts were during a parliamentary inquiry dismissively referred to (also by the acting minister of Transport and Construction) as ‘Monopoly-money’, ‘peanuts’,

which, in their turn serve the general public, generating a circle of “information” no matter how relevant: in this play Korfmann and his challenging views played, supported especially by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and its reporter Michael Siebler, a home match (*cf.*, *e.g.*, the remarks of Blok 2002, 225 *sqq.*). What has been stated in the preceding lines on sponsoring in particular goes, of course, also for public relations in general. This aspect of the profession, essentially meant to inform the general public, is very important and has always been so (if only because of the fact that at least part of the work is paid by public means): even Reuvens was well aware of the need by archaeologists of adequate public relations (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Brongers 2002, 99, 109).

At present, however, also public relations appear to suffer from the “Olympic thought”: the tendency for *citius, altius, fortius* (= “quicker, higher, stronger”), to which, most likely, may be added *maius, melius, opportunius* (= “bigger, better, more convenient”), at least from advertizing and perhaps also the sporters’ point of view. In these circumstances controversies as the present one on Troy tend to develop their own momentum. They may be used to inform the public, amuse the crowds, but, if proper circumspection is not observed, they may backfire. In such conditions a conclusion as by Berthold Seewald in *Die Welt* of February 28th, 2002, becomes possible: “Zumindest wird langsam klar, dass auf dem am besten erforschten Ruinenfeld der Welt im Stil von Indiana Jones gegraben wird. Wenn der Archäologie ihr Ruf als Wissenschaft lieb ist, sollte sie dem Tübinger Treffen schnell eine Methodendebatte folgen lassen”.

It may be clear that I do not share Seewald’s picture of the style Korfmann excavated and still excavates at Tepe Hisarlık. On the contrary, the precision of the excavation itself and the excavation reports constitutes part of Korfmann’s opponents’ very ammunition. It is, however, in the presentation of his results (aspiring after even more benefits? Hoping for the construction of a new museum at Hisarlık?) that Korfmann seems to have lost measure. By exceeding the bounds of professional circumspection the sponsor – and the project – may be temporarily served, but the researcher, in this case the archaeologist, has, in fact, lost his independence: there may even be situations that his academic integrity can be (and in Korfmann’s case has been) questioned. He has pulled (or: the circumstances have forced him to pull: *cf.* Blok 2002, 229) a Trojan horse into the academic world.

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The excavation reports of Schliemann, if we may give his notes and publications on the results of his excavations this qualification, are quite scattered and overlapping. He published in French, English, and German. Even comparing results of one particular year one may find clues in a French edition that are lacking in an English one and possibly only hinted at in the German — and all variations of such riddles. I think the best (but not the most complete) overall picture can be gathered from the following books:

Schliemann, H. 1880-1881, *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans; the Results of Researches and Discoveries....*, London-New York; Schliemann, H. 1884, *Troja. Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy....*, London/New York; and Schliemann, H. 1891, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890*, Leipzig. Important is Dörpfeld, W. e.a. 1902, *Troja und Ilion. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion*, 2 vols., Athen. As to the excavations led by Blegen, they are published in: Blegen, C.W. e.a. 1950-1958, *Troy. Excavations conducted by the University of Cincinnati 1932-1938*, 5 vols., Princeton. A useful introduction may be found in two books: Blegen, C.W., *Troy and the Trojans* (already mentioned) and Wood, M. 1985, *In Search of the Trojan War*, London. As indicated, the preliminary reports of the present excavations are published in the *Studia Troica*, Mainz 1 (1990) →.

Not only printed information on the site (in its geographical meaning) is available nowadays: also the internet offers a wide variety of so-called sites containing useful information. Some interesting sites are:

www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia (the starting-page of the Project Troia);

www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia/deu (the Tübingen Project Troia homepage);

www.uni-tuebingen.de/uni/afj/troia/index.html (the joint homepage of the Project Troia of the Tübingen and Cincinnati Universities);

www.troia.de;

www.uni-tuebingen.de/dekanat-geschichte/ag/alte-geschichte.htm;

www.indiana.edu/~classics/aegean/R27.html (Troy VII and the historicity of the Trojan War);

devlab.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/23.html (on Troy VI);

devlab.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/27.html (on Troy VII);

www.iit.edu/~agunsal/truva/exc.html (excavating Troy [= Truva]);

www.iit.edu/~agunsal/truva/truva/truva.html (Troy: 4000 Year old ancient city).

This is but a small selection. Using a search-engine like Google for "troy OR troia OR troja" is not recommended: it generates some 231,000 "hits" (also because of the gigantic number of cities, towns, hamlets, or institutions (especially in the U.S.A.) that carries or uses the name "Troy". For a search-engine that organizes the "hits" in different directories, making it much easier to find the site you want, you may use: www.vivisimo.com.

Jan P. Stronk

Ancient History, University of Amsterdam

C/o Reestein 9,

NL-2151 KB Nieuw-Vennep

The Netherlands