

READING TROY: TEXT, SITE AND MUSEUM

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

JULY 2021

Approval of the thesis:

READING TROY: TEXT, SITE AND MUSEUM

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ABSTRACT

READING TROY: TEXT, SITE, AND MUSEUM

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July 2021, 150 pages

The ancient city of Troy has been known universally as the site of Homer's *Iliad*, witness of the legendary Trojan War, and the home of mythological characters immortalized in the epic prose. Troy can also be regarded as one of the cradles of the history of architecture where nine distinct settlements were unearthed in the same mound. Highlighting the real and conceptual city further, the new museum of Troy which has renovated displays and animations of the holdings in the collection as a product of both ancient and modern history opened its doors with the declaration of the "Year of Troy" in 2018. This study is intended to investigate multiple readings of Troy triggered by the story in the *Iliad* starting from the remarkable discovery of the site and first excavations. Representations of Troy are examined by using selected case build-ups. In doing so, the idea is to find common grounds for the organization of the literary text, archaeological site, and design of displays in the new museum. This thesis aims to show how different mindsets and approaches over the ancient settlement overlap, complement and sometimes even contradict each other. Hence, different perspectives to the Trojan narrative are brought together by creating aggregate imaginary and factual perceptions over Troy

by readings in different frames and creating analogies. In addition to the different perspectives, similar to the new museum assembling the antique and the modern under its roof, the concept of the thesis is to gather the various frames under the same metaphoric roof from the past to the present.

Keywords: The *Iliad*, ancient city of Troy, museum of Troy, Trojan narrative, perception, analogy



ÖZ

METİN, ÖREN YERİ VE MÜZESİYLE BİR TROYA OKUMASI

SELÇUK, Ayşe Mina

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Suna Güven

Temmuz 2021, 150 sayfa

Troya, Homer'in *İlyada* destanında geçen efsanevi Troya Savaşı'nın mekansal tanığı ve ölümsüzleştirilmiş mitolojik karakterlerin yurdu olarak tanınan bir antik kenttir. Edebi ününün yanı sıra, aynı höyükte dokuz ayrı yerleşimin ortaya çıkarılması göz önüne alındığında, Troya mimarlık tarihinin beşiklerinden biri olarak da kabul edilebilir. Homeros'un destanıyla bütünleşmiş bu kentin temsillerinden biri de 2018'den beri ziyarete açık olan, antik dönemi yenilikçi sergi üniteleri ve animasyonlarıyla vurgulayarak günümüze getiren, eski ve modern tarihin ortak bir ürünü olan yeni Troya Müzesi'dir. Bu çalışma, *İlyada*'da anlatılan hikâyenin tetiklediği çoklu Troya okumalarını arazinin dikkat çekici keşfinden ve ilk Troya kazılardan başlayarak araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Troya'nın birer temsili olan metindeki anlatı, arkeolojik kazı alanı ve müzedeki sergi ünitelerinden seçilen örneklerde ortak paydalar bulmak amaçlanmaktadır. Bunu yaparken fikir, müzenin eski ve modern tarihi aynı çatı altında bir araya getirmesi gibi, antik yerleşim üzerindeki farklı zihniyetlerin ve yaklaşımların birbiriyle nasıl örtüştüğünü ve hatta bazen çeliştiğini göstermektir. Böylece, farklı çerçevelerdeki okumalar üzerinden Troya hakkındaki hayali ve hakiki algıların kurgusal bir çatı

altında birleřtirilmesiyle gemiřten gnmze Troya anlatısına farklı bakıř aıları getirilmiř olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *İlyada*, Troya antik kenti, Troya mzesi, Troya anlatısı, algı, benzetim





To my beloved family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis was written during the coronavirus pandemic that shook the whole world including mine; it is therefore not just a product of hard work, but also a manifestation of stability, support, encouragement, and love. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my esteemed supervisor, Prof. Dr. Suna Güven. She did provide me full support and she helped me to maintain my stability without letting me lose hope. I am so grateful for her acceptance to be my mentor, for trusting my work and not refraining to support. Instead of forcing me in a direction, she allowed me to find my own way in the light of the path set by her with her patience and wisdom. Without her guidance and very special personal library, I would not be able to read Troy.

I would also like to thank the members of the examining committee, Assist. Prof. Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan and Prof. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal for their valuable comments and suggestions leading me to embrace the essence of the thesis once more.

A special thanks to my devoted mother, Esin Selçuk who had to give up her doctoral thesis as a mother, loved to be an instructor till her retirement, and supported me and my older sister to be academics. I am thankful to her as the person knowing me the most, she has always encouraged me to become the best version of myself. Without her endless love, support, and interest in reading and listening to each step of my M.A. studies by sharing my enthusiasm for the history of architecture, I would never be able to find the power to continue, especially during the thesis process. I dedicate this thesis to my beloved family, especially my mother, who contributed a lot in every aspect of my life.

I am also deeply indebted to my dear father, Metnan Selçuk who always motivates me, be there for me with his moral and material support, and proud of my academic achievements as his own. Following my parents, I would like to thank my older sister and caring little mother, Merve Selçuk Şimşek who has always

supported her little Mi, and her husband, Seçkin Şimşek who is a big brother to me. If they weren't my role models, I might not even have chosen this academic path. I should also express my gratitude to my grandparents, Hanımcık and Şerafettin Demir for always being my side no matter what I do to support me and be proud of me. I am so thankful that you are my family bringing nothing but love and joy into my life.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all my friends for standing by me, motivating me, and having positive influences on me during the hardest times. On behalf of all, I would like to express special thanks to my best friend, Öykü Günay who has been with me from Bilkent University, Interior Architecture and Environmental Design to METU, History of Architecture. Taking classes, attending seminars, writing an M.A. thesis with you, even reading/hearing your harsh comments on my thesis from time to time were pleasures to me. After our second graduation, I am looking forward to our next adventures together.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It should be clear by now that Troy was not just an ancient city, but rather a concept that could be molded to fit a variety of times and places.

(Rose 1998, 412)

...the genesis of the Troia Historical National Park is the phenomenon of Troia with its settlements, transformation of its geomorphology, tumuli, multi-layered town and the Trojan War. Deliberately Troia is considered a phenomenon, rather than a town or an archeological site, because it is a theater scene.

(Koru 2010, 78)

The existence of the ancient city of Troy was a disputed conjecture that had been going on for centuries. Until Hisarlık (Çanakkale, Turkey) was identified and proven by excavations to be the archaeological mound of this ancient settlement, Troy had been regarded as a myth, a fictional city in the *Iliad* of Homer. Despite conflicting ideas about Troy, staunch admirers firmly believed in the reality of the site of Homer. Hence, there were also actual attempts to discover the exact location of this legendary city to confirm its existence at all times. As a result of these convictions followed by long years of research and excavation, it can now be said that 1871, 1890, and 2018 were milestones in the modern history of Troy. After its existence was proved, the excavations revealed that nine ancient settlements were located in the same mound¹. Highlighted by *megarons/megara* dating back to 3000 BC, the period of Troy I (Çalış-Sazcı 2002b, 56), the site of Troy has been a built-

¹ Nine strata were labelled from Troy I to IX during the first excavations, but later excavations discovered that there were ten settlements and Troy X was a bishop center in the 4th century AD under Constantine the Great. Troy X, Byzantine Illium, was destroyed by successive earthquakes causing the last occupants who might have occupied the settlement for a short period to leave (Rose 2001, 280). Because of the earthquake history and destructive wind storms in the area, Byzantine Illium must have been the first to evanesce. Since the layer has the least finds among the ruins as the last stratum of the mound, the other nine settlements are highlighted as major periods.

up area since prehistoric ages. Due to this continuous chronology, Troy may be considered as a cradle of architectural history².

Heinrich Schliemann was one of the admirers of Homeric verses and he dedicated his life to locate their settings. Even though Schliemann did not have any experience of excavating, he decided to dig the mound which Frank Calvert had believed to be the land of Homer's Troy (Fagan 2019, 150). Hence, Schliemann was not the first to identify the Hill of Hisarlık as the site of the *Iliad*. Yet, for the first time, in 1871, he was the one who started excavations which Fagan (2019, 150) describes as "the siege of Troy" in the Hill. Schliemann's excavations lasted several years to be followed by "large scale excavations in 1871-73, 1878, 1879, 1882 and 1890" and he conducted the excavations until his death (Aslan 2018, 4; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 47).

After the official recognition of the prehistoric settlement as the city of Homer in 1890, Troy has been continuously excavated by several international teams. Following Germans and Americans, Turks continue to carry out excavations today. In 2018, to highlight the archaeological site and honor all the settlements under the mound through renovated displays and animations of the holdings in the collection and to associate the ancient with the modern, the new Troy Museum opened its doors in tandem with the declaration of the "Year of Troy".

This thesis firstly investigates the site, museum, literary text and the relations between them by focusing on the nature of different constructed narratives. The design of selected display areas in the museum is also looked at in due course. Along with this analysis, the verbal narrative in the *Iliad* of Homer is utilized to imagine the depicted space of the poetic prose in relation to the materiality of the excavated site and museum. All together, the thesis comprises five main sections, ending with the Conclusion.

The introduction aims to create a base for the history of Troy including the *Iliad* by Homer, the excavation process, and the museum as a reflection of this history. Following the "Introduction", the second chapter, "Prose, Fact and Materiality" probes the prose to understand the history of the oral tradition and the

² Palaces and cult centers there had been based on the construction scheme of the *megaron* which is now also regarded as the prototype of early Greek and Roman temples (Çalış-Sazcı 2002b, 56).

importance of the prose in Greek culture. It also examines the noteworthy journey behind the discovery of Troy with the help of Homer's mnemonics. Through early drawings and the first exhibition, how Troy and Trojan findings were displayed in the 19th century to represent and advertise the discovery and inferences about the ancient settlement are investigated in the third chapter.

Starting from the narrative of Ilion in its first original representation in Homer's Troy and the *Iliad*, the fourth chapter describes selected representations of the ancient settlement in the mythology, excavated archaeological site and museum before overlapping these different narratives to create analogies. The final fifth chapter, "Overlapping Narratives: Panoramic Perceptions and Analogies in the History of Troy" explores the detailed representations of "Homer's land" (Duchêne 1996, 59) and the overlapping of both chronologically different and simultaneous mindsets and approaches concerning the ancient settlement. In doing this, the fifth chapter is divided into two subheadings based on "Memory" and "Vision" respectively which are further divided into two within themselves to compare the real and simulated worlds. As a whole, the thesis aims to critically bring together and question multiple readings and panoramic perceptions of Troy stemming from the excavations based on the text and the current organization of the site and the museum for visitors.

Although Zangger articulates his general impression of the actual site as "not spectacular" (2016, 105), because of rather modest size, I can say that this scale makes itself spectacular due to endurance and longevity. In contrast to Zangger, I was highly intrigued by the hidden narratives of settlements buried under such modest dimensions. The most noteworthy aspect of the land is this aura of mysterious ambiguity it holds, whereby it functioned as the dramatic setting of the Trojan War. Is it because of the convenient geography of the land; its visibility from Mount Ida which is known as the location of the altar of Zeus, the god of the gods? Or is it because of the myth of the river god, Scamander which is also the name of one of the rivers in the epic that the sacred Ilios was built on their junction, or is it because of the tangible reality of imaginative speculation in antiquity?

Considering such questions as above, the site of Troy arouses interest in relation to mythology, its fame derived from the *Iliad* and its power to create a

passion to be experienced. My aim in this thesis is to put together connections between the myth, the saga of the Trojan War, the fertile topography of “Homer’s land, the promised land” (Duchêne 1996, 59) and its early and later representations in order to expose the dynamics underlying the engaging reputation of the ancient city which is prominent among archaeological sites like Pergamum or Ephesus that boast far more tangible and visually impressive material remains.

As a start, my basic source of the first excavations is *Troy and Its Remains* by Heinrich Schliemann which can be regarded as an early logbook or a diary. This constitutes first-hand evidence from the site to reveal the ideas behind the discoveries and find out where and under what conditions some of the findings were before constructing and overlapping various representations of Troy. Besides archaeological reports from the excavations and written sources between the years 1871-2020 from various interdisciplinary fields, the online archive of the Troy Excavations and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism³, photographs and illustrations from both the site and the new Troy Museum including my personal photograph album⁴ for the current situations are collectively used during the thesis studies.

³ Troy World Heritage Site: <https://www.troyexcavations.com/?l=en>

For further information about Troy Museum:

<https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/canakkale/gezilecekyer/canakkale-arkeoloji-muzesi>

(Çanakkale Troy Müzesi - Çanakkale n.d.)

Virtual tour of the Museum: <https://sanalmuze.gov.tr/TR-259960/troya-muzesi---canakkale.html>
(Troya Müzesi n.d.)

⁴ For comparing the latest and earlier conditions of the site, in addition to my own photographs, the photos which were taken and uploaded by willing tourists for the location of Trojan ruins, Kalafat/Çanakkale Merkez/Çanakkale to Google Maps are also used in the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

PROSE, FACT AND MATERIALITY

As a product of the oral poetic tradition of the 8th century BC, the *Iliad* by Homer is regarded as one of the oldest narratives in literature covering the last 51 days of the 10-year Trojan War. The story told in the *Iliad* cannot be precisely verified, but clues and traces of the war are found in Greek art and literature owing to Greeks' visual and oral traditions (Latacz 2004, 39). With the printing of Homer's text in Florence in the 15th century AD, Troy was introduced to the world as the "true" medium of prose where the events of this legendary war were "written and lived" (Aksit 2018, 8, 12). Several centuries later, towards the end of the 19th century AD, the city was discovered as the homeland of mythological characters. In this chapter, the archaeological discovery of the ancient city of Troy and the concrete evidence underlying and verifying the mythology are described with the first excavations. Before them, the oral poetry tradition and the era of the bard Homer are now examined in order to understand the prose.

2.1 Mythology before Archaeology: A Product of Oral Poetry

The oral poetry tradition and the mythological importance of the epic for ancient Greeks need to be analyzed to understand the impact and transmission of the *Iliad*. Investigations into the oral tradition reveal that the style of the prose is older than Homer, so although he is acknowledged as the poet of the legend, he cannot be the actual inventor of this genre. It is significant to remember and know the literary limits while interpreting Homer as some scholars have cautioned (Dalby 2018, 53; Latacz 2005, 154, 163).

As an ancient Greek scholar and historian, André Bonnard sees the essence of the oral tradition in all primitive people having folk songs. Accordingly, ancients

had been used to the “rhythmic language” while working as if to ease up their load of physical labor. Greek bards improved the oral tradition and discovered a genre most of which was folk based, a eulogy to the achievements of past heroes. While glorifying the past, it was essential to encourage the Greek audiences to be hardworking and brave as Bonnard (2004, 21) highlights. Albert Bates Lord, another scholar working on the oral tradition, also questions the reasons underlying the transfer of the *Iliad* into writing, and he reaches the conclusion that Homer was one of the oral poets in the ages of transition. More specifically, it appears that the 8th century BC was a period when oral tradition was in the process of giving way to the literary technique. According to Lord, the innovation in the style might have served as a “mnemonic device”. This new technique enabled the preservation of oral poetries for posterity that were simply mouthpieces before, so that when a reciter or rhapsode who wandered city by city in ancient Greece read poems, especially Homeric poems, the glories of the past might not have disappeared from the minds of men (Dalby 2018, 9; Lord 1953, 128, 130, 131).

In a later article, Lord (1991) articulates further the scarcity of evidence about the tradition and emphasizes its “excellence”. With the adaptability of the tradition, bards might have shaped their narratives by instantly changing and creating while performing their songs (Lord 1991, 2; 1953, 128). Moreover, the oral poetry tradition also includes some repetitive narratives varying according to the current state of the Greeks. Phrases and also some repeated words such as *linos*, *molpe* and *khoro*s could be chosen to include or exclude from the song while improvising by a poet (Dalby 2018, 42, 44; Erhat 2014, liii; Lord 1953, 127; Simpson 1968, 40). Homeric scholars generally believe that poets kept improvising, but the new technique enabled the poets of the tradition to be more creative due to mnemonic attributes. Instead of combining traditional lines with choices of certain additions and arbitrary selections, a poet might have had time to think about the next lines to show his creativity and better mood as a singer outside the constraints of the oral tradition. In a nutshell, rhapsodes were representatives who interpreted the work of their ancestors in a way that would be more pleasing for audiences depending on the current mood of the nation by adding their own creativity (Umar 2002, 203).

Ancient Greeks desired to believe that oral poetry was based on historical incidents because poems of the era like the *Iliad* glorified the Greeks so that they would accept the narratives of the poems proudly as their historical backgrounds. Following epic poetry, theaters including tragedy and comedy both as means of imitation and a re-creation of life came into being. Not unlike poets, script-writers became the contemporary educators of the society striving to raise awareness in ancient Greece (Bonnard 2004, 21). Along this line of thought, in later periods, audiences started to question factuality in the products of the oral tradition. As one of the script-writers of the oral tradition, Plato openly confessed that to attract attention and transmit his ideas to the people better, he had named Socrates as one of his fictional characters in the *Symposion* as if the monologues of the character Socrates were true and wise words spoken by the ancient Greek philosopher. Even if there was a vestige of truth in the *Symposion*, the larger part of the script might have been fiction. With Plato's own confession of his fictionality in the *Symposion*, it was realized that it could not be known exactly how much of the story belonged to whom and how much of it was told by people who actually lived the incident and turned it into a product of oral tradition with all due faults. Eventually, it was taken for granted that there is always fiction in the tradition (Dalby 2018, 62, 63). Hence, according to Froma Zeitlin (2001), characters in Greek mythology are most probably products of fiction. As evidential reasoning for fictionality, it can be said that all the characters represent different human traits who shed light on society according to the tradition. As an instance, Zeitlin mentions Palamedes, a mythological hero who represents wisdom, philosophy and even sophists see themselves in him. Although the character is associated with the Trojan War in Greek mythology, his absence from Homeric epics makes us think that Palamedes might have been developed by later poets following the *Iliad*. When comparing one of the secondary characters, Palamedes to Achilles, it is seen that instead of a fictional wisdom, the Iliadic world is based on Achilles who is a "proud egotist, concerned for his own time, even after death", and his (Achilles') famous *mēnis* (wrath)⁵ has a purpose. In this case, Homeric heroes enhance the mythical quality

⁵ The word *mēnis* also means supernatural anger in mythology (Zeitlin 2001, 252).

of the text and if there is a vestige of truth in the *Iliad* like Plato's *Symposion*, Homer's poetry might have served both as myth and history (Dalby 2018, 65, 67, 68, 71; Zeitlin 2001, 199, 251, 252).

When taking the lengths of Homeric poems into consideration, they seem more suited to be the products of the era of dictation. Accordingly, "the traditional catalogue" gives a chance for the poet to show his skills and explains the rules of the tradition as a list of *dramatis personae*, and an introduction to the fighting (Simpson 1968, 44). Besides the designated features of the catalog, as one of the specialists of Homeric poetry, Gregory Nagy (2013) underlines the importance of two words in the oral tradition of the Greek world as "hour" (season, seasonality in a general sense) and "glory". "Hour" is originally derived from the Greek word *hōrā*. Moreover, the words *hōrā*, Hera, and hero are linguistically related in the Greek language. In mythology, Hera is the goddess of seasons who knows exactly the perfect time for everything and based on this, heroes are the ones who regard the moment of death as "the precise moment when everything comes together". The connection of these words is understood better in Book IX of the *Iliad* when Achilles says:

My mother, silver-footed Thetis the goddess, tells me
that two contrary spirits go with me until the end that's death.
If I stay here, and fight around the Trojans' city
I'll lose my homecoming, but gain imperishable renown (glory).
On the other hand, if I return to my own dear country
my fine renown (glory) will have perished, but my life will long
endure, and the end of death will not find me any time soon.

(*Iliad*, Book IX, 410-416)

It can be inferred from the above lines that heroes are not afraid of losing the homecoming or even death when they have glory that is seen as the only imperishable concept in the narrative of the *Iliad*. Furthermore, they believe that glory makes them immortal by causing their names to be remembered after they die. In this respect, being mentioned as a glorious dead man might be as, if not more important, as being alive in Greek mythology (Nagy 2013, 28, 31, 32). To be more precise, in the time of Homer, the theme of the 8th century might indeed have been glorifying the Greek nation but choosing the "wrath of Achilles" as the starting

point of the continuation of the ongoing battle and Troy as the dramatic setting of the fight might have been Homer's choice as a superior poet. Homer also adds the "ring" style to the tradition that consists of repetitions and mirror incidents in the poem that are analyzed later in more detail with the themes of the poem as glory and death, in Chapter 4.

Singing and travelling bards in antiquity must have been numerous, but their names have not reached us today, with the exception of Homer. In spite of the opinions of some scholars like Azra Erhat (2014) who associates the *Iliad* with rag bags ("yamalı bohça" in Turkish) believing that products of oral poetry were combinations of different poets' poems, when the poems in the different books are analyzed, the 24 books of the *Iliad* look remarkably consistent. Poetically, what can be said with certainty is that the *Iliad* was transformed into a great poem by Homer as a work of oral tradition in a convincing tone, despite the fact that it was considered to be a product of history by historians like Thucydides in antiquity (Bonnard 2004, 44; Dalby 2018, 68, 75, 76). It has also been claimed that the analysis of Homeric poems even paved the way for the foundation of the field of philology in the 18th century AD, because Homeric poems encourage people to do research by making them wonder about the poetic language that can be one of the most significant features of the *Iliad* in the Greek world (Erhat 2014, xviii).

From this point of view, it can be inferred that Homer's choices as a poet made him stand out among other poets, and he became one of the renowned propagators of the style. Until the same impulse urging people to research had also led to the remarkable discovery of Homer's chosen setting of the Trojan War even 1900 years after his death, these narratives of oral poetry were not matched with materiality. This "disbelief" in the existence of the ancient city which Homer might have created with the power of mythology started to be refuted by Heinrich Schliemann's discovery of the site and the excavations he conducted there in 1871 directing adherents to Hisarlık in Çanakkale, Turkey.

2.2 From Homer to Archaeologists: The Ancient City

The *Iliad* of Homer and Troy, the site of the epic, have long been known universally both in the East and West. Homer immortalized the site, the legendary

Trojan War and its heroes in his narrative of the myth. Long before this ancient settlement's existence was proved, Troy was already renowned as a metaphorical actor in literary usage to describe catastrophes based on tragedy and tragic resonances. Besides the tragic and poetic aspect of the epic, however, it must be remembered that Homer also describes the weather, landscape and concrete geographic identifiers as rivers and mountains around Troy, in the space of the prose (Güner 2017, 38, 40; Günay, et al. 2007, 19; Maurer 2009, 305).

The city had been thought of as a product of fiction because it was believed that mythological characters lived there in the past. However, the reality of the "site" of Homer's Troy also invited investigation in search of actuality (Easton 2001, 20). Despite the tragic resonances to historians, novelists and poets, various explorers throughout history pondered about the location of this imaginary city, seeking proof about its existence. During expeditions of archaeological exploration, the verbal narrative of the myth was used as a guide by the explorers to find the matching archaeological artifacts.

As a leading amateur archaeologist in the 19th century, Heinrich Schliemann's life-long ambition had been to discover Homer's Troy. With the help of Homer's hints in the epic, Schliemann could recognize the land that was mentioned as Troy (Fig. 1). In this sense, he tried to match the real world of archaeological findings to the fictional city. C. Brian Rose⁶ highlights the aura of the 19th century as "characterized by a wave of philhellenism in part stimulated by the liberation of Greece" and intrigued by "classical texts and classical legends, especially those of Troy" (Rose 1998, 412). The actual discovery propelled these sentiments further. From Homer to the present, it may be seen that the text had been one of the popular legends in history and the saga of the text was still identifiable in the 19th century as it was described by the poet. According to Rose, archaeology as "the new science" of the era started to serve "as a means of testing the validity

⁶ Charles Brian Rose is an archaeologist working in the Department of Classical Studies in the Mediterranean Section, University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania (James B. Pritchard Professor of Archaeology) since 2005. "Between 1988 and 2012 he was Head of the Post-Bronze Age excavations at Troy and the English-language editor of *Studia Troica*, the annual journal of the Troy excavations." Currently Rose is working on the Troy Excavation Series including the architecture, architectural decoration, and small finds of the West Sanctuary, the Hellenistic and Roman houses in Troy (Rose 2013).

of those legends” after Troy was discovered, excavated, and documented by the innovative enterprise of Schliemann. Despite the disputes over his evidence and some of his methods that continue to be controversial today, Schliemann’s discovery and the first excavations pioneered by him were the paving stones in changing the perception toward the relation between mythology and archaeology under the influence of Homer’s poetic vision.

2.3 First Excavations

Frank Calvert was a British expatriate diplomat whose family had lived in Çanakkale since the 17th century (Fig. 2) (Allen 1995b, 50; Aslan 2018, 119; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 47). Calvert was interested in archaeology as an amateur and he knew the local topography well. After he had realized that the Hill of Hisarlık was an archaeological mound, he furthered his theories that the hill was the actual site of Homer’s Troy (Fig. 3). To prove his theory, he purchased a large part of the land and he carried out several surveys starting from 1863 (Allen 1995a, 379; Aslan 2018, 3; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 47; Traill 1985, 15). In the light of these surveys, he published his views in 1864 long before Schliemann had identified the site as the mythical city (Allen 1999, 5).

Although Calvert was the first to identify Hisarlık as the possible location of the ancient city, why has Heinrich Schliemann known as the discoverer? This ambiguous circumstance of the discovery has been acknowledged and duly noted: “The mound was located by Frank Calvert and through the excavations of Schliemann, it became certain that the mound belonged to Troy” (Aksit 2018, 22). From the above, it might even be inferred that had Calvert not mentioned his theory to Schliemann who was already seeking to identify the site in the *Iliad*, Schliemann might not have gone ahead to explore Hisarlık! In that case, Troy might not even have been identified without the combination of Calvert’s first explorations in the region, his guidance, and Schliemann’s sources. However, Schliemann had both the time and requisite financial means to continue what Calvert had begun (Aksit 2018, 33; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 47). However, there is ample commentary criticizing Schliemann for being a fraud, stealing Calvert’s idea and his forthcoming glory after taking advantage of the latter’s vision articulated earlier. As Susan Allen’s and

Marcelle Robinson's separate article and book titles signify, Calvert deserves to be called "the unheralded discoverer of Troy" (Allen 1995b) or "Schliemann's silent partner" (Robinson 2007). Yet as it stands, it was Schliemann who emerged as an "archaeological hero" and Calvert was overshadowed by him (Allen 1995b; Easton 2001, 20; Traill 1985, 15).

Kathrin Maurer (2009, 303) also follows the line of Allen and Easton by stating that "Heinrich Schliemann staged his life as a spectacle" elevating himself into an archaeological hero, pioneer, and adventurer. When he was younger, Schliemann had already set this task for himself, which became his obsessive goal in life: This was finding the ancient city of Troy, the site of Homer. Pursuing the hope of finding evidence of the "Homeric city" for a lifetime and then discovering the city of his dreams is in some ways as a romantic beginning (Allen 1995b, 54; Duchêne 1996; Traill 1985, 14).

In the light of the path set by Calvert, when Schliemann arrived in the land in 1868, he could see that he was faced with an artificial mound corresponding to the ancient description. This set the course for embarking upon his ultimate ambition in life. Afterwards, excavations were started in earnest, initially with eight laborers digging to find "Homer's lost city" in 1871⁷. As the number of laborers increased, the mound deepened. Up to 1874, the Tower of Ilium, the double Scæan Gate, and the Palace of King Priam were discovered from the level of Troy II (Fig. 4) (Schliemann, 1875, 200, 287, 306). Considering that Schliemann's one and only purpose was to discover Homeric Troy, with every uncovering, remains were examined to determine whether they belonged to Homer's Troy or not. Schliemann did not have prior professional knowledge of archaeological method in excavations, nor any concerns over damaging the findings unless they belonged to Trojans in his estimation (Fagan 2019, 151). With this in mind, when a treasure was uncovered around the palace of King Priam in 1873, it was regarded as Trojan and accordingly named "Priam's Treasure" by Schliemann after the Trojan king (Fig.5). Moreover,

⁷ According to Wood (1985, 51), Darwin created a suitable intellectual climate for the study of mankind. He aroused interest in the development of civilizations by publishing *The Origin of Species* in 1859, by which prehistoric studies and excavations started to be regarded as science paving the way for Schliemann to dig Troy.

on the grounds that Turks would not appreciate this valuable “treasure” and would be unable to protect it, Schliemann smuggled the treasure which he believed belonged to Homeric Troy, although this was proved to predate the Troy of Homer by further excavations later. During these early excavations, what had been found belonged to Troy II. It is now realized that although Troy VI (Homer’s Troy) was already emerging, Schliemann and his assistant, Wilhelm Dörpfeld were not aware of the remains as such (Easton 2001, 22; Korfmann 2001, 380;1998, 91; Schliemann 1875, 323; Unknown author, 1998).

In 1889-1890, the first Hisarlık conferences were held at Hanay Tepe with a small group including Calvert and Dörpfeld which pointed to Hisarlık as the mound of Troy and ended with the now acknowledged recognition of the site (Fig. 6). After Heinrich Schliemann died later in 1890 and following the official declaration of the site, Dörpfeld continued to conduct the excavations and take documentary photographs recording the site (Figs. 7, 8) (Aksit 2018, 37; Aslan 6, 120-121; Easton 2001, 23-24). Blegen and Korfmann would follow him later on. In Dörpfeld’s classification of excavations, the different construction phases of Troy were numbered from I to IX (Figs. 9, 10) (Aslan 2018, 5). According to this chronology, Troy VI (1900-1300 BC) was Homer’s Troy among these nine layers of the mound at the Hisarlık Hill. Following Dörpfeld, Blegen claimed that Troy VIIa (1300-1200 BC) is the actual Homeric Troy. Even though both Troy VI and Troy VIIa⁸ have the same fate, Dörpfeld found the evidence of Blegen insufficient to be the stratum of Homeric Troy (Umar 2002, 55, 56; Unknown author, 1998).

Admittedly, Schliemann had his own idiosyncratic approach to archaeology as an enthusiastic amateur. He tried to bring light to Homer’s world but single-mindedly disregarded the possibility of falsification, fabrication and error while analyzing the findings (Easton 2001, 23). Even though as it has been said, his manner of documenting the progress and results of the excavations somewhat resembled “travel accounts” and that he did not pay much attention to the findings which were not labeled as Trojan, according to Donald F. Easton, his

⁸ Troy VI and Troy VIIa are thought to reflect the Trojan high culture which began during the Middle Bronze Age and lasted throughout the Late Bronze Age between these two layers of Troy (Becks 2002, 84).

unconventional approach to archaeology like at the time photographing the ruins was innovative as a precursor of scientific documentation (Fig. 11) (Easton 2001, 21, 23). Despite the shortcomings, in view of his innovations in the field, the first excavations conducted by Schliemann can nevertheless be considered as the genesis of modern archaeology.

Excavations have now revealed that the ancient site of Troy was a significant settlement with a sizeable population due to its convenient geographical location (Fig. 12). Many classicists concur that the territory having a regional significance served as the center of trade, culture, and worship for almost 3500 years. Because of its strategic geographical location, Troy's commercial reputation had far-reaching consequences, resulting in wealth, occupation, and wars by other ancient cities (Zangger 2016, 104). Because both Calvert's and Schliemann's motivation for excavating the site was primarily to find Homeric Troy, they overlooked the multi-layered history of the mound. However, the mound of Troy also has both earlier and later strata representing different settlements in the plain as I previously indicated in this chapter.

In the wake of the actual discovery of the city, the meaning of Troy in different cultures and the prevailing perceptions and conceptions changed in tandem. More specifically, the myth of Troy has gained a new significance. As well as the already known fictional side arising from the legend's popularity, Troy has now become a city known for its history after the evidence of many years of excavations. Besides the site of Homer, excavations have unearthed nine other layers of occupation (including Troy X, the last layer which is not counted among major layers) which were all successively embedded on top of each other. After the excavations, it is now revealed that these successive settlements were destroyed either by natural disasters or wars as judged by being "the best-fortified site in the north-western Turkey" which was geologically open to earthquakes (Rose 2013, 8, 11). Each new settlement was stratigraphically built on top of the ruins of the previous one resembling "an onion-like city" which had to be peeled-off to reveal its different layers (Erhat 2014, xxiv). Consequently, almost all the different strata also represent different archaeological periods, therefore unknowingly damaging a

stratum might have caused the loss of a vital evidence to bring light to an ancient history such as the Early Bronze Age (Rose 2013, 23; Sweeney 2018, 147).

When compared with many other contemporary ancient cities, the indisputable fact is that the territory of Troy has gained a unique place in history. This is because the site is not just an ancient settlement, “but rather a concept that could be molded to fit a variety of times and places” (Rose 1998, 412). In this light, in addition to the fictional side, this site has now acquired substance and as a concept itself, it is currently renowned for its remarkable geography which comprises exceptional archaeological strata, different settlements, and many construction phases and the way it was revealed to the world.



CHAPTER 3

DISPLAYING TROY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Before its existence was verified and concretized, explorers were in quest of discovering Troy, stemming from the popularity of the legend that “led up to Calvert and Schliemann’s excavations in the 19th century” in Europe (Aslan 2018, 52). Despite all the controversy, Schliemann’s discovery and works on the site of Troy have a permanent value on archaeology and architectural history. Most importantly, Schliemann supplied the missing link between the *Iliad* and the land of Troy to the world by both drawings and exhibitions (Smith 1875, iii). As a result, the long-imagined city of Homer “which Dr. Schliemann has (already) brought to light at Hissarlik” (Smith 1875, iv) acquired substance and became materialized by the published drawings illustrating the site, both before and after the excavations, and the first exhibitions opened to the public in the 19th century owing especially to the works of Schliemann.

3.1 Early Drawings

Until its archaeological discovery, factual information about the site itself was limited to Homer’s verbal descriptions in the *Iliad*. However, this was hardly tangible to create more evidence-based perceptions of Troy. Although there are early photographs from the excavations as far as the technology of the respective period allowed, the drawings especially in the diary and reports of Schliemann have an important place in archaeology in bringing the ancient scene to the current age⁹.

⁹ Schliemann’s drawings are amateur renderings picturing the land’s condition phase by phase during the excavations not in scale, and the finds in general. Based on his interest, Schliemann

If we consider that Schliemann was objective while drawing, these pictures might be regarded as the first material evidence of how Troy was represented to the world in the 19th century. However, what remains ambiguous is the story behind the drawings.

Considering the scarcity of the photographs from that period to the present, we cannot be certain about whether the drawings completely reflect the reality. Even though Schliemann was presumably largely objective, it is also possible that in the tradition of realist paintings, he might have added some imaginary details to his drawings (Figs. 13, 14). For example, possibly for increasing the “realism” in some of his pictures, there are additions of animal figures like camels which were rarely used for carrying out trade in Anatolia and about to end at the time¹⁰. In this respect, the additions to the drawings of Schliemann as a German intellectual might be likened to the practices of orientalist painters. The importance he gave to realistic imagery may also be detected in his illustration of Priam's treasures on his wife (Figs. 15, 16). Because he was utterly convinced that the Treasure he found belonged to the Trojan king Priam, he regarded the treasure as one of his finest discoveries and produced lots of drawings of the miscellaneous items in the treasure¹¹. Despite copious drawings, it is not known for certain which objects were part of the original horde because of Schliemann's attempted smuggling mentioned earlier (Rose 1993, 34). Afterwards, he even offered to sell out the archaeological finds to museums in order to be able to deny the accusations of Ottoman authorities.

sometimes drew objects in detail and supported his drawings with descriptive paragraphs in his so-called diary, *Troy and Its Remains*.

¹⁰ The camel traffic in the Ottoman Empire, especially after the more widespread use of boat transportation, had already been restricted with some goods which could become affected during the sea transport to some areas on the Balkan routes in the 17th century. Additionally, “increasing insecurity and instability” and “the abolition of the slave trade in Tunis and the Ottoman Empire in 1842 and 1857” were primary reasons of “the decline and ultimate eclipse” of the caravan trade in the 19th century (Boahen 1962, 359; Faroghi 1982, 532-533). In the light of this circumstance, even if camels were still in use in the transportation through the end of the 19th century, considering the routes of trade, it is unlikely that Heinrich Schliemann might have seen the camels at the very moment while illustrating the wilds land of Troy in 1871.

¹¹ This is explained further in Chapter 5.1.1.

It is interesting to note that this became popularized through caricatures in contemporary magazines of the time (Fig. 17) (Aslan 2018, 79-80).

Despite his chronological errors, the lowest stratum that Schliemann recognized during the excavations as his “ultimate conclusion” was Homeric Troy as emphasized by Philip Smith, the editor of *Troy and Its Remains*. According to his personal diary dated to 1871, Schliemann had started to lose his hope to find Homer’s Ilion which had been his first aim in digging the mound. Nevertheless, he appreciated the “magnificent and glorious Plain of Troy” and tried to “succeed only in penetrating to the deepest darkness of prehistoric times and enriching archaeology” as he personally admitted, without revealing discouragement or delusion (Schliemann 1875, 68, 80; Smith 1875, ix). Perusing Schliemann’s diary, the conscious distortion of drawings of finds stemming from his admiration and respect for Ilion, may be considered as a possibility.

3.2 First Exhibitions

After the first excavations on the site of Troy, only wealthy foreigners could actually go and visit to see the site in person (Baker 2020, 35). Hence, the first Trojan exhibitions aimed to attract attention to the site and convince interested people that the findings belonged to Homeric Troy. Besides archaeological findings, the story of Troy was also exhibited to create a social perception and be included in the mass media of the 19th century. At the same time, it was still being debated whether Schliemann was to be trusted and whether the site was indeed Homer’s Promised Land. Not surprisingly, visiting the exhibition was also used as an opportunity for the privileged to socialize (Baker 2020, 96-97).

Preceding these official exhibitions, Schliemann displayed the Trojan findings at his house in Athens as his own collection (Baker 2020, 36). Based on his album of plates, *Atlas trojanischer Alterthümer: Photographische Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*, published in 1874, it may be seen that he selectively brought together different types of finds in the same display unit and organized them to be seen as a classified group (Fig. 18). In the first public exhibition in London, even a small detail was planned in order to highlight the collection in the best chosen manner. Schliemann created a plan showing the organization of display

units with numbers not to allow any confusion in placement. In the plan, the units are arranged in three rows and among them, there are some installations including the large finds (Fig. 19). As a result, a sharp contrast was deliberately created between the visual experience of the ancient, “Schliemann’s collection”, and the modern, rest of the museum (Baker 2020, 41, 62). Obviously, the staged museum as it stood was deemed insufficient to give the desired sense of the ancient world. With such trials and errors of display, “the idea of a rediscovered, tangible Troy shaped literary modernism’s attitude to the past” (Baker 2020, 97).

While desiring his findings to be seen and appreciated by the public, Schliemann was also apprehensive because of the possibility of negative reception (Baker 2020, 37). Yet, shortly after the first excavations, he embarked upon planning how to display his treasures in museums. The exhibited discoveries were gaining recognition and receiving invitations from other reputable museums. As the public interest grew, Schliemann desired to play a more active role in the exhibiting process too and started to give feedbacks to architects who carefully designed the arrangement of the collections in order to give a clear sense of ancient Troy (Baker 2020, 61-62). His aim was to demonstrate “cultural and religious continuity at Troy”. Accordingly, the first exhibitions of Troy enabled the visitors to experience an aggregated world of archaeology, imagination, ancient and modern with an emphasis on geography, culture, and race of the Trojans (Baker 2020, 64, 66, 71, 74).

It is possible to get an idea of the first exhibitions with the evidence that Baker compiled from the archives of the 19th century revealing different facets with clarity. In the light of Baker’s descriptions and commentary, Schliemann's approach to Troy may be understood better. In fact, Schliemann had some religious inclinations too and believed that God had sent him to the world with the mission to tell about Homer (Fagan 2019, 155). It is a matter of debate whether he worked altruistically for the good of archeology, as he wrote in his diary, or whether he was obsessively chasing his life purpose as an ambitious adventurer and collector who did not even refrain from smuggling findings to exhibit them at his home. Even though he might have tampered with history in the way that he desired to see his legendary discovery, considering especially his works on reviving the memory of

Troy and introducing it to the world, his sustained efforts cannot be denied. All in all, it has to be admitted that Heinrich Schliemann made thousands of people in the 19th century aware of archaeology. Additionally, as stated with conviction, despite some contradictions in his own excavation reports, he unveiled “a new world of archaeology which brings uniqueness to the ancient settlement” (Fagan 2019, 157; Schliemann 1875, 12; Wood 185, 50).



CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTATIONS OF TROY

This section is intended to lay the ground for the next chapter, “Overlapping Narratives: Panoramic Perceptions and Analogies in the History of Troy”. Three prominent but very different types of sources of the ancient settlement, namely the *Iliad*, the site, and museum are highlighted here. Starting with the prose of the *Iliad*, this chapter aims to bring together an introductory assessment of the three-fold representations of Troy in the text, excavated site and museum to link them in more detail in the following chapter. Accordingly, it can be considered as a brief summary of textual and spatial representations of Troy, including imagined, in situ and off-site evidence.

4.1.1 The Iliad

Since Homer was considered as the “undisputed touchstone of excellence”, learning about Greek culture and Greekness specifically from Homer and constructing one’s Greek identity under his influence was a “key sign” to be accepted within the Greek elite in antiquity. The *Iliad* was claimed as the source of all knowledge involving poetic, technical and experiential knowledge ranging from craftsmanship to medicine, housekeeping to psychology¹² (Goldhill 2001, 158, 159; Zeitlin 2001, 196, 204, 205). Under the guidance of this “knowledge”, starting with the very first lines of the *Iliad* may be appropriate to give a sense of the feeling that the text gives to its audience:

Wrath, goddess, sing of Achilles Pēleus’s son’s

¹² Zeitlin widens the exemplification to conclude “housekeeping, warfare, statesmanship, medicine, geography and science to literature, philosophy, religion, rhetoric, psychology, ethics and all the arts” (Zeitlin 2001, 205).

calamitous wrath, which hit the Achaians with countless ills
many the valiant souls it saw off down to Hādēs,
souls of heroes, their selves left as carrion for dogs
and all birds of prey, and the plan of Zeus was fulfilled
from the first moment those two men parted in fury,
Atreus's son, king of men, and the godlike Achilles.

(*Iliad*, Book I, 1-7)

Even in the first lines of the *Iliad*, it is seen that the motive behind the epic was the “destructive wrath of Achilles” which is the motive of the first quarrel, and it might have been the name of the legend, because the focus is always on the character Achilles during the Trojan War (Latacz 2005, 192). Yet, the name of the epic comes from the word *ila* referring to the Dardanelles (ancient Hellespont, Çanakkale Boğazı in Turkish) in the Luwian language¹³ and *-ias* affix (similar to *-sal* affix in Turkish) gives a relevant meaning to the word it is added. While *ila-ias* means *boğaz-sal*, *boğaz-la ilgili* in Turkish, words ending with *-as/-is* are used with diversifications of *-ada/-ida* in the Hellenic language. According to the linguistic analysis, *Ila-ias*, *Ila-ida* becomes *Iliada* which means “the epic related to the strait”. In the Queen's and American English, the name of the epic is used as *Iliad* without *-a* at the end (Umar 2002, 71-72).

As a classical philologist, Matthew C. Clark explains the complexity of the narrative in the Homeric epic and also simplifies the incidents as the “central” or “core” (Clark 2001, 4)¹⁴. Accordingly, in the 24 books of the epic, there are always motives behind the incidents and quarrels which have the larger part because it is an epic of war. Motives are revealed as punishments and reconciliations. Glory and death are also adapted to the epic as the consequences of these quarrels. In addition, with the line of Achilles to the gods, “those who comply with the gods are listened to in return” (*Iliad*, Book I, 218), Homer heralds the after-life for his mortal peasant audiences in the first book of the legendary prose and the audiences prevent Homer

¹³ When *-ion* affix is added to the end of a word, it means “the place of” in the Hellenic language, so *Ilion* is the name of the city dominating the strait (Umar 2002, 71).

¹⁴ Eugene Dorfman details the classification that while “central” incidents focus on a larger episode and spectacular events, “core” incidents are encircled by them to fill the episode within the narrative of the *Iliad* in his *The Narreme in the Medieval Romance Epic: An Introduction to Narrative Structures* book, published in 1969 by University of Toronto Press (quoted in Clark 2001, 3-4).

and his text from being forgotten in the dusty pages of history. Under poetic license, major themes like glory and death are deftly connected by highlighting the after-life under the theme of religion. As such, religion emerges as a hidden matter of the legend to emphasize the importance of obeying the gods and consequently being blessed with the privilege of after-life (Clark 2001, 3-4; Heiden 1997, 149; Mason 1969, 34).

Not only as a story of war glorifying death, but the legend of struggle, defense, power, leadership and honor, the *Iliad* has also been appreciated as the reason for the glory and fame of Troy which is the site of “the Trojan War to take place” (Güner 2017, 25; Zangger 2016, 105). After the epic started to be taught in Greek schools and also becoming an indispensable part of classical education in Europe, it became an international, if not universal legend. In antiquity, Thucydides, the historian regarded the *Iliad* as history. However, in the 18th-century, scholars had started to acknowledge the difference between oral poetry and historiography, and they differentiated fiction from history. Largely because the *Iliad* is a product of oral tradition, it was regarded as fiction and it cannot be known definitively whether the events during the Trojan War in the epic were based on a true story (Dalby 2018, 75).

Among Homeric scholars, Latacz (2005, 181) supports the idea that the epic is a product of Homer’s imagination. He describes the possible journey of a poet between seeing ancient ruins, envisioning possible stories that took place on the site and then turning them into prose:

A poet contemplating greatness—the ruins of massive walls, for example—will almost automatically be moved to place in the mouths of the formerly living bearers of that greatness the foreknowledge of their doom, and of the posthumous fame that will follow. And the more spectacular that doom appears in the light of the dimensions of the ruins, the stronger the poet’s impulse to project into the minds of the imagined Trojans the familiar feeling of certainty at once of being doomed and never to be forgotten.

(Latacz 2005, 181)

Latacz also points out that “Homer animates his characters” while stressing that “the epic is not history, it is a story” as the poet himself indicates within the narrative of the *Iliad* (Latacz 2005, 180). For example, although Trojans were the

ones struggling to defend their land who had every right to do so and Greeks were the invaders who would eventually ruin Trojans' sacred city, Homer depicted them in a tone more appreciative of Greek rather than Anatolian virtues. In the epic, there are lion-hearted, silent Greek soldiers and noisy, disorganized Trojans who would have waited for the arrival of Greeks to attack them for a long time¹⁵. Territorial control and military preparedness had always been vital for dwellers of Greek lands to protect themselves from invaders and these important features provide a basis for both the phalanx system which turned into a way of life for Greeks and the Greek mythology. In the 8th century BC, Hesiod, the earliest known Greek poet after Homer, also described war as a 'necessity' (cited in Onians 1999, 14). This derived from the rugged terrain of Greece and the geographical and historical circumstances in the first millennium BC. From this point of view, the motivation behind Homer's partial depiction might have been to glorify contemporary Greeks who had reached Anatolia as the targeted audience (Onians 1999, 14; Schein 1996, 353).

Some classicists see the narrative as full of action and regard its content to be traditionally mythological in accordance with the artistic norms of the 8th century BC (Schein 1996, 345). Unlike Matthew Clark's approach (2001), Seth Schein (1996) focuses on Homer's structural organization of the epic. Like writing in rhyme, Homer makes parallels in the books and this style is referred to as "ring composition" in early Greek literature (Mason 1969, 18; Schein 1996, 346). The composition here is based on repeating the same thing which can recur in the beginning and end of the same passage or different passages including similar incidents which are also regarded as "mirror incidents" and parallels. As an example of Homer's parallel universes, when an incident occurred on Mount Olympus, an incident occurred in a parallel setting in Troy. Similar to the tent of Achilles to which the embassy goes to, in order to persuade him to fight, Olympus can be seen

¹⁵ the Trojans advanced with clamor and loud cries, like birds,
like the clamor of cranes that goes up high to heaven
when they're escaping winter storms and endless rain,
and, calling, fly towards the streams of Ocean,
to Pygmy warriors bringing death and destruction
down through the air, an offer of grim conflict.
But the Achaians came on in silence, breathing fury,
all determined to stand firm, each one by another (*Iliad*, Book III, 2-9).

as the place of gathering for the gods to reach major decisions affecting the lives of Trojans. Also, there is a parallel hierarchy between both the gods in Olympus¹⁶ and commanders in the battlefield (Güner 2017, 47, 49). Men fight on the ground and the gods join the fight from Olympus.

In another instance, Homer designs a quarrel between Zeus and his wife Hera to resemble what happened between Achilles and Agamemnon (Mason 1969, 34). Likewise, the fight between Hector and Achilles as the final combat in Book XXII might be regarded as a mirror incident of the fight between Menelaus and Paris in the beginning of the war in Book III. These incidents mentioned above may be regarded as the key mirror incidents, because Menelaus dies in the beginning and Hector dies at the end of the *Iliad*. Also, Troy fell with the death of Hector and eventually, the war ends within the narrative of the *Iliad* as a suitable way to end a prose (Schein 1996, 347).

John Onians (1999) brings a new perspective to the scheme of the *Iliad* that Schein (1996) details by reminding the readers of the phalanx system of the ancient Greeks. What he suggests might also be considered as an extension of the mirror incidents of Schein. The phalanx has a similar symmetry as in the prose and the system is related with both the architecture described in the legendary war and the prose itself (Onians 1999, 20, 21). Thus, it can be inferred that, just like the Greeks' concentration on geometric coordination and "forming an impregnable regular formation" as the phalanx¹⁷ during a war, Homer organized the *Iliad* according to a poetic "mirror geometry" in its structural organization (Onians 2012, 15). Froma Zeitlin extends this idea further by referring to Plutarch's Alexander that "Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect" (quoted in Zeitlin 2001, 201). While adopting such a system in "building" the *Iliad*, Homer puts lines after lines to create his prose like an architect turning bricks into a

¹⁶ Güner also divides the respective worlds of the divinities as "up and down" and she details her divisions metaphorically as "positive and negative connotations" (Güner 2017, 46).

¹⁷ In the phalanx, soldiers' shields press "against shield, their spears forming a fence, to a man building a wall out of tight fitting stones". Plato even compared Greek soldiers in the phalanx to stones in a fortified wall (Onians 2012, 15). This shows how strictly fixed groups of soldiers were in war.

building and the regulation of the 24 books is so systematically connected to each other that if any lines from any book are excluded, the prose may lose its original sense like the absence of any soldier who might cause the fall of the phalanx.

Besides the poetic aspect of the prose, according to Emily Vermeule, classical scholar and archaeologist, the legend also literally reflects the Ionian world and the “bold rhythms of a Geometric pot” seen in the decorativeness, symmetry, composition, passion, and abstraction of daily life (Vermeule 1986, 82). Vermeule furthers her argument by noting the difference of the epic among similar texts and highlights the features which have concrete correspondences like “...the princes of the Shaft Graves and tholos tombs...” (Vermeule 1986, 90). Within the narrative of the *Iliad* itself, Helen who is often regarded as an indirect cause of the Trojan War clearly articulates the power of the oral tradition and the “wretched fate” settled by Zeus: “now and forever to be subjects of song for listeners as yet unborn” (*Iliad*, Book VI, 357-58). Based on these, the words of Helen, the text which was “ever renewed and ever very old” may be a considered way to reach out to the past through the historical data indicating Hisarlık as the land of Homeric Troy (Vermeule 1986, 82).

All in all, it can be said that the *Iliad* is a war epic consisting of instances of quarrel and reconciliation followed by moments of glory and death. Within the narrative of the epic, Achilles’ choice of glory over his life brings him a heroic identity owing to his sacrifice of homecoming (Nagy 2013, 47). In contrast to Achilles, Hector fights with Achilles to defend his lands. While Achilles shows the worlds of war and plunder, Hector represents a sincere, enthusiastic and warmhearted human image in the epic (Bonnard 2004, 64, 65). After the confrontation between the two, even though Hector dies and Troy falls because of the defeat of Hector, Hector’s glory becomes imperishable. Consequently, from the “legend of Achilles”, Hector emerges as a legend himself through fighting with Achilles. Despite his defeat, he becomes one of the heroic idols in history because of the Homeric descriptions. As Bonnard (2004, 64, 65, 69) puts it, the *Iliad* is created as a combination of two opposing personalities: Hector, communal, systematic, and equalitarian, and Achilles, individual, brutal and quarrelsome. Accordingly, the prose describes the war and the God of War in unconcealed disgust

(Erhat 2014, x). The choices of words shape the poetry as designed by its poet and show the power of the poet and his desires in the oral tradition. Based on this, it can be said that Homer “whose authority in turn is founded on the range of moral and intellectual qualities embodied in his poems” (Zeitlin 2001, 199) was a powerful poet demonstrating his disapproval and condemnation without hesitation and also gives the sense of praise and contempt without using the direct words.

Besides his poetic charm or “poetic license” according to Korfmann (1986a), Homer appears to be highly informative on the history of Greek religion and the geographical features of the land within the narrative of the *Iliad*, but the specific location of the site still “remained in the realm of speculation” according to Latacz (2005). Even though the poet does not articulate the exact location of the setting of the war in the *Iliad*, his detailed geographical descriptions do create a remarkable image of Troy in the minds of readers and also a tangible perception that makes Beşik Bay recognizable when it is seen (Korfmann 1986a, 12, 13; Latacz 2005, 171, 172). On the whole, the *Iliad* stands out in this poetic tradition by generating the passion and desire for it to be read widely and leading its readers in quest of finding its actual site. In this regard, Homer has not only influenced many artists, scientists, and politicians throughout history as the bard of this aggregated product of oral poetry but also helped to find the site connecting cultures, continents, and generations through this epic.

4.2 Site

It can be said that the popular recitation of the Trojan War has changed the destiny of the site. Erhat (2014) and Latacz (2005) point out that including the *Iliad* in the curriculum of education in ancient Greece as a source of historical information caused Homer to be regarded as the father of knowledge and turned Troy, the settlement of the saga, into a beacon of enduring triumph to celebrate and perpetuate the glory of Greeks (Erhat 2014, x; Latacz 2005, 4).

The city had already fallen before the prose that described it and after it turned into a triumphal symbolic place, other settlements were raised there which were abandoned or destroyed in the following centuries as now revealed by the archaeological record. Consequently, the land had also witnessed a new-modern-

city, the “Hellenistic city of Ilion” as a commemoration of the sacred Ilion of King Priam in a way that a legendary land would deserve (Latacz 2005, 5). However, just as Achilles foresees the destiny of the land in the legend, “...if Troy were to be rebuilt or regain its old prosperity, it would only meet the same fate again”, the Hellenistic city of Ilion was also destroyed (Günay, et al. 2007, 20; Zeitlin 2001, 252). Even if the Trojan War which is sometimes regarded as an ancient version of the First World War and the heroes mentioned in the poetry were legendary characters, as Smith, the editor of Schliemann’s so-called diary, states: “... Homer (may have) created a Troy of his imagination” but still “... we know nothing and we have no other guide to Homer’s Troy save the data of the *Iliad*...” (Smith 1875, xiii). Despite disputed uncertainties, archaeological excavations have revealed that there was life both before and after the war under the identified site and, the land had also hosted historical Roman rulers who visited Troy to see “the physical traces of the Homeric past” (Rojas 2019, 56).

The discovered site of the ancient settlement is located in northwestern Turkey, close to a strategically very important narrow passage, the Dardanelles that lies between the peninsula of Gallipoli and the land of Troy connecting the Aegean Sea with the Sea of Marmara. Owing to its nodal location between two seas, Troy was regarded as one of the most significant trading centers in ancient times (Rose 1998, 405).

Dardanos first was begotten by Zeus the cloud-gatherer,
and founded Dardania, since not yet was sacred Ilion
built in the plain, a city of mortal humankind,
but people then still dwelt on the slopes of spring-rich Ida.
(*Iliad*, Book XX, 215-218)

As Homer narrates in the lines above, the site was founded by Dardanus who was one of the sons of Zeus and Electra and named after him long before Ilius was established (Aksit 2018, 13; Luce 1998, 70). Ilius, a great-grandson of Dardanus, preferred to rule his own city and founded Ilius/Ilium which would become Troy later (Aksit 2018, 12-14; *Iliad*, Book XX, 215-232). The city of Ilius was also recognized to have preceded the Ilium of Priam that was destroyed by Hercules in the epic of Homer (Smith 1875, xxi). The location of the city in the

plain is distinctly stated in the text: "...where Simoeis and Skamandros merge their streams..." (*Iliad*, Book V, 774). The mentioned ancient rivers of the Trojan plain are now known to be Dümruk Su, Dümrek Çayı (Simoeis) and Karamenderes River (Scamander) (Figs. 20, 21) (Luce 1998, 70).

Scamander was deified as one of the sons of Zeus, Xanthos, and he is referred to as a River-god in the epic (*Iliad*, Book XXI, 1-2)¹⁸. According to the legend, Xanthos is the name of the River-god while Scamander is the name of the river which is used by mortals. Homer describes the River-god as the ally of the Trojans who is wrathful towards Achilles because of the youths that the latter killed in the battle and the devastation he caused along the stream without mercy; the river could not pour its "lovely streams" to the "bright sea" anymore because they were full of dead bodies. The epic narrates how as the "deep-eddying Xanthos" filled with the dead Trojan men, "...the water ran red with the blood"¹⁹. Feeling deeply sorrowed by all these, the God tries to "fend off calamity from the Trojans" and even kill Achilles to save both his allies and his "lovely streams" (*Iliad*, Book XXI, 1-2, 15, 20-25, 135-155, 215-220; Korpe 2019, 73). Even though Scamander fails to help the Trojans, he stands in Achilles' way persecuting him and putting words in his mouth which may be regarded among the key points of the war:

All this, Zeus's nursling Skamandros, shall be done as you request.
But I'll not cease from the slaughter of these arrogant Trojans
till I've cooped them up in their city, and made trial of Hektör,
man against man, and either he slays me, or I him.

(*Iliad*, Book XXI, 223-226)

In the Homeric topography, the bed of the river descends from Mount Ida and after encircling the city of Troy, it flows into the Aegean Sea. In the *Iliad*, the river runs through the camp of the Achaeans where most of the battles took place in the fields between Troy, the Scamander and Simoeis. Schliemann comments about the river-bed. He observes that even though the river might have had various

¹⁸ "But when they came to the ford of the swift-flowing River, eddying Xanthos, whom immortal Zeus engendered" (*Iliad*, Book XXI, 1-2).

¹⁹ The river Scamander is now Karamenderes which means the "Black Maeander" in Turkish. It may be conjectured that the designation "black" might have derived from the color of the blood of Trojan soldiers as described in the epic.

beds and channels “likewise leading to the Hellespont” at the time of the Trojan War as described in the prose, because of being formed by other rivers or possessing no running water, it might have taken its current character with smaller streams collecting rainwater (Schliemann 1875, 73-74).

Among the described features of the *Iliad*, animals, especially horses as a means of transportation, the chariot, as a tool of war and the meat of the hunted animals as the food source of the war heroes are emphasized in the epic. Moreover, Mount Ida is called "mother of animals" as the land of shepherds and breeders (Mannsprenger 2001, 320). The region still has the same productivity as the wild animals live, and the shepherds graze their herds of cattle, sheep and goats, as described in the epic. Besides, there is considerable diversity of the flora and fauna in the Karamenderes River Basin which covers an area of approximately 200 thousand hectares today. It is interesting to note that 39.8% of the basin is currently used for agriculture and animal husbandry²⁰ and also the wood required for house and ship-building is obtained from the oaks of the region. As Mannsprenger duly describes, unlike the home of heroes that Homer rhapsodizes over in the *Iliad*, in reality, these lands belonged to peasants and craftsmen (Çetinkaya and Sümer 2013, 57; Mannsprenger 2001, 320, 321).

Since prehistory, the site has been fertile not only in mythology but in agriculture and stock raising and raw materials. While the land is fertile for growers, it is still strategically powerful, creating conflicts in its history. In contrast to Vermeule’s statement that the epic reflects the daily life of the 8th century BC, Baker notes that “Reading poetry as history had its allure but raised questions about which historical sources could be trusted” and criticizes Schliemann for making Troy an ambiguous site when in fact he could have determined the identity of Trojans (Baker 2020, 139-140; Vermeule 1986, 82). If we leave such claims aside and return to the beginning of the history of excavations, Schliemann found the primeval city “on the native rock, below the ruins” and he regarded the findings as the city of King Priam (Smith 1875, xxi). With “a series of transverse cuttings which had open

²⁰ Particularly wheat, corn, sunflower, barley, rice, oats, chickpeas, sesame, vetch, sainfoin (a forage crop, *korunga* in Turkish), alfalfa and broad bean are the most important field crops, most of which are also forage crops for animal husbandry in the region (Çetinkaya and Sümer 2013, 58).

sections of the various strata from the present surface of the hill to the virgin soil”, the work that he started to find Homeric Troy continued “from the remains of Greek Ilium to those of first settlers on the hill” (Smith 1875, vii). Despite the contradictions and the fact that Schliemann was not the first to reach the site in history, he is still the main reason for how even this section can be written. As shown in the preceding chapters, it is now known that there was much more awaiting discovery in the ancient mound.

Viewing the site and the archaeological remains from Trojans prompts the following question: Why did a settlement with such a position become the center of occupations when most of the region could be dominated from there (Korfmann 1986a, 15)? Yılmaz (2014, 331) also questions the geographical location and the gate-like form of the peninsula which both caused the city to be invaded and also enabled traders and merchants to live on the land as Angel suggests (Angel 1986, 67). Trojans might have taken advantage of their position by trading and preferred to defend their site even if they struggled as described in the prose rather than attacking others. At this point, Korfmann questions Troy’s being the meeting point for the commerce from the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Mediterranean (Korfmann 1986a, 15). He also supports Yılmaz by referring to the tension that might have arisen due to the same location while mentioning the important role of the hill of Hisarlık in trade relations owing to its convenient geographical location. Despite topographical threats, however, it appears that the successive occupations shaped the architectural development of the settlement and Troy turned into a “pirate” fortress which held control over the straits (Korfmann 1986a, 13, 16).

Archaeological excavations that have been going on for a century and a half in this site have continued to increase the importance of this territory which takes its historicity from the epic. History and myth engage on the site of Troy and create a common, tangible reality (Rhodes 1995, 4). Yılmaz’s example of the transformation of an ordinary piece of land into a land symbolizing the war bears a great resemblance with the landscape of ancient Troy. Similar to Gallipoli War Cemeteries’ construction to commemorate Australian, New Zealand and Turkish soldiers on the same land, the land of Troy has turned into a monument itself to commemorate the Trojan and Greek nations as the witness of the Trojan War, just

like Gallipoli witnessing the World War I. In addition to the historical importance, it also became a place where the foundations of modern archaeology were established. From the viewpoint of commemoration, the marriage of myth and history is inevitable, but the memory which is an associated product of both myth and history leaves an inspirational mark on the site (Rhodes 1995, 4; Yılmaz 2014, 334).

Although many factual references mentioned in the narrative of the *Iliad* are verified by the archaeological studies carried out in the Hill of Hisarlık, it is beyond doubt that the epic was composed additively under the oral tradition centuries after the Trojan War took place. The time of the fall of Troy is not mentioned in the *Iliad*. However, in ancient Roman studies conducted with the emergence of chronicles years after Homer's age, the estimated date of the Trojan War was determined between 1194 and 1184 BC when the discovered site had certainly occupants at the time (Dalby 2018, 79). When the *Iliad* is investigated archaeologically, continued from the path opened by Schliemann, it is now generally accepted that the settlement which is identified as Troy was brutally destroyed when it was a powerful and civilized city like Homer's Troy (Dalby 2018, 84). Archaeological site surveys aiming to analyze the distribution of ancient settlements according to the different periods continue to elucidate the ancient topographical layers and the relationships between them. Although Schliemann might have "inadvertently" removed significant evidence as mentioned earlier, the data from Hisarlık show that the settlements in the mound were dated to different ages from the Early Bronze to late antiquity and even the Middle Ages²¹. Hence, the damage or removal of a stratum is a loss that cannot be retrieved. Nevertheless, the geography and geology of the excavated site matches the site of the Trojan War which is also corroborated with archaeological evidence (Dalby 2018, 62, 76; Koru 2010, 34-35, 38, 60-61; Rose 2013, 19, 23).

²¹ Excavations reveal that there had been occupation during the two archaeological periods, antiquity and even Middle Ages: Bronze Age from Troy I to Troy VI; Troy VIIa representing Trojan high culture Age and Iron Age and Troy VIII occupied the land as the Helen Illium Culture. In antiquity, Roman Illium Culture, Troy IX occupied the land and Troy X, Byzantine Illium Culture lasted until the early 4th century AD (Koru 2010, 60-61).

Troy had been a wealthy and powerful land with the favorable combination of winds in the air and currents in the sea. Raw materials like iron, gold, and copper; clay beds and pine tree forests on Mount Ida were plentiful. Mollusks from the coasts of the Troad were used to dye clothes purple as noted by Aristotle (cited in Rose 2013, 8-9). Livelihoods of the different settlements were most probably farming and shepherding. Because the land is prone to earthquakes geologically, architectural improvements in the structural systems of the settlements were developed. Not surprisingly, it has been claimed that the “study of the topography of the Troad begins with Homer and Strabo” (Koru 2010, 92). Under the guidance of Homer who carefully described the topography either to create a legend on the land or to make the glory of Troy over-lasting following its discovery, Hisarlık is now regarded as one of the first places where ‘archaeology’ began and the pioneering methods have been instituted (Koru 2010, 34; Rose 2013, 8, 9; Wood 1985, 50).

The history of the site is now alive and continuing. Because of the historical importance of the region, Troia Historical National Park was declared in 1996 followed by its inclusion in the list of UNESCO World Heritage in 1998. Stemming from archaeological and historical recognition, the region has a considerable and expanding scientific and touristic potential today. The ancient site of Troy, together with the Bird Paradise in Manyas and the Gallipoli War Cemeteries are attracting scholars from different fields and local and foreign tourists to the National Park Area²².

As stated by Rose (1998, 412): “...Troy was not just an ancient city, but rather a concept that could be molded to fit a variety of times and places.” This notion repeatedly comes forward to emphasize the essence and the aura of the site in this thesis too. Similarly, the genesis of the modern Troia Historical National Park should be considered as a phenomenon of Troy with the entirety of its settlements, the transformation of its geomorphology, the tumuli, multi-layered

²² In the competition brief of the museum, there were various route proposals such as sea routes connecting the Troia National Park to the Gallipoli War Cemeteries (Gallipoli Historical National Park) and land routes as Ajax tour. Additionally, it was planning to provide paths around the ancient site (Günay, et al. 2007, 84).

town and including the event of the Trojan War (Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 53; Günay, et al. 2007, 21; Koru 2010, 32, 33, 78; Rose 2013, 8, 9, 19). During the planning of the museum and Troia Historical National Park, connecting the museum building and the open-air museum and to widen the scope of the visitors' experience, tour routes were also discussed (Günay, et al. 2007, 90, 198-9). However, in my estimation, these routes could not be implemented, and the museum and ancient site remain separate.

After 2018 was declared as the Year of Troy, "Homer's nature" is now open to modern visitors under guided protection. Following the designated path of the archaeological site, the conceived axis then leads visitors to the new Troy Museum which aims to reflect the memory of the ancient settlement while sustaining the existing values of the park²³.

4.3 Museum

After the discovery of the site, displaying the findings in a museum that would reflect the spirit of the "promised land" was a dream of the site's archaeologists, especially Korfmann who excavated during 1988-2005²⁴. The Turkish archaeologist Rüstem Aslan who had worked with Korfmann and who is now the director of the excavations was a consultant in the design of the museum. Even though there is not much published information about the old Troy Museum, it is known that the new museum emerged as the winning entry in a national architectural competition. The process and specifications of the competition were organized on behalf of the Troy Museum. All the contestants were obliged to make a design that would reflect the *Iliad* and the mythical story of the epic. As one of the jury members, Han Tümertekin pointed out that none of the submitted project proposals could fulfill the requested scenarios in the brief (cited in Erkal 2011, 25). How and where the participating projects would have taken place in the continuing history of Troy in the future was open to question. There had been a dispute

²³ For further views, see Aksit (2018, 12), Aslan (2018, 68) and Koru (2010, 76).

²⁴ According to the museum director Rıdvan Gölcük, there are three main breaking points in the history of Troy: 1 the *Iliad*, 2 the excavations and 3 is building a museum for Troy (Baz 2021).

especially over the vertical connection between area of the Troia Historical National Park and Troy Museum.

In a review of the competition in which the whole process is examined by Namık Erkal, a scholar specializing in architecture and architectural history, the winning project is described by jury members as good and “architecturally studied, simple, open to innovations, but unfinished and indicating nothing about Troy” (cited in Erkal 2011, 25, 26; Günay, et al. 2007, 20, 90). However, the construction of the new museum started in 2013 and it was completed in 2018, in time for the “Year of Troy”. In 2021, the Troy Museum was honored with the 2020 Year Special Award given by the European Museum Forum (EMF). In the winning announcement, the museum is cited with brilliant light and shadow plays giving “a sense of time passing” while connecting the past and present²⁵. Moreover, the museum became one of the first virtual museums in Turkey during the pandemic which I have already taken advantage while writing this thesis.

Pierre Nora discusses the contemporary memory of places like battlefields and museums. According to him, museums are among the places “where a sense of historical continuity persists” (Nora 1989, 8-9). The new Troy Museum is a collective representation of the concretized identities of Trojans settled in the mound of Hisarlık and their respective cultures which have left traces in its history. In many senses, the museum building can be considered as paying tribute to the memories of Trojans. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1996) treats Nora’s idea of commemoration in a different way. In the introduction to his book *Photography*, he creates a connection between wedding photos and domestic cults which served both as subjects and objects. Wedding photos represent the occasions while exhibiting these moments from the occasions turns them into domestic cults (Bourdieu 1996, 19). With this idea in mind, the Troy Museum on the lands of Trojans and the exhibited photos from the excavations there might also be compared to the

²⁵ (“The Winners of the Emya 2020 and 2021 are announced”, 2021)

experience of domestic cults which are exhibited in the Roman *larariums*²⁶. The museum that simultaneously displays objects from the site and serves as the subject of Troy itself enhances the appreciation of Trojan findings in a similar manner. Other than showing belief in a divine power and praying to the domestic cults as daily activities as places of appreciation and commemoration, the use of *larariums* in the Roman world evokes in me a parallel memorial understanding, applicable to the modern Troy Museum which also serves to keep the memory alive and perpetuate the spirit of the dead from by-gone times.

Jury members sought to see the Trojan memory as a part of the design of the modern museum as one of the critical requirements in the competition, not unlike the use of the *lararium*. During the design process, the emphasis was expected to be on the continuation of the layers of the land, rather than disassociating various “Troys”. In the competition brief, defined themes like phases of the settlement, art, culture, and literature consisting of Trojan stories focusing on the *Iliad* were planned to reflect this continuation as a part of overall the exhibition. With these categorized themes, the significant geographical location, trade relations and lifestyles in the settlement would be highlighted. By developing such general frameworks, the idea was to show the uninterrupted Trojan culture on the land (Günay, et al. 2007, 20, 48, 90). Additionally, anticipated design questions included concerns such as: What kind of a link would be established between the archaeological site and the new museum? Would the design dictate which would be visited first or later? What functional and ecological connections would there be between the Troia Historical National Park and the Troy Museum? Projects of the competing teams were evaluated and compared according to the above questions and the ability of the proposed projects to fulfill the criteria. The use of multi-media systems, interactive digital panels, real or virtual media, and installations were also encouraged during the design studies of the museum to adapt the Trojan narrative

²⁶ The origin of the *lararium* or *lararia* comes from the word *lar* indicating the deities protecting the household (*lares familiares*) in the ancient Roman house. *Larariums* were articulated with niches representating *lares* (plural form of *lar*) and some symbols of good fortune. A *lararium* was a household shrine in the *atrium* which can be regarded as the welcoming hall, the most public part of ancient Roman houses. It was an important corner of the house in which daily activities like praying and occasions as rituals of sacrificing, death, and mourning, maturation and initial part of some wedding ceremonies took place (Clarke 1991, 8, 9, 10).

and history of the excavations to the new museum (Erkal 2011, 26; Günay, et al. 2007, 20, 90)

The winning project was the design entry of Yalın Architecture²⁷. Looking more closely, what can be seen from the design brief of the museum and the layout of the site is that the new Troy Museum is located near the archaeological site and connected to the site with an axis on the plan to emphasize the “historical continuity” with the “vertical continuation” (Fig. 22) (Günay, et al. 2007, 20). When the choice of the location was asked to the architect, Baz responded that they preferred constructing the museum at a distance from the ancient site of Troy, because the closer to the ruins, the more the ancient spirit might have been compromised (Baz 2021). The site and the museum are thus connected through both old and new narratives in the past and present without overlooking episodes or damaging the overall history and spirit of the ancient city unlike Schliemann’s treatment of the “non-Trojan” strata. It can be also inferred that the axis connecting the site and the museum aims to serve as a bridge between the ancient and the modern, and visitors can accordingly initiate their visit starting either from the museum to the site or vice versa. In the same manner, the museum intentionally carries modern lines but still reflects the ancient aura (Fig. 23).

The design of the new museum building on the surface area of 12,750 square meters comprises multiple exhibition units and interactive spaces built along an uninterrupted pedestrian path and ramp reflecting the continuity of the ancient settlement. Four main floors of the museum including the ground floor are labelled according to their contents. They are: 1) The Cities of Troas, 2) Layers of Troy, 3) The Ancient World, 4) History of Troy Excavations (Fig. 24). Subtitles such as Archaeology of the Troas Region, Bronze Age of Troy, the *Iliad* and the Trojan War, Troas and Ilion in Ancient History, Eastern Rome and Ottoman Period, History of Archaeology and Traces of Troy provide further classification to visit the museum with better guidance. One of the most distinctive characteristics of the Troy Museum is that it was designed to reflect and represent the story of Troy including the history of the excavations through the multi-focal lenses of

²⁷ The new Troy Museum is a product of a design team of the firm named Yalın Architecture and Ömer Selçuk Baz is the founder-architect of the firm (ARKİV n.d.; Baz 2019).

mythology, archaeology, geography, and history. The museum has 2,000 artifacts from Troy and other ancient sites nearby on exhibit and 41,000 artifacts in the storage collection²⁸.

In my opinion, four important features of the museum are highlighted through this arrangement for display and circulation. Two of them offer alternative exhibition areas to start visiting, one connects the exhibition areas and floors, while one other shows exhibition units more comprehensively. The four floors collectively represent all the major nine strata of the mound in Hisarlık. The entrance was especially designed to make visitors feel as if the findings are exhibited underground like an archaeological section by evoking different occupational layers of the excavations (Fig. 24). The idea behind this design recalls the feeling of the mound where Trojan artifacts and the whole history of the ancient settlement were buried under before they were excavated, revealed and recovered (Aslan 2018, 70; Baz 2021). In the next chapter, the nature, reasons and perceptions as outcomes of these evoked responses are examined further by drawing analogies while reading of the history of Troy.

²⁸ (“Turkish museums get European awards”, 2021)

CHAPTER 5

OVERLAPPING NARRATIVES: PANORAMIC PERCEPTIONS AND ANALOGIES IN THE HISTORY OF TROY

Connections between the *Iliad*, the myth of the Trojan War, the site of the myth, and the museum of the site are investigated through the miscellaneous representations of Troy in this chapter. To be able to create a holistic panorama over Homer's territory, different narratives arising from the same land through memory and vision are overlapped here by exploring and comparing the emergent "reality" shaping both factual and fictional worlds in the minds of visitors. In the widest sense, the Troy Museum is designed to act as a bridge between the eras of the past and the modern present. How far is it a direct translation of the excavations with documentary presentations to highlight the findings? To what extent is it an invention of the designer like a simulated reality so that we as viewers see what the designer privileges when we visit the exhibition? What kind of mental perception do they all ultimately create in the panorama of Troy? Composition and decomposition of perceptions, analogies and how they shape various narratives are treated below.

Considering the idea that the *Iliad* might not be a product of historiography in the traditional sense, but a product of imagination inspired by the land, the epic itself emerges as the existential key to overlap the narratives of Troy. Rose (2013) elaborates the idea in his book *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy* and connects the three-fold representations of Troy by stating:

... if one were looking for a citadel to link to a war between Greece and a coastal Anatolian stronghold, Troy would have been the logical

choice. That choice must have been made by the eighth century B.C., and the resulting connections among site, legend, and epic have never really faded since then.

(Rose 2013, 42)

To emphasize the unfaded connections linking the site, legend and epic, influences of the *Iliad* on the subsequent readers and accordingly their acts need to be scrutinized.

5.1 Memory: Past in the Past

The *Iliad* has been a vital influence on the minds of many generations and enchanted readers. Rulers too, have been interested parties to unearth the traces of the Trojan War in the past and to keep the memory of the legend alive. As several scholars have indicated, the past effects of the legend have affected our present panorama of the site, because it is still a part of our “contemporary” lives (Rojas 2019; Rose 1998, 412; Zeitlin 2001).

Starting from Alexander the Great who highly immersed himself in the *Iliad* and tried to demonstrate the strength of Achilles, the past was also utilized in the Iliadic mind of Julius Caesar who even tried to find his own bard to make his fame lasting and his adopted son, Augustus as the first Roman Emperor rebuilt the city of Troy. As an admirer of Alexander, Hadrian visited Troy with hopes to discover signs of his idol Hector, while Caracalla who also saw Alexander as a role model and aspired to achieve a living impression of Achilles. As the Roman Emperor during the last vivacious period of Troy, Constantine the Great (Constantine I) decided to revive the ancient spirit by building the new capital of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire in Constantinople (Istanbul). These lofty imperial aspirations inspired by their distant roots show the utility of the past in the ancient world. In addition to the Emperors, an Italian political leader Benito Mussolini aimed to rebuild the Roman Empire. Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, Mehmed II) and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, closer to our time, were also among the rulers falling under the influence of the epic and believing that they defended the same lands with Trojans against the common enemy, Greeks. Last but not least, Heinrich Schliemann too, the discoverer of the site of Troy with his acquisitiveness,

may be seen as outcomes of their Iliadic minds in the real world. Shedding light on the re-performance of the past in this manner is important in attempts to understand the present panorama of the territory depicted by Homer.

5.1.1 The Real World: Iliadic Minds

There have been many rulers trying to adapt the legend and use the advantage of Trojan roots for their own purposes. Emphasizing the historical place of the legend is convincingly demonstrated by Rose (1998, 412). Based on the Homeric context, there is a difference between the “Iliadic minds” of Greeks and Romans. Even though Zeitlin (2001, 263) defines the text as composed in Greek for a Greek audience and “free to elaborate on known facts”, both Greeks and Romans valued Troy and as such Homer’s epic inspired them to imagine scenes on the site of Troy. For Greeks, Troy was a memorial place to substantiate glory in “their victorious conquest of the city”; and Romans regarded Troy as the motherland of their origins as described in the *Aeneid* of Virgil whereby all learnt their ancestors from Homer (Zeitlin 2001, 235).

In her analytic exposition “Visions and Revisions of Homer”, published in 2001, Froma Zeitlin convincingly claims that there are endless possibilities of interpretations and speculations over Homer’s account of the Trojan War and Trojans. Especially the power of the text in connecting “upper and lower strata of society, educated and untutored, in ritual, political, rhetorical and aesthetic contexts” can be examined through Homer. Starting with the upper strata of the society, one of the best-known post Homeric rulers who visited Troy and created mental images of heroic idols is Alexander the Great. Ancient sources indicate that Alexander’s education, career, and whole life were indebted to Homer and the *Iliad*. As claimed, although Alexander lived four centuries after the poet, he even organized his military strategy and campaigns inspired by the *Iliad* which he carried with him like his personal bible, together with his dagger all the time (Wood 1985, 30). As we see in several rulers inspired by the *Iliad* as a guide, they all had a specific Homeric hero in their minds. Alexander was passionate about Achilles who was the ideal for him to follow. During his several visits to the site of Troy, “he imitated Achilles in gesture, costume, and deeds” till seeing himself as a latter-day

Achilles “whose exploits, excellence and fame (glory, *kleos*) he yearned to rival – and surpass”. He re-enacted Iliadic scenes from the text where he obviously played the character Achilles (Zeitlin 2001, 201, 263). Among all the rulers, Alexander the Great made a great endeavor to spread Greek culture in his age and he created a cultural synthesis consisting of Greek culture and various cultures of the conquered states during his sovereignty. After his death in 323 BC, the word “Hellenistic” (from *Hellas* in Greek and meaning Hellen-like) has become generally known to denote the post-classical Greek world due to “Hellenizing” influences. This term prompts consideration of the Hellenistic context of Greekness that involves ‘making the culture and civilization Greek’ within itself. Following Alexander's dedication to Homer, the latter became a key source to disseminate the criteria of Greekness in the Hellenistic period. Homeric prestige and the hearing of Homer's poems might have increased under Alexander's leadership and the spread of Hellenism acquired momentum by his time. At this point, without hesitation, it may be stated that “if there is one figure who might be said to dominate the field of Greek values and identity, it is Homer and the legacy of his epics” (Goldhill 2001, 158; Mark 2018; Zeitlin 2001, 202).

Homer was thus an undisputed model for Greeks in recording their history. For Romans too, he had a similar role. As the ultimate author of the Trojan legend, he is an important figure who served to unify different cultures and ethnic groups in trying to write their histories like Greeks. Beyond being a criterion for Greekness, the text of the *Iliad* could have served as a guide of self-recognition for non-Greeks as well. It can be said that the collective power and strength stemming from the imaginary trio of Homer, Alexander and Achilles aroused interests in the site of Troy and also in the Roman Empire leading to the same fame as Alexander, aside from the *Aeneid*.

Compared with Alexander's inspirational relationship with Achilles, Gaius Julius (Iulius) Caesar and his adopted son Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus) may be said to have had closer claims based on ancestry through the epic in which Trojans are described as the original founders of ancient Rome. Based on *Aeneid*, the imperial family regarded Troy both as the “mother” of Rome and their family roots. To claim descent from Aeneas and his mother, Aphrodite, the

imperial family romanized Ilion, the name of the city, and thus *Iulius* became the family name of the gens, the so-called Trojan families,. Accordingly, “Iulius” in Caesar’s name shows that his family was the descendant of Aeneas²⁹ (Rose 1998, 409; Umar 2002, 57). Julius Caesar who is described as *philalexandros*, lover of Alexander, visited the land in 49 BC while following in the steps of Alexander known as *philhomeros*, a lover of Homer. Relying on the kinship between Troy and Rome, Caesar’s desire was to find his own bard like Homer making his glory everlasting during his rulership (Zeitlin 2001, 202-204, 236-239). Following to Julius Caesar, Augustus as the first Roman Emperor ruling from 31 BC to 14 AD renovated the ancient city of Troy, celebrating the legacy of Caesar. While stressing his Trojan ancestry, images from the *Aeneid* were drawn on the walls of public monuments of Rome and adventures of Aeneas were published in 19 BC by the order of Augustus. Most importantly, Temple of Athena which was the focal point of an annual festival in honor of Athena during Greek and Roman times of Troy was repaired under the reign of Augustus³⁰. In addition to the sanctuary and theater, a new Bouleuterion which was a council house, a sign of the democratic city-state in ancient Greece and Odeion were also built and decorated with a relief of Romulus and Remus during his patronage. In this sense, among all the rulers having Iliadic minds, the period of Augustus might be the most efficient for Trojans (Rose 1998, 409-410).

Almost a century after the renovations of Augustus, Emperor Hadrian’s visit to Troy in 124 AD was also a consequence of his passion for Homer. As being another *philhomeros*, Hadrian’s visit provides more evidence of “imperial archaeophilia” in the region of the Troad. When Hadrian arrived in the land, the monument of Ajax was penetrated and the bones of “a man of eleven cubits” were seen among the ruins³¹. The Emperor then had the cyclopean bones collected and

²⁹ Besides his admiration for Alexander, Caesar’s motivation behind his generosity to the Trojans was his blind faith in the epic (Umar 2002, 7).

³⁰ The temple now belongs to the layer of Troy IX after the excavations.

³¹ 1 Roman cubit (*cubitum* in Latin) is equivalent to 444 mm, so “a man of eleven cubits” must be approximately 5 meters long!

moved to a new tomb of Ajax which he helped build as “a proper Homeric tumulus” and a new, more deserved eternal place of rest for the long dead hero (Rojas 2019, 57-58). The story is indeed interesting. According to the sophist Philostratus (cited in Rojas 2019, 58), before placing the bones to the tumulus, Hadrian hugged and kissed the remains in a way that reminded the inhabitants of Roman Ilium of necromancy. These sentimental acts of the Emperor reveal a high degree of archaeophilia where the term derives from the words archaeology, antiquarianism and the passion for them coming together. What we see here is a social activity with political and religious implications in the present whereby traces of the past on the landscape are found and made to interact with the material remains. Even though the bones revered by Hadrian would most probably have been defined as a prehistoric burial today, at the time, Hadrian openly believed that if he paid tribute to the bones, he would somehow elicit the highest degree of respect for his idol Hector. Regardless of whether the story is real or not, Hadrian’s visit became a legend after him, encouraging others to trace and follow their own roots (Rojas 2019, 59, 180-181).

As seen in these imperial Roman impulses, the aims of such visits to Troy were “to revive Homeric events”, “to reconstruct Homeric ruins” and also to generate a designed cultural vision of the Roman world to match their historical, social and political background (Rojas 2019, 57). Besides constructing the tomb anew to serve this purpose, Emperor Hadrian also sponsored games and plays in Roman Ilium as a dynamic display of his authority and status. Because imperial power was fuelled by spectacle and visual propaganda in the Roman Empire (Goldhill 2001, 159), Hadrian, who is known for his historically-minded, poetic characteristics, read a poem in honor of his idol Hector during the events organized in honor of his arrival in Troy³². Elizabeth Riorden (2006, 2635) explores the influences of the Emperor in Roman Ilium, which is Troy IX, especially in the

³² As products of visual propaganda in the Roman Empire, buildings like the Odeion in Troy were sponsored not only by Roman emperors but also patrons to match the physical appearance of their projects and cities to their legendary status (Rose 2002, 104).

creation of the second century AD *scaenae frons* of the Odeion³³. This Roman structure is believed to have had a two-storey scene building. Columns of the *scaenae frons* in alignment and consequently the overall façade design may have been different in comparison with the theatres in Ephesus and Miletus due to their irregular spacing. Nevertheless, the structure was quite elaborate, and the Odeion appears to have been one of the projects of Hadrian following his tomb project. The name of the Tomb of Ajax, restored during the visit was changed to the Tomb of Hector both to link a Roman emperor with the Hellenic world and also to honor his Homeric idol. The granite as the common material of the Hadrianic projects must have come from nearby Roman quarries and the columns may have been subsidized by Hadrian in order to complete the construction in time for the occasion of his visit³⁴. Beyond these assumptions, the Ionic capitals of the Odeion are also one of the identifiable features of Hadrianic buildings which can also be evidence that Emperor Hadrian coming to the city in search of his connections with Homeric heroes left material traces in the city of Ilion with his Iliadic mind (Riorden 2006, 2637, 2638, 2640, 2641, 2642).

Among the rulers and their Iliadic minds, one of them comes to the fore with an even greater conspicuousness. After Hadrian, the Roman Emperor Caracalla who ruled from 198 to 217 AD arrived in the Troad in 214 AD. The Emperor whose historical idol was Alexander the Great, adopted Macedonian traditions such as military attire, the phalanx formation, even giving Macedonian names to his generals. When Caracalla arrived in Troy, public performances and athletic competitions which had been staged in honor of Achilles, as well as other games were re-enacted because of his “spectacular emotional display of interest in the Homeric past of Troy” like the emperors before him. However, unlike the other emperors’ imitations of mythological characters, Caracalla posed as Alexander in the guise of Achilles. So, Caracalla actually imitated Alexander imitating Achilles!

³³ The *scaenae frons* of the Roman theatre is examined in more detail in connection with the statue of Hadrian in the next section.

³⁴ Koçali granite quarries (Çanakkale/Turkey) might have produced the columns of the Odeion as the closest quarry which supplied building stones and monolithic columns to the Troad and Mediterranean regions till the end of the Early Christian period (Rose 2002, 109, 112).

Beyond impersonating the tradition, behavior, and appearance of Alexander, Emperor Caracalla strove to cultivate a likeness to Alexander the Great during his whole life. He even had paintings executed with two half faces with Alexander on one side and Caracalla on the other. Caracalla's extreme interest in Homeric poems and heroes may be seen as another instance of the spirit of *philalexandros* and irrefutable revelation of his compassion for Alexander. Concordantly, commemorating the death of his idol, the way he mourned was like a re-enactment of Achilles' grief when Patroclus was killed within the narrative of the *Iliad* (Rojas 2019, 56, 57; Zeitlin 2001, 239, 240).

In the 4th century AD, Constantine the Great had considered to build his new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire) in Troy, when he was not yet interested in the city which he would rename as Constantinople. Afterwards, Constantine appears to have found the location of today's Istanbul more convenient for a capital and as a result, the ancient city of Troy was concluded as a bishop's throne with the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Byzantine Empire³⁵ (Rose 2001, 280; Wood 1985, 31). Thus, on account of Constantine, the mission of Troy was revived as the center of worship which had been ongoing since prehistoric ages³⁶.

Another well-known ruler believing in the power of the *Iliad* in history much later, was no other than Benito Mussolini, leader of the Italian Fascist movement. During his time, classical culture was co-opted by the ruling party and Romanità was the accompanying engine to this endeavor. In this regard, the Fascist concept aimed to build a modern empire that would bring peace and security and unify the ancient Roman and contemporary people of Italy believing in Fascism under a single strong hegemony following the foundation established by the first

³⁵ Although today's Istanbul had been a settled land since prehistoric times, becoming "Constantinople" brought both the city and accordingly the Mediterranean world into prominence (Erkal 1995, 9). Although this city whose fate was changed and gained prosperity by becoming the capital of Byzantine Empire, in fact, could have been the ancient city of Troy. However, Achilles' prediction within the narrative of the *Iliad* actualized and Troy met the same fate again.

³⁶ Byzantine Illium, Troy X, was the last settlement on the land and being the center of worship once again, as the last time might have been the best farewell to the legendary settlement.

emperor Augustus (Marcello and Gwynne 2015, 323, 337). As an inspired reader of the legend, Mussolini was an important modern figure in the revival of the history of Troy in the 20th century. Besides his use of mnemonic devices to consolidate the state as in ancient Rome, he also resorted to similar measures to take control of the Italian people by arousing interest in Trojan ancestry.

... Italy was merely fulfilling the destiny of an imperium sine fine that echoed Jupiter's prophecy from Virgil's nationalistic epic the *Aeneid*.
(Marcello and Gwynne 2015, 337)

In accordance with the propaganda system of the Fascist Party, Mussolini promoted Trojans as the ancestors of Romans as delineated in the Augustan epic, the *Aeneid*. In the way of Augustus, to revive the Trojan narrative in the 20th century, scenes and figures from both the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad* were drawn on the walls of public monuments and on postage stamps by the order of Mussolini (Rose 1998, 412).

On a different note, besides rulers tracing descent from Aeneas, there had been considerations over the origins of Turks since the 15th century (Berk Albachten 2017, 287; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 47). Long after Constantine the Great, Sultan Mehmed II assuming the title of “the Conqueror” after the conquest of Constantinople visited the site of Troy in 1462 on his way to the Greek Island of Lesbos with Kritovoulos. Kritovoulos, a vanquished Byzantine politician and historian writing the life of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror starting from 1451 to 1467 also wrote about this visit in detail. While observing the favorable location of the city, the ruins, and traces of the ancient city of Troy, Mehmed II visited the tombs of the heroes Achilles and Ajax, listened to stories from the *Iliad* by the historian and praised Homer for his fame (Kritovoulos 1954, 181). The historian specifically notes that the Conqueror also thanked God for helping him to avenge the Trojans by conquering the Greek lands (Kritovoulos 1954, 181-182, cited in Kreiser 2001, 282). After his visit to Troy, the Sultan whose interest in Greco-Roman culture is documented had a copy of the *Iliad* prepared for the palace library. It has also been claimed that Sultan Mehmed II might have expressed his victory as the revenge of the blood of Hector whom he regarded as his descent from the Trojans (cited in Kreiser 2001, 287; Berk Albachten 2017, 287).

Following the same route as Alexander the Great, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, also came to Troy to visit the ruins and the tomb of Achilles in 1913. According to Mithat Atabay, a professor of the history of the Republic of Turkey, one of the motivations behind Atatürk's visit to Troy was to examine the style of operation and defense system of Alexander the Great during the Battle of the Granicus resulting in Alexander's decisive military success. Atatürk's personal records reveal that his visit of Troy had a military agenda to examine in situ how a possible attack on Gelibolu (Gallipoli) might be prevented. Accordingly, Atatürk organized the defense system of the Gallipoli Peninsula before the Çanakkale Victory partially under the influence of Alexander the Great (quoted in Gezen and Küçükkuş 2010). Like Sultan Mehmed II, a similar expression of retribution and ambitioned revenge on Greeks has been attributed to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk after defeating Greeks in 1922 during the Turkish War of Independence³⁷. It is claimed that in his victory speech, after the Dumlupınar Field Battle (Field Battle of the Commander-in-Chief), Atatürk said: "We finally avenged Hector of Troy!"³⁸ (quoted in Kreiser 2001, 287). Additionally, it is important to note that the Kemalist state gave special importance to the Greek and Roman classics and commissioned translations in this regard. The most popular and first complete translation of the epic was produced by Azra Erhat and A. Kadir and published in four volumes between 1958 and 1962 with the strong desire that the

³⁷ This was the last battle between the Greeks and Turks, ending with the Turkish victory. As a result, Greeks were forced to leave the territories they had lived in for almost four thousand years in 1922. This victory is commemorated and celebrated on 30 August as a national holiday named Victory Day in Turkey.

³⁸ In the "İlyada ve Anadolu" article in his book *Mavi ve Kara*, published by İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları in 2008, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu who was an author, translator and a professor lecturing on comparative literature notes that he finds the statement attributed to Atatürk convincing. He further adds that Trojans were Anatolian just as Turkish people and the *Iliad* of Homer is also an epic belonging to Anatolia just as the *Ergenekon* epic (quoted in Kreiser 2001, 287). Bonnard (2004, 44) also expresses the idea that as a universal epic, the *Iliad* originated by Anatolian Greeks is now our common heritage.

epic could be read in Turkish!³⁹ (quoted in Kreiser 2001, 287). The translators emphasized the kinship between Turks and Trojans in the prefaces of their translations and by doing so, they helped generate interest in the *Iliad* (Berk Albachten 2017, 288, 301, 302).

In contrast with the ideological motivations of ancient and modern rulers who valued the *Iliad* as their guides to glory and saw the mythological characters as their role models, there have been other staunch readers who were interested in the epic to detect clues concerning the location of treasures mentioned there. In Book IX of the *Iliad*, in the part describing the embassy to Achilles as one of the crucial turning points of the narrative, Agamemnon sends a council including Odysseus and Phoinix to convince Achilles to continue fighting in the war. Agamemnon also names the gifts that he would give Achilles as the king of Argos and commander of the army if the latter accepts. Achilles rejects Agamemnon's offer by saying that he can take gold, ruddy bronze, and grey iron from the land of Troy even without having them offered to him by the commander (Homer 2014, Book IX, 261-297, 365-366; Shapiro 1994, 16, 18). In addition to Achilles's words about the wealth of "sacred Ilion", Homer also clearly describes the store-room of the palace of King Priam where he keeps his chests full of treasure. The last book highlights Priam not only as a King, but also as a father trying to retrieve his son's dead body by presenting gifts to Achilles (*Iliad*, Book IV, 416; Book XXIV, 191-192, 230-235). The gifts are well-described:

With that he opened up the fine lids of the clothes chests,
and from them took out a dozen most elegant robes,
a dozen plain cloaks, the same number of rugs and blankets,
and of white linen mantles, as well as tunics to match them;
and of gold he weighed out and took ten talents in all,
with four cauldrons, and two brightly gleaming tripods,
and an exquisite cup, that was given him by some Thracians
when he went there on a mission, a great treasure: not even this.
(*Iliad*, Book XXIV, 228-235)

³⁹ The translation received awards including the prestigious Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Association) award. The *Odyssey* was also translated by Erhat and Kadir in 1970. As the translator, Azra Erhat stated in the article "A.Kadir'le Çalışmamız", published by Gerçek Sanat Yayınları in İstanbul in 1989, that she did not see the *Iliad* only as a Greek legend "opening a new horizon in Turkish poetry", but also as an epic "shedding light on scientific, archaeological, and historical studies on Anatolia" (quoted in Berk Albachten 2017, 299, 300).

It can be inferred from the *Iliad* (Book IX and XXIV) that Homeric Troy was well-known for its wealth, especially its supply of gold, copper, and iron in the realm of the Troad. Based on this inference, when a treasure including gold jewelry, gold, “purest” silver, and copper artefacts including shields, weapons like daggers, blades, axes and vases, plates, cups and bottles, was found on the fortification wall at a depth of approximately 8 meters (26 feet), near Priam’s Palace, Heinrich Schliemann thought he had found the treasure in the epic. Because of the “irrefragable” proof arising similarities between the treasure of Priam (*Iliad*, Book XXIV, 228-235) and the findings, he was almost definite that the treasure belonged to the city of Troy and to the age of which Homer sung. Moreover, he also believed that the treasure must have been visible in the age of Homer to be described in such detail in the epic (Schliemann 1875, 21-23, 323-339).

In the book *Troy and Its Remains* which is basically the diary of the discovery and the documentation of his excavation, Schliemann tells the story of the discovery of the Treasure “which stands alone in archaeology, revealing great wealth, great civilization and a great taste for art, in an age preceding the discovery of bronze”, and clarifies the fact that he sent the workmen away on purpose. By this secretive endeavor, he believed he had saved the Treasure for archaeology away from the greed of his workmen. Swiftly, he then removed the Treasure with the help of his wife while the workers were resting, as he notes in his diary. The moment of discovery and the aftermath are clear: While excavating the Trojan city wall, near the Scaen Gate, “directly by the side of the palace of King Priam, I came upon a large copper article of the most remarkable form...as I thought I saw gold behind it” (Fig. 25) (Schliemann 1875, 22, 323-324). Schliemann further describes the find-spot in addition to the wall of fortification “which was built of large stones and earth” saying that it belonged to an early date after the fall of Homeric Troy. As Schliemann assumes, there was a stratum of red and calcined ruins on top. The claimed location of the Treasure has been validated during the Troy Excavation Project of modern times (Rose 2013, 17). Accordingly, it was discovered within the citadel walls where the House of Priam is a few meters away toward the west. Schliemann also specifies the assemblage of the Treasure which was “a cist-like enclosure in the ground either for ... a ritual deposit” or safe-keeping like a smaller

version of the high-ceilinged store-room where Priam keeps his chests (*Iliad*, Book XXIV, 191-192, 2; Rose 2013, 17). Following this detailed account of the Treasure in his diary, Schliemann expresses his feelings and admits that he was aware of his rather dangerous situation⁴⁰, but in light of the possible, “inestimable value to archaeology” of his latest discovery-to-be, his only option was withholding the Treasure on his own (Schliemann 1875, 323):

I cut out the Treasure with a large knife, which it was impossible to do without the very greatest exertion and the most fearful risk of my life, for the great fortification-wall, beneath which I had to dig, threatened every moment to fall down upon me.

(Schliemann 1875, 323)

As revealed in the official documents of the Ottoman Empire, an interest toward archaeology and protection of the archaeological findings had started to increase following the work of Schliemann at the Hill of Hisarlık. As a result, the first discovered artefacts from the site were moved to the Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*)⁴¹ in İstanbul. At the same time, Ottomans were establishing and developing a new practice: Ottoman archaeology as a scientific discipline. Despite the idea of some Turkish historians that if the museum studies were focused on foreign projects related to the Western historiography⁴², the newly developed archaeological and historical practices of the Ottoman state would be overshadowed, future Trojan artefacts were nevertheless ordered to be sent to the museum by the head of the Empire. Schliemann was seemingly not aware of the effort and archaeological sensitivity of the Empire. He systematically smuggled the majority of the artefacts that were discovered between 1871 and 1873 and accused

⁴⁰ Considering that the treasure is found under the foundation of a thousand-year-old building, the death risk that Schliemann claimed might have reflected the truth (Korfmann 2001, 381).

⁴¹ *Müze-i Hümayun* represents the origin of museology in the late Ottoman period under the directorship of Osman Hamdi Bey and the initial name of today's İstanbul Archaeological Museum (Tütüncü Çağlar 2017, 109).

⁴² Because of the nationalistic approach of the Ottoman historians, rather than enthusiastic archaeologists, some figures and even “certain fields of study” remained outside the scope of the more conventional framework of Ottoman historiography (Tütüncü Çağlar 2017, 112, 113).

the Turkish authorities of under-valuing the discovery of the ancient settlement (Aslan 2018, 75; Tütüncü Çağlar 2017, 112, 113, 114).

After the Ottoman authorities noticed that the treasure was smuggled out of the Ottoman territory by Schliemann⁴³, they proceeded with legal files against him for smuggling parts of the findings out of the country in three different attempts. Schliemann then sought to sell the findings to various museums and return some artifacts in exchange for permission to continue digging the site during the court process. As a result, Schliemann continued his excavations by the official permission of the Ottoman Empire⁴⁴ and “donated” the majority of the Treasure (Fig. 26) to the Berlin Museum for Pre- and Early History (Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte) in 1881. Between the years 1881 and 1945, the Treasure was known to be held in Berlin. After World War II, it was recorded as missing (Aslan 2018, 74, 79; Merryman, Elsen and Urice 2007, 63).

In the beginning of the '90s, objects consisting of 9.000-12.000 items of gold, copper, and “purest” silver which had vanished during the fall of Berlin emerged in Russia. In 1995, two exhibitions named *Twice Saved* and *Hidden Treasures Revealed* opened in Pushkin Museum, Moscow and Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Even though these titles of the exhibitions were reminiscent of the smuggled treasure, until the Pushkin Museum revealed its possession of the Treasure of Priam in 1996, the status and whereabouts of the collection as a whole were unclear. In 1997, the year following the exhibition, a law preserving the cultural treasures which were transferred to the USSR during the war passed in Russia. The new law simply asserts ownership and indicates that all the cultural

⁴³ In spite of Schliemann’s excavation reports (Schliemann 1875, 324), there might have been another unknown or even two people helping him to retrieve and carry a treasure of that weight, but his wife could not have been one of them because she was not on the premises at the time. She had left Troy to attend her father’s funeral. As Schliemann’s assistant, Yannikis claims that he was the only one with Schliemann when the Treasure was first seen (Aslan 2018, 83). Schliemann’s statement in his diary in which he thanks his “dear wife” for helping him hide and smuggle the Treasure is misleading.

⁴⁴ After official permission was guaranteed, in 1878, in *Tercüman-ı Şark* (Interpreter of the Orient) which was one of the first newspapers of the 19th century to be published, an article reveals the consciousness of Turkish people wishing that “Baron” Schliemann would not smuggle the most valuable antiques “again”, thus the museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*) would benefit from them! (Berk Albachten 2017, 291; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 49; Kreiser 2001, 284).

property in Russia is the property of the Russian Federation. In 2005, it was made public that numerous artworks, books, and archival documents were deliberately and secretly removed primarily from German public collections in Berlin in 1945 by the Red Army. These included a sizeable collection of ‘trophy art’ and their presence in the Soviet Union had been carefully concealed from the world for fifty years (Allen 1999, 254; Merryman, Elsen and Urice 2007, 63, 64; Greenfield 1995, 227, 228, 229).

The Treasure (Treasure A) has been exhibited officially for 25 years in the *Masterpieces of Ancient Art* collection under the title of *Ancient Troy and Schliemann's Excavations* in the main building of Pushkin Museum⁴⁵. Following the displacement that started with Schliemann's smuggle of the archaeological finds and exacerbated with the circumstances of war, parts of the Treasure are now separately displayed in museums spread in a wide geography in Çanakkale⁴⁶, Berlin, Moscow⁴⁷, Saint Petersburg and Athens (Allen 1999, 252).

Some items in the collection stand out more than others. Among them, a set of silver vessels reflect the wealth of Homeric feasting, elite dining and similar rituals. The famous copper shield, bronze, copper, silver artifacts like spearheads, blades, daggers, and battle-axes reflect the martial arts and ceremonial traditions of

⁴⁵ Cataloguing the findings from the site of Troy in 1902, Hubert Schmidt labeled the collection of Schliemann containing twenty-one treasures with letters from “A” to “S”. According to the catalogue, Treasure A is the Treasure of Priam which is the smuggled part of the collection while the remains which are now exhibited in the new Troy Museum belong to Treasure C (cited in Allen 1999, 252). After a detailed examination, Manfred Korfmann verified that all the objects exhibited in the Pushkin Museum actually belong to the Treasure including Treasure A (Korfmann 2001, 375).

⁴⁶ Some of the gold items of jewelry were brought from the Istanbul Archaeology Museum to be exhibited in Troy Museum as part of the Trojan treasures, Treasure C. In addition to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, a part of the exhibited artifacts was re-patriated from the University of Pennsylvania Archaeology and Anthropology Museum to Turkey in 2012 with the goodwill and collaboration of the officials of the museum and the efforts of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums. The artifacts had been exhibited in the collections of the University of Pennsylvania Museum since 1966 and the collection was found to belong to Troy as a result of the analysis made later (Çanakkale Troy Müzesi - Çanakkale n.d.).

⁴⁷ For further information, see the database and virtual tour of the Pushkin State Museum: https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_world/aar/aar_12/index.php?lang=en https://virtual.arts-museum.ru/data/vtours/main/index.html?lp=3_1&lang=ru (*Ancient Troy and Schliemann's excavations n.d.; Room 3. Ancient Troy and Schliemann's Excavations. Point 1 n.d.*).

Troy, while the crystal lenses in the collection represent Trojans' mastery of lapidary (Greenfield 1995, 229; Rose 2013, 18).

Greenfield (1995) verifies Schliemann by drawing attention to the Treasure and Homeric verses describing the wooden chest prepared by King Priam for presentation to Achilles in exchange for the body of his son Hector. In contrast to the chronological identification by Greenfield and Schliemann, Calvert and Dörpfeld had identified these findings as at least 1000 years older than Schliemann had supposed and they considered his chronology and much of his documentation unreliable and manipulative. During Korfmann's excavations, it has also been asserted that the Treasure may belong to either Troy II or Troy III, but definitely older than Homeric Troy, the era of King Priam⁴⁸. Korfmann also puts emphasis on the possible meaning of the Treasure that might be a "constructive offering" which served as a gift to the foundation stone in antiquity (Korfmann 2001, 378, 381).

There is especially one point Greenfield is certainly right about: "There were thousands of items, but it is the jewellery which is best remembered" (Aslan 2018, 82, 83; Greenfield 1995, 229; Korfmann 2001, 380). Concerning the Treasure, in Homer's epic, besides the appreciation of wealth, we also see its insignificance within the narrative of the Trojan War owing to Homer's poignant prose. As Güner (2017) notes:

... we experience the loss of a father in a dramatic way when all these luxuries mean nothing to him. The sense of being there within the private spaces of the Trojan Palace leads the audience from legitimizing the reason for the battle to begin with such pleasures at stake, to these pleasures not having a merit in the face of war and loss.

(Güner 2017, 29)

What Güner highlights here is reminiscent of the fleeting but intertwined relation between the themes of glory and death expressed in the *Iliad*. Achilles does not desire to die unless he believes he has glory. If he believes he would be glorified

⁴⁸ The wealth of Troy is generally accepted to start with Troy II. During the period, mariners who spent days or weeks in the city while waiting for suitable sailing conditions might have traded with local inhabitants. This trade may also be the motivation behind the foundation of the settlement as an advantage of the strategic location (Çalış-Sazcı 2002b, 55). When taking into consideration the wealth of Troy II, it is more likely to think that the Treasure belonged to an early phase of Troy II rather than Troy III.

after his death, he would have died happily in the Trojan War, before the *Odyssey*. Similar to Achilles's point of view, King Priam sees all the power, glory, and wealth that cannot give him his son insignificant. Like the parallel incidents in the *Iliad*, situations are different, but the feeling is the same. With the death of Hector, Priam as the king of the land loses all hope and what we witness as audiences is the fall of Troy, in other words, its death, following the fall of glory. It may be also inferred that death always follows glory in the realm of the epic, but this does not mean dying as an end if the dead has glory. With the fall of Berlin too, the Treasure of Priam was lost, but its glory continued despite the lack of material existence.

Aside from the fabled wealth of Ilion (*Iliad*, Book IX, 402), the surrounding walls were one of the well-known features of the ancient settlement built to guard the sacred city and protect the ones inside as emphasized in the *Iliad* (Güner 2017, 25, 27). When Schliemann smuggled out the Treasure of Priam from the land where it belonged, he had claimed that Turks would neither value nor protect the treasure⁴⁹. In this respect, Schliemann's sense of "protection" was largely based on smuggling and selling the majority of the treasure to the Berlin Museum for Pre- and Early History. Schliemann's confidence in the German safekeeping was not long-lived. Ironically, it may be said that it was the Germans who could not guard the Treasure as the precious universal heritage from the Soviet Red Army (Merryman, Elsen and Urice 2007, 63). Consequently, while desiring to "protect", Schliemann caused the Treasure of the native land to be exhibited outside its own borders. What happened in the end was that "Priam's Treasure" was actually "hidden" from the Turks more than once (Allen 1999, 250).

At this point, my personal view is far from seeing Schliemann as an archaeological hero or a messenger with a lofty aim who was sent by God to introduce Homeric lands to the world as he claimed. Rather, I consider him as a human being guided by his own personal interests. The overall truth may be that he had the opportunity, time, and financial power which might be even assumed to be

⁴⁹ In contrast to Schliemann's campaign to discredit Turks, the column in *Tercüman-ı Şark* also shows that not only the *Iliad*, but also the newly discovered location of Troy and most importantly the value of the antiques smuggled to Athens were known especially by Turkish intellectuals following the excavations with interest (Berk Albachten 2017, 291; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 50).

equal to the vision of emperors to discover the land of Troy in his time. Despite Schliemann's contemptuous opinion about Ottoman visions and capabilities concerning archaeological heritage, almost 150 years later, it can now be seen that as designed and built by Turks, the new Troy Museum reveals quite the opposite. In addition to the parts of the collection received from the University of Pennsylvania Archaeology and Anthropology Museum, a minority of Priam's Treasure that was fortunately retrieved during the Ottoman Era and scattered all over the country has now been reinstated in its original territory and started to be exhibited in the new museum in the actual land of "Sacred Ilion".

The land of Troy is a unifying place of fascination where spectators can feel a direct connection with the past, blending material remains through dreams or fictitious journeys to the world beyond. With the theatricality of the site, even if "the activity of spectatorship itself is thematized" and Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Hadrian and Caracalla, Constantine the Great; Sultan Mehmed II, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Mussolini and Schliemann all had different experiences on the site, as historical characters they felt connected (Zeitlin 2001, 209, 210). Because they all left marks on the site which accumulated in time. In this way, they contributed and even shifted the destiny of the land. Because they acted as catalysts of history, the past engaged with the past and Iliadic minds resulted to affect the real world. In contrast to the Iliadic mind of Schliemann, now the remains from Troy are guarded with the protective walls of the museum around them. In this case, the museum and the Trojan walls can be compared metaphorically. The locked display units and the museum itself are the key elements that serve as dividers between the treasure and the public. Hence the exploration of different boundaries both as facilitators and barriers between different perceptions arising from varying levels of fact, imagination, and vision; materiality and visuality become internally defined both temporarily and spatially.

5.2 Vision: The Past Shaping the Present

So far, the links between the text of the *Iliad* and the archaeological site and their historiography have been explored. Now, this section will treat the role of the museum and today's site in framing the past. In one way or another, the text, site,

and museum become connected in the minds of all visitors. The question to ask is how and in what way this happens. And to connect the three representations of Troy in this resulting panorama, a clear vision of the settlement needs to be provided for the visitors who should be given the opportunity to improvise the play of their minds on this theater-stage by their combined visions.

Due to the invention of early museums and art galleries and consequently discourses or art theories, the concepts of *sophia* and *sophos* were introduced to the elite during the Hellenistic period as a cultivated response of one's wisdom to articulate what is seen (Goldhill 2001, 157). Two millennia later, these signs of imagery are presented as early expressions of the relationship between spectacle and the spectator that underlie the simulation world of the new Troy Museum and the "renovated" ancient site in this part of the thesis. Hence, the potential of designed simulations and new mental boundaries need to be discussed.

5.2.1 The Simulation World: Museum and the Site

Recreating and reconstructing the ancient world are now put into use as a way to show the appreciation of the ancient times, a chance to explore the historical cityscapes and sometimes to engage with the film industry⁵⁰. Yet, there are scholars in archaeology and related academic disciplines who tend to underestimate the value of virtual reality and the role of created images as providing visual knowledge which is made possible by new technologies and used as a way of interacting with other fields, architecture in particular. Consequently, scholars may find it increasingly beneficial that once they adopt this innovation, they can even question what they see with the defined clarity of created images rather than trying to visualize the ancient world on their own (Favro 2006, 322, 323, 324, 328).

As significant repositories of created images, in the minds of visitors, museums might be regarded as "flexible mirrors" with their multiple innovations and visual translations. Also, they might lead spectators possessing historical consciousness to create new memories and refreshed visions whether on-site or in

⁵⁰ Favro (2006, 326) details today's virtual reality models with the CVRLab in ULCA and their process of recreating the digital urban models of the Roman Forum.

the mind by processes of activating, nourishing, challenging, and reviving (Crane 1997, 63). In its organization of facts and memories, the new Troy Museum represents a simulated world, both recreating and recreated from the legendary and real Troy. As such, reminiscent of the “three-dimensional expression of mythology” which is “a home for the cult image, a home for the god; a place where immortal and mortal mingle” (Rhodes 1995, 8), the Troy Museum may be seen to serve as a window translating the antique to the modern⁵¹. Through this ancient world simulator, visitors are invited to view and experience the cityscape and mundane activities of Trojans to show empathy to their ancestors at home and abroad and raise historical consciousness under the “roof” of the museum.

The design of the new Troy Museum has a modern and even brutalist architecture that is based on cube-shaped buildings and bare concrete. A corten steel façade, polished screed floor, wood form-work concrete, glass roof, metal framing, and wood paneling comprise the choices of material used in the construction (Fig. 27). The ramp wrapping the stories and connecting the voids between them breaks the effect of the single-mass giant building by creating different volumes that prevent visitors from feeling overwhelmed by the sense of bewildering volume⁵². The motivation behind this design appears to emphasize the “bridge” connecting the ancient and the modern that I pursue throughout the thesis. The choices of raw material as possible as could be create a kind of architectural archaeology. As the architect of the museum, Baz promoted the “bridge idea”. In his “İki Müze: Troya | Kapadokya” lecture on 18 May 2021, he explained that the façade material was specifically chosen to reflect the uniqueness of the ancient site, because the material will alter in appearance according to the weather and climate surrounding the exact location of Troy Museum. The idea was to be able to see the change of the material over the years accompanied with changes of the site. Moreover, the height of the main building block is equivalent to the depth of the deepest point of the excavation

⁵¹ The part, Baz (2021) found the most challenging while designing the museum was that the design had to reflect mythology and the legendary history of Troy.

⁵² Design of the museum brings to mind the brutalist design of the Faculty of Architecture in METU which was designed in 1962 by Behruz and Altuğ Çinici as a winning entry like the new Troy Museum (*Arkitektüel* 2019).

and the rust-colored weathering steel as the material of the façade reflects the excavated area to heighten the appreciation of the ancient site (Baz 2019). Accordingly, “Troy Museum is a unique building block resulting in its own structure which was intended to be seen from all directions with its ‘directionlessness’ while arousing interest” (Baz 2021).

The idea behind this design of the museum as the winning entry of the competition that could provide a simulated world to visitors may be seen as a metaphor. As a mental channel of the simulation world, it shows how the nature of the simulation was fabricated. The simulated version of the ancient world is a means to see through the eyes of the “antique”. Yet, in reality, the modern spectacle of the museum seems to hide under the antique image of the material. At first, visitors might see the building as an ordinary museum, but due to the choices of material, they are transported into the simulation world almost inadvertently without even being conscious. The enchanting power of the simulation world fades away only when they leave the museum, when they might become aware of the influence of choices in material that are also parts of the overall simulation.

Like visiting the ancient site armed with visions in mind after reading Homer’s verbal descriptions, when visitors go to the Troy Museum, they might conceive the museum compatible with the world that they are looking for. Especially prehistoric findings in museums may have rather convoluted connections to their times because as displayed they are framed recreations of the current 20th/21st, century⁵³. Modern restorations may have a high probability to mislead many visitors due to their unawareness of the difference between the original artifact and a replica of the modern times (Beard 2013, 17). Troy Museum might not exactly match what was visualized by the visitors prior to their visit, but the museum offers them a simulated version of ancient Troy by innovative design choices of the museum without having to worry about factuality and literalness. Additionally, it can be claimed that if the design team had endowed this building with an architectural style that would give the impression of classical antiquity to

⁵³ With a similar concern, Mary Beard (2013, 17) questions the authenticity of what is seen in the heavily restored archaeological site of Knossos in Crete as well as the artifacts in the Heraklion Museum.

the un-educated eyes⁵⁴ like neo-classicism, this would have served as a second barrier between visitors and the ancient world rather than bringing visitors closer to the period. Because even if visitors may not be conscious of this initially, the use of materials in their raw forms may become an agent to bring them closer to the history of Troy. Spiritually, this creates an architectural archeology as the designer might anticipate and prepares the museum for the world of simulation by bringing to mind the materials' raw uses in antiquity.

On the other hand, the obvious and distinct design of the museum provides a stimulating prelude to the simulated world. The eye-catching, "modern" material reminds spectators and visitors that the world they are about to enter is just a simulation instead of a smooth passage ensuring harmony with both the topography and the ancient site, in contrast to the intention for the commemorative burials in Gallipoli blending with the topography⁵⁵. Designing and constructing a modern museum like the Troy Museum serving as a window through the ancient world is like an indicator to differentiate the real world from the simulated one. In this case, the modernity of the museum stands as the boundaries of the simulation world to make the spectators aware of the real world. Highlighting this simulation world, there are visualizations of the ancient settlement including re-created domestic settings behind the display window, dioramas, and other interactive displays dispersed throughout the museum⁵⁶ (Figs. 28, 29, 30).

Each element in the museum has the potential to affect the visitor's personal perception and conception of Trojans in different ways. With the use of selected elements, the past is reconstructed once more in the minds of visitors. To prepare

⁵⁴ Simon Goldhill divides *sophos* as "the educated"/expert man/"the ordinary" and un-educated/non expert man. According to Goldhill, even looking at a sight will be different acts for them. Anything gains a meaning through the eyes of a cultured spectator, instead of a less knowledgeable man (Goldhill 2001, 161, 162).

⁵⁵ For further reviews, see "Memorialization on War-Broken Ground: Gallipoli War Cemeteries and Memorials Designed by Sir John James Burnet" by Yılmaz, published in 2014. In this article, Yılmaz explores the design of the Gallipoli War Cemeteries which were built to commemorate fallen soldiers and explores the organization of the cemeteries' harmony with the topography.

⁵⁶ As an example of interactive displays, there are reversable small cubes located on the units. If visitors wonder what is behind them, they can easily turn the square to themselves to see the extra information. It is a way to make visitors focus on the exhibition.

and simulate this reconstruction of the past, the designers took into consideration not just physical particularities, but also cultural characteristics⁵⁷. More generally, the realized reflection of the past as both agent and object and the combination of both physical and cultural characteristics of the museum heighten consciousness regarding the history of architecture and archaeology. When the design of the museum is examined more closely, it is seen that as a repeated exhibition decision, there are special, perceptual, and technological innovations on all floors and the design decision emerges as one of the positive qualities of the museum. Innovative installations utilizing multi-medial technologies and performances associated with the exhibited objects in museums tend to increase public curiosity in by-gone history by their brain and eye-catching attractiveness rather than the more sterile authenticity of the excavated objects. On a larger scale, creating virtual reality is a challenge on its own in considering the urban context, whether it be prehistoric or Roman. To see with ancient eyes is not possible because we cannot replicate the ancient moment, but we can come closer to understand the ancient visuality and experience the sensation of the time. Hence, it is important to understand the limits and parameters of using virtual reality and multimedia technologies by acknowledging and being aware of what it is that we are seeing or looking at (Andermann and Simine 2012, 7; Crane 1997, 44; Erkal 2011, 25; Favro 2006, 332, 333; Yılmaz 2014, 344).

According to Afife Batur, one of the reserve jurors, the main expectation of the jury was that there should be a relationship between the architecture of the new museum and the mythological depth of Troy. The jury especially desired an inspirational, tangible connection between the *Iliad* and the display units of the findings (Erkal 2011, 25). At this point, it is useful to recall that in ancient Rome, a mnemonic system was developed to help citizens to remember. Space and architecture were used to aid remembrance. Romans incorporated the visual arts

⁵⁷ The architect has humbly stated that "Visitors' feelings while exploring the museum give meaning to the design, not what the designer thinks". He also expressed the view that the intangibility of the epic in the museum as a conscious design choice is to create different images in every mind (Baz 2021).

within the mnemonic system and utilized the built environment for memory⁵⁸. In a marriage of the verbal and the spatial, selected lines from the epic prose could have been seen all around the museum. Yet, they are only seen in some descriptive/informative paragraphs on the display units⁵⁹, an interactive multimedia area consisting of video records of actors reading selected lines of the main characters on the second floor and in the walls of a side corridor on the ground floor which is located behind the main exhibition area in the museum (Fig. 31). Because the *Iliad* is a major key to the history of Troy, to reflect the saga of Trojans and their legendary war, the prose deriving from Homeric lines could have been used as a kind of a mnemonic trigger in the decoration and spatial organization of the museum. Yet, in my opinion, it is not possible to talk about a dominating reflection of the *Iliad* in the exhibitions⁶⁰. As a visitor, it even seemed to me that the designers might have added the art installations as an afterthought, following the comments of the jury members criticizing the lack of emphasis on the *Iliad* and the connection between the myth and the excavated site. I think this design decision might be regarded as yet another of the “invented” parts of the museum. This invention may thus be one of the fundamental design decisions that allows a visitor to look from a different point of view instead of using the effective power of the legendary prose.

Before seeing the *Iliad* corridor where some Homeric lines displayed as boards, as soon as visitors enter the museum, they directly face nine colossal jars in different forms which are displayed as a group recalling the way they were

⁵⁸ The mnemonic system was used as a reminder of principal venues to citizens. The same system was tried to be used by Benito Mussolini to control Italians with the help of the past (Rose 1998, 412).

⁵⁹ Baz (2021) considered the display units as “the world of variations”, because the units were designed to exhibit in many sides including objects as well as relatable stories and further information written on the same unit about the exhibited objects. The explanatory paragraphs on the display boards vary from the location of the discovered finding to the myth of Cybele depending on the displayed object.

⁶⁰ In his lecture, Baz (2021) said that the *Iliad* “takes hold” of almost an entire floor, the second floor, and the reflections of the epic on the other floors in the museum are undeniable. He continued by expressing that “Without the *Iliad* of Homer, Troy wouldn't have had a prominent difference among other ancient cities”, also stating that the Troy narrative, which is “beyond objects” in his own words, has a dramatic effect on the museum design by finds and various designed patterns highlighting them.

discovered by Schliemann (Figs. 32, 33). When considered metaphorically, with a glass roof that makes the whole entrance bright and spacious, the entrance hall of the museum is reminiscent of an *atrium* which was a focal design feature in ancient Roman dwellings for wealthy citizens who loved to praise themselves. Just like the *lararia* (plural form of the *lararium*) which were also positioned at the entrance of the Roman house to keep the family heritage alive, the way the colossal jars are exhibited serves as a commemorative corner for Heinrich Schliemann in the *atrium* of the museum.

This manner of exhibition also reminds me one of the original exhibits of Schliemann. According to Baker (2020, 62), Schliemann's spatial layout of display showed his disordered notion about Troy, because similar objects from different layers were brought together as a group, while other groups had strange combinations or did not have a group at all. This selective approach to museology by Schliemann might have been based on the intention of astounding the audience. With similar insight, he located "a large and dramatic vase", an "unusual pottery" at the entrance of an exhibition in London. "Unusually", he believed the vase was a demonstration of an owl-woman with large eyes. Because he associated the vase with Athena Minerva (owl faced Athena), he also named the vase *glaukopsis* (Fig. 33) after a Homeric epithet of Athena which he translated as owl-eyed/owl-faced. As stated by Baker: "This vase was a challenging choice to start the exhibition" (Baker 2020, 64, 75). Like a signature of Schliemann, locating the *glaukopsis* at the center of the exhibition would have emphasized his own cultural perspective about Troy⁶¹.

Similar to the *glaukopsis*, the colossal jars which are exhibited in the entrance hall of the Troy Museum were excavated from one of the houses at the "greatest depths", around the temple of Athena and they were believed to have belonged to the pre-Hellenic period as Schliemann notes in his diary. Considering that there are "nine enormous earthen jars of various forms" with four handles, the place might have been used as a cellar with the jars belonging to a wine merchant (Schliemann 1875, 290). Based on Baker's (2020, 64) organizational analysis of Schliemann's

⁶¹ The *glaukopsis* vases were unearthed from the different layers of the site and Schliemann thought that the vase type demonstrates the cultural continuity in Troy (Baker 2020, 74-75).

display strategy, I also found the choice of the location of the colossal jars “challenging”, the exhibited group of jars serve more to “astound” the spectator with their simple and undecorated monumentality. Even if they were attributed a different meaning like the *glaukopis* vase, they were not labelled with dates and identifications to inform the audience. Displaying them as a group recalling the way they were discovered can be regarded as a “translation”. However, displaying them right at the entrance without any description in a way to manipulate the audience as if the jars were among the vital findings representing the ancient spirit is definitely an “invention”. From my point of view, both exhibition choices, old and new, are “inventions” without explanatory descriptions to manipulate the audience which allows a base of factuality for the visions of the latter.

One of the most eye-catching manipulative or innovative design features of the museum is at the entrance. When visitors enter the museum, they immediately face the view of the straight path and the ramp at the side of the colossal jars that leads them directly to the upper story, the exhibition of the Layers of Troy on the first floor (Fig. 33). Hence, it appears that the designers planned for visitors to see the upper floor first by using the ramp. The choice of the ramp as the circulation space is an important design feature of the museum in the way of directing visitors towards the “route” already determined by the designers. As Baz (2021) emphasized that the ramp was specifically used as the vertical circulation in order to give visitors time to think between floors, to digest what they just saw on the previous floor and move on to the next floor while opening their minds to see much more. As the architect, Baz sees the Troy Museum as a continuous design reflecting the legendary history of Troy from the ground to the terrace floor. To detail this continuous design, he drew an analogy between the chronology of Troas and the ramp encircling the building as a line (Baz 2021).

On both sides of the ramp are openings: one of the sides looks through the already visited floor, because the ramp goes upstairs by circling around the previous floor, and the other side looks through the ancient site (Fig. 34) to remind the visitors that this museum is a connected reflection of the excavated Trojan site outside. Different exhibitions from various archaeological strata of the territory were located and to be seen in alcoves within the ramp with openings revealing

glimpses of both the exhibited (Fig. 35) and archaeological site on the right sides. At this point, a metaphor may connect the ramp to the legendary Trojan horse in the *Odyssey*. As it is narrated in the text, toward the end of the Trojan War, a selected group of Greek soldiers had hidden inside a wooden horse with intent to invade Troy. While waiting to attack the Trojans, they might have been looking from inside to outside, through the observation holes of the depicted horse which is regarded as the symbol of Troy, to the ancient city. Back to the present time, visitors coming to explore both Troy Museum and the ancient site, look through the narrow windows of the ramp to the ancient city to observe the site before visiting. Just as the Greeks, visitors inside the museum look out of the observation holes as if they had come to conquer Troy, but this time, observers' purpose of conquest was to honor the Trojans. From the ramp to the Trojan horse, after thousands of years, the fascination effect of Troy has been continued.

This design decision may also make one feel as if passing through a time tunnel upon climbing each floor (Fig. 36). While passing from one floor to another, the visitor feels like passing back and forth from one world to another⁶². Both the metaphors of a time tunnel and the Trojan horse might be because one side of the museum is partially dim while the reflected and incidental light coming from the other side can be blinding while climbing the ramp. The mixed feeling continues with the effect of the play of lights on the ramp and the continuing transition areas of grouped displays. In contrast to the continuity of the ramp, different floors are separate from each other but become a whole with the use of voids. Thus, both the upper and lower floors are physically connected to each other and yet, they are still two separate worlds without disturbing the feeling of the time tunnel. Besides the use of natural light, the lighting system (Fig. 37) has been carefully arranged in harmony with the general design of the museum, so as not to distract attention from the exhibition units, but still, every item of the exhibition is remarkable due to individual spotlights illuminating and turning them into focal points. Pendant lighting seen as suspended spotlights also corroborates the use of voids.

⁶² The architect Baz (2021) feels that museums always seem quiet, lonely and unhappy to him, and the use of the ramp circulating the whole museum is to reflect these evoked emotions, similar to my "time tunnel" metaphor.

According to Baudrillard, when someone powerful wishes to implement his desires, he can easily manipulate and falsify the public opinion to reinforce the idea with the help of simulations (Baudrillard 2006, 473). Similarly, the museum arrangement in particular, forces visitors to follow the same architectural scenario. All the visitors encounter the same simulation consisting of the finds of different layers of Troy which are located in the same place and have the same experience physically. In this regard, the structuring of museums as architectural spaces resembles predetermined rituals of antiquity (Aktüre 2019, 328). In both, an attempt is made to compile “adventure” including the discovery of an ancient site and its excavation, as well as “innovation” and “tradition” in the classical world with “a taste of fierce controversies old and new” all in the museum at once (Beard 2013, ix). In bringing together the whole history of Troy will depend on the comprehension and imagination of the visitor whether this is translation or invention.

After seeing the “colossal jars” in the entrance hall and passing the ramp going upstairs, if visitors turn left, they directly face the view seen in Figure 38. There is a “transparent bridge” on the ground here serving as a guiding path and enveloping the whole floor (Fig. 38). The “bridge” is actually a kind of sunken display unit seen below the floor for unearthed but non-restored potteries and broken-up fragments from the site (Fig. 39). This certainly emphasizes the nature of the painstaking archaeological effort on the site for centuries by conveying the tactile and raw feel of the recovered but dis-membered fragments. It also directs visitors who are unaware that they have been manipulated to the Cities of Troas on the ground floor who by starting from this area were informed about different cultures in the region. The most renowned among the discoveries of Schliemann, “Priam’s Treasure” is also located on this floor. I find this rather intriguing, because I did not even *notice* these during my first visit. I figured out the reason later; it was because they are exhibited *behind* a dividing unit. The unit provides a private exhibition area inside the museum and makes these items look more special in a manipulative way, but at the same time, if visitors like me cannot see them, there is nothing so special!

Because of the sensational story of the Treasure, which is known worldwide, designers and curators of the museum must have thought that a part of the treasure

which are remnants of the smuggling would be the focal point of the exhibition. Hence, it is in the center of the ground floor. Much to my surprise, as mentioned earlier, I did not notice the treasure in my first visit. While analyzing the plans of the museum, I discovered that the aim of the architects was to design a special area in the configuration of a *megaron*⁶³ within the exhibition area of the ground floor to frame the story of the gold of Troad (Fig. 40). With this spatial division in the museum, “the exhibition unit” of the part of the treasure looks like a real focal point on the plan. In addition to the inspiration coming from a traditional ancient building type, the design can be even associated with the ambiguous location where the Treasure was unearthed. However, as a visitor, I rather think that the *megaron* unit which is named *Gold of the Troad Reunited at Home* does not give the feeling one expects from the plan. Besides the ground floor, the other floors may work on the plans for designers, but as a visitor I did not think I experienced what I see in the plans while visiting the museum. With all respect, in my opinion, they are also somewhat insufficient to evoke the expectations suggested by the designers’ inspirational annotations⁶⁴ (Figs. 41, 42).

In *Ways of Seeing*, John Berger defines “seeing” and puts it clearly that looking is different than seeing: “The way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe” (Berger 1990, 8). So, a view is shaped differently by the eyes of each beholder, because there is a difference between active looking and mere seeing. Just like perceptions can change depending on the intellectual wisdom of a *sophos* (Goldhill 2001, 161), as a “viewer” after seeing the *Iliad* corridor, the colossal jars, the “transparent bridge” and passing by the Treasure of Priam without seeing it, one of the images that stuck in my mind while visiting the museum was the statue of a powerful-looking man in armor (Fig. 43). Even though the statue is

⁶³ Because one of the first examples of *megaron* which is a rectangular building type consisting of a front porch, a vestibule leading into a large room and colonnaded main space discovered in Troy, a *megaron* may be regarded as a symbol of the ancient site which the design team desired to emphasize on the plan. If the building is residential, there was also a hearth in the center of the main room. The *megara* on the site are generally found parallel to the fortification wall of the related excavation layers (Rose 2013, 10).

⁶⁴ Even though the given plan in the Figure 41 does belong to a temple plan, it is one of the inspirational plans used by the architect in his presentation with the label of “*megaron*” (Baz 2021).

exhibited on a display box, because the bottom part is broken and the legs are missing, it looks larger-than-life-size, demonstrating respect in representing the Emperor. Despite the impressive military uniform, what I particularly remember is the prominent Medusa head in the center of the cuirass. Rather than the overall appearance, it was this image that made the statue remarkable for me. Considering the size of the statue, the head of the Gorgon relief is rather small, almost like the head of a baby. As the statue stands, the location of the relief is level with the eye of the beholder. When the eyes of the statue itself and the figure on it are compared, the Gorgon Medusa looks directly at the beholder and meets the gaze of the latter drawing attention to herself instead of the statue looking higher and beyond. In this case, because of the way the statue is exhibited, my closer encounter was with the smaller head carved on the cuirass rather than the actual head of the standing statue. Despite the current welcoming look on the Medusa's face, in the legend, her gaze was intended to distract the enemy by charm.

In Greek mythology, the shield with the Medusa head is usually associated with Athena. In the myth, Perseus kills Medusa by cutting-off her head and presents the severed head to Athena which was then regularly depicted on the latter's *aegis*. The Gorgon's face on shields had the apotropaic function either "to ward off evil spirits" or spread fear to enemies and distract them by Medusa's petrifying gaze during any confrontation (Wilk 2000, 145, 150). After its use by Athena, the figures of Medusa on various surfaces evolved further in the use of its protective power including roof tiles and floor mosaics (Fig. 44). Especially on shields, the Gorgon figures were believed to have "the same effective power as does the 'actual' head of Medusa on the *aegis* of Athena" (Mack 2002, 573). According to the evolution of the iconography of Medusa, the Medusa depiction on the statue in the Troy Museum stylistically suggests a date between the 3rd century BC and 2nd century AD with its more anthropomorphized face than the earlier versions but it is still horned differently than the later icons. Although I saw her gaze only on an armor on a statue, it caught my attention. I daresay that "the effective power" remains unfaded!

The shield is also attributed to Achilles on some of the displayed art items showing the hero of the Trojan War with his shield in a fight against enemies⁶⁵ (*Iliad*, Book V, 738-742; Dexter 2018, 464, 465; Wilk 2000, 146). Homer describes the shield of Achilles as being terrifying with the Gorgon head on it and made of different metals in Book XI⁶⁶. The use of metals such as bronze, tin, and cobalt in the making of the shield suggest substantial knowledge of metal-working and the presence of rich mines in the period of Homer. In addition to material wealth, the poet emphasizes the “terror and panic” issuing from the serpent with three heads looking in different directions on the shield which served to distract the enemy in all possible ways.

Dexter and Mack both note that the first manifestation of Medusa in Greek literature may be in Homer’s *Iliad* in details of the “terror mask” (Dexter 2018, 463; Mack 2002, 572, 573). Homer describes the *aegis* of Athena as “a fearful thing” in the *Iliad* and according to Dexter, the lines (741-742) including “fearful monster” and “fearful and terrible” refer to Medusa without actually naming the Gorgon⁶⁷. In addition to the real use of the serpent in the epic, Dexter elaborates on references to Medusa from the *Iliad* by stating that Homer also uses the snake Gorgon as a metaphor while describing man-destroying and death-bringing Trojan heroes like

⁶⁵ Achilles wearing the Gorgon head shield is seen in numerous works of art, especially in Greek vase painting (Wilk 2000, Chapter 8). In the epic, after Hector kills Achilles’ devoted friend and companion Patroclus, he takes the mentioned armour of Achilles for himself (Wilk 2000, 145).

⁶⁶ Next he hefted his fine shield—all-protective, richly inlaid,
battle-hungry: around it ran ten bands of bronze,
and on it were set twenty bosses fashioned of tin,
gleaming white, and a single central one of dark cobalt,
encircling the Gorgon, with her menacing features,
glaring horribly, flanked by Terror and Panic;
from the shield hung a silvered baldric, and upon it
writhed a dark cobalt serpent, that had three heads
turned in different directions, yet growing from one neck (*Iliad*, Book XI, 32-40).

⁶⁷ Over her shoulders she spread the tasseled aegis—
a fearful thing, crowned all around with Panic,
and Strife is on it, and Prowess, and heart-chilling Pursuit;
there too is the Gorgon head of the fearful monster,
fearful and terrible, portent of Zeus the aegis-bearer (*Iliad*, Book V, 738-742).

Hector in his myth⁶⁸. In ancient Greek and Roman cultures, it was also believed that Medusa had a kind of divine power that could protect people from the “evil spirit”, or the enemy. Because Medusa had not been around in person to “shield” them against the bad forces, ancient warriors began using her image firstly on actual shields. The more they believed in the power of her gaze even through her image, the more they created her manifestations for different purposes in different contexts including the *aegis* of the statue of Emperor Hadrian.

The larger-than-life-sized statue of Hadrian in the Troy Museum was discovered in 1993 by the University of Cincinnati’s Troy Excavation team headed by Charles Brian Rose who had worked with Manfred Korfmann for years (Fig. 45). It was discovered in the Odeion of Troy IX (Rose 1998, 411). As already mentioned in the *Iliadic Minds* section, according to some classicists including Rose, Hadrian arrived in Troy around 124 AD in search for his Trojan roots and pay respect to legendary heroes like Hector. On this occasion, the Odeion was dedicated to him as a commemoration of his arrival in the city (Figs. 46, 47)⁶⁹. Hadrian then recited the epigrams that he had written for the tomb of Hector, Archilochus, and Epaminondas (Boatwright 2002, 141; Riorden 2006, 2635, 2636, 2640). I believe the discovery of Hadrian’s statue was of a revolutionary kind in 1993. To find such a well-preserved statue in an architectural context such as the theater which had an important historical role is remarkable indeed (Fig. 48). Additionally, the discovery of the statue also enabled identifying the dedication of the building. Reading the relevant lines in the Iliadic prose together with the story of the discovery of the statue lying on the ground of the ancient theatre where it was found and seeing the ruins of the theatre on the site and the statue with a shield including the Medusa head in the museum collectively evoke different feelings in

⁶⁸ For example, in Book VIII, while describing Hector’s “unstoppable mad rage”, the poet uses the words: “... his eyes like those of the Gorgon, or murderous Arēs” (*Iliad*, Book VIII, 349).

⁶⁹ Riorden bases her hypotheses about the connection between the Odeion and Hadrian on the evidence that the finely carved Ionic capitals of the theatre were made of the *marmor troadense* which is common in Hadrianic projects. In support of her point, she emphasizes resemblances to other Hadrianic buildings such as the Temple of Zeus at Aizonai, Turkey and Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli, Rome (Riorden 2006, 2642).

me as a visitor. The first time I visited the site, I had not seen the reconstruction of the Odeion by Traser (Riorden 2006, 2636). What I only saw were the ruins of the theatre on the site while I was just following the path circulating the site to make the visit easier and passing behind the scene of the theatre.

Back in the museum, the statue which caught my eye was the representation of Hadrian who was one of the most powerful Roman Emperors and ruled from 117 to 138 AD. This statue is situated in the middle of the front row on the second floor of the museum in such a way that whether the visitor enters or leaves the floor, the powerful image of Hadrian is conspicuous and leaves a lasting impression (Fig. 49). Furthermore, the statue can also be seen from the top floor through the void between the 3rd and 2nd floors that was described in more detail in the previous chapter. Owing to the design of the museum, the idea is that while a visitor explores the top floor in which sensational newspaper reports about excavations like the “smuggled treasure” and photographs from the site showing both the findings and excavation teams are displayed, he/she would still feel a part of the museum without disconnecting from the ancient world (Fig. 50)⁷⁰. Although the space where Hadrian’s statue is placed has one other statue which represents Triton and has a higher stand than the statue of Hadrian, Hadrian’s statue certainly stands out among the other items of the collection on the floor with his confident gaze and ostentatious body armor.

After seeing both the statue in the museum and the possible location where it might originally have been located within the approximately 1900 years old ruins of the Odeion in Troy IX, I tried to visualize the reconstruction in my head from where I stood in the museum (Fig. 51). During my next visit, I also tried to imagine how the statue of Hadrian was framed by the *scaenae frons* of the theatre, the ruins of which were located outside the citadel wall of Troy VI. Seeing this, the remains of the citadel wall made my visualization even more striking by serving as a background of the theatre. Passing by the *scaenae frons* with the real-life size

⁷⁰ Left side of the third floor belongs to the “lost heritage”. The side remains mysterious until one approaches to embrace the essence of the philosophy behind it. Pictures and photographs of the “hidden treasure” are projected on small screens instead of exhibiting replicas in the museum. The intention behind this design is to exhibit the actual works of art which are hoped to come home in the future on behalf of the Troy Museum.

Hadrian statue on top, would have drawn the attention of the citizens of Troy IX under his spell and made them remember that they were living in the era of Hadrian. In the case of the museum too, even before recognizing Hadrian, his statue seems to command the whole floor with his powerful gaze, just like it would originally have done in its hypothetical position in the Odeion at the time. Considering the evoked feelings sharing the same spirit, it can be said that the designers of the new museum translated what was found on the site rather than inventing new meanings to the findings.

When we see a landscape before us, instinctively “we situate ourselves in it” (Berger 1990, 11). So, the modern circulation path running through the site in order to “organize the flow of the action in space” as in Ephesus today, may be said to assist this instinct. Despite the presence of various strata representing different settlements in the archaeological site at Ephesus, the modern route there could have been made similar to that of the ancient procession (Aktüre 2019, 320). Guided by the modern path, visitors start exploring the site from a replication of the Trojan horse which is one of the most acknowledged aspects of the ancient city. After passing the wooden horse, the east fortification wall of Troy VI is seen in which the remains of Troy VII dwellings are seen above the fortifications and its gate (the East Gate). The tour finishes with the Odeion of Troy IX which might have been located at the end of the Agora and the public square at the time. During the site tour, visitors also see a *megaron* with a central hearth from Troy II-III⁷¹, a mudbrick citadel wall from Troy II-III and a paved ramp bridging the main gateway of the citadel that was believed to be protected by the walls of the period. Remains of residences from Troy VI and a tower from the same stratum; a south gate from Troy VI-VII; a city wall of Troy VIII, a sanctuary with an altar from Troy VIII-IX and also a Bouleuterion (council chamber) from Greek and Roman Ilium, Troy VIII-IX are all part of the route. Although these material remains are from different strata, using this route, visitors experience a holistic panorama of Troy from the beginning till the end of their walking tour. With such guided “processions”, the identities of

⁷¹ Here, I emphasize a specific *megaron* unearthed inside the city wall in the late 90's which was believed to belong to Troy II because it drew my attention as a visitor as one of the structures closest to the path as if I could have even touched its walls.

ancient sites are revived in the manner as Aktüre (2019, 320) points out for Ephesus! In the case of Troy, the identity of the land as the setting of the Trojan War conceptually resembles the Gallipoli War Cemeteries that are far temporally but close spatially as a “memorialization on war-broken ground” “to justify the sacrifices ... who fought and died” in the battlefields (Yılmaz 2014, 329, 335).

The tomb of Ajax, so-called the Tomb of Hector on the site, already mentioned in the *Iliadic Minds* section, can be regarded as an earlier version of places where memory is made to perform in different ways like the Gallipoli War Cemeteries and the new Troy Museum. Unlike Hadrian’s personal conviction that Hector once lived, the construction of the tomb reflects the more distanced belief of architectural historians, archaeologists and philologists in the existence of the Homeric land of mythological characters. Hector, for whom emperors built a monument in his name to keep the legendary memory of him alive and Medusa whose powerful gaze emperors believed in and carried her on their shields are both mythological characters made to re-perform. Like a product of the same tendency to believe in a divine power, the new Troy Museum was opened to provide a simulated world like a window overlooking the ancient world of Troy. Further, it may be claimed that if the act of Hadrian, Emperor in the 2nd century AD represents a kind of sentimental archaeophilia, museums and the renovated ancient sites in the modern world serving as both historical and memorial places might be regarded as its more formal and elaborated counterpart, namely, simulated archaeophilia.

Owing to the somewhat disorganized nature of the site arising from being a mound excavated at different times, the ruins from various strata can be seen as different display units in a museum. As the ruins are different scenes of a show as if in an open-air museum, the pathway on the site takes spectators to different exhibitions as they walk on the path.

The museum is not the only site where subjectivities and objectivities collide, but it is a particularly evocative one for the study of historical consciousness. A museum is a cultural institution where individual expectations and institutional, academic intentions interact, and the result is far from a one-way street.

(Crane 1997, 46)

From this point of view, the site of Troy may not be a cultural institution in the strict sense, but it is definitely a product of a study mingling myth and historical consciousness. As in Gallipoli, “No battlefield is a tabula rasa” (Yılmaz 2014, 343). This maxim may be also adapted to archaeological sites. Both Gallipoli and Troy are “regenerated by means of the landscape ... by memorials, war cemeteries, and the remains of battles” (Yılmaz 2014, 344). On the ancient site of Troy, even if all strata cannot be seen clearly and differentiated from each other at the moment of visit by all visitors, the memory of Trojans is still alive “in that particular topography”. To use Berger’s (1990, 10, 11) words, “the specific vision of the image-maker” (*sophos* and *sophia*) can also be “recognized as part of the record”. To be part of the ancient world and honor the memory of Trojans, this excavated ancient city was transformed into a silent show of the history of architecture with the construction of the path which was built among the ruins to pave the way for reconstructing the past in the minds of visitors.

In the ancient city of Ephesus, a ritual is known to have been performed in the 2nd century AD, during which the participants communicated with each other non-verbally while walking along a traditionally designated route. Although the same route might have transformed into a travel route in order to “revive” this ritual in Ephesus to let visitors feel the ancient spirit more easily, the tourist guides have instead identified a "modern" parade focusing on "hot spots" such as the brothel and toilets to attract tourists⁷² (Aktüre 2019, 325, 326, 329, 330, 331). Such a ritually inspired tour may not ever be possible on the archaeological site of Troy, since the remains of different layers are side by side or super-imposed. However, this current circulation path may be regarded as the continuation of the unifying power that Troy has assumed throughout history. Despite the differences in tour routes, one of the common characteristics of ancient sites is that visitors from different nations meet on a common ground through shared cultural symbols. Depending on both the

⁷² In this context, Aktüre makes an analogy between museums “ritualized” depending on the material culture and archaeological sites “museumized” in a way to attract more attention (Aktüre 2019, 328, 329, 331). Although the Magnesian Gate was the starting point of the ritual as one of the main three gates of the city and *agoras/agorae* were one of the most important public spaces of ancient Ephesus, most of the visitors may leave the site without seeing these structures because of the modern route, like the “ritualized” path in the open-air museum of Troy.

kind and availability of the spectacle which is fuelled with the delectation and enlightenment of visual fascination, spectators develop a common code of their own which ultimately transcends linguistic, regional, and economic boundaries (Zeitlin 2001, 211).

Stated differently, although visitors may speak different languages and belong to various cultures, they communicate with each other non-verbally while walking along the same path. What is more, this mysterious simulation world makes sense to them during this non-ritualistic promenade, even though they each create different visions in their own minds. With more freedom than the ritualized site tours that regulate social behaviors, even though a walking path prescribes a defined route of circulation allowing denial or access, spectators are free enough to experience different perceptions while wandering among the various layers of history on the site of Troy. When one stands more or less at the same point and the same angle, the specific point may show the difference in perception with or without the presence of a guiding wood path. This is clear in viewing the remains of the Odeion in Troy, where it can be said that the path provides guidance to visitors and makes it easier to imagine visions as if on a theatre stage (Figs. 51, 52). After all, the archaeological site of Troy is a theater of history where the players improvise their own perception and experience. Like the interactive displays, videos of actors performing as some of the characters in the Homeric epic, start to play automatically when each visitor comes in front of them. Visitors in the museum, visualize the daily life of Trojan citizens in front of the ruins while the extended parts of the path make them feel like lead actors of the play in antiquity (Figs. 53, 54). Here, sight turns into spectacle.

Since the spectacle's job is to use various specialised mediations in order to show us a world that can no longer be directly grasped, it naturally elevates the sense of sight to the special pre-eminence once occupied...

(Debord 2005, 11)

This is what the museum and the restored site do as spectacles and they can be the most abstract and adaptable mental panorama for the present-day society (Debord 2005, 11). Stated in another way, the epic creates mental vignettes in the

realm of the imagination of each reader. Because the spaces described verbally in the *Iliad* become immortalized by the generation of visual imagery working on the imagination, any further visual representation of these spaces would merely be a product of the visitors' own imagination (Güner 2017, 88). Offering representations and interrelating unconnected phenomena in the museum would contradict this open-ended nature of the text and site. This observation is generally valid for the organization of the new museum and the restored site. It can be said that all three mediums, the *Iliad* as the text, the site as "open-air museum", and the newly built Troy Museum trigger separate simulations in the mind of each viewer.

Even when two different people read the same lines of the text or when visitors following the exact same path stand at the same point and look at the remains of the same layer or the same display unit inside the museum, even if they have both read the same description or seen the same illustration of the same object, they will envision their own various "Troys" in their minds. Studies about "ritualized behaviors" have shown that even if the visitors travel on the same manipulatively designed route creating a simulation world set up by a tour guide, what remains in mind from their trip will vary tremendously. The same travel route and the behaviors that are thought to be predictable will create entirely different perceptions in the mind of each visitor. Accordingly, memories will also deviate from the predictions and expectations. By examining the real and simulation worlds arising from the narration of Homer and the *Iliad* as a guiding source, it is seen that the re-visioning and re-performance of the poet's ideas have influenced readers since antiquity. Homer's text transformed the perceptions of the readers into "Iliadic minds" in the past. This has continued to affect our memories as his audiences by deluding our visions in the present.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Plutarch considers poetry as painting which speaks while painting is silent poetry (quoted in Zetlin 2001, 223). Taking this further, architecture is a visual art and the buildings speak⁷³. Reading Troy through text, site, and museum in this thesis aimed to bring multiple fresh perspectives to the Trojan narrative in our present. In this thesis, two forms of art, architecture and literature, are combined in three different “silent” fields, the *Iliad*, the archaeological site of Troy and newly built Troy Museum, to make them “speak” for themselves and to turn the lost city of Troy into a layered city with a known history.

With the light of the *Iliad* by Homer, Troy has been recognized and it always attracted attention leading to the quest to be found. Yet its actual discovery was in the late 19th century. The first excavations on the site were carried out by Heinrich Schliemann revealing that natural disasters might have caused the successive formation and demolition of the mound. In view of the excavations, the land might have served a greater number of people as the center of trade, culture, and worship for almost 3500 years due to its convenient geographical location.

Whatever has come to light today, Homer has been a primary cause and a propulsive force as the father of knowledge in the Greek world (Erhat 2014, x). Yet Homer’s *Iliad* is the precipitating cause even behind the discovery of the ancient settlement. Because of the associated forms, people believed in the offered image emanating from the text and site itself. The simulacra of divinities and the supreme

⁷³ Expressed by Julia Morgan who was an architect and engineer in the late 19th and early 20th century. She designed more than 700 buildings. She is an inspirational idol for me as a pioneering female architect, in fact the first licensed female architect who surmounted the gender barrier at the time (Inductees, California Hall of Fame, Signature Exhibits, n.d.). I cited her motto firstly in my letter of intention for admission to the department of History of Architecture in METU in 2018. Because I believe it is my lucky charm, I wish to use it here in 2021.

power of anthropomorphism has been questioned: "... deep down God never existed, that only the simulacrum ever existed, even that God himself was never anything but his own simulacrum..." (Baudrillard 2006, 455). Although Baudrillard's way of thinking is reminiscent of sacred books which are derived from divine inspirations, in my opinion, the same can be applied to the *Iliad*. Apart from its content, Homer's epic and consequently Troy has been considered as the witness of this legendary history. Statues, figurines, jewelry, vessels, and miscellaneous fragments all which emerged from the ruins of Troy, now re-arranged and located in display units, and exhibited in the Troy Museum can be regarded as re-performances of the ancient city.

Considering Debord's idea of the independence of representations, the Troy Museum is not a pure reflection of the site, it is notional and a product of "social relation between people that is mediated by images" and shaped with visitors' visions (Debord 2005, 7, 11). Hence, visitors might see the new Troy Museum as an aggregated factuality and end their trips without exploring the archaeological site, or eventually only after visiting the museum. Taking into consideration the fact that people saw the *Iliad* almost as a sacred book in antiquity, the bible of the ancient Greek world (Bonnard 2004), the prose corroborates the simulacrum definition of Baudrillard (2006). Additionally, as Latacz (2005) claims, the *Iliad* might be misleading. It is not simply the "story of Ilios", but the story of the legendary warrior Achilles from the beginning till the end of the Iliadic world. It can be inferred that with its elusiveness, the epic might be a simulacrum itself that misleads its readers by looking like an epic of the Trojan War (Latacz 2005, 203).

Aside from extreme influences of the *Iliad* and its depictions in Greek, Roman, and Anatolian visual cultures, it can be questioned whether the events in the prose are based on history or whether its characters actually existed. There is a kernel of truth in every epic, but since the date of the war goes back to prehistory, it cannot be known for certain (Aslan 2018, 108, 111). Leaving this aside, the Greek and Roman societies almost blindly believed in the authenticity of the *Iliad* and also in the Trojan War. However, it is revealed by the excavations that the site could be the land of Homer as it is described in the text. When all the archaeological evidence is taken into account, the site embodying different ancient settlements in its several

thousand years of history deserves a place as a cradle in the history of architecture. Troy is “not just an ancient city, but rather a concept” (Rose 1998, 412). This is due to the settlements still retaining their mysteries and the ambiguity of the text vacillating between mythology and reality.

Unlike intangibility of the verbal tradition, the existence of Troy and archaeological finds in the new Troy Museum are tangible. With this thesis, it is seen that the role of the history of architecture might be to combine the intangible knowledge with the tangible evidence by more direct translations with less distortion. In this way, each spectator creates unique perceptions about the memory and history they inherit and the aggregated various perceptions make them a community that is a product of the cultural heritage. This is far beyond the factuality of the history that revives people's dreams and forms their identities. From this point of view, the opening of the new Troy Museum can be seen as a contribution to increase the recognition level of the history of architecture with the increase in the knowledge about Troy and publicize this conceptual site following the requirements of modernization without damaging while even feeding the ancient spirit.

In this thesis, I tried to see the text, site and museum both as a reader and also as a visitor of the ancient site. In this respect, I reflect my ideas as if I witnessed the legendary incidents to revive the history just as the rulers did in their own ways. As a result, I shed light on the analogies among the three representations of Troy from my point of view as an audience in a subjective manner. However, not only memories of visitors, but also their visions differ from each other by the holistic panorama that the representations offer them. Depending on their unique perceptions, analogies in the history of Troy are not constant. Just as the simulation provided by the history of architecture, the simulation worlds serving as windows to ancient Troy are still alive, enabling their visitors to generate new meanings for themselves, like me. Consequently, there was not and will not be an ultimate reading of Troy. Thus, with this thesis, after seeing the enduring reoccurrence of the relationship between the reader and the *Iliad*, it can be said for sure that the connections among the text, site, and now Troy Museum will never fade away.

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A. FIGURES

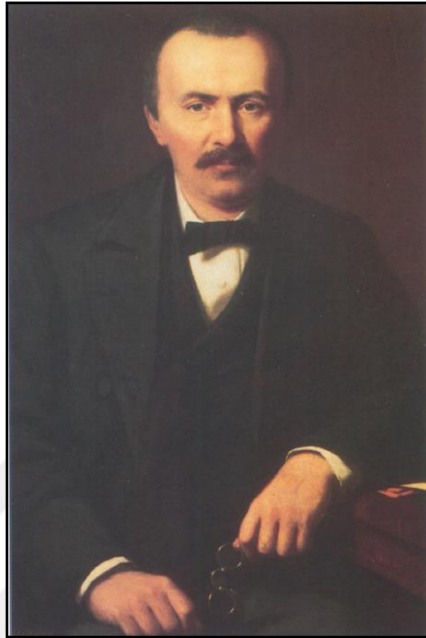


Figure 1: Heinrich Schliemann (Rose 1993, 36)



Figure 2: Frank Calvert (Allen 1995a, 406)

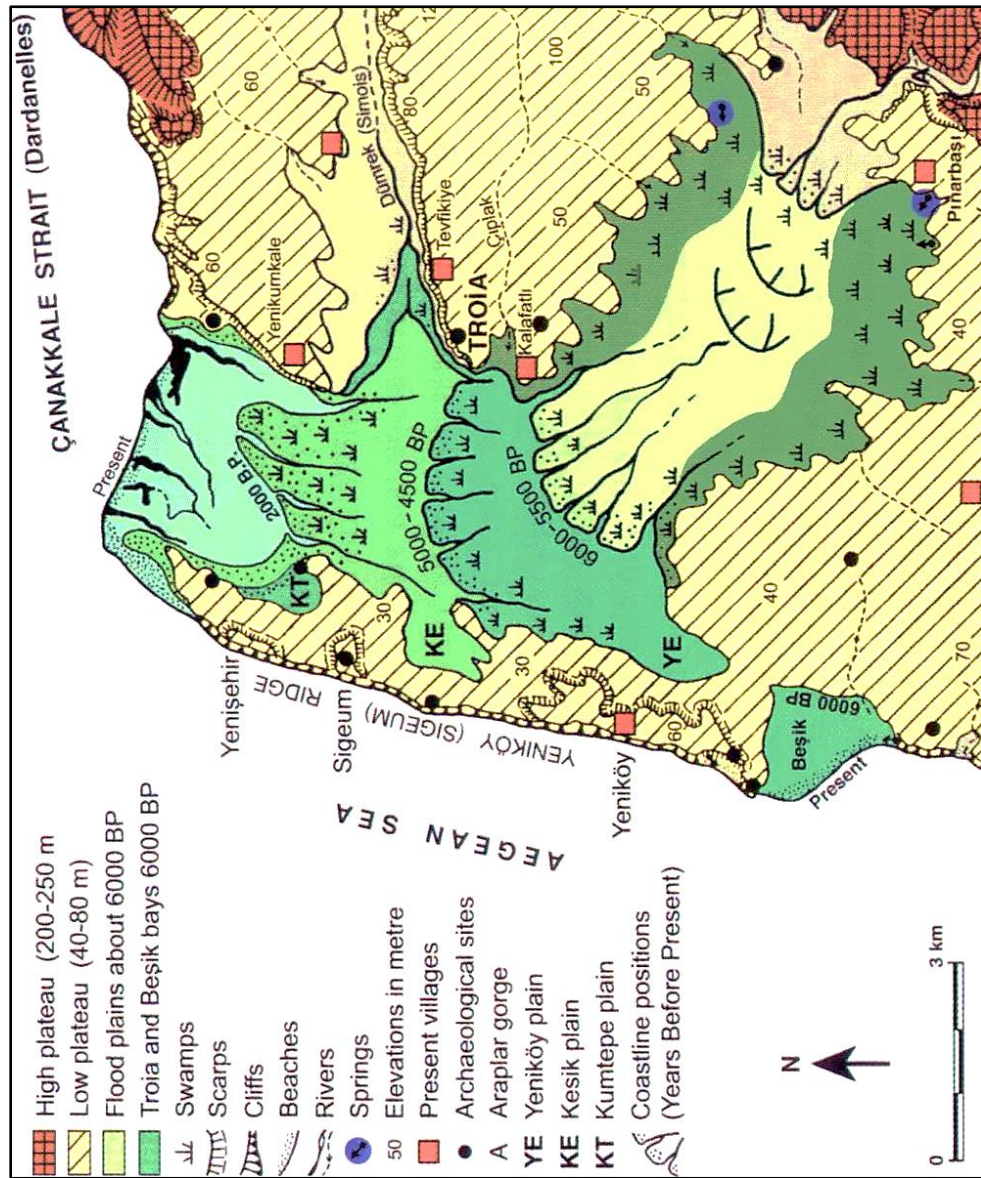


Figure 3: Troy and its surroundings showing the depth of the mound (Aslan 2018, 2; Koru 2010, 49)

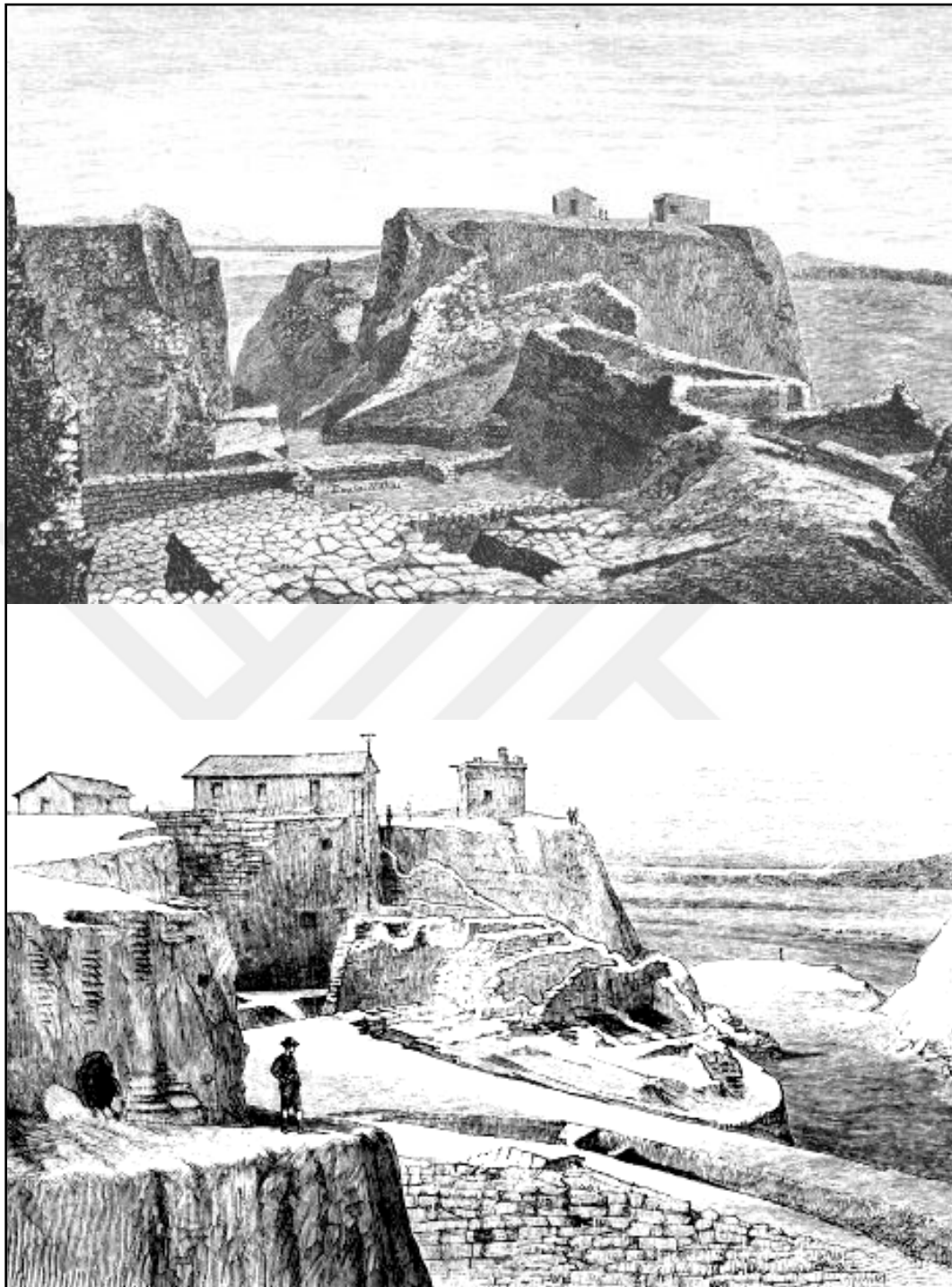


Figure 4: Drawings of the Tower of Ilium, Palace of Priam and Scæan Gate (from left to right) (Schliemann 1875, 287)

Top: Trojan buildings on the North side through the hill (Schliemann 1875, 143)

Bottom: Tower of Ilium, Scæan Gate, and Palace of Priam (Schliemann 1875, 321)

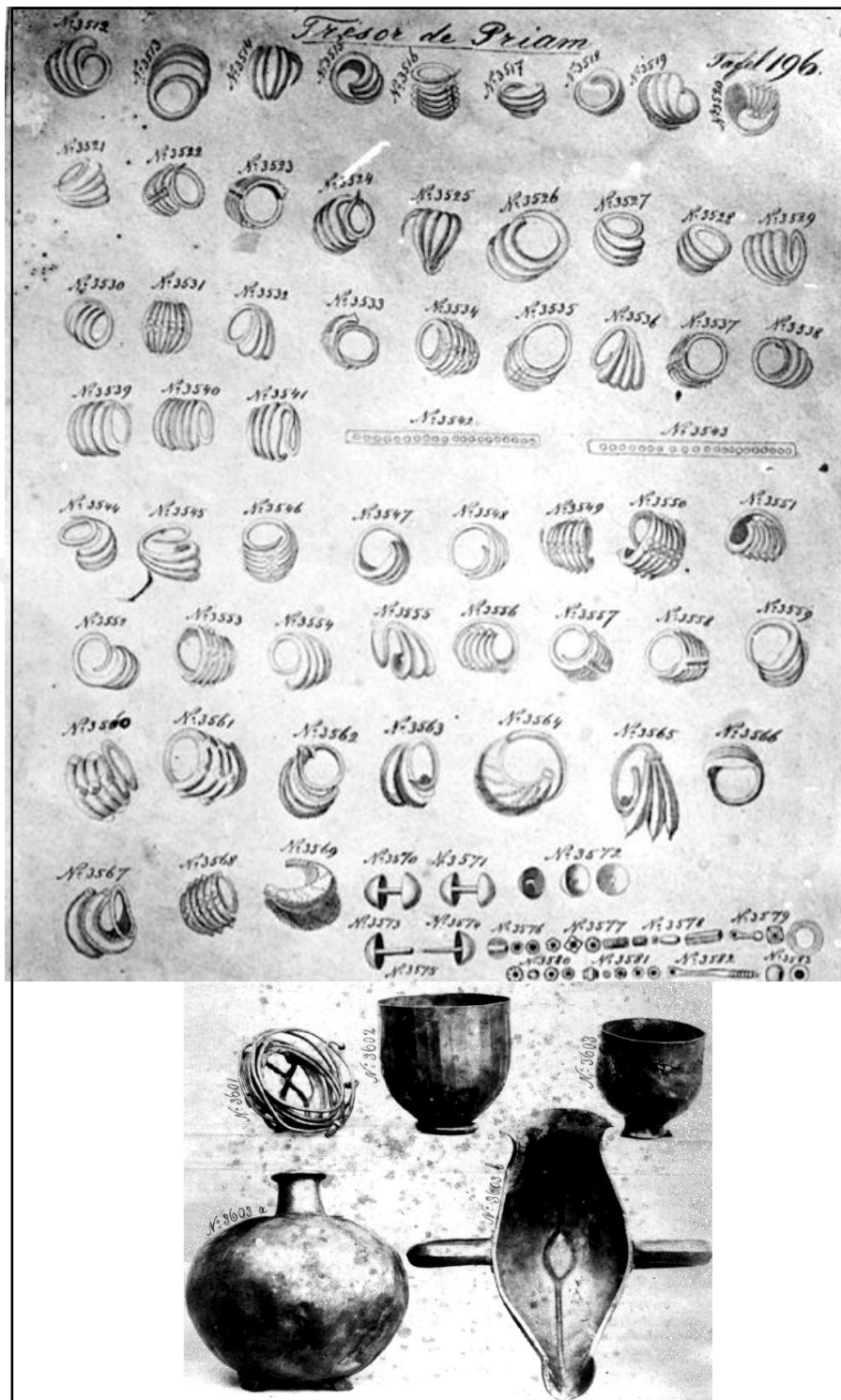


Figure 5: Drawings of the “Treasure of Priam” by Schliemann

Top: Illustrations of jewellery (Schliemann 1874, Tafel 196)

Bottom: Several vessels from the Treasure (Maurer 2009, 310)

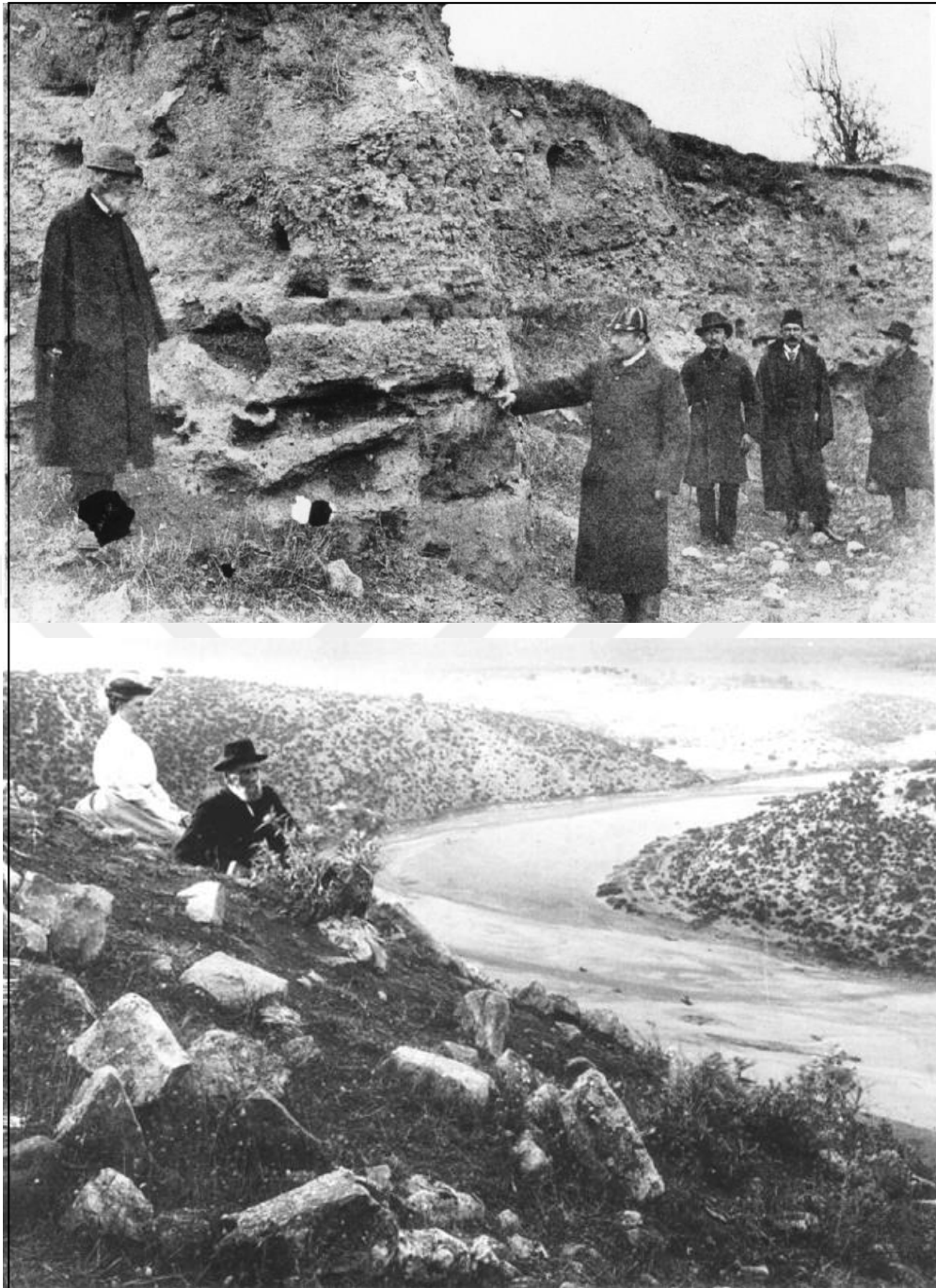


Figure 6: Schliemann's photographs at the Hill

Top: Schliemann's first conference at Hanay Tepe, 1889
 From left, Calvert, H. Steffen, Schliemann, G. Bey and G. Niemann in *Deutsches
 Archäologisches Institut, Athens, Troja 120* (Allen 1995a, 404)

Bottom: Calvert and his niece, near the settlement walls of Pınarbası, 1864 (S. Allen,
 'Finding the Walls of Troy': Frank Calvert, Excavator 1995, 389)

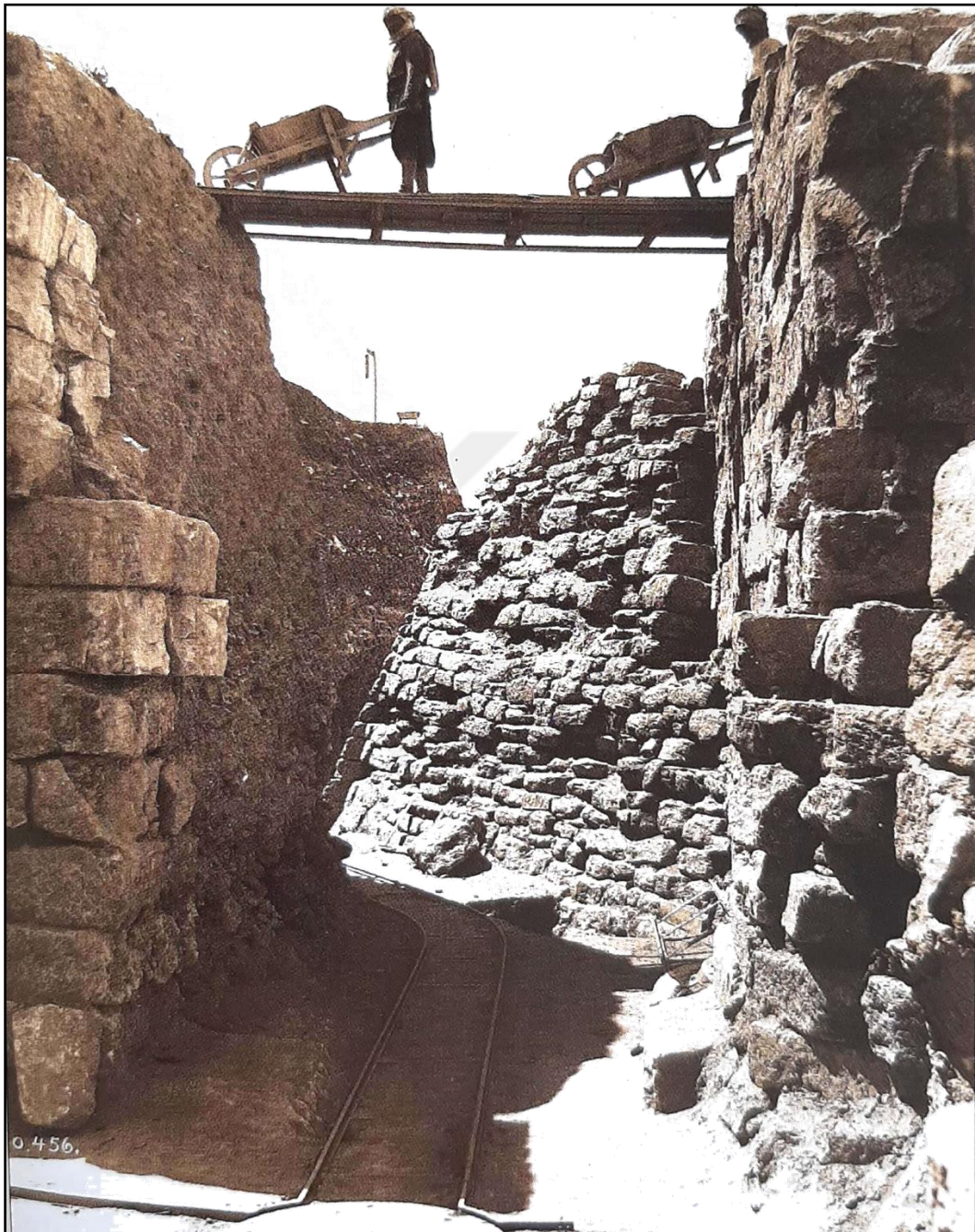


Figure 7: Photographs from Dörpfeld's excavations in Troy, 1893 (Aslan 2018, 121)

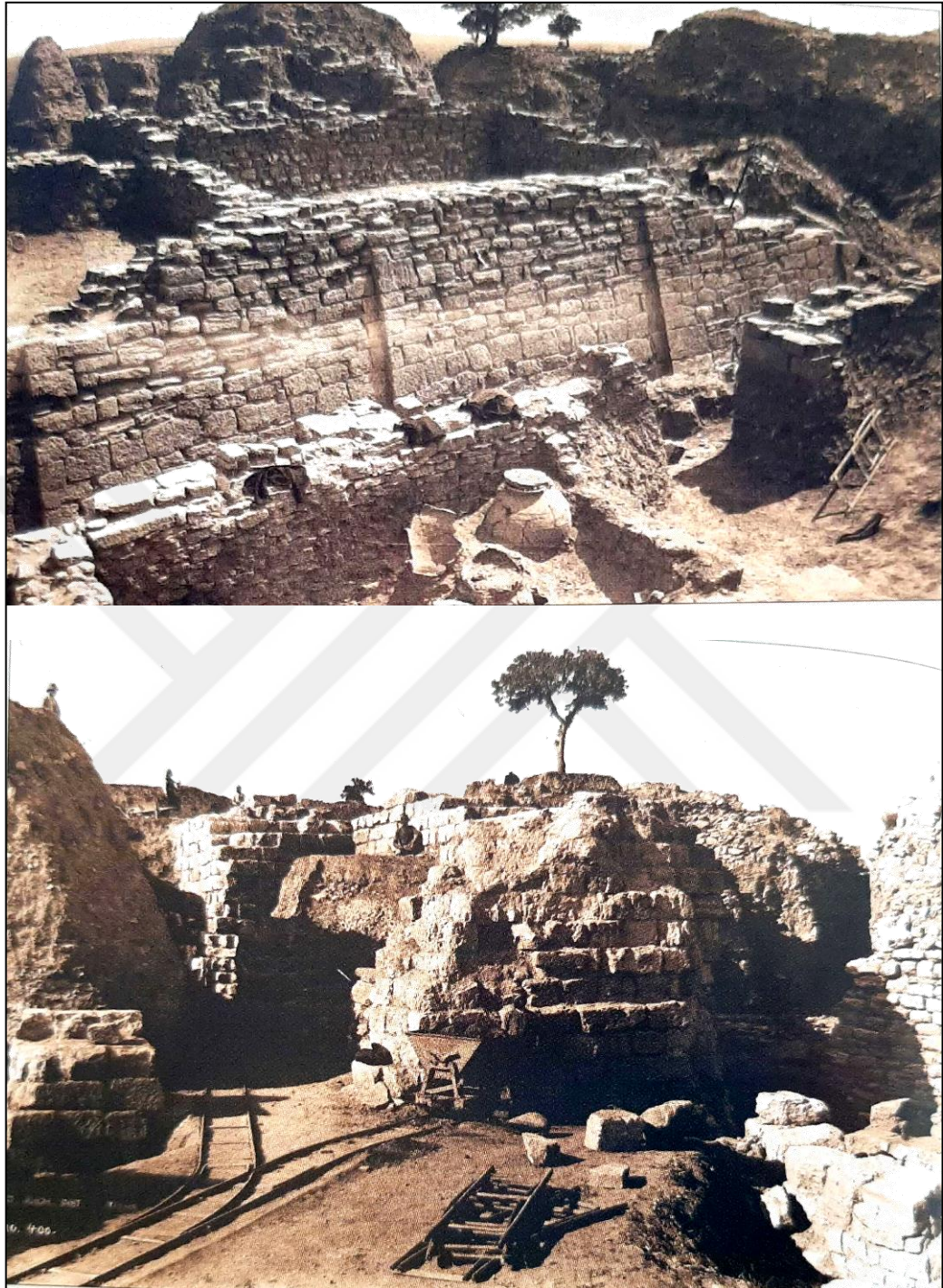
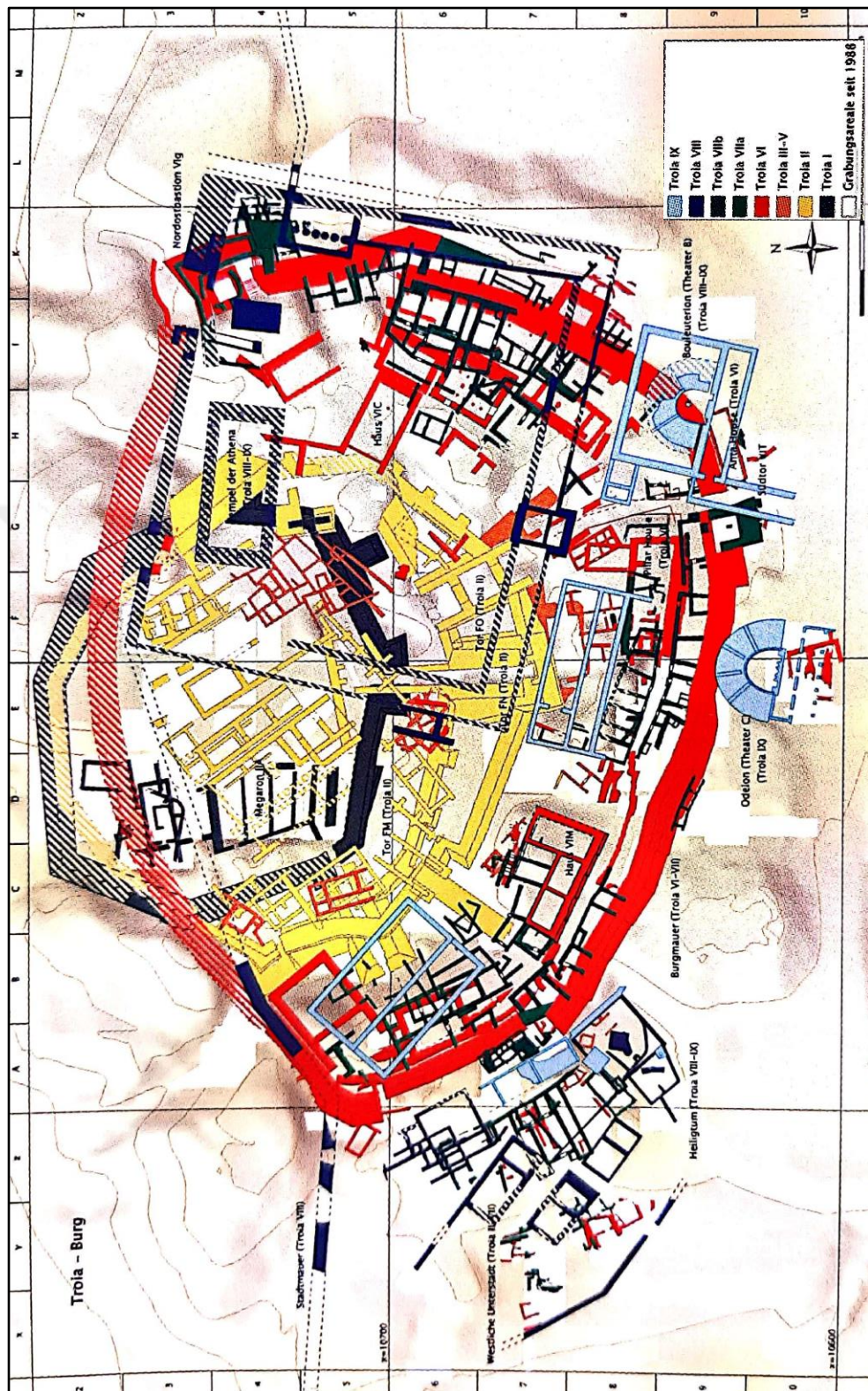


Figure 8: Photographs from Dörpfeld's excavations in Troy, 1893

Top: Palace House and the great walls of Troy VI with the wall of Troy VIIb (Aslan 2018, 25)

Bottom: The foundation walls of the temple of Athena(Aslan 2018, 50)



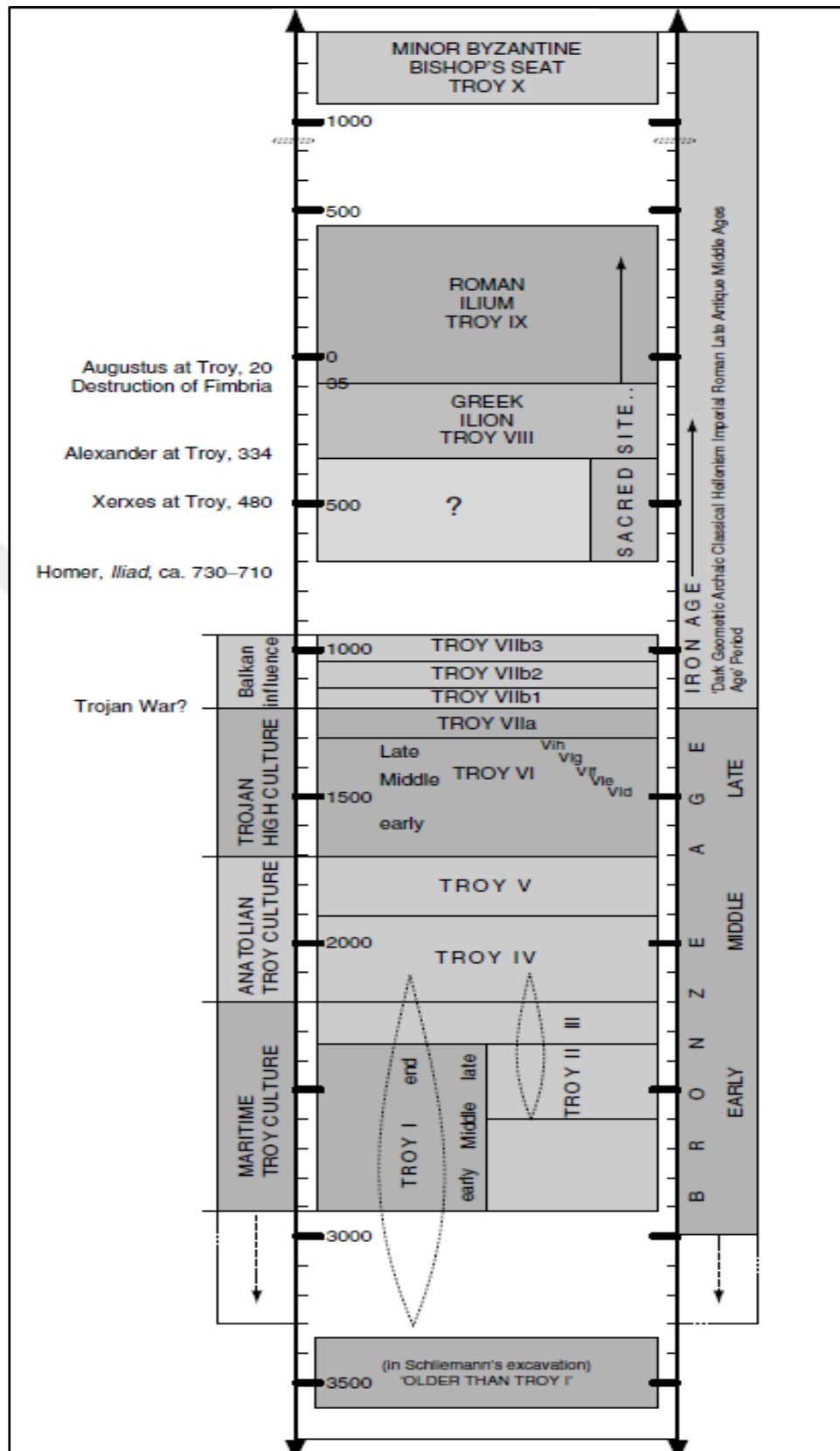


Figure 10: Chronology of the site (Latacz 2005a, 11)

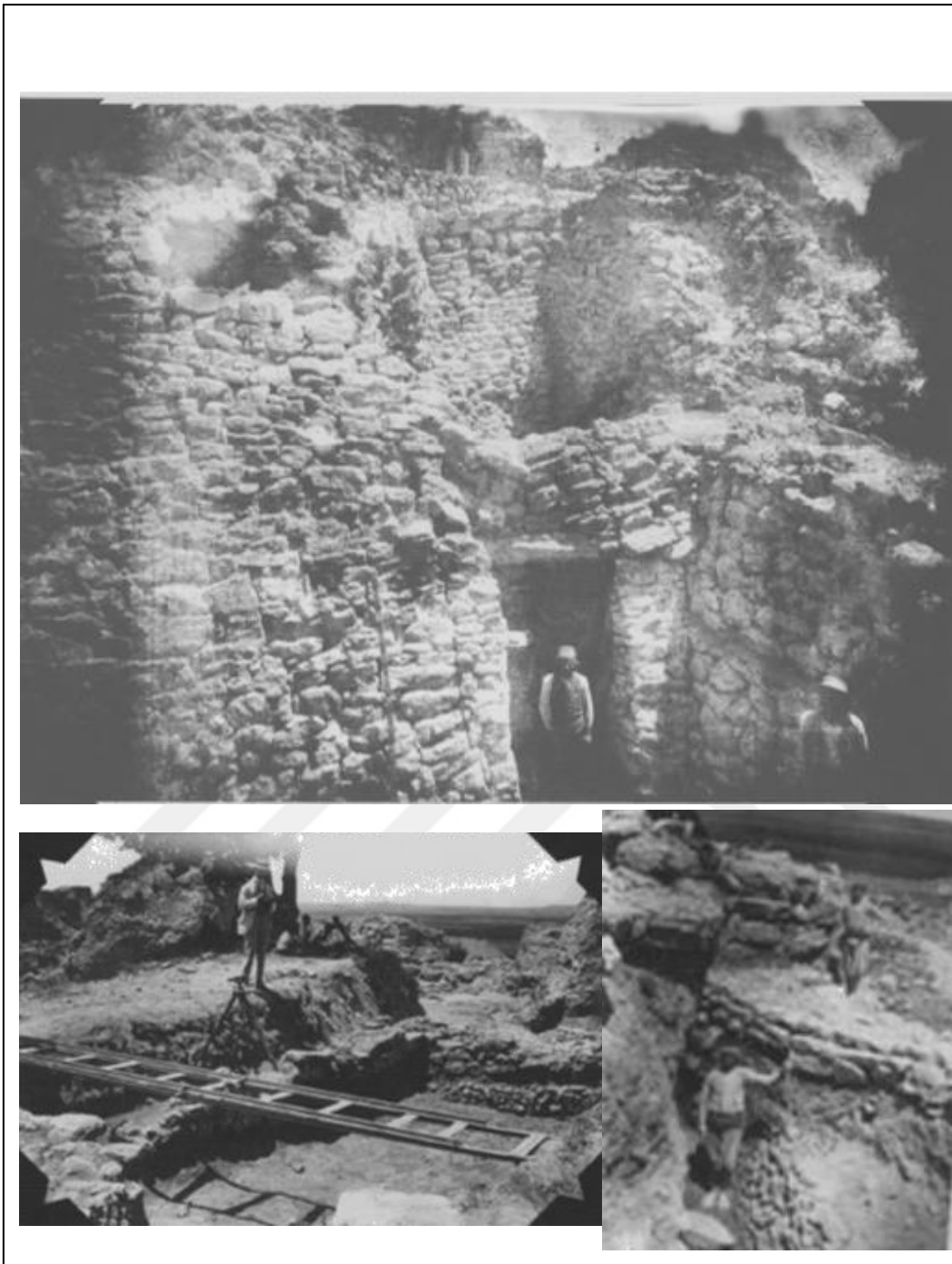


Figure 11: Photographs from the excavation site by Schliemann (Easton 2001)

Top: Southwest gate of Troy II which Schliemann thought was destroyed during the Trojan War (Easton 2001, 20)

Bottom left: House walls of Troy V (Easton 2001, 22)

Bottom right: Fragments of large buildings of Troy I and II (Easton 2001, 22)

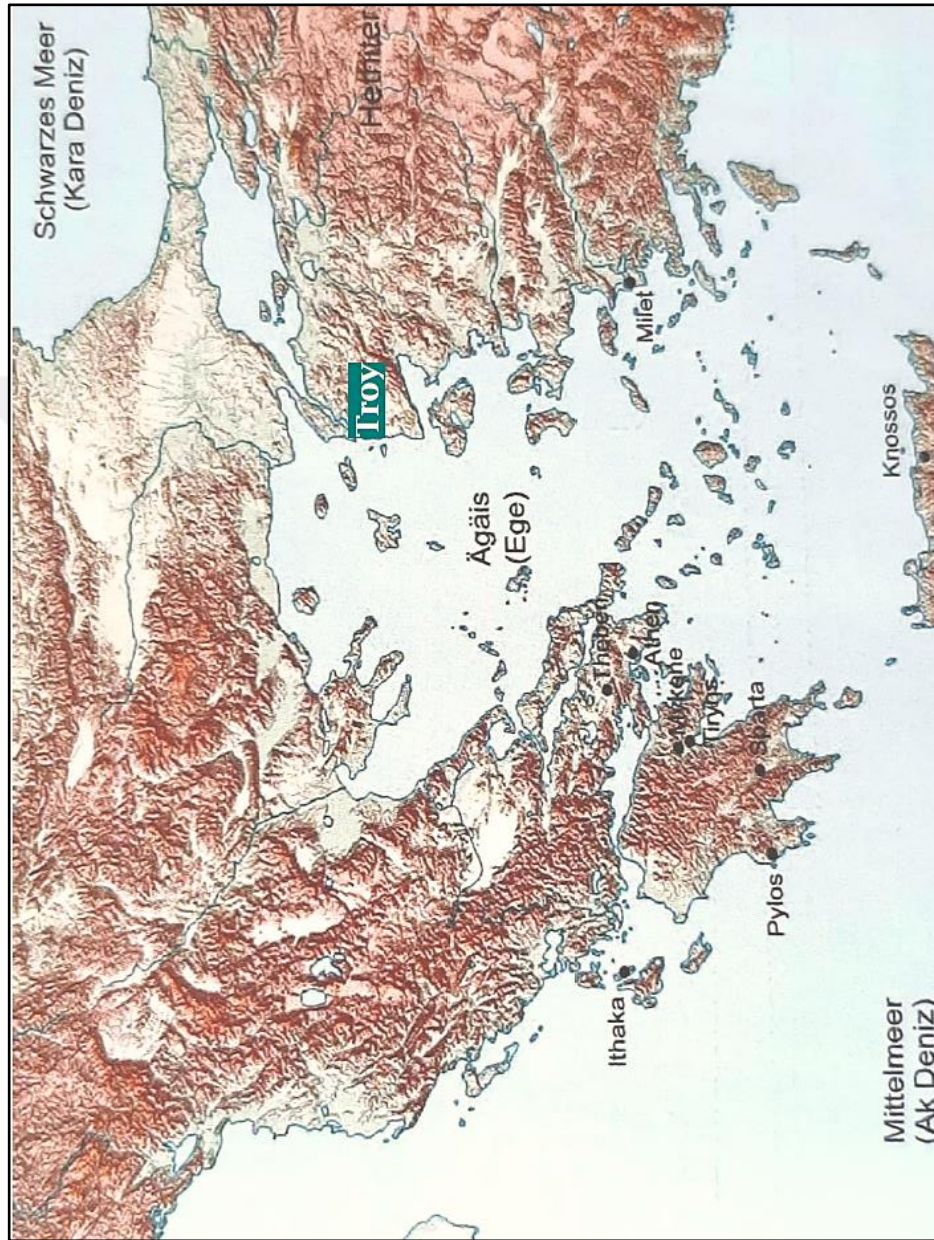


Figure 12: Geographical location of ancient Troy as a trade, culture and worship center (Aslan 2018, 3)

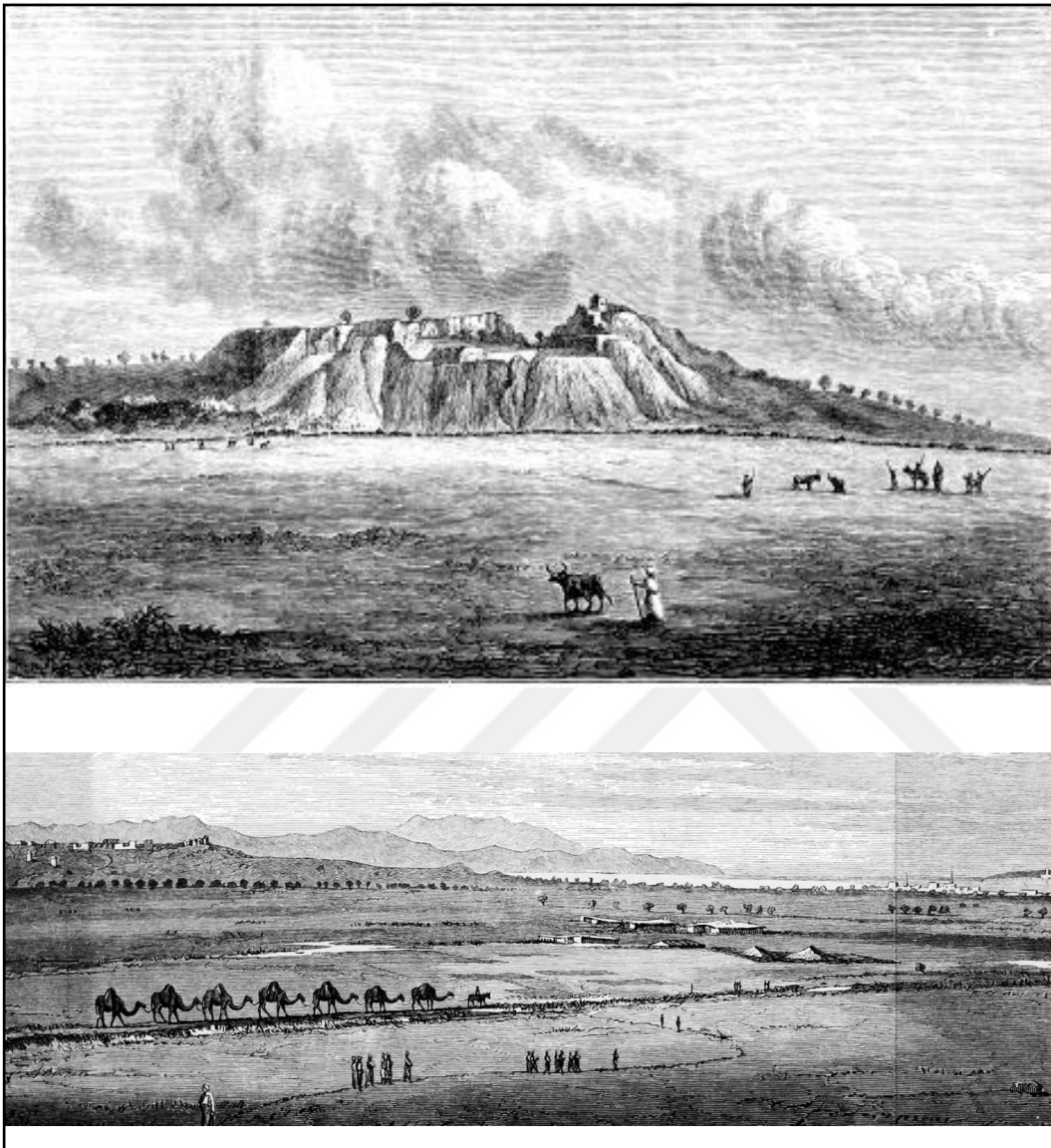


Figure 13: Drawings of Troy in the 19th century by Schliemann (Schliemann 1875)

Top: After the excavations, view of Hisarlik from the north. This figure is chosen to be the frontispiece of the book *Troy and Its Remains* (Schliemann 1875, i).

Bottom: View of the northern part of the plain of Troy from the Hill of Hisarlik (Schliemann 1875, 70)

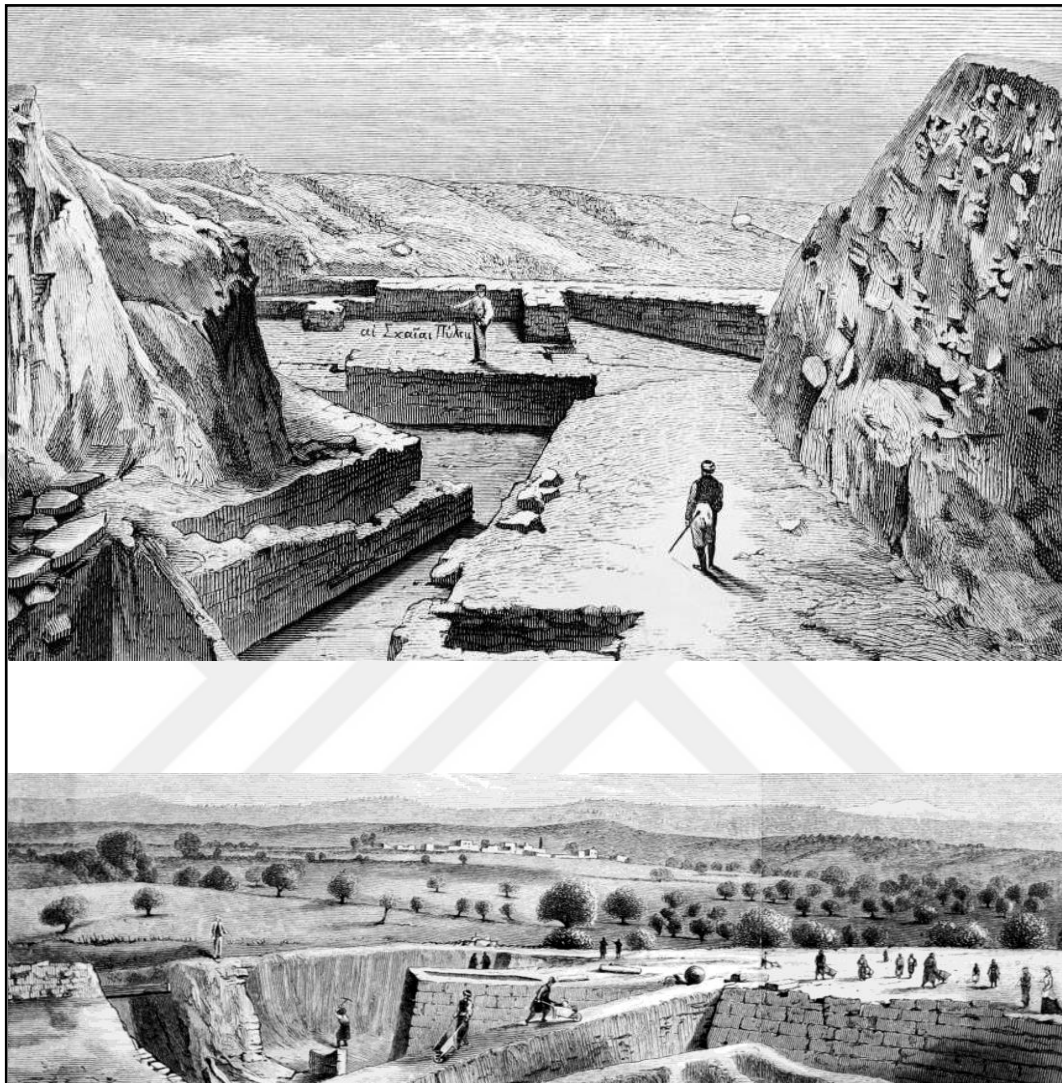


Figure 14: Drawings of Troy in the 19th century by Schliemann
(Schliemann 1875)

Top: The Palace of Priam, Tower of Ilium and Double Scæan Gate (from left to right) (Schliemann 1875, 303)

Bottom: View of the south-eastern part of the plain of Troy from the Hill of Hisarlık (Schliemann 1875, 70)



Figure 15: Gold jewels of Priam drawn by Schliemann (Schliemann 1875, 336)

From top to bottom: Selection from the small Golden Jewels found in the Silver Jug, Golden Fillet (ἄμπυξ), above 18 inches long and golden earrings, or Tassels (θήσανοι), each 3½ inches long.

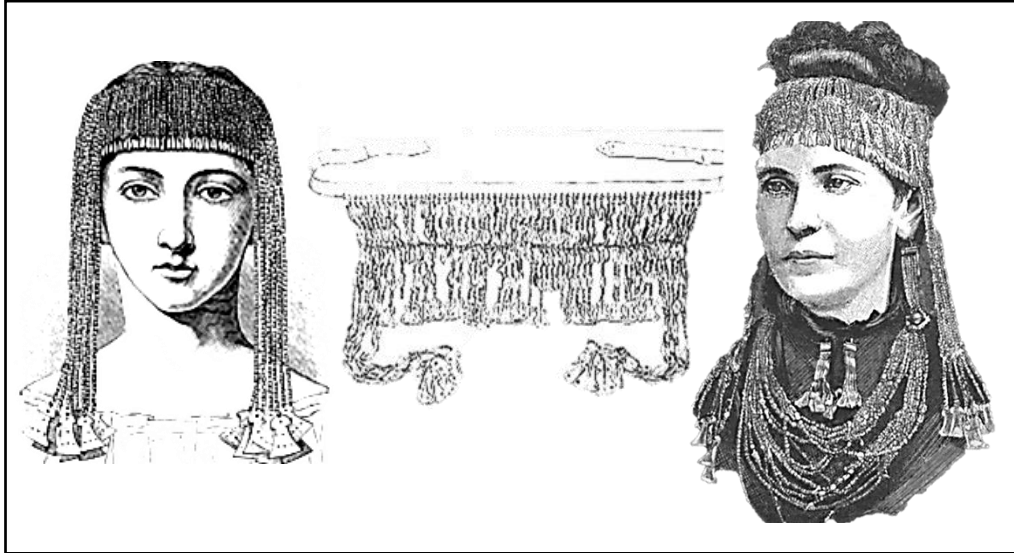


Figure 16: The famous golden diadem and jewellery

Left: The painting of Sophia with the golden diadem by Schliemann (Schliemann 1875, 335)

Middle: Drawing of the golden diadem by Schliemann (Schliemann 1875, 335)

Right: Sophia Schliemann's pose with the golden diadem, earrings and necklace (Rose 1993, 36)



Figure 17: The caricature of the smuggling incident published in *Hayal Journal* in 1875 (Aslan 2018, 79, 80).

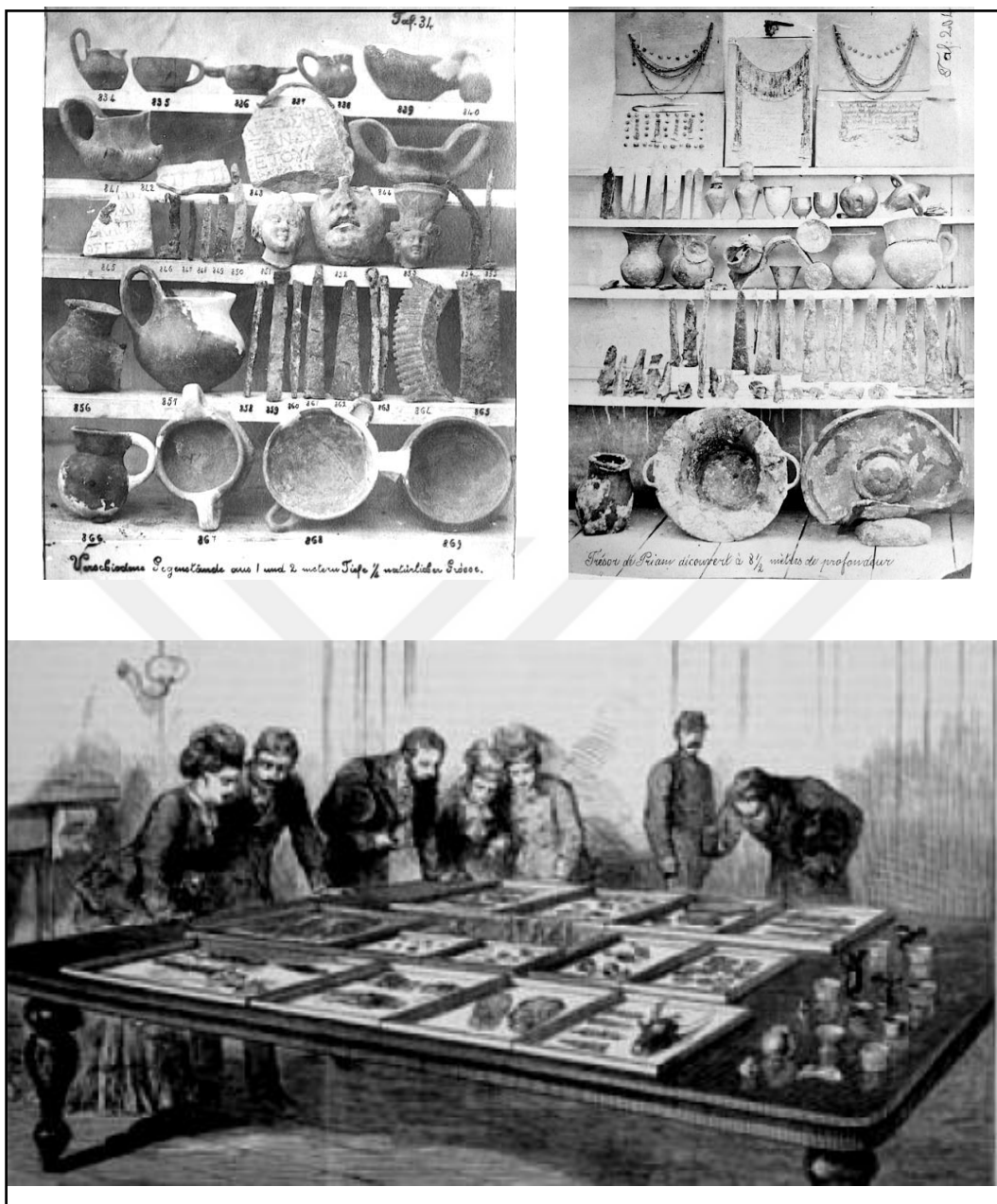


Figure 18: Schliemann's own exhibition at his house in Athens

Top: Display units exhibiting the Trojan collection at Schliemann's house in Athens (Schliemann 1874, Tafel 34, 204)

Bottom: Mycenae findings displayed at Schliemann's house (Baker 2020, 38)

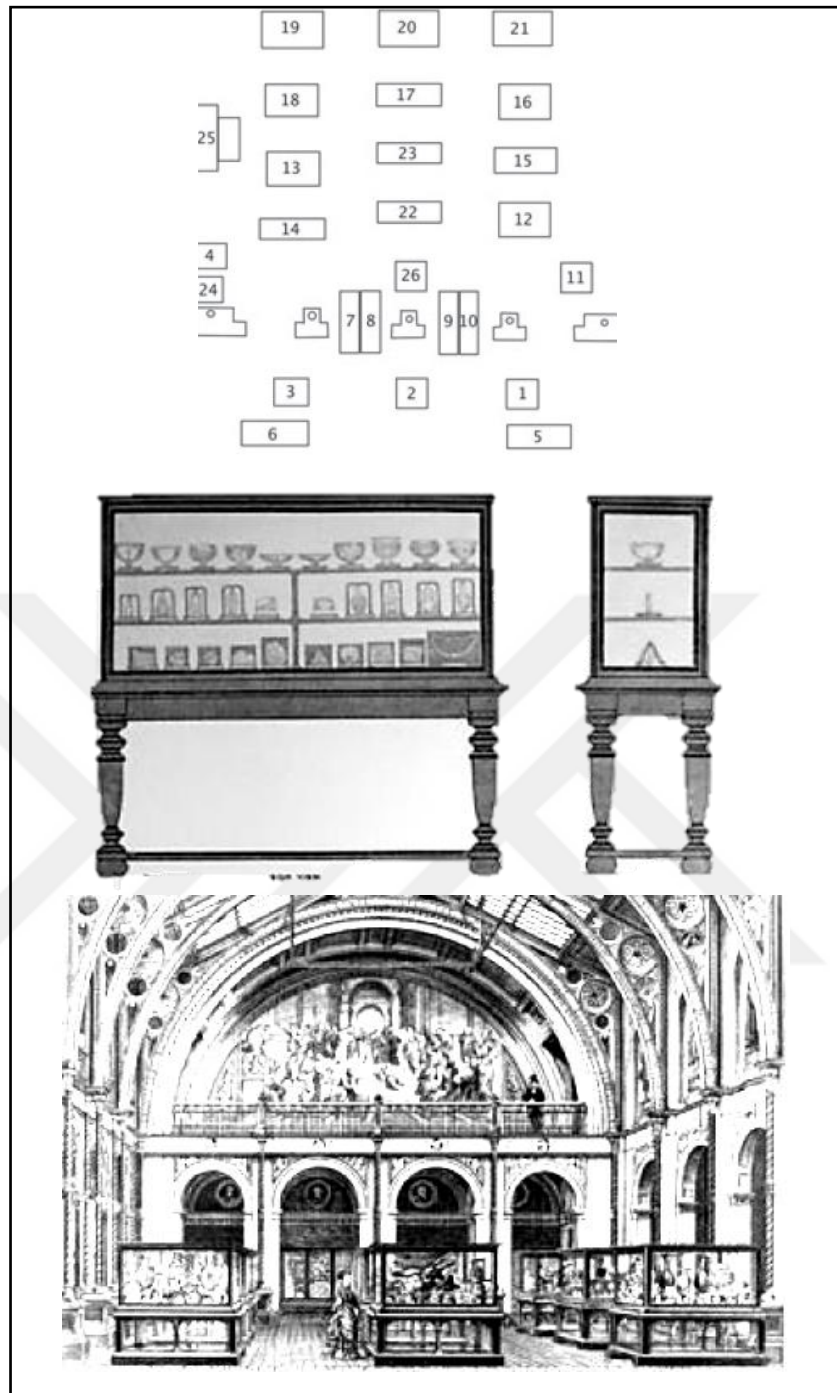


Figure 19: Drawings from the Troy exhibition in London

Top: Plan of the exhibition at South Kensington (Baker 2020, 63)

Middle: Measured drawing of the display unit (Baker 2020, 40)

Bottom: Public exhibition in the South Kensington Museum in London, 1876

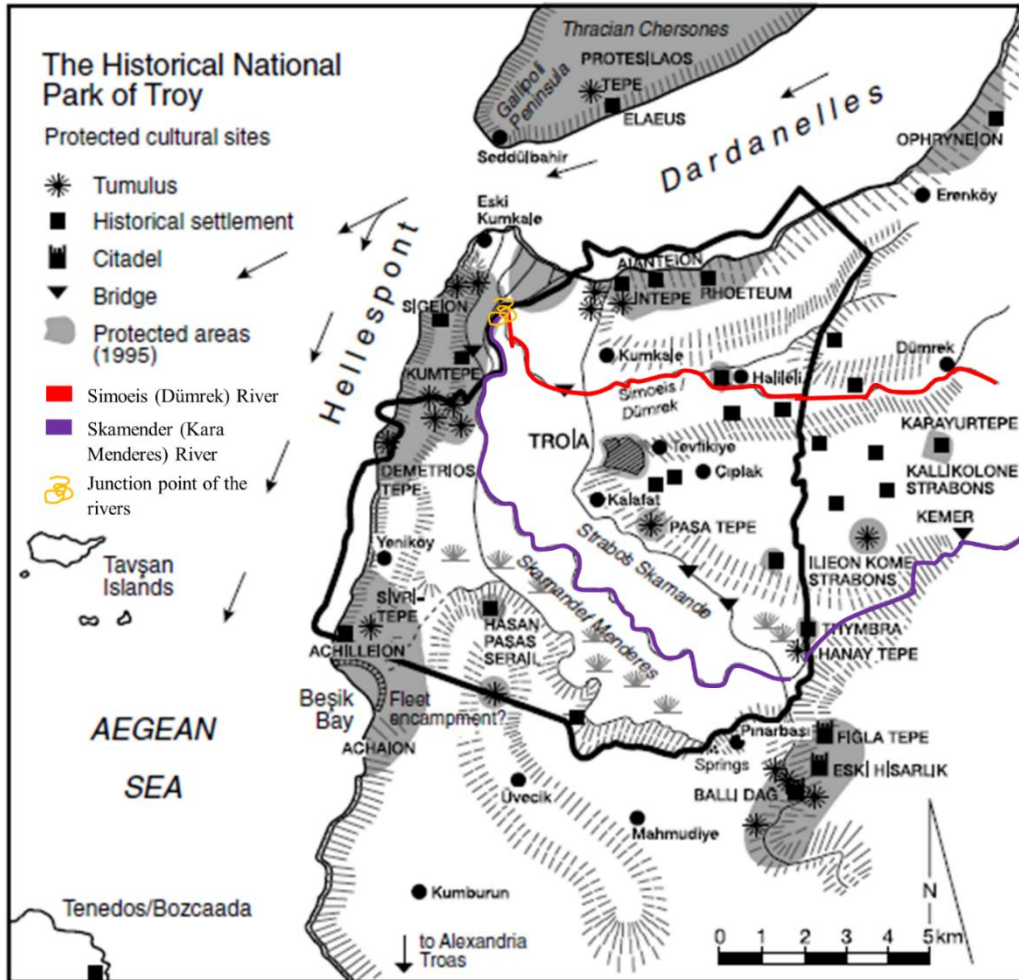


Figure 20: The boundaries of the Historical National Park of Troy showing the rivers and their junction-point where Troy was established (Latacz 2005, 6)

(Simoeis-Skamender Rivers are colored to highlight the junction point of the rivers on the map by the author.)



Figure 21: The plain of Troy

Top: “The fertile plain of Troy” (Luce 1998, 59)

Bottom: The territory of Old Dardania with the Skamander (Karamenderes) river in the middle. There is also Mount Ida on the right (Luce 1998, 74)

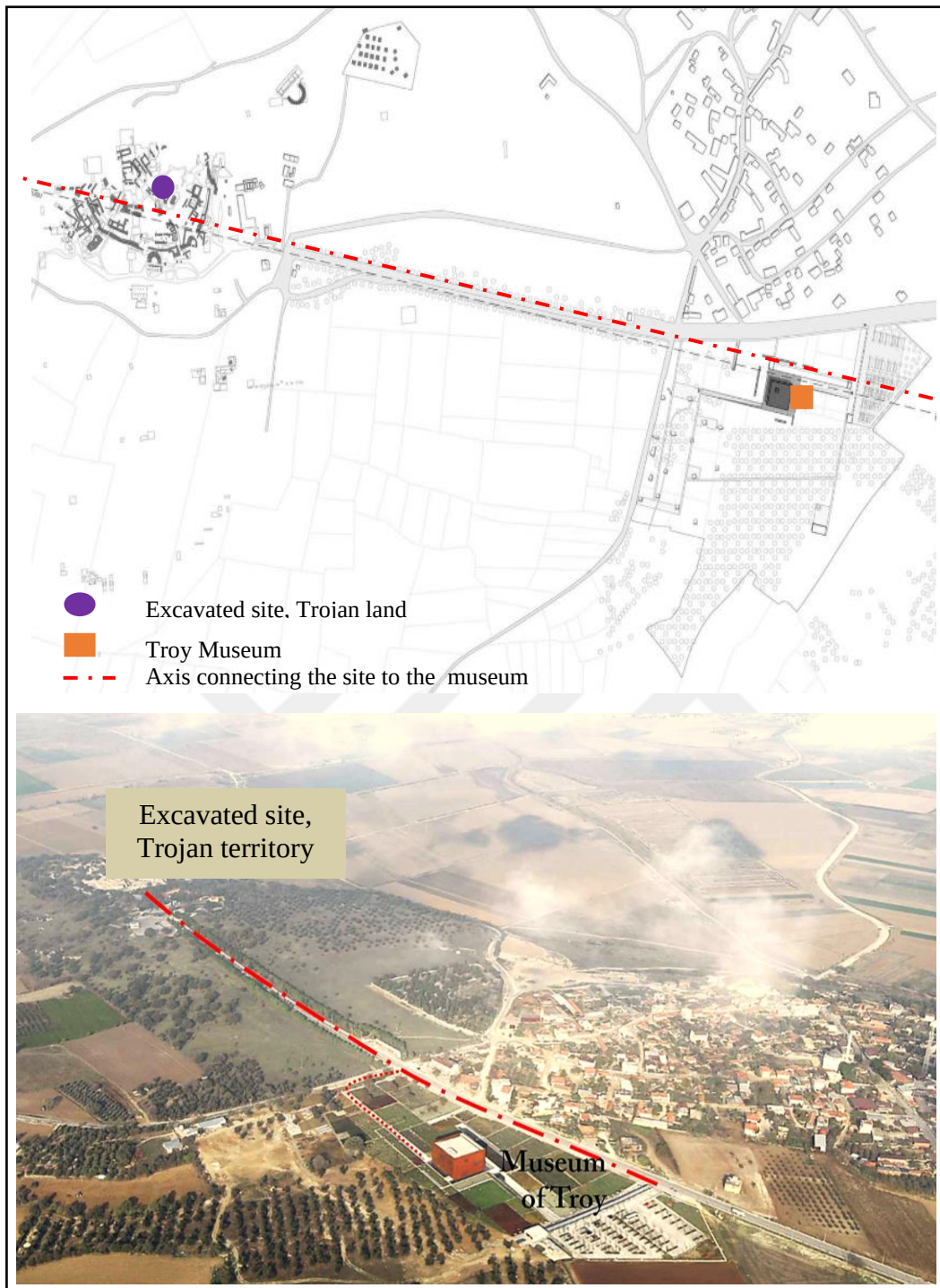


Figure 22: View of the museum and the ancient site

Top: The site plan showing the museum of Troy and the excavated site on an axis (ARKIV n.d.)

Bottom: An aerial photograph to show the built version of the site plan (ARKIV n.d.).



Figure 23: Exterior of the museum

Top: Entrance of the museum, onset of the ramp (ARKİV n.d.)
 ARKİV. <http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/troya-muzesi3/10019>

Bottom: View from the ramp leading to the entrance of the museum (Photo was taken from a board that shows the design process in the museum by the author.)

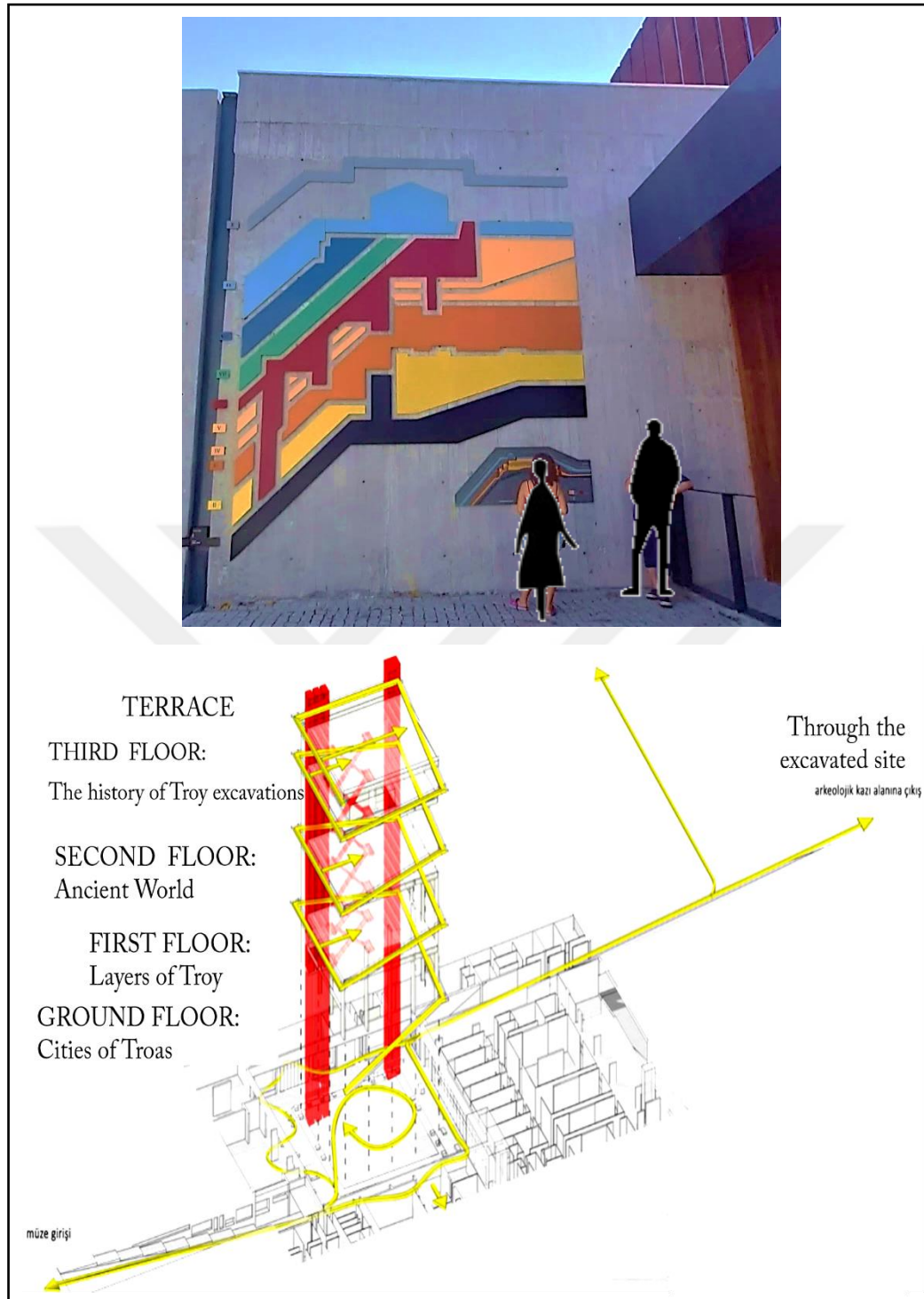


Figure 24: Adaption of all the nine strata of Troy to the circulation of Troy Museum

Top: Schematic presentation of Hisarlık, located just before the entrance of the museum.
(The photo was taken, and the black figures are added by the author.)

Bottom: Floor division of the museum showing the circulation path and the floors referring to the strata of the settlement (ARKİV n.d.)

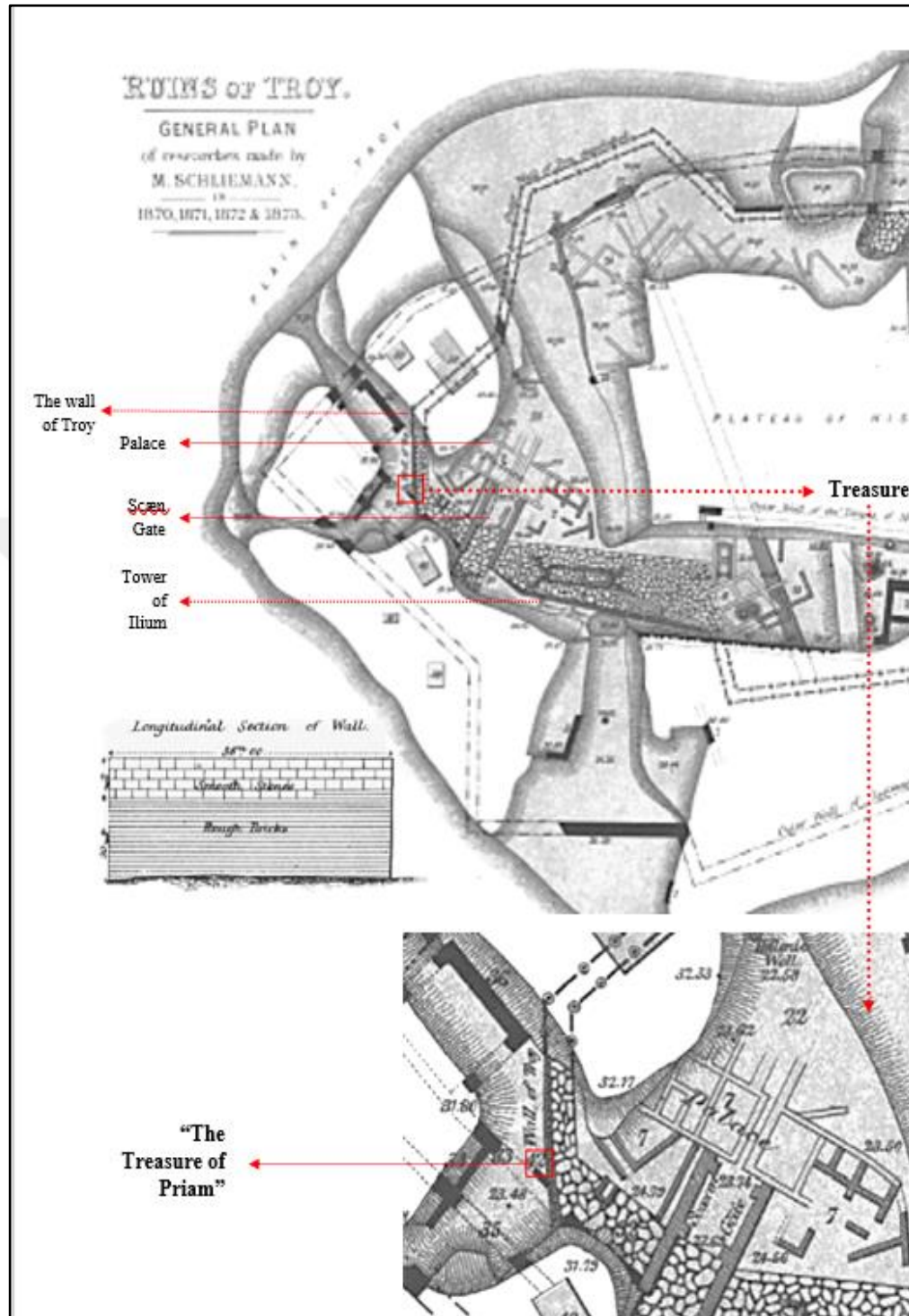


Figure 25: The site plan of the ruins of Troy emphasizing the location of the Treasure in which it was found as Schliemann claims (Schliemann 1875, 374)

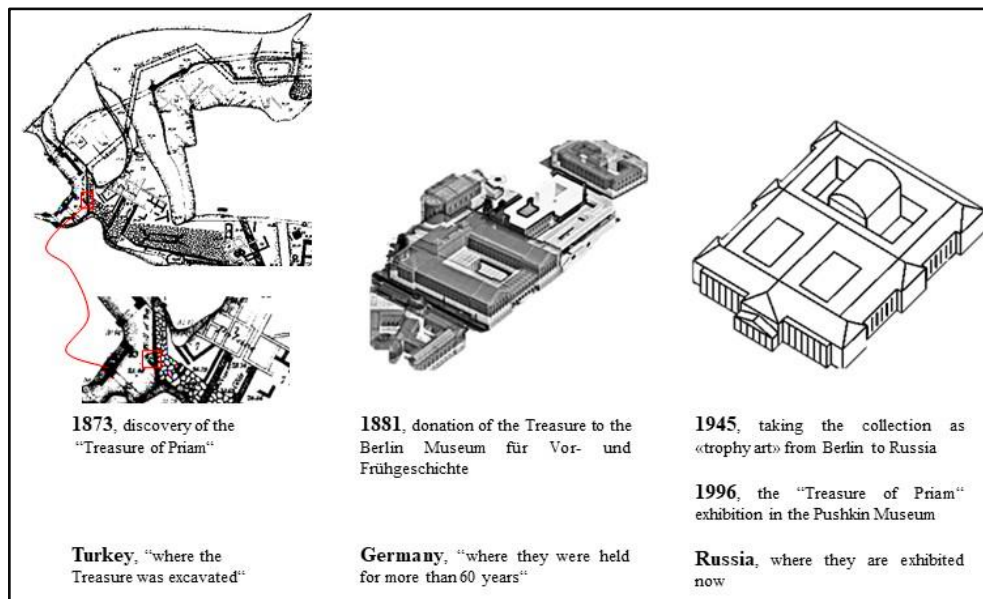


Figure 26: Chronological route of the Treasure collated by the author (Merryman, Elsen and Urice 2007, 63; Schliemann 1875, 374; <https://www.museumsinsel-berlin.de/en/collections/museum-of-prehistory-and-early-history/>, https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_world/aar/aar_12/index.php?lang=en)



Figure 27: A board from the museum showing the choices of materials and details (Author's photographs)



Figure 28: Innovative display areas and Iliadic mnemonics from the museum (Author's photographs)

Top left, middle and right: Visualization of a house from the ancient settlement; scene from a diorama and small cubes like info cards located on the display.



Figure 29: From the 3rd floor, through the oral tradition in the 2nd floor, the *Iliad* and interactive displays (Author's photograph)

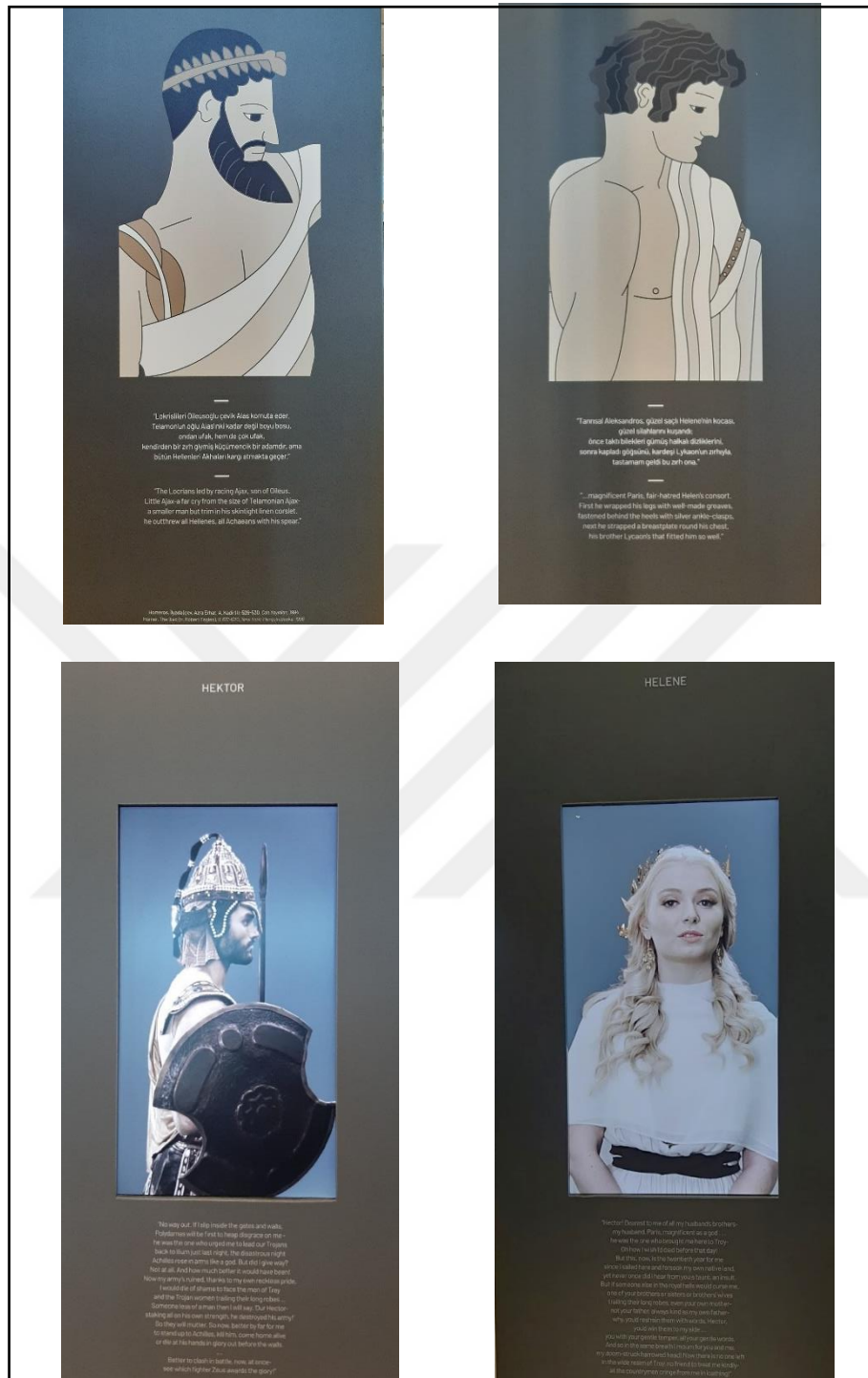


Figure 30: Second floor, the multimedia area of the oral tradition, the *Iliad* and interactive displays (Author's photographs)

Top: Some characters from the *Iliad* with chosen lines from the epic

Bottom: Interactive display videos, impersonations of Hektor and Helene

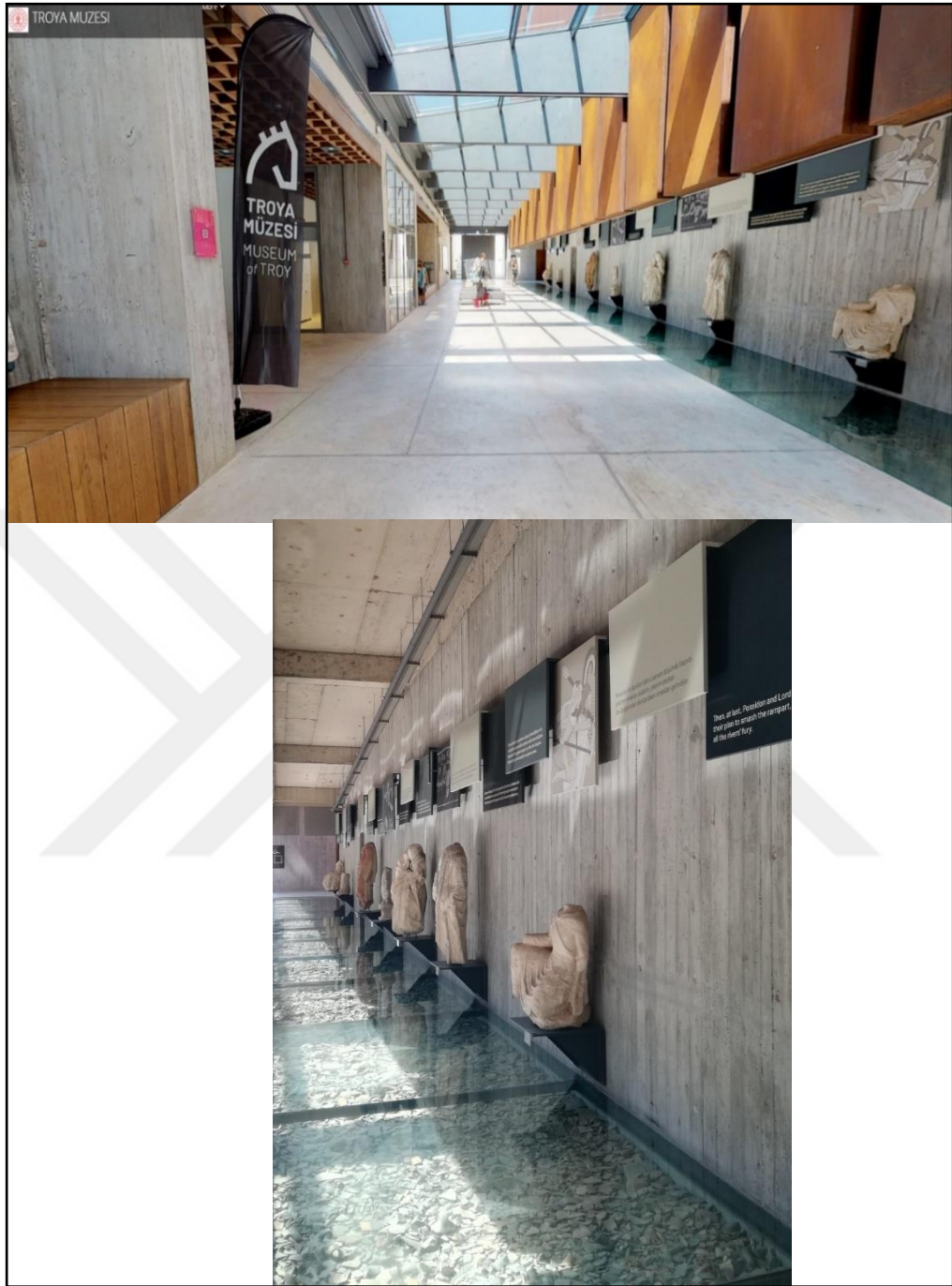


Figure 31: Following the “transparent bridge” with the *Iliad* corridor, located on the left side of the ground floor, behind the main exhibition area. (Boards indicating the construction process and material choices of the museum are also exhibited on the crossed wall.)

Top: Photograph from the virtual museum (<https://sanalmuze.gov.tr/TR-259960/troya-muzesi--canakkale.html>)

Bottom: Author’s photograph

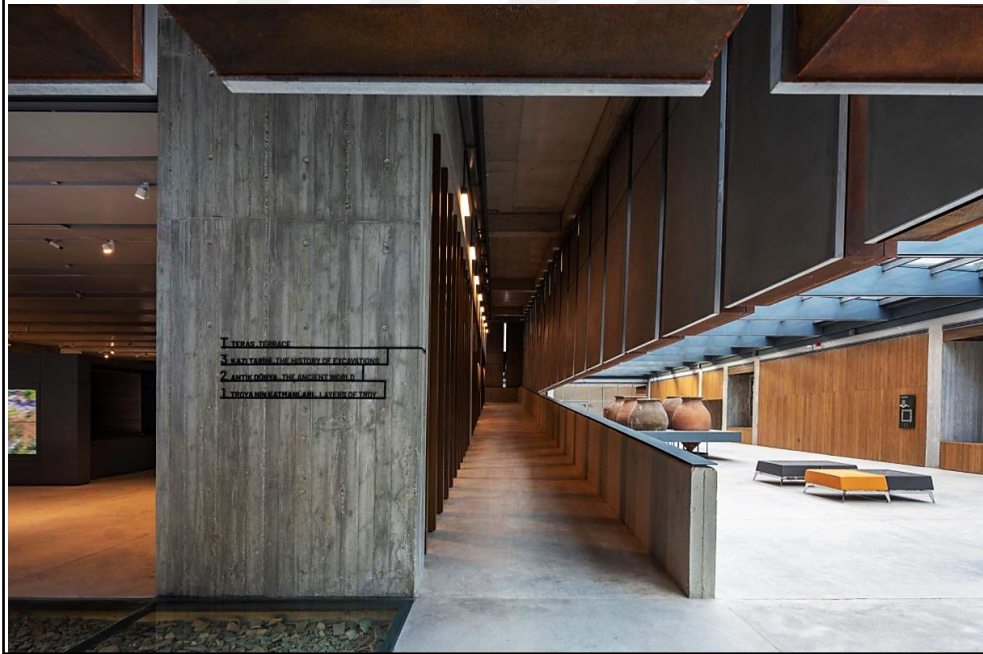


Figure 32: Views from the entrance hall of the Troy Museum (ARKIV n.d.)

Top: Photo taken from the corner of the ground floor with the left aisle looking through the entrance door and the right corridor directing visitors to the *Iliad* corridor

Bottom: View from the entrance hall with the ramp going through the first floor revealing the Layers of Troy

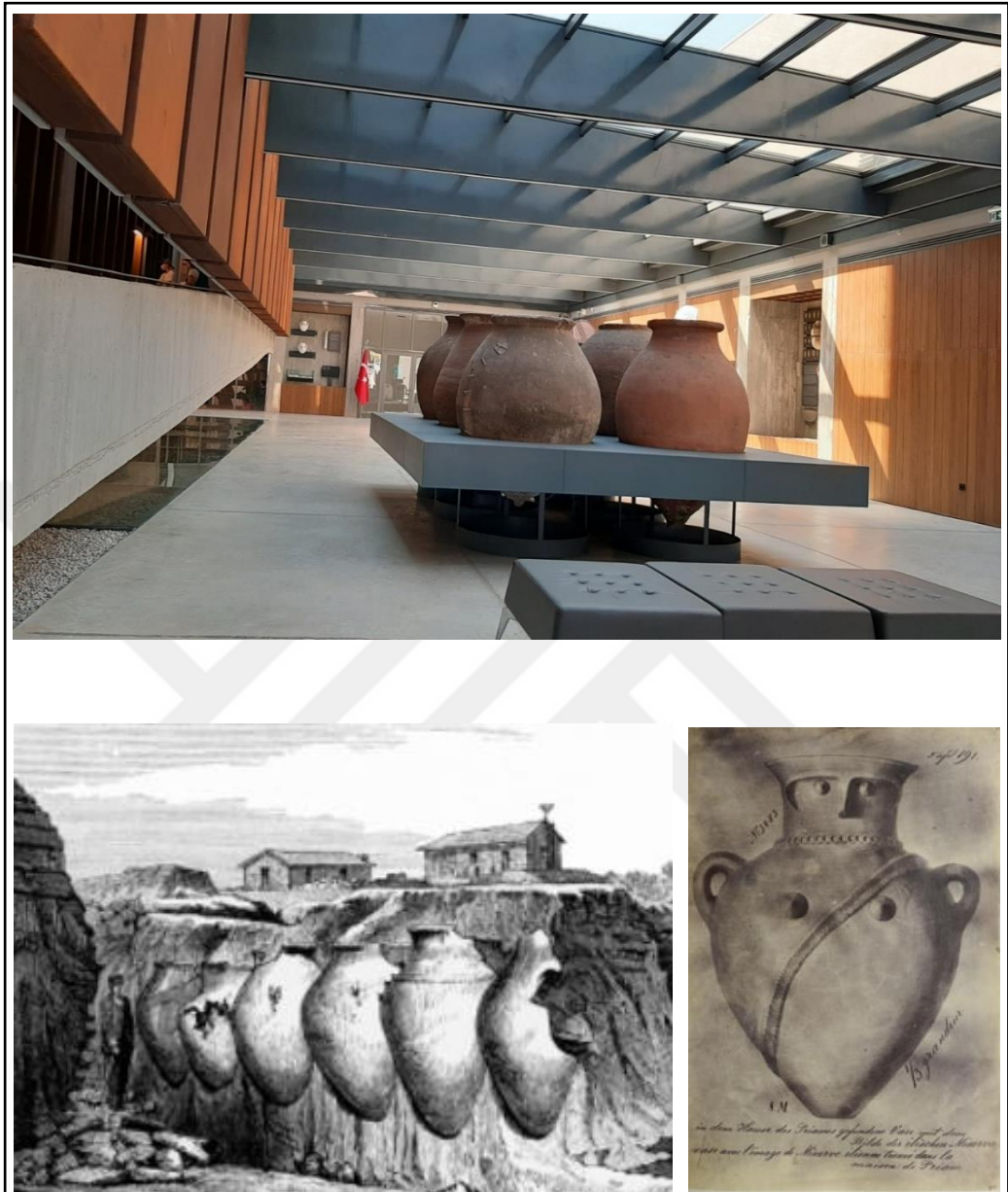


Figure 33: “Colossal jars” and the *glaukopis* vase

Top: Colossal jars and the glass roof from the museum (Author’s photograph)

Bottom left: Drawing of the colossal jars from the excavations by Schliemann (1875, 290)

Bottom right: The *glaukopis* vase (Baker 2020, 72)



Figure 34: The ramp going through the excavated site seen from the museum (Author's photograph)



Figure 35: View from the openings on the left of the ramp looking through the already visited floor (Author's photograph)



Figure 36: View from the continuing circulation ramp connecting the floors as the only vertical circulation (Author's photograph)

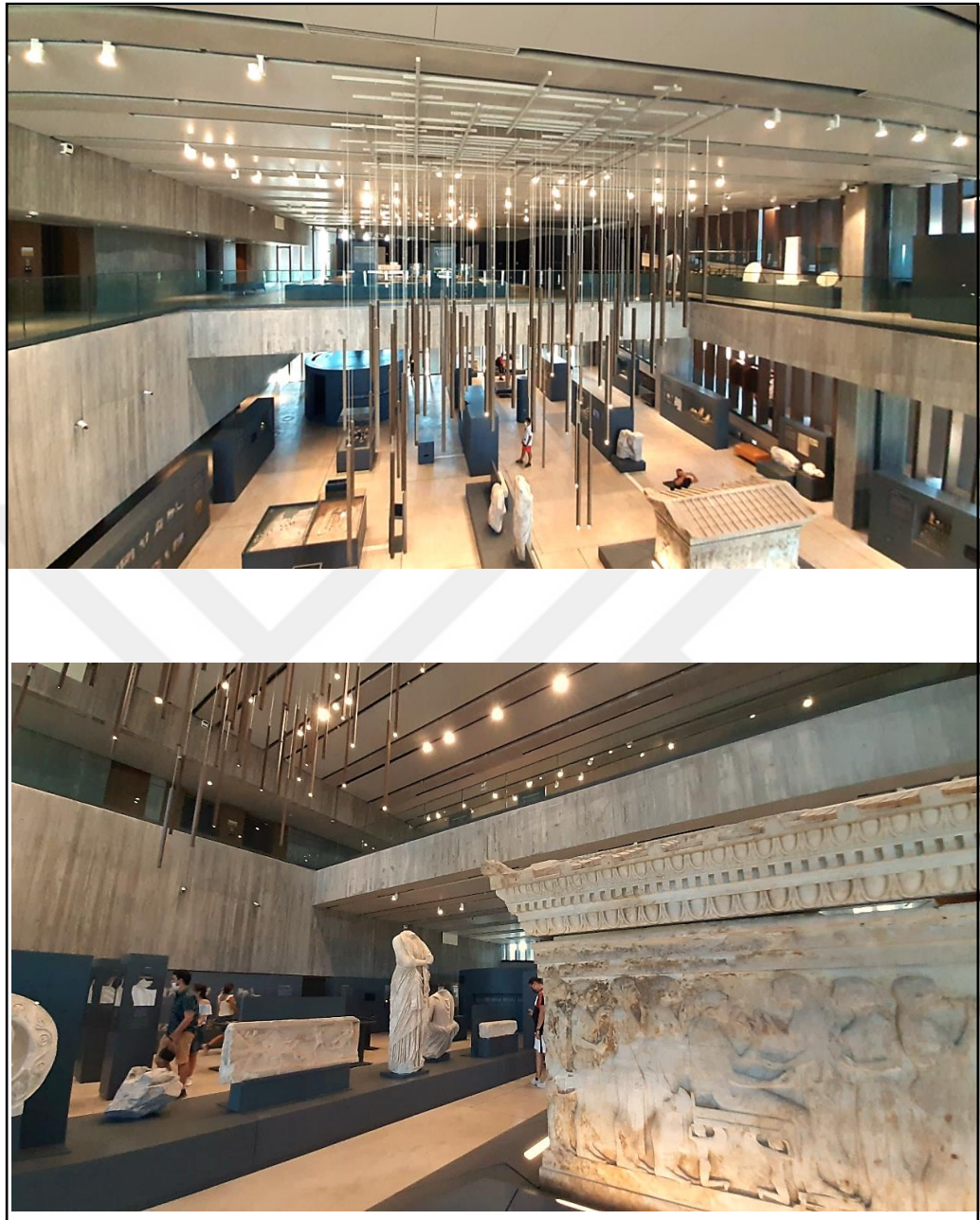


Figure 37: Lighting examples from the museum (Author's photograph)

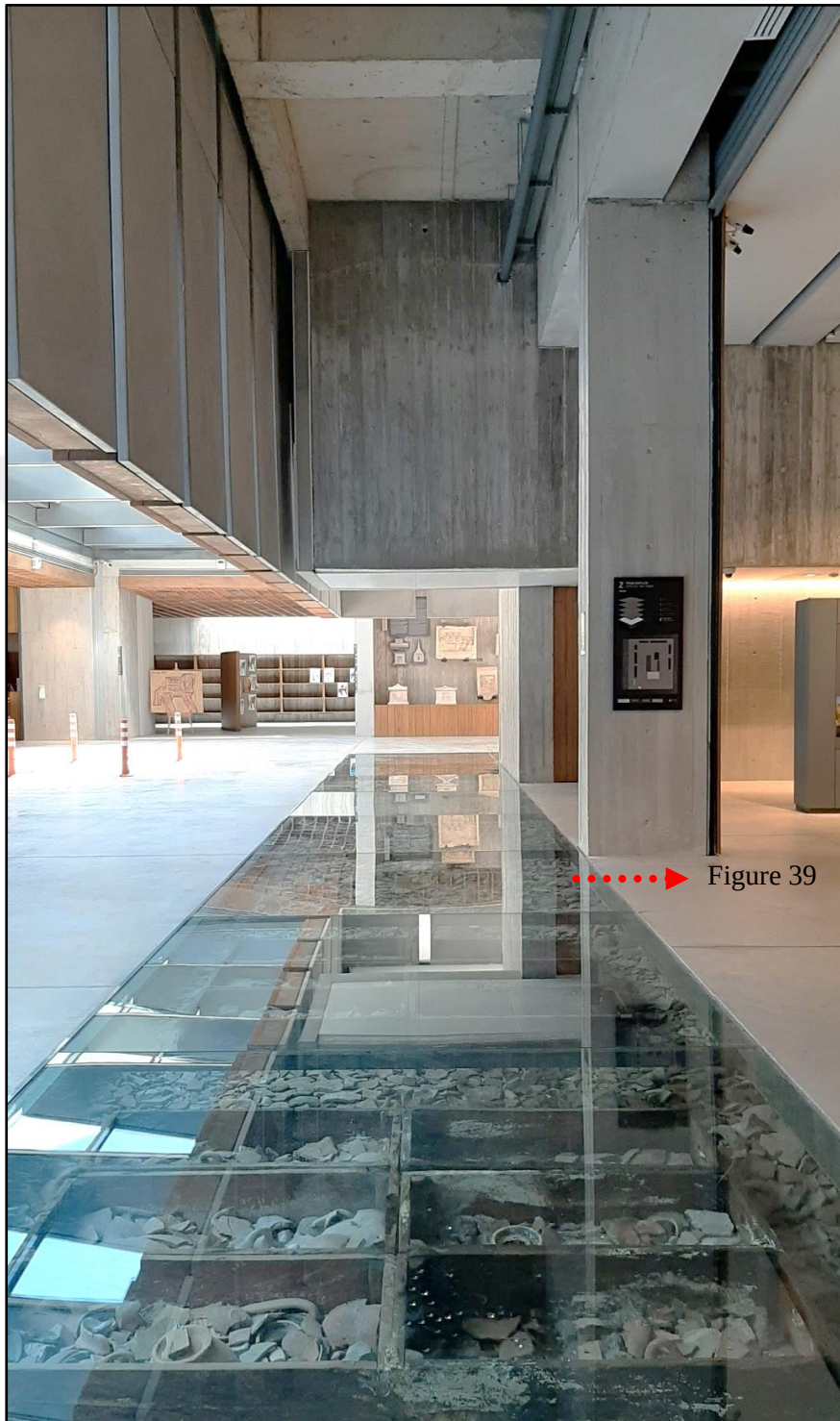


Figure 38: Turning left from the entrance, ground floor, Cities of Troas area
(Author's photograph)



Figure 39: Detailed photograph of the “transparent bridge”
(Author’s photograph)



Figure 40: Virtual Troy Museum showing the way going to the unit of the Treasure, “Gold of the Troad Reunited at Home” (Photographs are taken from the virtual museum, (<https://sanalmuze.gov.tr/TR-259960/troya-muzesi---canakkale.html>))

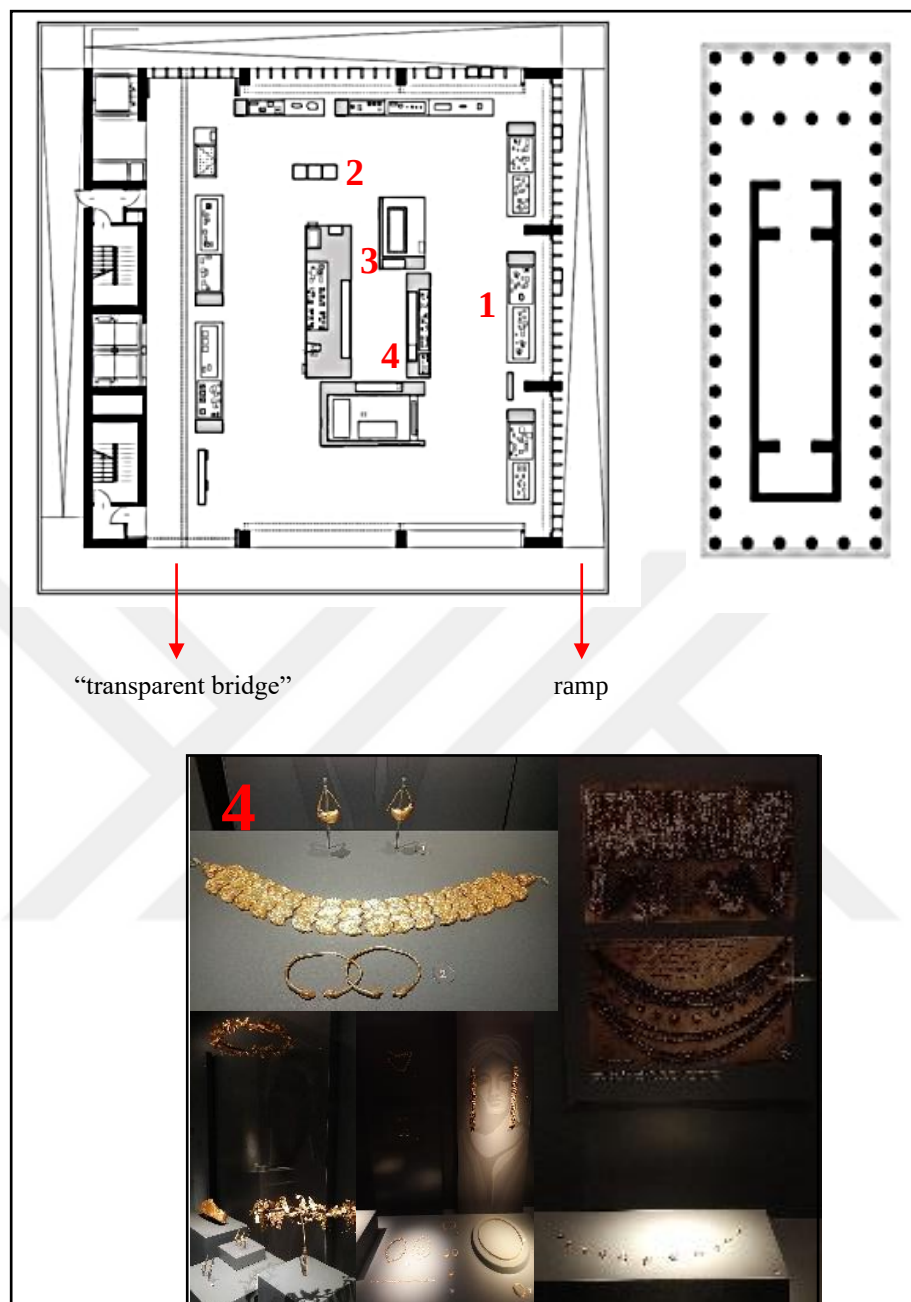


Figure 41: Exhibition area of the ground floor of Troy Museum

Top left: Plan of the ground floor of the museum with Greek temple plan (Numbers on the plan show the picture points of the Figure 40 and 41)

Top right: Inspiration of the ground floor plan as the architect remarks, in the center there is the exhibition unit of the Treasure in the shape of a megaron (ARKIV n.d.; Baz 2021)

Bottom: Photographs of displayed jewellery from the “Gold of the Troad Reunited at Home” (Author’s photographs)

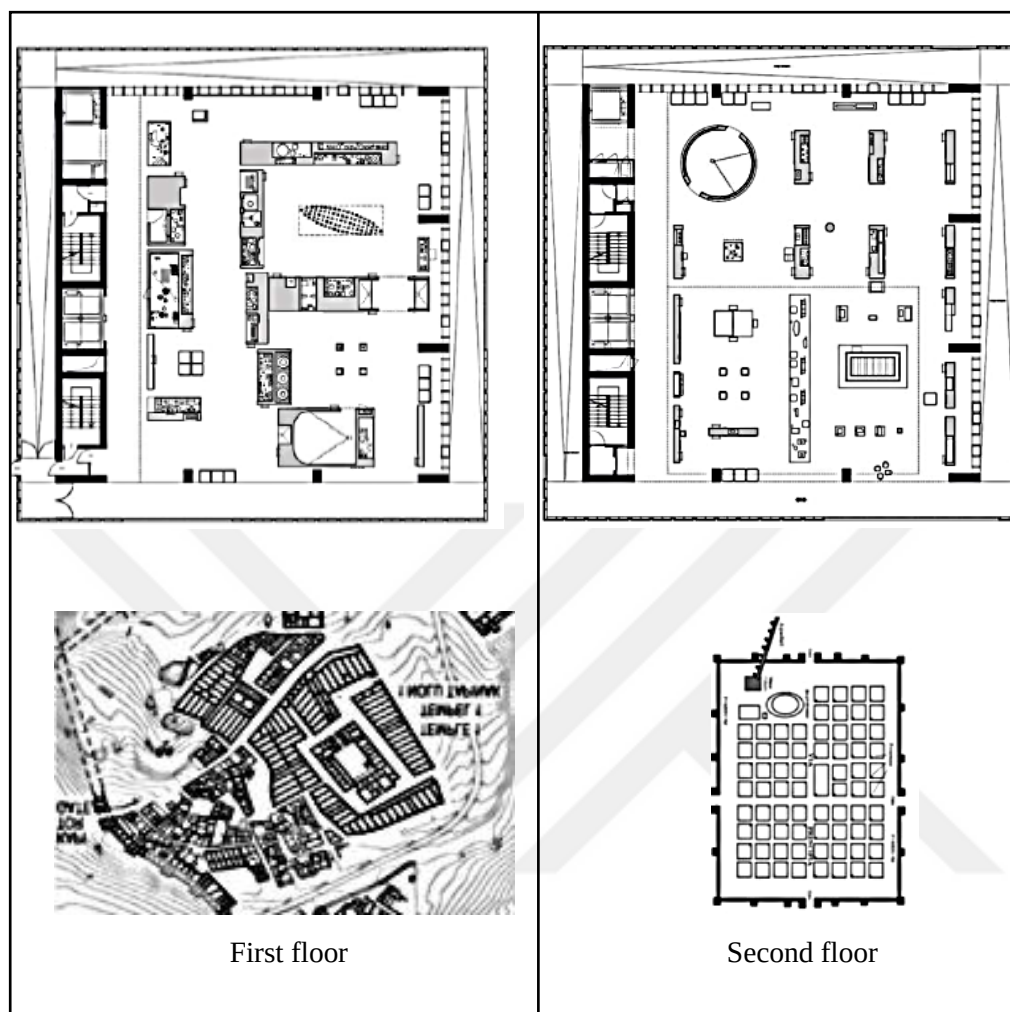


Figure 42: Plans and inspiration points of the first and second floors of the museum (ARKIV n.d.)

Top: Plans of the first and second floors of the museum with displayed ancient plans

Bottom: Inspirations of the floor plans described as a “combination” of Troy IV and ancient Rome by Baz (2021).



Figure 43: Statue of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (Collection in the 2nd Floor n.d.)
<https://www.museumoftroy.org/7318-hadrian-heykeli>
Collection in the 2nd Floor. <https://www.museumoftroy.org/7318-hadrian-heykeli>.

Evolution of the Medusa Iconography				
				
620-600 BC. (Dexter, 2018) https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/27.122.14/	Archaic, Etruscan 6th century BC. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/26.60.73/	Archaic, Greco-Roman, 6th century BC. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/39.11.9/	Archaic, Greco-Roman, 6th century BC. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/20.215/	Classical, Greco-Roman, 5th century BC. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/20.215/
				
Burial vase, Greco-Roman sphere, late 4th and early 3rd century BC. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/06.1021.246a/b/	Mask, Roman imperial period, 1st and 2nd c. AD, copy of a 5th century BC., (Dexter, 2018).	Mosaic floors, Roman, 1st, 2nd century AD. (Karoglou, 2018).	Mosaic floors, Roman, 1st, 2nd century AD. (Karoglou, 2018).	Roman floor mosaic from Ephesus of Medusa, 5th century AD. https://images.app.goo.gl/BESH3nCrnU GrBzzz7

Figure 44: Iconography of Medusa (organized by the author)



Figure 45: Statue of the Emperor Hadrian as discovered in the Odeion, Troy (Riorden 2006, 2640; Rose 1998, 411)



Figure 46: Ruins of the Odeion (Riorden 2006, 2635)



Figure 47: Reconstruction of the Odeion, in front of the *scaenae frons* showing the statue of Hadrian on top (Riorden 2006, 2636)



Figure 48: Photo of the statue of Hadrian after it was cleaned and repaired during the Troy project (Riorden 2006, 2641).

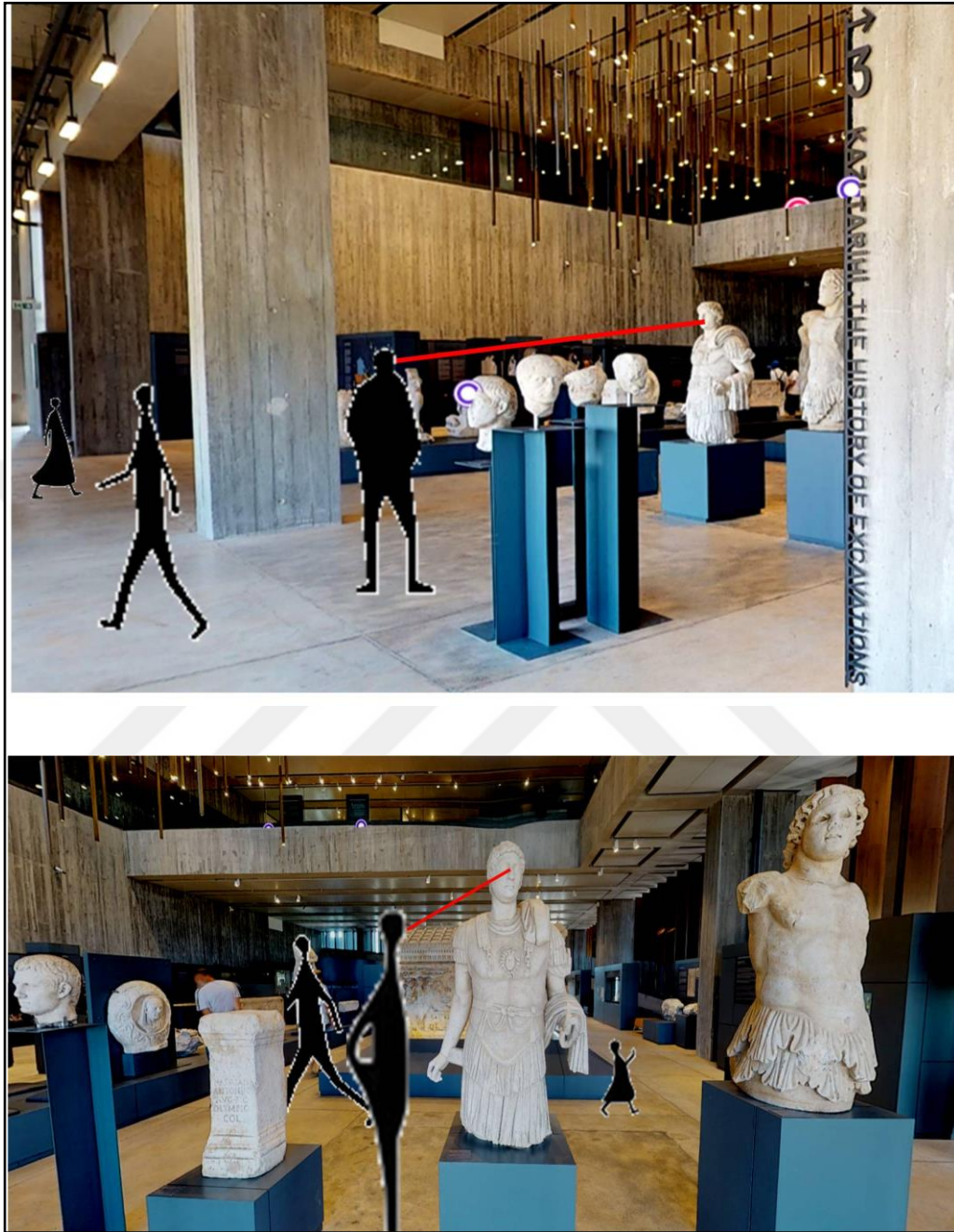


Figure 49: Exploring the Ancient World floor via the virtual museum website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, <https://sanalmuze.gov.tr/TR-259960/troya-muzesi---canakkale.html> (Collection in the 2nd Floor n.d.) (Black figures are added by the author.)

Top: From the entrance of the second floor, spectator looks to the statue

Bottom: Front view, the statue is in the middle

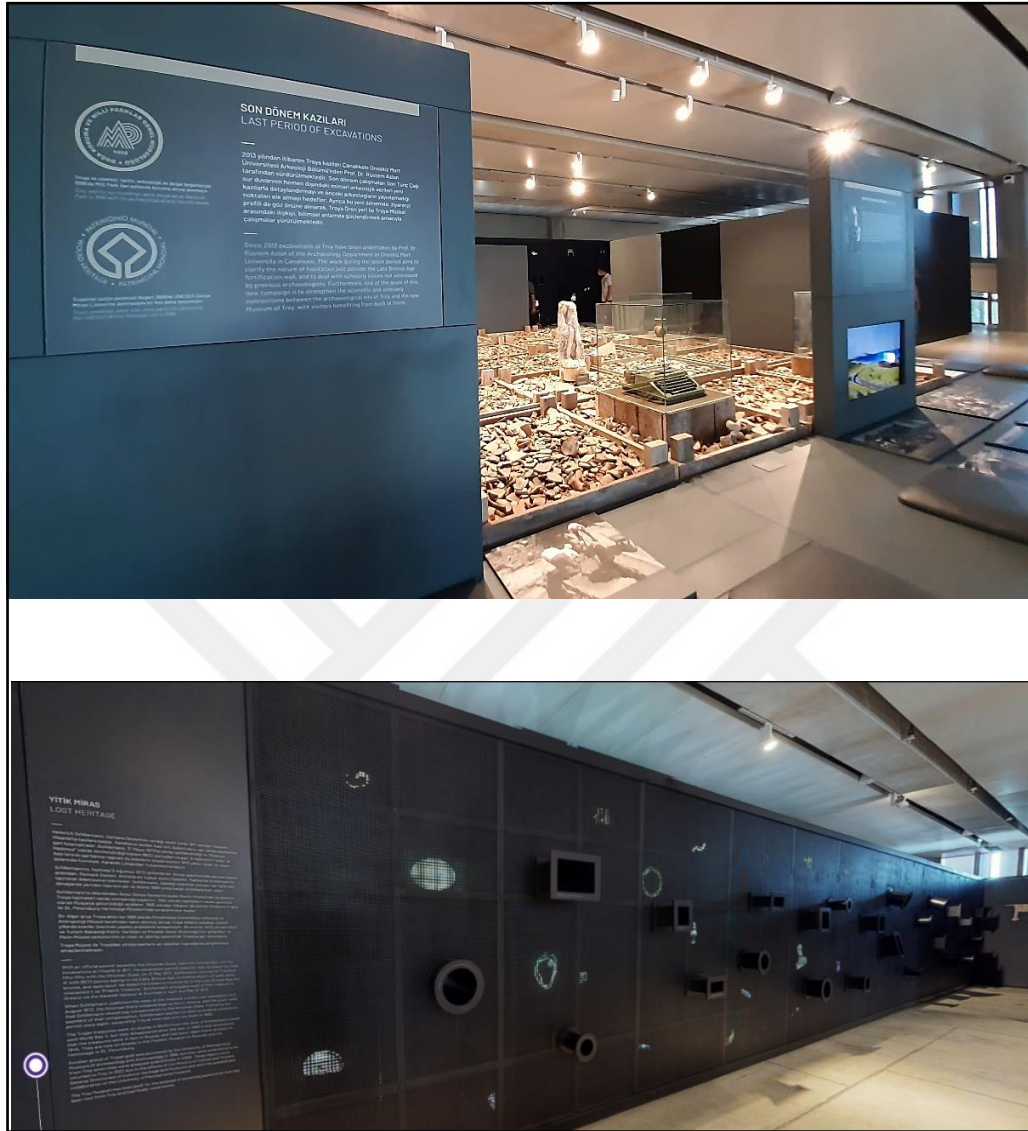


Figure 50: Exhibition on the third floor

Top: Display of the excavations (Author's photograph).

Bottom: "Lost heritage" (Photo from the virtual museum,
<https://sanalmuze.gov.tr/TR-259960/troya-muzesi---canakkale.html>)



Figure 51: Ruins of the Odeion at Troy, 2020 with orange and black figures added to give the sense of the feeling as a spectator (Author's photographs)

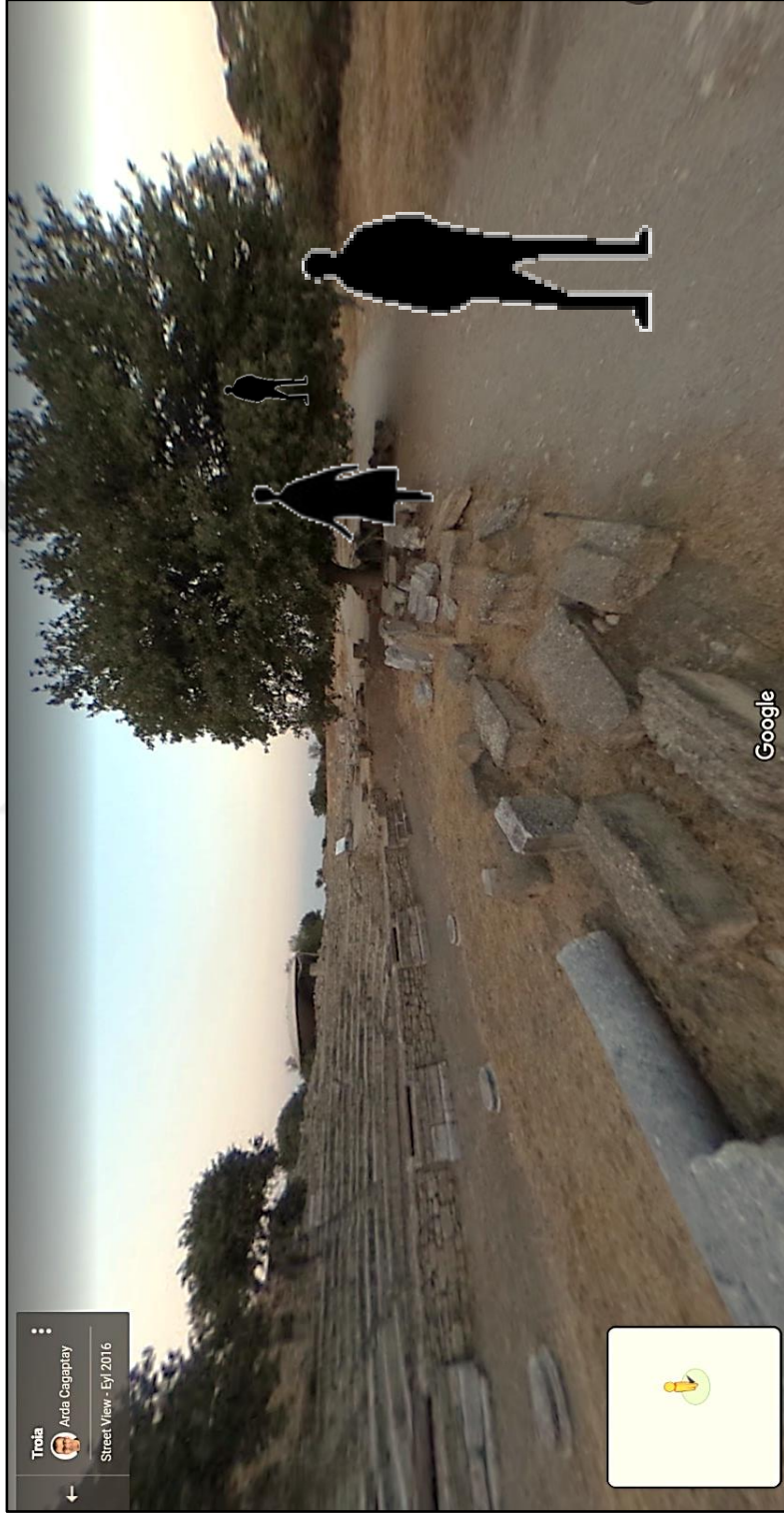


Figure 52: A photograph from a similar angle with the previous photo to compare the feeling with or without the path
 (Photo by Arda Cagaptay, from Google maps)

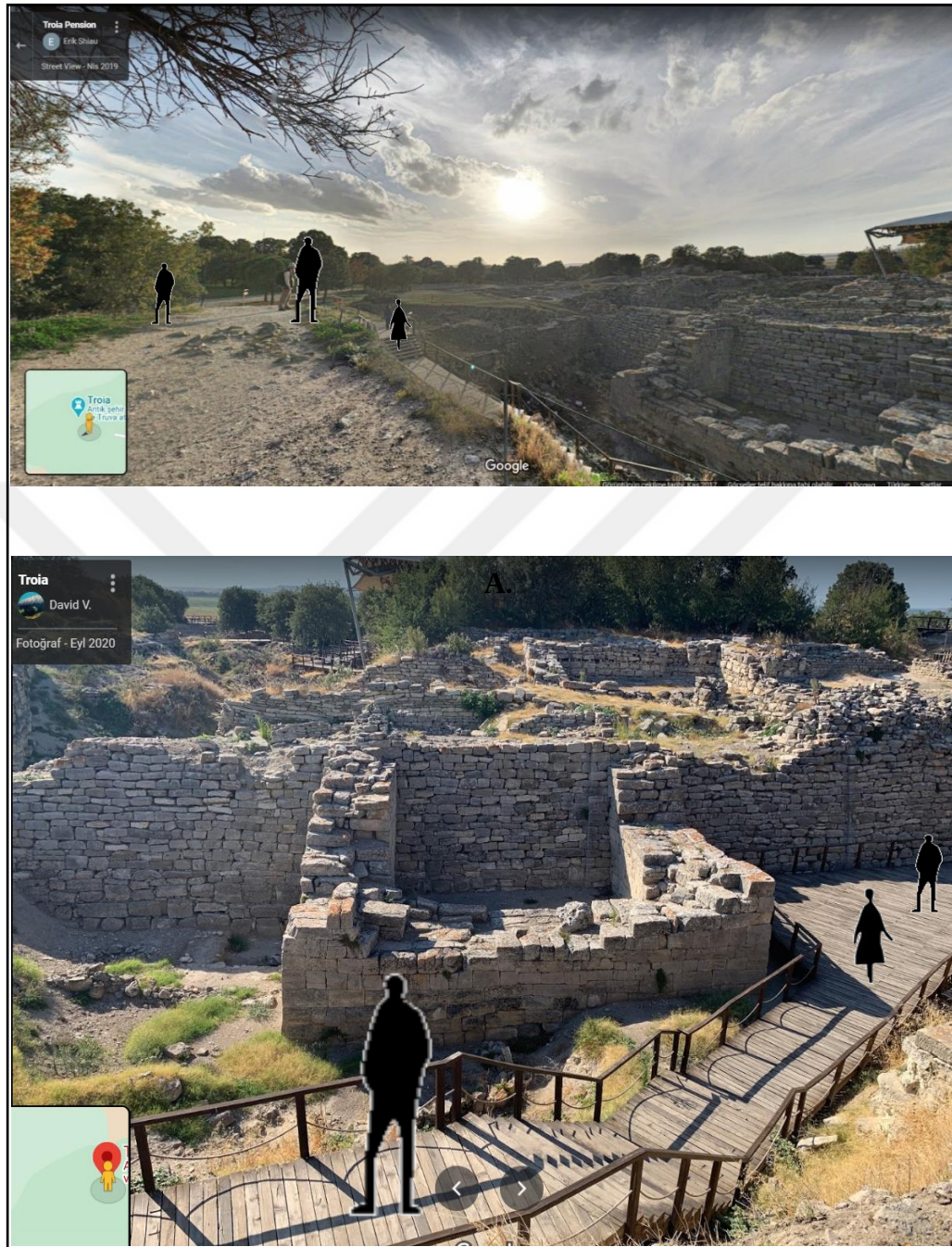


Figure 53: Site photographs obtained from Google maps (Black figures are added by the author.)

Top: Starting point of visiting the site (Photograph by Erik Shiau uploading to Google maps)

Bottom: With the scenery of the photo and adscititious spectator figures who are just on their first steps, the site really looks like a simulation of the ancient Troy (Photograph by David V. uploading to Google maps).



Figure 54: Importance of the guided path (Black and orange figures are added by the author.)

Top: The land of Troy through the harbor (Author's photograph)

Bottom: Troy II, southwest gate (Author's photograph)

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Bu alıřma, ren yerinin dikkat ekici keřfinden ve ilk kazılardan yola ıkarak İlyada'daki hikayenin tetikledięi Troya'nın oklu okumalarını incelemeyi amalamaktadır. Bu tezdeki amacım, ncelikle İlyada'yı, Troya Savařı'nın metnini, metnin yerleřim yerini ve yerleřim yerinin yansıtıldıęı mzesini; ve bunların aralarındaki iliřkileri inceleyerek, Troya'nın efsanevi nnn altında yatan dinamikleri farklı alanlardan okumalar ve benzetmelerle ortaya ıkarmaktır. Antik yerleřime iliřkin farklı zihniyetlerin, hayali ve olgusal algıların ve yaklařımların nasıl rtřtęn, birbirini tamamladıęını ve hatta bazen birbiriyle eliřtięini gstermek esastır. Bu tezde modern Troya Mzesi'nde olduęu gibi gemiřten gnmze eřitli ereveleri aynı metaforik atı altında toplamak amalanmaktadır.

Gemiři bugne baęlamak iin bir ara olarak kullanılan "Giriř" blm, Homeros'un İlyada'sı, antik kentin kazı sreci ve bu tarihin bir yansıması olan mzeyi ieren Troya tarihine bir temel oluřturur. "Giriř" blmn takiben, tez, "Sonu" ile biten drt ana blmden oluřmaktadır. "Giriř"ın ardından, ikinci blm olan "Nesir, Gerek ve Maddesellik", szl geleneęin tarihini ve nesrin Yunan kltrndeki nemini anlamak iin nesri inceler. Blm Homeros'un İlyada'sındaki szl anlatı, kazı alanının ve mzenin maddesellięi ile iliřkili olarak řiirsel dzyazının tasvirlerini incelerken Homeros'un anımsatıcılarının yardımıyla Troya'nın keřfediliřinin ardındaki kayda deęer yolculuęu da incelemektedir. Bu blmde szl řiir geleneęi, antik Troya kentinin arkeolojik keřfi ve mitolojinin altında yatan, kurgusallıęı gereklięe baęlayan somut kanıtlar kazılarla beraber anlatılmaktadır. Onlardan nce szl řiir geleneęi ve ozan Homeros'un dnemi, "nesr"i anlamak iin incelenmiřtir.

Szl geleneęin z, trkleri olan tm ilkel insanlarda grlr. Antik dnemdeki insanlar, bu "ritmik dil"i alıřırken iř yklerini hafifletiyormuř gibi

kullanılıyorlardı. Yunan ozanlar bu dili sözlü gelenek olarak geliştirdiler ve çoğu halk temelli olan, Homeros'un İlyada'sına benzer, geçmiş kahramanların başarılarını övme aracı olarak kullanabildikleri bir tür keşfettiler. Ozanlar geçmiş i yüceltirken bir yandan da dinleyicilerini çalışkan ve cesur olmaya teşvik edecek sözler söylerlerdi. Şiirlerdeki anlatıların tarihi gerçekliklere dayandığına inanan “çalışkan ve cesur” antik Yunanlar, zaferlerini tarihsel arka planları olarak gururla kabul etme eğilimindeydiler. Bu durumda sözlü geleneğin doğasına bağlı olarak ozanlar kesin olarak bilinemez, ancak kesin olarak şu söylenilebilir ki, İlyada, 24 kitabının da birbiriyle tutarlı olduğu efsanevi bir şiire Homeros tarafından dönüştürülmüştür. Sözlü şiir geleneğinden insanların aklında kalan bir eser olarak binlerce yıldır okunan bu destan, MÖ 8. Yüzyıldan, MS 19. yüzyıla kadar, edebiyattaki en eski anlatılardan biri ve antik Yunan dünyasının bir tür incili olarak; basıldı, filoloji biliminin ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu ve metnin mekanının keşfedilmesini sağladı (Bonnard 2004, 21, 44; Dalby 2018, 9; Lord 1953, 128, 130, 131).

Hisarlık Tepesi tespit edilip kazılarla kanıtlanıncaya kadar antik kentin varlığı ve Troya'nın sadece İlyada'da geçen kurgusal bir kent olup olmadığı tartışılıyordu. Ailesi 17. yüzyıldan beri Çanakkale'de yaşayan İngiliz diplomat ve amatör arkeolog Frank Calvert, Hisarlık Tepesi'ni antik kentin olası yeri olarak tanımlayan ilk kişi olmuştur (Fig. 3) (Allen 1995b, 50; Aslan 2018, 119; Çalış-Sazcı 2002a, 47). Tepenin Troya'nın arkeolojik höyüğü olabileceğinden şüphelendikten sonra, teorilerini ilerleten Calvert, hayat amacı Troya Savaşı'nın tanığı olan bu kenti bulmaya çalışan bir başka amatör arkeolog olan Heinrich Schliemann'a bahsetmiş, Calvert'in rehberliğiyle araziye ulaşan Schliemann antik açıklamayla yapay höyüğü uyumlu görmüş ve arkeolojik buluntuları metindeki kurgusal kentle eşleştirmeye çalışmıştır. Bu çalışmalar kapsamında, 1871 yılında “Homeros'un kayıp şehri”nin bulunması için kazılara başlanmıştır. Schliemann'ın tek amacının Homeros'un Troya'sını keşfetmek olduğu düşünüldüğünde ortaya çıkarılan her kalıntının Homeros'un Troya'sına ait olup olmamasına göre incelendiği tahmin edilebilir. Bu nedenle erken kazılarda bulunanlar çoğunlukla Troya II'ye, Homeros'un Troya'sı olduğu sanılan katmana ait sayılmıştır (Easton 2001, 22; Korfmann 2001, 380;1998, 91; Schliemann 1875, 323; Unknown

Author, 1998). Yaklaşık 20 yıl süren kazılardan sonra düzenlenen ilk konferans, Hisarlık Tepe'sini Troya höyüğü olarak işaret etmiş ve yerleşimin tanınmasıyla sona ermiştir (Fig. 6).

Heinrich Schliemann'ın 1890'da ölmesinin ardından, asistanı Dörpfeld kazıları sürdürmeye ve fotoğraflarla kayıt altına almaya devam etmiştir (Fig. 7, 8) (Aksit 2018, 37; Aslan 6, 120-121; Easton 2001, 23-24). Bu ilk kazılarda Troya'nın farklı katmanları I'den IX'a kadar, dokuz tabaka olarak etiketlenmiş olsa da, daha sonraki kazılar on yerleşim olduğunu ve Troya X'un MS 4. yüzyılda Bizans İmparatoru Konstantin döneminde önemli bir piskoposluk merkezi olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Art arda meydana gelen depremlerde büyük hasarlar alan yerleşim son sakinleri olan Bizanslılar'ın da kentten ayrılmasıyla terk edilmiştir (Fig. 9, 10) (Aslan 2018, 5; Rose 2001, 280). Höyüğün son tabakası, Bizans katmanı olan Troya X, “Byzantine Illium”, arazinin doğası gereği ilk yok olan yerleşim olduğu için kalıntılar arasında en az buluntuya sahip olan tabakadır. Bu nedenle birbirini izleyen diğer dokuz katman ana Troya yerleşimleri olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Dörpfeld'in kazıları sırasında Troya VI (MÖ 1900-1300), höyüğün bahsedilen dokuz tabakası arasında Homeros'un Troya'sı olarak kabul edilmiştir (Umar 2002, 55, 56; Unknown Author, 1998). Dörpfeld'in ardından Carl Blegen başkanlığında Cincinnati Üniversitesi, ve uluslararası bir kazı ekibini yöneten Manfred Korfmann, Troya'yı Dünya'ya tanıtmaya devam etmiştir. Günümüzde ören yerindeki çalışmalar, Rüstem Aslan önderliğinde, Çanakkale 18 Mart Üniversitesi tarafından sürdürülmektedir.

Diğer antik kentlerle karşılaştırıldığında, Troya, keşfi, ilk kazıları ve dünyaya tanıtılmasıyla tarihte eşsiz bir yer edinmiştir. Bunun nedeni, antik kentin sadece eski bir yerleşim yeri değil, “çeşitli zamanlara ve mekanlara uyacak şekilde şekillendirilebilecek bir kavram” olmasıdır (Rose 1998, 412). Bu açıdan bakıldığında, kurgusal yanının yanı sıra, bu kentin kendisi başlı başına bir konsept olarak 19. yüzyılda yayınlanan fotoğrafları, çizimleri ve sergileriyle de tanınmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde, ilk çizimler ve ilk sergi aracılığıyla, 19. yüzyılda Troya ve keşfin gerçekliğini temsil eden Troya bulgularının nasıl sergilendiği ve reklamının yapılarak antik yerleşimin dünyaya nasıl tanıtıldığı incelenmiştir.

Dönemin teknolojisinin izin verdiği ölçüde kazılar sırasında çekilmiş olan erken dönem fotoğrafları bulunsa da, özellikle Schliemann'ın günlüğü ve raporlarındaki çizimler, antik dönemin modern zamana, 19. yüzyıla getirilmesinde özellikle arkeolojide önemli bir yere sahiptir. Schliemann'ın çizimleri, kazılar sırasında arazinin durumunu ölçek olmadan, aşama aşama, genel olarak buluntuları görselleştiren amatör resimlerdir. Schliemann, ilgisini çeken bazı nesneleri ayrıntılı olarak çizmiş ve çizimlerini kendisinin kazı günlüğü sayılabilecek “Troya and Its Remains” adlı kitabında açıklayıcı paragraflarla desteklemiştir. Schliemann'ın çoğunlukla nesnel olsa da, realist resim geleneğine dayandırarak çizimlerine bazı hayali ayrıntılar eklemiş olması da muhtemeldir (Fig. 13, 14). Gerçekçi imgelemeye verdiği önem, Priamos'un hazinelerini karısı üzerinde resmetmesinden de anlaşılabilir (Fig. 15, 16).

Troya bölgesinden yayınlanan çizimlerin ardından, ilk sergiler alana dikkat çekmeyi ve Troya'ya ilgi duyan kesimi bulguların Troya Savaşı'nın mekanı olan Troya'ya ait olduğuna ikna etmeyi amaçlamıştır. İlk önce ören yerinden kaçırdığı Troya eserlerini kendi kişisel koleksiyonuymuş gibi Atina'daki evinde sergileyen Heinrich Schliemann, daha sonra müzelerle anlaşmalar yaparak buluntuları ilk resmi sergilerde ziyaretçilerin ilgisine sunmuştur. Bu sergilerde arkeolojik bulguların yanı sıra, Schliemann ve Troya'un özgünlüğü tartışılırken toplumsal bir algı oluşturmak ve 19. yüzyıl kitle iletişim araçlarına dahil olmak için Troya'nın tarihi de yer almıştır. Londra'daki ilk halka açık sergide koleksiyonu en iyi şekilde öne çıkarmak için küçük bir detay bile Schliemann tarafından planlanmış, üniteler üç sıra halinde düzenlenmiş, aralarında Troya'nın büyük buluntuları da yer alacak şekilde organize edilmiştir (Fig. 19). Amaç “Troya'daki kültürel ve dini sürekliliği” göstermektir. Buna göre, ilk sergilerde ziyaretçilerin antik ve modern; arkeoloji ve hayal gücünün bir araya geldiği bu dünyayı deneyimlemeleri sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır (Baker 2020, 61-62, 64, 66, 71, 74, 97).

“İlion”un Homeros'un Troya ve İlyada'daki ilk orijinal temsilindeki anlatımından yola çıkan dördüncü bölüm, bir sonraki bölümde oluşturulacak analogilere bir zemin hazırlamak için bu farklı anlatıları örtüştürmeden önce metin, İlyada destanı, ören yeri, Troya antik yerleşim/kazı arkeolojik alanı ve Troya Müze'sinin seçilmiş temsillerini anlatıyor. Antik yerleşimin üç belirgin

fakat birbirinden çok farklı kaynağı olan metin, ören yeri ve müze bu bölümde vurgulanmıştır. Bu bölümün, Troya'nın üç temsili olan metin, kazı alanı ve müzenin bir araya getirerek bir sonraki bölümde daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde bağlantılandırılması için bir giriş görevi görmesi amaçlanmıştır. Buna göre, dördüncü bölüm, Troya'nın hayali, gerçekçi ve saha dışı kanıtlar da dahil olmak üzere metinsel ve mekansal temsillerinin kısa bir özeti olarak düşünülebilir.

Homeros, “mükemmelliğin tartışmasız mihenk taşı” olarak kabul edildiğinden, Yunan kültürü ve Yunanlılığı özellikle Homeros'tan öğrenmek ve onun etkisi altında Yunan kimliğini inşa etmek antik dönemde seçkin insanlar arasında kabul görmek için bir “anahtar” görevi görüyordu. Buna göre aslında bir savaş destanı olarak yazılan İlyada, şiirsel, teknik ve deneysel; etik ve tüm sanatları içeren tüm bilgilerin kaynağı sayılıyordu. İlyada metni ve dolayısıyla nesrin şairi olan Homeros, Troya kentinin şan, şöhret ve varlığının kanıtlanmasına neden olduğu için de yüzyıllardır takdir edilmektedir (Güner 2017, 25; Zangger 2016, 105, 205). Her ne kadar Troya antik kentinin, diğer ören yerleri arasında göze çarpmadığı düşünülse de, bu kadar mütevazı boyutların altına gömülen arkeolojik katmanların üst üste binmesiyle meydana gelen bu olağanüstü höyük ve altında yatan gizli anlatılar beni bu tezi yazmaya iten sebeplerdendir.

Metinde Dardanos'un torunlarından İlus, Dümruk Su/Dümrek Çayı ve Karamenderes Nehri'nin akarsularının birleştiği noktada “kutsal İlion”u kurmuştur (Fig. 20, 21) (Akşit 2018, 12-14; İlyada, Kitap V, 774; Luce 1998, 70). Keşfedilen antik yerleşim yeri, Türkiye'nin kuzeybatısında, Gelibolu yarımadası ile Ege Denizi'ni Marmara Denizi'ne bağlayan Troya toprakları arasında uzanan Çanakkale Boğazı'nın, stratejik açıdan çok önemli olan bu dar geçidin yakınında yer almaktadır. Troya, iki deniz arasındaki düğüm noktası olmasından dolayı antik çağların en önemli ticaret merkezlerinden biri olarak kabul ediliyordu. Zengin ve güçlü bir yerleşim olan Troya'nın, hammaddeleri (demir, altın ve bakır gibi); kil yatakları ve çam ağacı ormanları; tarım ve hayvancılığı, verimli topraklarıyla ünlü bir yerleşim olduğu düşünülüyor. Ayrıca Troya'nın, ören yerindeki kazılarda, farklı katmanlarda ortaya çıkarılan sur kalıntıları göz önüne alındığında “Türkiye'nin kuzeybatısındaki en iyi korunmuş kent” olduğu söylenebilir (Rose 2013, 11).

Alanın keşfinden sonra buluntuların “vaat edilmiş toprakların” ruhunu yansıtacak bir müzede sergilenmesi, kazıları en uzun süre yönetmiş arkeolog olan Korfmann, 1988-2005, başta olmak üzere kazılarda görev alan tüm arkeologların hayaliydi. Eski Troya Müzesi hakkında çok fazla yayınlanmış bilgi bulunmamakla birlikte, yeni müzenin ulusal bir mimari yarışmada kazanan kazanan proje olarak ortaya çıktığı bilinmektedir. 2018 yılında, yarışmanın kazananı olan yeni Troya Müzesi, “Troya Yılı”na denk getirilerek zamanında ziyarete açılmıştır. 2020 yılında müze, bu tezi yazarken de sık sık yararlandığım Türkiye'deki ilk sanal müzelerden biri olmuştur. 2021'de ise, "zamanın geçtiğini hissettiren" parlak ışık ve gölge oyunları ile ödül aldığı duyurulan Troya Müzesi, uluslararası bir müze ödülü ile onurlandırıldı.

Troya Müzesi, ziyaretçileri müzeye yönlendiren ören yerinin belirlenmiş yolunu takip eden aynı aks üzerinde yer almaktadır. Bu aksın antik ve modern arasında bir köprü görevi gördüğü söylenebilir. Aynı eksen üzerinde yer almaları sayesinde, ziyaretçiler müzeden ören yerine ya da tam tersi, ören yerinden ziyaretlerine başlayarak müzeye gidebilirler. Yeni Troya Müzesi, mitoloji, arkeoloji ve tarih üzerinden, yapılan kazıları anımsatarak milli parkın mevcut değerlerini sürdürürken Troya antik kentini yansıtmak ve temsil etmek üzere tasarlanmıştır (Fig. 22, 23). Bu bağlamda, giriş tasarımı, müze sınırlarına adım atar atmaz, henüz giriş rampasında ziyaretçilere; Troya eserlerinin ve antik yerleşimin tüm tarihinin kazılara başlanmadan önce gömülü olduğu Hisarlık Höyüğü'nün hissini veriyor. Aynı şekilde müzenin devam eden bir rampa ile birbirine bağlanmış olan dört katı, kazılan höyüğün dokuz tabakasına ek olarak, Troas bölgesine ait tüm buluntuları sergilemektedir (Fig. 24).

Sonuç bölümünden önceki son bölüm olan beşinci bölümde, Troya'nın çoklu okumalarını ve panoramik algılarını metinden, ören yerine ve müzeye mevcut organizasyonlarından yola çıkarak ziyaretçilerin gözünden görmeyi ve eleştirel bir şekilde bir araya getirerek sorgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken de hem geçmişte hem şimdiki zamanda, gerçek ve simülasyon dünyalarını karşılaştırmak için kendi içinde ikiye ayrılan “Anı” ve “İmgelem” isimli iki alt başlığa ayrılmaktadır. İlyada birçok neslin zihninde hayati bir etkisi olmuş ve hala “çağdaş” yaşamlarımızda etkileri, parçaları görülen bir destan

olduğu için, efsanenin geçmiş etkileri, ören yerinin mevcut panoramasını etkilemiştir (Rojas 2019; Rose 1998, 412; Zeitlin 2001). Bu nedenle, beşinci bölümde, öncelikle hükümdarların İlyadik zihinlerinin gerçek dünyadaki yansımaları olan eylemleri, Homeros'un tasvirleriyle bağlantılı olarak Troya'nın mevcut panoramasını anlamak için araştırılmıştır.

İlyada'nın derinliklerine dalmış ve Akhilleus'un gücünü göstermeye çalışan Büyük İskender'den, ününü kalıcı kılmak için kendi ozanını bulmaya çalışan Julius Caesar'ın İlyadik zihni de geçmişte kullanılmıştır. Caesar'ın evlat edindiği oğlu olan Augustus, ilk Roma İmparatoru olarak Troya'yı yeniden inşa etmiştir. İskender'in hayranları olarak Hadrian, idolü Hektor'un izlerini keşfetme umuduyla Troya'yı ziyaret ederken; Caracalla, Akhilleus'un canlı bir izlenimini elde etmeyi arzularak Troya'ya gitmiştir. Konstantin ise Troya'nın son canlı döneminin Roma İmparatoru olarak eski ruhu yeniden canlandırmaya karar vermiştir. Yunan ve Romalı liderlerin yanı sıra, destanın etkisine giren ve ortak düşman Yunanlara karşı Troyalılarla aynı toprakları savunduklarına inanan yöneticiler arasında Fatih Sultan Mehmet ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk de yer almıştır. Ayrıca, zamanımıza en yakın örnek olan, İtalyan lider, Mussolini, Augustus'un izinde Roma İmparatorluğu'nu yeniden inşa etmeyi amaçlamıştır. İlyada'yı rehberleri ve mitolojik karakterleri rol modelleri olarak gören hükümdarların yanı sıra, ideolojik motivasyonlarının aksine, Heinrich Schliemann, destanda bahsedilen hazinelerin konumuna ilişkin ipuçlarını tespit etmek için destanın sadık bir okuyucusu olmuş, ömür boyu kenti bulmaya çalışmıştır.

“Metin, Ören Yeri ve Müzesiyle Bir Troya Okuması” adlı tezimde, şimdiye kadar İlyada metni ile arkeolojik alan ve bunların tarihyazımı arasındaki bağlantılar araştırıldı. Son bölümün ikinci yarısı olan bu bölümde müzenin ve bugünkü ören yerinin geçmişi çerçevelemedeki rolü ele alınmıştır. Öyle ya da böyle, metin, ören yeri ve müze tüm ziyaretçilerin zihninde birbirine bağlanır. Sonuç olarak ortaya çıkan bu panoramada Troya'nın üç temsilini birbirine bağlamak ve ziyaretçilerin imgelemelerini, simüle edilmiş dünyaların deneyimleriyle birleştirmeleri için yerleşimin net bir görüşü sağlanmalıdır. Yeniden yaratım, rekonstrüksiyon, ve canlandırma teknikleri, antik dünyayı, eski zamanları keşfetmek ve takdir etmek için kullanılır. Bu simülasyon dünyalarından

biri olan Troya Müzesi, çoklu “türetilmiş” ve görsel olarak müzeye uygun hale gelecek şekilde “çevrilmiş” tasarımlar ile bir simülasyon dünyasını temsil ediyor, tarih bilincini yükseltiyor ve ziyaretçilere yeni anılar yaratma ve vizyonlarını tazeleme konusunda öncülük ediyor. 19. yüzyıldaki ilk Troya sergileri gibi, tarih ve mitoloji; arkeoloji ve hayal gücü; antik ve modernin bir araya geldiği bir dünya olarak Müze, gerçekliğe ve anılara dayanan düzenlemesiyle, modern zamandan antik döneme açılan bir pencere olarak görülebilir. Bu antik dünya simülatörü ile ziyaretçiler hem antik kenti, hem de Troyalıların günlük aktivitelerini müzenin “çatısı” altındaki yenilikçi multimedya tasarımlarıyla deneyimlemeye davet ediliyor.

Simülasyon dünyası hemen girişten başlıyor: Korten çelik cephe malzemesi, antik alanın benzersizliğini yansıtmak için özel olarak seçilmiştir; çünkü malzeme spesifik olarak Troya Müzesi'nin bulunduğu konuma has bir şekilde, Çanakkale, Tevfikiye Köyü'nün iklimine göre görünüşte değişecektir. Buradaki fikir, malzemenin yıllar içindeki değişimini, ören yerinde meydana gelecek değişikliklerle birlikte görebilmektir (Fig. 27). Antik dönemde Troya'yı bir Troyalı gibi görmek, antik dönemi canlandırmalar dışında ziyaret etmek mümkün olmasa da, özel tasarımlar ve buluşlarla beraber Troya'ya daha da yaklaşabiliyor ve Troya'nın canlı zamanlarının verdiği hissi kısmen de olsa anlayabiliyoruz. Bu simülasyon dünyasını öne çıkarmak için, müzede çeşitli sergi ünitelerinde Troyalıların yeniden yaratılan ev içi yerleşimlerini içeren görselleştirmeleri ve İlyada'dan seçilmiş satırları okuyan aktör ve aktristlerin video kayıtlarından oluşan etkileşimli multimedya görüntüler vardır (Fig. 28, 29, 30). Metin, aynı zamanda bazı sergi ünitelerinde ve müzede zemin katta, ana sergi alanının arkasında yer alan bir yan koridorun duvarlarında, “türetilmiş”, icat tasarımlardan biri olarak bazı betimleyici paragraflarda görülmektedir (Fig. 31).

Ziyaretçiler daha koridoru görmeden müzeye girer girmez farklı formlarda dokuz devasa küple karşı karşıya gelirler. Bu devasa küplerin Helenistik öncesi bir dönemde, bir şarap tüccarına ait olduğuna inanılıyordu. Kazılarda grup halinde bulunan bu küpleri, müzede keşfedilme şekillerini hatırlatacak şekilde grup olarak sergilemek bir “çeviri” olarak kabul edilebilir, ancak herhangi bir açıklama yapılmadan hemen girişte, sanki küpler antik ruhu temsil eden en önemli bulgular

arasındaymış gibi ziyaretçiyi manipüle edecek şekilde sergilemek kesinlikle bir “türetme”dir, tasarımcının kendi buluşudur. (Fig. 33).

Müzenin bir diğer manipülatif, yenilikçi ve türetilmiş tasarım özelliği ise zemin kattan başlayıp en üst kata kadar çıkan ve ziyaretçileri tasarımcıların belirlediği “rota”ya yönlendiren rampadır. Rampa, ziyaretçilere katlar arasında düşünceleri ve bir sonraki kata geçmeden önce bir önceki katta gördüklerini sindirmek için zaman vermek ve zihinlerini çok daha fazlasını görmeye açmak için özellikle tek dikey sirkülasyon olarak müze tasarımında kullanılmıştır (Fig. 33). Rampanın her iki tarafında açıklıklar vardır: sol taraf, rampanın yukarı çıkarken bir önceki katın etrafında dönmesi nedeniyle daha önce ziyaret edilen kata bakar; sağ taraf ise, ziyaretçilere bu müzenin kazılan Troya antik kentiyle bağlantılı bir yansıma olduğunu hatırlatmak için antik alana bakar. Bu özelliğiyle rampa, Troya atına benzetilebilir. Troya’yı işgal etmeye gelen Yunan askerler gibi, gözetleme deliklerinden Troya’ya bakan ziyaretçiler, biraz sonra Troya’yı gerçekten fethedecektir; fakat bu seferki fetih, Yunanların aksine Troyalıları onurlandırmak için düzenlenecektir. Rampayla bağdaştırılabilecek bir diğer metafor ise, ziyaretçilerin bir kattan diğerine geçerken bir dünyadan diğerine geçiyormuş gibi hissetmeleridir. Bu tasarım her kata tırmanırken vurgulanarak antik dönem simülasyonu olan bu müzenin özüyle uyuşan bir zaman tüneli hissi verir. Ve bu duygu, tasarımın bilinçli bir unsuru olan, rampa boyunca devam eden açıklıklardan gelen ışık oyunları ile desteklenir. Üst üste farklı Troya yerleşimlerini andıran rampa, müzenin en büyüleyici “icadı”, “türetim”i olabilir.

Ziyaretçiler girişten sola döndüklerinde, zeminin altında, bir tür batık sergileme ünitesi içinde kazı alanından çıkarılan, ancak restore edilmemiş çanak çömlekler ve bazı arkeologlara ait kazı sırasında kullanılan eşyaları görürler (Fig. 38, 39). Yerdeki adeta “şeffaf bir köprü” gibi tüm katı saran bu patika, ziyaretçileri zemin katta bulunan ve müzedeki en ünlü keşif olan “Priam’ın Hazinesi”nin bulunduğu sergi alanına yönlendirir (Fig. 40). Müzedeki bu mekânsal bölünme ile hazine bölümünün “teşhir ünitesi” plan üzerinde gerçek bir odak noktası gibi görünmektedir. Tasarım, geleneksel bir antik yapı tipinden gelen ilhama ek olarak, hazinenin ortaya çıkarıldığı belirsiz konumla bile ilişkilendirilebilir (Fig. 41, 42).

“İlyada koridorunu”, devasa küpleri, “şeffaf köprü”yü ve Priamos Hazinesi’ni görmeden yanından geçen bir “ziyaretçi” olarak müzeyi gezerken aklımda kalan görüntülerden biri de güçlü bir kişinin tasviri olduğu belli olan bir heykeldi. Gerçek boyutundan daha büyük görünen bu zırhlı adam, İmparator Hadrian’dan başkası değildi (Fig. 43). Heykel, 1993 yılında Cincinnati Üniversitesi'nin Troya kazı ekibinden, Manfred Korfmann ile yıllarca çalışmış olan Charles Brian Rose tarafından, 1993 yılında Troya XI’da bulunan Odeion’da keşfedilmiştir (Fig. 45, 46). Hadrian’ın Troya ziyareti ile birlikte, Odeion, imparatorun şehre gelişinin bir anısı olarak ona ithaf edilmiştir. Ayrıca heykelin bulunması, yapının kime adandığının belirlenmesine de olanak sağlamıştır (Fig. 47, 48).

Müzeye geri döndüğümüzde, bu heykel ikinci katta ön sıranın ortasına, ziyaretçiler kata girseler de, kattan ayrılırsalar da, Hadrian’ın güçlü görüntüsü göze çarpacak ve kesinlikle kalıcı bir iz bırakacak şekilde yerleştirilmiştir (Fig. 49). Ayrıca heykel, 2. ve 3. katlar arasındaki boşluktan, en üst kattan da görülebilmektedir. Boşluk sayesinde, kazı tarihinin sergilendiği en üst katı keşfederken, ziyaretçilerin antik dünyadan kopmadan müzenin bir parçası olmaya devam etmeleri amaçlanmıştır. Hem müzedeki heykeli hem de antik dönemde bulunduğu olası yeri gördükten sonra, ören yerine bir sonraki ziyaretimde, neredeyse 1900 yıl önce, Odeion’un önünden Hadrian’ın kudretli heykelini görerek geçmenin Troya IX halkına onun egemenliği altında yaşadıklarını daima hatırlattığını hayal edebildim. Müze örneğinde de, daha Hadrian’ı tanımadan önce, heykeli, tıpkı antik dönemde olduğu gibi, güçlü bakışlarıyla tüm kata hükmediyor gibi görünüyordu. Müze tasarımı sayesinde uyandırılan bu ortak duygular göz önüne alındığında, yeni müzenin tasarımcılarının, birçok buluntuya yeni anlamlar yüklemekten ziyade, ören yerinde bulunanları direkt olarak “çevirdiği”, müzede aynı ruhu yansıtmak istedikleri söylenebilir.

Ören yerindeki harabeler adeta bir gösterinin farklı sahneleri, bir açık hava müzesindeki sergi üniteleri gibi olduğu için, Troya ören yerine inşa edilmiş olan “patika”, patikayı takip eden izleyicileri farklı sergilere götürüyor (Fig. 51, 52). Ziyaretçiler aşağı yukarı aynı noktada durup aynı açıyla belirli bir noktaya baktıklarında, ören yerine yakın zamanda eklenen patika varken ve yokken algılamalarında büyük farklar görülür. Bu durumda, patikanın ziyaretçilere

rehberlik ettiđi ve ören yerinde gördüklerinin üstüne hayal güçlerini, kendi imgelemlerini farkında bile olmadan ekledikleri çıkarımında bulunulabilir. Patikadan özellikle Odeion'un kalıntılarına bakıldığında, ziyaretçilerin aynı tiyatro oyunundan farklı izlenimler edinen izleyiciler gibi, aynı kalıntılara bakarak akıllarında yapının canlı zamanlarına dair deđişik imgelemler yarattıkları kolaylıkla söylenebilir (Fig. 53, 54). Troya Müzesi ise, sadece bu antik kentin direkt bir yansıması deđil, imgelemler aracılığıyla kurulan ve ziyaretçilerin vizyonlarıyla şekillenen sosyal ilişkilerin bir ürünüdür. Müzede ziyaretçiler Troya halkının günlük yaşamını keşfederken, ören yerindeki ziyaretçiler ise antik çağda birer oyunun baş rolleri gibi hissetmelerini sağlayan patikanın kalıntılara dođru çıkıntı yapılmış bölümleri sayesinde, ören yeri önünde kendi imgelerini deneyimleyebilir. Metin olarak İlyada, "açık hava müzesi" olarak ören yeri ve Troya Müzesi'nin kendisi olmak üzere üç temsilin de her izleyicinin zihninde ayrı simülasyonları tetiklediđi söylenebilir. Ve Homeros'un metni, geçmişteki "İlyadik zihinler" gibi, bugünkü imgelemlerimizi yanıltarak, izleyiciler olarak anılarımızı etkilemeye devam etmektedir.

Tüm arkeolojik kanıtlar göz önüne alındığında, binlerce yıllık tarihine birbirinden farklı arkeolojik dönemleri, antik yerleşimleri ve kültürleri sığdırmış olan Troya antik kenti, mimarlık tarihinde bir beşik olarak yer almayı hak ediyor. Tıpkı mimarlık tarihinin bizlere sunduđu simülasyonlar gibi, antik Troya'ya açılan birer pencere görevi gören simülasyon dünyaları, benim gibi ziyaretçilerine kendileri için hala yeni anlamlar yaratma fırsatı veriyor. Bu düşünce ışığında, bu tezde ben metin, ören yeri ve müzeyi hem bir okuyucu hem de antik ve simülasyon dünyalarının bir ziyaretçisi olarak aynı çatı altında birleştirmeye çalıştım. Bu bağlamda, tarihi canlandırmak için metindeki efsanevi olaylara tanık olmuş gibi fikirlerimi birinci ağızdan yansıtıp Troya'nın üç temsili arasından seçtiğim analogilere kendi bakış açımıyla, öznel bir şekilde ışık tuttum. Ulaştığım sonuç bahsedilen üç temsilin kesin bir ortak sonucu olamayacağıdır. Buna göre, antik dönemden günümüze, nihai bir Troya okuması hiç olmamıştır ve okuyucularla ziyaretçiler deđiştikçe de olmayacaktır. Dolayısıyla bu tezle kesin olarak söylenebilecek tek şey, okuyucu ile İlyada arasındaki ilişkinin kalıcı bir

şekilde devamlı tekrarlandığını gördükten sonra, metin, ören yeri ve şimdiki Troya Müzesi arasındaki bağlantıların asla kaybolmayacağıdır.



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