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### Homer, Troy and the Turks: Heritage & identity in the Late Ottoman Empire 1870-1915

Uslu, G.

**Publication date**

2015

**Document Version**

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

**Citation for published version (APA):**

Uslu, G. (2015). *Homer, Troy and the Turks: Heritage & identity in the Late Ottoman Empire 1870-1915*.

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## Introduction

‘Homer a native of Izmir. The city’s gateway to culture’; these words adorn the cover of the leading monthly magazine *Izmir Life*.<sup>1</sup> The February (2008) edition of the magazine functions as a platform for prominent members of the society, to consider and reflect on how to make it clear to the world that Homer is a fundamental component of the identity of Izmir, the third most populous city of Turkey, located on the Gulf of Izmir (Aegean Sea). Reading the peddled ideas makes one part of the process of appropriation of Homeric heritage in Izmir. The considerations focus on the importance of the construction of Homer monuments at central places in the city, to establish academic and popular institutes for Homer research and to explore more intensively the city’s tangible Homeric heritage, such as the Homer caves and the Homer monument at the Yeşildere Delta, on which a quote attributed to Homer says: ‘I was born in the lap of Izmir, where the Meles joins the Sea’ (fig.1).

The origins and date of birth of the most famous Greek poet Homer, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which are without doubt the most influential literary works in the history of Western civilization, are uncertain. Neither is it clear exactly where and when the *Iliad*, an episode of the Trojan War, and the *Odyssey*, the story of the return voyage of the Greek hero Odysseus after the fall of Troy, were composed. However, researchers locate Homer and his works between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and the idiom of the poems indicates Smyrna (present-day Izmir) and Cyme in Turkey or the Greek island Chios as his birthplace (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup>

That Homer has been given a leading role in the marketing of Izmir is not new. Tourist leaflets, published by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, have been

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<sup>1</sup> Duygu Özsüpandağ Yayman, ‘Izmirli Homeros, şehrin kültüre açılan kapısı’, *Izmir Life*, (February 2008) 42-56.

<sup>2</sup> The dialect in the poems is a mixture of Ionian and Aeolian. These regions are situated in overlapping areas. Source: J.F. de Jong, ‘Homer: Poet, Poetry and the Promise of Eternal Renown’, in: Jorrit Kelder, Günay Uslu, Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu (eds.), *Troy. City, Homer and Turkey* (Zwolle 2012) 13-16, 13; See also Jorrit Kelder, ‘The Origins of the Trojan Cycle’, in the same publication, 16-19.

pointing it out for years: *Izmir, Hometown of Homer*. Official (tourism) websites of the Izmir region, moreover, emphasize the Smyrnian origins of Homer and underline the Anatolian identity of the Trojans.<sup>3</sup> This Anatolian identity of Troy is the subject of the most popular dance performance *An Anatolian Legend Troy. A Dance Show from its Native Land*, which attracts full houses (fig. 3). Currently, a square in the city of Izmir is embellished with the name of ancient Homer. The city accommodates a yearly Homer Festival, confers Homer awards to important Turkish poets, and has ambitious plans of constructing a large-scale Homer monument in classical style on Mount Pagos (Kadifekale) overlooking the Gulf of Izmir.<sup>4</sup>

Çanakkale, where the archaeological site of Troy is located, is even more ambitious.<sup>5</sup> The public Troy Festival has been a huge attraction for decades now (fig. 4). The annual Homer reading event and poetry days are well known as well. The Trojan horse, in various designs and forms, from posters to wooden constructions, is strewn all over the province of Çanakkale (fig. 5). The ancient geography of the northwestern part of this province, called the Troad, with its famous heroes defending their city on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles strait, gloriously described in Homer's *Iliad*, became even more legendary and mythical for the Turks with the Battle of Gallipoli in 1915,<sup>6</sup> when they defended the same Dardanelles against the allied enemies from the West in the Great War. In the modern landscape of the Troad one can observe that the ancient epic story of the Trojan War and the modern legend of Gallipoli have become interwoven and the remains and signs of both stories are scattered all over the area, which today is commemorating the Battle that started in 1915.

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<sup>3</sup>See for example: <http://izmir.kultur.gov.tr/belge/1-97701/konak.html> and <http://www.izmirsehirrehberi.com/tarihce/homeros.htm> (06.06.2013).

<sup>4</sup> Ayçe Dikmen, 'Izmir Homeros ile taçlandırılmalıdır', *Hürriyet*, 9 December 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Troy became a Historical National Park in 1996 and since 1998 the site is on the World Heritage List. Also other historical heritage sites in the Çanakkale region had become National Parks, such as the Ida mountain (Kazdağı), a National Park since 1993, and Gallipoli a Peace Park since 1973.

<sup>6</sup> The Battle of Gallipoli is also called the Dardanelles Campaign. The Turks named the battles on the Dardanelles the 'Çanakkale Battles'. Çanakkale is the main town on the Asian side of the Dardanelles Strait, source: Harvey Broadbent, *Gallipoli. The Fatal Shore* (Sydney 2009) 17.

The construction of a modern Troy museum of colossal dimensions near the archaeological site, where finds of the various excavations at Troy will be on display, is part of the preparations. Reclaims and returns of artefacts from Troy – for the most part illegally removed from the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century and scattered all over the world since – are high on the political agenda of the Turkish government. In international newspapers Turkish officials have proclaimed: ‘We only want back what is rightfully ours’. According to the former culture minister Ertuğrul Günay who considers Troy the ‘Istanbul of ancient ages’: ‘Artifacts, just like people, animals or plants, have souls and historical memories’ and ‘When they are repatriated to their countries, the balance of nature will be restored’.<sup>7</sup> In this context, recently twenty-four pieces of jewellery from Troy kept in the American Penn Museum (The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) have been returned to Turkey. These artefacts received on indefinite loan will be part of the collection that will be displayed in the new Troy Museum next to the archaeological site.<sup>8</sup>

#### Homeric Heritage: Transformation, Reuse and Reclaim

Homer was deeply honoured already in classical antiquity. Homeric heroes, their deeds and their motivations have been honoured, reinvented, adopted and reworked for centuries. The great ruler Alexander the Great identified himself with Homeric heroes and visited Troy. Homer’s epics were studied in Greek in the Roman Empire. Both Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) and his adopted son Octavian Augustus (63-14 BC) traced their origins back to the Trojan hero Aeneas and the founding of Rome was traced back to the destruction of Troy during the reign of Augustus. The Roman poet Virgil (70-19 BC) glorified this myth in his *Aeneid* and Troy became a destination for the purpose of paying homage to the remains of the legendary city.

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<sup>7</sup> Dan Bilefsky, ‘Seeking return of art, Turkey jolts Museums’, *New York Times* (30<sup>th</sup> September 2012).

<sup>8</sup> ‘Günay heralds return of Ancient Troy artifacts’, *Hürriyet Daily News* (5<sup>th</sup> September 2012). See for a critical view of the political dimensions of archaeology and the political, in particular nationalistic, claims and use of antiquities by ‘source countries’ (countries where antiquities were and are found): James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity: Museum and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (New York 2008).

After the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, Homer continued to be studied in the centres of Greek knowledge in the east until the collapse of the Eastern Roman Empire and the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453.<sup>9</sup> The medieval sentiments in Europe were in favour of the Trojans, famed as the glorious warriors, or, in Lowenthal's words, 'history's quintessential losers'.<sup>10</sup> For centuries European countries identified themselves with Troy and traced their founders to the Trojan heroes to provide themselves with honourable and glorious ancestors.<sup>11</sup> Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481) saw himself as the Emperor of the East Roman Empire (Kaiser-i Rum) and in his search for historical legitimacy he identified himself with the Trojans, 'us Asiatics'. In doing so, he joined in the tradition of European countries tracing their founders to Homeric heroes (fig. 6).<sup>12</sup>

Transformation, reuse and reclaim characterizes Homeric heritage. In his famous enterprise on *lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora analyses the construction and development of sites of national memory and key notions of national identity. *Lieux de mémoire* can be described as concrete or abstract places to which identity-defining memories have been attached and anchored. Nora's project is 'less interested in 'what actually happened' than its perpetual reuse and misuse, its influence on successive presents; less interested in traditions than in the way in which traditions are constituted and passed on'.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Pim den Boer, 'Homer and Troy: From European to Disputable Lieux de Mémoire', in: Kelder, Uslu, Şerifoğlu (eds.), *Troy. City, Homer and Turkey*, 112-118.

<sup>10</sup> David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past. The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (London-New York 1996) 68, 74-76.

<sup>11</sup> Recent publications on Trojan Legends: Alan Shepard and Stephen D. Powell (eds.), *Fantasies of Troy: Classical tales and the social imaginary in Medieval and Early Europe* (Toronto 2004), Diane P. Thompson, *The Trojan War: Literature and legends from the Bronze Age to the present* (North Carolina and London 2004).

<sup>12</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Tarihin İzinde* (Istanbul 2008) 67-69; David Rijser, 'The Second Round: The Battle for Troy in the Renaissance', in: Kelder, Uslu, Şerifoğlu (eds.), *Troy. City, Homer and Turkey*, 105-112; Terence Spencer, 'Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance', *Modern Language Review*, 47, (1952) 330-334; James Harper, 'Rome Versus Istanbul: Competing claims and the moral value of Trojan heritage', Conference *The fall of Troy in the Renaissance imagination*: Abstract (04/10/2005), see also: James Harper, 'Turks as Trojans, Trojans as Turks: Visual imagery of the Trojan War and the politics of cultural identity in fifteenth-century Europe' in: *Translating Cultures: Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages*, D. Williams and A. Kabir (eds.) (Cambridge and New York 2005); Michael Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C.T. Riggs (Princeton 1954) in: Cemal Kafadar, *Between two worlds. The construction of the Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley 1995) 9.

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 1, (New York 1996-1998) introduction.

Hence, *lieux de mémoire* ‘only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications’.<sup>14</sup> From this point of view, the Turkish appropriation of and identification with ‘patriot’ Homer and the ‘Anatolian’ Trojans is not exceptional; it is quite characteristic to heritage. As David Lowenthal, one of the leading authorities in the field of heritage studies, maintains, domesticating the past to enlist it for present causes features heritage. He underlines the vital distinction between history and heritage: ‘History explores and explains the past grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes’.<sup>15</sup> Heritage in fact is the chief focus of patriotism and instrumental to touristic goals. In this context, Lowenthal emphasizes that every manifestation of heritage excites jealous possessiveness, since ‘heritage is not any old past (...) it is the past we glory in or agonize over, the past through whose lens we construct our present identity, the past that defines us to ourselves and presents us to others’.<sup>16</sup> From this point of view, the instrumental use of Homeric heritage (the poems, Troy, the artefacts) for identity claims fits well into the general pattern.

#### Homer and Troy: European Identity

Heritage is strongly connected with identity. Homer, who gave antiquity its mythical ideology, is considered to be one of the founding fathers of European culture and therefore quintessential to the formation of European identity. The historian Pim den Boer, exploring the process of appropriation of Homeric heritage in Europe in his article ‘Homer in Modern Europe’, draws attention to ‘the misunderstanding, misjudgement, historical errors and distortions of Homer’ and emphasizes the use and abuse of Homeric texts throughout the ages.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Pierre Nora, ‘Between memory and history: Les Lieux de mémoire’, *Representations*, 26, (1989) 7-26, 7, 19-22.

<sup>15</sup> David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the past. The heritage crusade and the spoils of history* (London and New York 1997) introduction.

<sup>16</sup> David Lowenthal, ‘Heritage and history. Rivals and partners in Europe’, in: Rob van der Laarse (ed.) *Bezeten van vroeger. Erfgoed, Identiteit en Musealisering* (Amsterdam 2005) 29-39, 29; Lowenthal, *Possessed by the past*, introduction.

<sup>17</sup> Pim den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe’, *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens*, XII, (2005) 43-67 and Pim den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe’, *European Review*, 15/2 (2007) 171-185.

However, until the eighteenth century it was not Homer but Virgil who was highly appreciated in Europe. This changed with the rise of primitivism and pre-romanticism. Homer's simplicity of manners and his observations of nature rose in esteem.

Early eighteenth-century translations of Homer, by Madame Dacier (1654-1720) and Alexander Pope (1688-1744), affected the intellectual climate profoundly and ushered in a new valuation of ancient Greece. As Richard Stoneman, in *Land of Lost Gods*, underlines, 'The Homeric taste was born. Homer encapsulated and prefigured the main trends of the Greek Revival: consummate artistry, truth nature, and a genius which rapt the beholder. To be Greek meant to exhibit a matchless simplicity and naturalness'. Ancient Greece represented the concepts of freedom, beauty and knowledge and Homer was considered the acme of the Greek literary genius.<sup>18</sup>

Within this intellectual climate, the geographical context of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* attracted travellers and scholarly members of the newly founded antiquarian societies, such as the *English Society of the Dilettanti* (1734). The desire to visit the Troad with Homer in one's hand in order to be close to his sublime world titillated the minds of these travellers. In this context, Robert Wood, in his *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), tells us that his travels to the eastern Mediterranean were stirred by his desire to read Homeric poems 'in the countries where Ulysses travelled and where Homer sung' in order to understand them better.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, increasing interest in archaeology and the discovery of the geographical context of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* stimulated the interest in Homer all the more. Finally, during the nineteenth-century Homer became the original master of European Poetry.

The affection for Greece felt by well-educated Europeans was considerable during this era. The Greek War of Independence (1821-1832) against the Ottomans stimulated the interest in ancient classical Greece even more. During

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<sup>18</sup> Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe', *European Review*, 171-176; Richard Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods. The Search for Classical Greece* (London 1987) 111-120.

<sup>19</sup> Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, *Scramble for the Past. A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul 2011) Introduction, 19-21.

the second half of the nineteenth century the individual identification with the classics changed into a national identification and the study of the classics became highly influenced by modern nation building. In this era of neo-humanism, characterized by the nationalization of humanities, classical Greece became the basis of the construction of national identity in various European countries, such as Germany, England and France. The identification of Europe with civilization and emerging cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century increased the appreciation of Homer and his heroes in Europe all the more. Homer became a strong element in European education in this period in which the nationalization of the masses took place.<sup>20</sup>

Archaeology played a major role in the process of legitimizing national identities. In his groundbreaking work on the origins of archaeology, *The Discovery of the Past*, Alain Schnapp regards archaeology as a nineteenth century invention.<sup>21</sup> Learned interest in antiquity – in historical texts or the material remains – had existed since ancient times, irrespective of origin or religion. By the nineteenth century, however, European interest in antiquity was no longer just antiquarian or scholarly; it was above all intertwined with a new understanding of history – the development from a universal history to a national history – and western imperialism, with its ambitions for colonial expansion and cultural supremacy.<sup>22</sup> Europeans had assigned themselves the role of the inheritors of antiquity, responsible for its study and preservation. The study of the antiquities became

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<sup>20</sup> Pim den Boer, 'Neohumanism: Ideas, Identities, Identification', in: Margriet Haagsma, Pim den Boer and Eric M. Moormann (eds.), *The Impact of Classical Greece on European and National Identities*, Proceedings of an international colloquium, Netherlands Institute Athens 2000, publications of the NIA, IV, (Amsterdam 2003); Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe', *European Review*, 177-181; See for relevant work on the emergence and development of nationalism and mass democracy: George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from The Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York 2001).

<sup>21</sup> Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past. The origins of archaeology* (London 1996).

<sup>22</sup> Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, 177, 150; See for the development of a new understanding of history in the first part of the nineteenth century: Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York 1970); For the study of universal history and national history: Hans Erich Bödeker, 'Universal History and National History', in: *Unity and Diversity in European Culture c.1800, Proceedings of the British Academy*, 134, (London, 2006); See for a critical treatise of the history of European expansion around the world and its 'universal' legitimizations: Immanuel Wallerstein, *European Universalism. The rhetoric of Power* (New York 2006).

the study of the origins of European civilization ‘presented as a new discovery and development, emerging out of western European forms of scholarly knowledge’. Hence, the development of archaeology and thought was strongly related to the political aims of nations and their ‘constructions of the European ancient past in the Mediterranean world’.<sup>23</sup>

The museum as a modern institution was highly instrumental to the association of ‘civilization’ with Europe and the promotion of this idea in the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Particularly from the 1840s onwards, national identity became the focus of the museums in Europe. By the 1870s, large-scale state-funded archaeological expeditions increased and European museums in the capital cities expanded. Through narratives of the museums, classical objects became national symbols and a fundamental part of the modern collective identity of nations. The desire to collect antiquities to stock the European museums reached high levels. The antique collections represented national power and influence.<sup>25</sup> Possessing ancient objects meant being incorporated in the narrative of the universal history of civilization, and above all, it implied the possession of ‘the idea they represented: civilization itself’. This resulted in a true competition between European nations for the ownership of the material remains of ancient classical Greece.<sup>26</sup>

The ‘inherited’ remains of classical Greece which European museums competed for were not in France, Germany or Britain, but lay to a large extent on and under Ottoman soil. The Ottomans, however, were not exactly European

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<sup>23</sup> Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, Introduction, 16, 25-29.

<sup>24</sup> For the correlation between civilization and Europe, see: Pim den Boer, *Europa. De Geschiedenis van een Idee* (Amsterdam 2003) and Pim den Boer (ed.), *Beschaving. Een geschiedenis van de begrippen, hoofsheid, heusheid, beschaving en cultuur* (Amsterdam 2001).

<sup>25</sup> For the development and function of national museums and the relationship with constructions of national identities, see: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers et al, *National Museums and National Identity, seen from an International and Comparative Perspective (c. 1760-1916) 10-13*: <http://www.huizingainstituut.nl/beheer/wp-content/uploads/National-Museums-and-National-Identity.pdf> and Mirjam Hoijsink, *Exhibiting the Past. Caspar Reuvs and the Museums of Antiquities in Europe, 1800-1840* (Turnhout 2012); For the Ottoman context see: Wendy M.K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, archaeology, and the visualization of history in the late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 2003).

<sup>26</sup> Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, introduction.

favourites. Quite the contrary, as the leader of the liberal party and Prime minister of Britain, William Gladstone (1809-1898), who wrote a respectable number of articles and books on Homer, once stated ‘from the black day when they first entered Europe, [they have been] the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilisation disappeared from view’, the Ottomans were considered as ‘terrifying invaders’.<sup>27</sup> Considering themselves the legitimate claimants of ancient Greece, European nations believed that they had to protect this heritage against the ‘barbarian’ inhabitants of these regions in the East, who could not have any historical relationship to ancient sites and antiquities. European moral superiority justified intervention and transport of antiquities.<sup>28</sup>

An important source for the classical idea of the contrast between the east and the west, the orient and the occident, Asia and Europe was, in fact, Homer. In the history of Greek ideology the war for Troy played a significant role in the military conflicts with the east.<sup>29</sup> From a political point of view, it was crucial for the Trojan War to ‘be interpreted as a battle of East against West, Europe against Asia. Whoever undertook anything similar recalled the epic model’.<sup>30</sup> This principal idea of a contrast between the east and the west was expressed by Gladstone as follows: ‘A finer sense, higher intelligence, a firmer and more masculine tissue of character, were the basis of distinctions in polity which were then Archaian and Trojan only, but have since, through long ages of history been in no small measure European and Asiatic respectively’.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> William Ewart Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London 1876) 9.

<sup>28</sup> Zainab Bahrani, ‘Untold Tales of Mesopotamian Discovery’ and George Tolia, ‘“An Inconsiderate Love of the Arts”: The Spoils of Greek Antiquities, 1780-1820’ in: Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, 125-157 (126), 71-95 (71-73).

<sup>29</sup> Katharina Wesselman and Andreas Gyr, ‘Ein ideologischer Ausgangspunkt Europäischen Denkens’, in: Barbara Theune-Grosskopf et al (eds), *Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit*. (Stuttgart 2001) 32-34.

<sup>30</sup> Manfred Korfmann and Dietrich Mannsperger, *Homer. The Iliad and After* (Istanbul 1992) 8.

<sup>31</sup> Gladstone quoted in: Den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe’, *European Review*, 180; The medieval sentiments were in favour of the Trojans. For centuries legendary rulers and a variety of people identified themselves with Troy and traced their founders to the Trojan heroes. Until the eighteenth century Virgil was more appreciated, however, this changed with the study of Greeks texts. From the eighteenth century onwards, Homer rose in esteem and the affection for Greece increased considerably (see page 12-16 of this research).

### The Longest Century of the Empire

The nineteenth century or the ‘longest century of the Empire’, as the prominent Turkish historian İlber Ortaylı termed this tumultuous final century of the Empire, was for the Ottomans a turbulent and enervating era in which major transformations took place and the foundations were laid for important future developments and institutions.<sup>32</sup> Once one of the most superior powers in the world, controlling a large part of southeastern Europe, North Africa and Western Asia, the Ottoman Empire had fallen into a situation in which they had to deal with serious internal nationalist breakaway movements and European imperial aspirations of controlling their territories. The separatist movements were on the whole supported by the Great Powers and resulted in enormous territorial losses. When it comes to the fragmentation of the Empire, one can say that the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 was a zenith: the Empire saw a vast decrease of its European territories and was painfully confronted with the expanded power of Europe, ‘parcelling out Ottoman territories and forcing its wishes on the world’. Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania became formally sovereign and Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under Habsburg administration. Territorial losses continued, with the Great War as the culminating point.<sup>33</sup>

The weakness of the Ottoman Empire and its political, economic and social consequences were a major issue on the international political agenda. European attitudes were rather ambivalent: on the one hand there was a consensus for maintaining the Empire and on the other hand, the various wars with the Empire and support of separatist movements stimulated its disintegration.<sup>34</sup>

For the Ottomans the era was a time of weakness and disintegration par excellence. Leading figures of the Ottoman society tried to save the Empire by far-reaching modernization. During the *Tanzimat* (reorganization) era (1839-1876) the government explicitly accepted European values, the basic principles

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<sup>32</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı* (Istanbul 2006).

<sup>33</sup> Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (New York 2005) 59.

<sup>34</sup> The so-called ‘Eastern Question’: how to satisfy the various national movements in the Balkan and the imperialist ambitions of the Great Powers, without destroying the Ottoman Empire. And if the Empire would collapse, how to split it up rightly to avoid disturbance of the European balance of power, see: Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History* (London 2004) 38; see also: Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*, 32 and Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 56.

of the Enlightenment, and it made modernization a state programme. We may say that with the *Tanzimat* edict in 1839 the Empire and its society left the circle of civilization in which it had lived for centuries and declared its entrance into another civilization, the Western-European one, which it had been in conflict with for centuries.<sup>35</sup>

The main goal of this radical top-down programme of political reforms, promulgated by Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and carried out by his sons Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861) and Abdülaziz I (1830-1876), was to create a modern, centralized, unitarian and constitutional state, in order to restrain separatist movements and control the power. The centralization of the state during the era of the *Tanzimat* created a dominating bureaucracy. Members of this bureaucracy mainly attended European schools to learn Western languages and technical skills in order to pass this knowledge on to other Ottoman students. These dominant bureaucrats presented a new Ottoman identity, with a modern or western look and lifestyle.<sup>36</sup>

The reforms and the westernization in the nineteenth century stimulated the influence of European culture on Ottoman-Turkish art, literature and culture. Particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century the Empire saw a fundamental cultural change: Western political concepts, ideas of the Enlightenment, ancient philosophy and history and civilization became a part of the Turkish intellectual patrimony.<sup>37</sup>

### Ottoman Reclaim of Classical Antiquities

Transformations in social, economic and political life triggered the search for change in Ottoman literature. The literary production from the 1850s onwards,

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<sup>35</sup> Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul 1956) 126-129; The *Tanzimat* period matched the economic boom of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>36</sup> Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 62-64 ; Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 56-58, 66-68.

<sup>37</sup> Günsel Renda, 'The Ottoman Empire and Europe: Cultural Encounters', in: Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu (ed.), *Cultural Contacts in Building a Universal Civilisation: Islamic Contributions* (Istanbul 2005) 277-303; See for a general account of Ottoman modernization processes, among others, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford – New York 2002); İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en Uzun Yüzyılı* (Istanbul 2006); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal 1964); Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2, (Cambridge 1976).

generally called the *New Ottoman/Turkish Literature*, was interwoven with French literature.<sup>38</sup> Translations of eighteenth-century classics, such as Fénelon's novel *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, philosophical dialogues from a variety of French writers, such as Voltaire (*Dialogues et Entretiens Philosophiques*), Fénelon (*Dialogues*) and Fontenelle (*Dialogue des Morts*) and poetry of La Fontaine, Lamartine, Gilbert and Racine engendered a lively interest in ancient Greek history and mythology and triggered new translations.<sup>39</sup>

The intellectual modernizations, the progress in public education, the rise of printing and publishing and the innovations within the Ottoman literature in the second half of the nineteenth century created a climate in which western humanist philosophy and classical Greek literature could penetrate in Ottoman literature and shape the ideas of the intelligentsia of the late Ottoman Empire. New literary genres were introduced and knowledge of Greek literature and tragedy increased and became more and more a point of reference; in Ottoman painting and sculpture Greek mythology also became an important source of inspiration.<sup>40</sup>

Changes in society intensify the need for history. As Herman Lübbe, who introduced the concept of 'Musealisierung', emphasizes, the institutionalization of historical interest in the West is strongly connected with the speed of modernization.<sup>41</sup> The emerging new institutions in the Ottoman Empire during the era of modernizations, such as the ministries of trade and commerce, health, education and public works, included a museum. Although the Ottoman

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<sup>38</sup> Süheyla Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi* (1860-1908) (Sivas 2010) 2-4, 23; Ali Budak, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde Çok Yönlü Bir Osmanlı Aydını Münif Paşa* (İstanbul 2004) 289, 362-368, 397; M. Orhan Okay, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nin yenileşme döneminde Türk edebiyatı', *Osmanlı uygarlığı II* (Ankara 2002) 215-217; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en Uzun Yüzyılı*, 244-254; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Dersleri* (İstanbul 2004) 59.

<sup>39</sup> Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha (ed.), *Routledge encyclopedia of translation studies* (Abingdon 2009) 556; Şevket Toker, *Türk Edebiyatında Nev-Yunalilik* (1979) 4, [www.ege-edebiyat.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=459](http://www.ege-edebiyat.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=459), (02/04/2013); See also Cemil Meriç, *Bu Ülke* (İstanbul 1976) 115; Tanpınar, *XIX. Asir Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 38-40 and Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 1-3.

<sup>40</sup> Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi* (1860-1908) 2-4, 23; Ali Budak, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde Çok Yönlü Bir Osmanlı Aydını Münif Paşa*, 289, 362-368, 397; M. Orhan Okay, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nin yenileşme döneminde Türk edebiyatı', *Osmanlı uygarlığı, II*, (Ankara 2002) 215-217; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en Uzun Yüzyılı*, 244-254; Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Dersleri*, 59.

<sup>41</sup> Hermann Lübbe, *Der Fortschritt und das Museum. Über den Grund unseres Vergnügens an historischen Gegenständen* (London 1982) 16-19.

collection of antiquities goes further back, the first formal ‘Collection of Antiquities’ was sanctioned in 1846. By 1869, the Ottomans published their first bylaw on antiquities and entitled their – in the meantime considerably expanded - collection in the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun), which they perceived as a product of progress and modernity.<sup>42</sup>

Due to the breakaway movements in the Balkan and Anatolia and the ‘continuing territorial erosion’ during the nineteenth century, the Empire lost its multiple ethnicities that had for centuries been part of the imperial identity. This urged the intelligentsia and the ruling elite to define a new identity for the Empire. Within this process of cultural change and identity building ‘the multiple layers of the land’s history’ were embraced and the ancient works – *asar-i atika* in bureaucratic jargon of the time<sup>43</sup> – were increasingly collected, preserved and displayed in the Ottoman Imperial Museum.<sup>44</sup>

### Discovery of Troy

Fascinated by Homer and in search of the historicity of the Iliad, Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890) excavated at Hisarlık, on the Asian shore of the

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<sup>42</sup> Halit Çal, ‘Osmanlı Devleti’nde Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri’, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXVI, (1997); Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 47; Edhem Eldem, ‘From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869’, in: Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, 281-283.

<sup>43</sup> Nineteenth-century bureaucratic correspondence, antiquities regulations and laws show a development in the way how Ottomans defined antiquities. In various texts of the first two decennia of the nineteenth century antiquities were called ‘image-bearing stones’ (*musavver taş parçası*) or ‘old marble stones and earthen pots decorated with figures’ (*eski suretli mermer taşları ve toprak saksıları*). During the 1820s definitions like ‘ancient buildings’ (*ebniye-i kadime asarı*) can be found in the administrative vernacular. In the second half of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, antiquities were generally called ‘*asar-i atika*’, but sometimes also ‘the valuable produce of the [Ottoman] land of plenty’. According to the antiquities law of 1884 ancient objects were defined as ‘all of the artefacts left by the ancient peoples who inhabited the Ottoman Empire’. From this point of view the Ottoman elite developed their vision of antiquities from stones without any form of historic or artistic value to essential aesthetical and historical objects that were part of the Ottoman patrimony. Source: Halit Çal, ‘Osmanlı Devleti’nde Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri’, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXVI, (1997); Edhem Eldem, ‘From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869’, in: Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, 281-331; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 108-127; Ahmet Ersoy, ‘A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism: The Elbise-i ‘Osmaniyye Album’, *Muqarnas*, 20, (2003) endnote nr 17, 204.

<sup>44</sup> Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, 53-57; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 95; Zeynep Çelik, ‘Defining Empire’s Patrimony: Ottoman Perception of Antiquities’, in: *Essays: Osman Hamdi Bey. New Interpretations*, as part of the exhibition in the Penn Museum: Archaeology in Ottoman lands, 26<sup>th</sup> September 2010 – 26<sup>th</sup> June 2011: [www.ottomanlands.com/essays/osman-hamdi-bey](http://www.ottomanlands.com/essays/osman-hamdi-bey) (19/08/2013) 2.

Dardanelles, in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup> His excavations definitely rank among the most imposing archaeological activities that took place in the Ottoman territories. Heinrich Schliemann carried out his famous excavations in an era in which the appreciation of classical heritage by the Muslim cultural elite of the Ottoman Empire had already become apparent.

Schliemann's first campaign of excavations (1871-1874) resulted in his claim of the discovery of Homeric Troy and the finding of what has been termed 'Priam's Treasure', which he illegally removed from the Empire. Schliemann's archaeological activities and his Trojan discoveries received global acclaim and impressed nineteenth-century Europe. It triggered the European appropriation of Homer all the more.<sup>46</sup>

Schliemann and his successor Wilhelm Dörpfeld's research and excavations in the last quarter of the nineteenth century revealed many impressive walls and an archaeological web of various layers on top of each other spanning a period of more than 4,000 years. It appeared to be that Troy had a long history of human habitation and that there was no one single Troy, but many, at least ten (fig. 7).<sup>47</sup>

### New Heroes of the Dardanelles

The years prior to the Great War were extremely turbulent and dynamic, but most of all the most ruinous period in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Various revolutions, coups and wars took place, resulting in internal unrest and severe territorial losses. To name a few major events: the constitutional revolution of 1908 by the Young Turks (united in the *Committee of Union and Progress*, CUP)<sup>48</sup> and the end of the Hamidian regime, the counterrevolution of 1909, revolts in Albania, Kosovo and Yemen, the Ottoman-Italian War in 1911-1912, the coup of 1913 (consolidating the power of the CUP) and the Balkan

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<sup>45</sup> Schliemann's biographies include: Sophia Schliemann, *Heinrich Schliemann's Selbstbiographie: Bis zu seinem Tode vervollständigt* (Leipzig 1936); Emile Ludwig, *Schliemann of Troy. The Story of a Goldseeker* (London & New York 1931); David A. Traill, *Schliemann of Troy* (New York 1995); For Schliemann's life in the Netherlands see: Wout Arentzen, *Schliemann en Nederland. Een Leven Vol Verhalen* (Leiden 2012).

<sup>46</sup> Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe', 182; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 123.

<sup>47</sup> Gert Jan van Wijngaarden. 'The Archaeology of Troy in Prehistory', in: Kelder, Uslu, Şerifoğlu (eds.), *Troy. City, Homer and Turkey*, 23-29.

<sup>48</sup> The members of this constitutional movement in France called themselves Jeunes Turcs.

Wars in 1912-1913.<sup>49</sup>

Particularly the results of the Balkan Wars between the Balkan League (Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia) and the Ottoman Empire were fatal for the Ottomans: almost all the Balkan territories were lost and the Empire was severely weakened. Although the Empire was in no condition to fight a serious war, it decided to join the central powers in October 1914, thus entering its final war.<sup>50</sup> Defending the Dardanelles against enemy attacks was a major concern for the Ottomans during the Great War. With the Dardanelles Campaign or the so-called Battle of Gallipoli in 1915 the heroic landscape of the Troad once again turned into a legendary battlefield between the east and the west.

The Trojan War introduced the first heroes of history. During the Trojan War, the Trojan warriors, supported by other Anatolian nations, defended their country on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles against enemies from the west. More than 3000 years later, during the Battle of Gallipoli, Ottoman troops from all over the Empire fought against the Western allies in the same region.

These new Anatolian heroes of the Dardanelles managed to stop the enemy: the Battle of Gallipoli resulted in an Ottoman victory. The most important hero of the Dardanelles was the Ottoman commander Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), later to be known as Atatürk,<sup>51</sup> the first president of the Republic of Turkey (1923), who had already in 1913 followed the trails of the legendary figures such as the Persian King Xerxes and Alexander the Great, during a military exploration trip to Troy.<sup>52</sup> The Turkish defence of the Dardanelles was highly instrumental in the creation of Turkish nationalism and collective memory in the last years of the

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<sup>49</sup> See for an overview of the political and economical developments in this period: Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey. A modern History*, in particular chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>50</sup> See for the motives for the participation of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War: Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 110-114.

<sup>51</sup> Mustafa Kemal received his surname Atatürk from the Turkish parliament in 1934. In modern Turkish Atatürk means: Father of the Turks.

<sup>52</sup> Mithat Atabay, 'Balkan Muharebeleri Esnasında Mustafa Kemal'in Çanakkale Bölgesinde Yaptığı Faaliyetler', Symposium *Çanakkale 1915 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve Çağdaş Türkiye*, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University (08 Ocak 2010), paper published in: *Çanakkale 1915, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve Çağdaş Türkiye. Uluslararası Atatürk'ü Çağdaş Yorumlama ve Anma Programı-2, Türkiye Barolar Birliği Yayınları*, 176, kültür serisi: 4, Atatürk serisi: 3 (Ankara 2010) 31-49; Mithat Atabay and Rüstem Aslan, 'Atatürk in Troy', in: Kelder, Uslu and Serifoglu, *Troy. City, Homer and Turkey* (Amsterdam 2012) 155-160; Patrick Kinross, *Atatürk. The Rebirth of a Nation* (London 2003) 96-98.

Ottoman Empire and in the new Republic of Turkey in particular. The landscape of the Dardanelles is in fact one of the most important ‘lieu de mémoire’ of modern Turks.<sup>53</sup>

### Troy, Homer and the Turks

There has been a great deal of valuable historical research into Homer, the archaeology of Troy and in particular into Schliemann and his archaeological activities in the Troad. Most research, however, largely relies on Western sources. Hardly any attention has been paid to the archaeological concerns and interests of the Ottoman themselves.<sup>54</sup> What was the Ottoman attitude towards Schliemann’s archaeological activities and the repeated illegal transportations of artefacts that Schliemann undertook?

Schliemann, and his successor Wilhelm Dörpfeld, had to deal with Ottoman rules and directions and had to cope with Ottoman authorities who were in one way or another engaged in the Ottoman modernization programme. These bureaucrats were mostly part of the elite who had initiated the reforms or were the product of the intellectual modernizations and innovations. Schliemann was faced with their archaeological concerns and interests, which did not always run parallel to his own. In fact, Schliemann’s illegal transportation of the principal treasuries of Troy created a feeling of great loss on Ottoman side. Ottoman authorities, who regarded Troy as ‘the most eminent city of ancient times’,<sup>55</sup> felt deceived and public opinion was highly indignant. The discovery of Troy and the subsequent archaeological research stimulated Ottoman interest in Homer and Troy. This resulted in various attempts at translating the *Iliad* into Ottoman-Turkish, biographical notes on the poet, informative articles on Homeric

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<sup>53</sup> Muzaffer Albayrak, Ayhan Özyurt (ed.) *Yeni Mecmua*, özel sayısı 18/03/1918, (Istanbul 2006) preface; Martin Kraaijestein and Paul Schulten, *Het Epos van Gallipoli: feiten, verhalen en mythen over de geallieerde aanval op Turkije tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Soesterberg 2009); See also the numerous reports, accounts and anecdotes published in the newspaper *İkdam* between 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1914 and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1916, collected in: Murat Çulcu, *İkdam Gazetesi’nde Çanakkale Cephesi* (Istanbul 2004).

<sup>54</sup> Although the title of Jerry Toner’s recently published book *Homer’s Turk: How Classics Shaped Ideas of the East* (London 2013) suggests an exploration of the views of the East, the book deals with the way how classical authors have been used to express western ideas of the East.

<sup>55</sup> Istanbul Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry/Başbakanlık Arşivi (IBA): I.HR. 250/14863 (1 & 2): 01/Ra/1288 (20/06/1871) & 10-11/Ra/1288 (29-30/06/1871).

literature and the topographical characteristics of Homeric locations on Ottoman soil. However, Ottoman appreciation of Homeric epics and the appropriation of the remains of Troy do not really match with the rather passive role given to the Ottomans in the historiography of archaeology and cultural history.<sup>56</sup>

This research suggests that the Ottomans were much more interested in classical heritage, in particular Homeric heritage, than the historiography of archaeology has previously acknowledged. Analysing Ottoman documents and literature sheds more light on the Ottoman-Turkish involvement and interest in Homeric heritage. This study relies for a large part on Ottoman sources, such as administrative, political and diplomatic documents related to the excavations in Troy and found in the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul and the Imperial Museum Archives and Library in Istanbul, and on the analyses of Ottoman translations of the *Iliad* and various publications and articles related to Troy and Homer in Ottoman newspapers and periodicals found in various libraries in Istanbul.

As Donald Quataert, discussing the main developments in the later ages of the Ottoman period in *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, notes, the Empire played a vital role in European and global history and ‘it continues to affect the peoples of the Middle East, the Balkans and Central and Western Europe to the present day’.<sup>57</sup> However, in spite of its important position, the Ottoman Empire is usually left out of most European cultural histories. It generally receives only passing attention, or is even entirely neglected. The narrative of the rise of western scientific archaeology, likewise, has largely been written from ‘one perspective only, and by silencing local voices’. Excluding local actors and neglecting Ottoman documents and history resulted in ‘a biased presentation’ of the developments. In this respect, the revealing recent work *Scramble for the Past* disrupts the conventional account of archaeology by underlining

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<sup>56</sup> Edhem Eldem, Abstract ‘Ottoman Archaeology in the Late-Nineteenth Century. The Local Dimension’, Conference *Owning the Past. Archaeology and Cultural Patrimony in the Late Ottoman Empire* (UCLA February 29- March 1 2008): [www.etc.ucla.edu/ottomanconf08/abstracts/eldem\\_abstract.htm](http://www.etc.ucla.edu/ottomanconf08/abstracts/eldem_abstract.htm) (10/02/2008).

<sup>57</sup> Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, covertext.

interactions between the ‘east’ and the ‘west’ and inserting the Ottomans as ‘major players of the game’.<sup>58</sup>

In this study Schliemann’s famous archaeological activities are placed in the context of the history and developments of the late Ottoman Empire. This research aims to include the Ottoman perspective and position into the history of the archaeology of Troy and to show interactions between the Ottomans and western archaeologists, politicians and diplomats and the cultural and political frameworks in which they operated. It brings together the Ottoman and European experiences and traditions regarding Homer and Troy. The time frame of this study, too, brings the west and the east together: it begins in 1870, when Schliemann started his first excavations on Ottoman soil, and ends with a modern battle between east and west in the Troad, the Battle of Gallipoli in 1915, when Troy received a wholly new dimension and became a component of the heroic story of the Turks.

Homeric heritage inspired not only European imagination but Turkish cultural traditions as well. It is fascinating to see that not only Europe and the West claim Homer and Troy, but the Ottoman-Turks as well. The exploration of the process of appropriation of Homeric heritage by the Ottoman-Turks can give more insight into the interpreting and the claims of ownership and a better understanding of the interplay between the awareness and presentation of cultural heritage and contemporary political and social developments.

Deciphering Ottoman-Turkish manuscripts is a great challenge. Within the framework of this research, I had the pleasure to decipher a number of Ottoman articles and administrative, political and diplomatic documents. I translated parts of these texts from the Ottoman language into English to be included in this thesis. These translations are highlighted and framed in the main text of this research.

Transliteration from Ottoman-Turkish to modern Turkish is also a complex venture. On the advice of my highly professional Ottoman teacher and member of the staff of the Ottoman State Archives, Mustafa Kucuk, I decided to stay as

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<sup>58</sup> Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, Introduction, 28-33.

close as possible to the Ottoman spelling. This had consequences for the names of Ottoman sultans, officials and authors, such as Mehmed (Mehmet in modern Turkish), Izzeddin (Izzettin) and Galib (Galip) for instance. Yet, since modern Turkish deviates strongly from Ottoman Turkish, consistency on this matter was not possible. Following the footsteps of the editors of *Scramble for the Past*, in some words and expressions I preferred modern Turkish, for instance: Bey (Beğ in Ottoman Turkish). The word Pasha, on the other hand, has entered the English language. Therefore, I decided not to use the Turkish spelling (Paşa).

The Ottomans used more than one calendar throughout the time frame of this study: the Islamic calendar based on a lunar year starting with the migration of the prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD, *Hicri*, and the Roman calendar, *Rumi*, based on a solar year, corresponding with the Julian calendar, yet starting in 622 AD. In this survey, I have first noted the dates of the Ottoman documents in Ottoman calendars (*Hicri*: shortened and *Rumi*: completely) and subsequently between brackets the corresponding Western dates.

Chapter 1 of this research concentrates on the discovery of Troy. Chapter 2 shifts to the Ottoman perspective on the developments in Troy and deals with the intellectual climate of the late Ottoman Empire. Chapter 3 discusses the Ottoman involvement in the archaeology of Troy during the early 1880s and the repeating clashes between Ottoman authorities and Schliemann. Chapter 4 deals with the interest in Homer, Homeric epics and Troy in Ottoman Turkish literature. The final chapter deals with the Ottoman interest in the excavations in Troy between 1885 and 1915 and the changing attitudes towards Troy and Homer during the Great War with the Battle of Gallipoli as the culminating point.

Although much more research needs to be done before we really get a thorough understanding of the Ottoman perspective, I hope this study will offer some insight into the Ottoman-Turkish attitudes towards and perceptions of Troy and Homeric heritage and the interactions with western archaeological claims.



Figure 1  
Homer Monument in Izmir, by the Turkish sculptor Professor Ferit Özşen, erected in 2002 (Photo Saffet Gözlükaya, 28 October 2012).



Figure 2  
4th-century (BA) Homer sculpture in the Museum of Art and History in Izmir (Photo Günay Uslu, 18 March 2008).

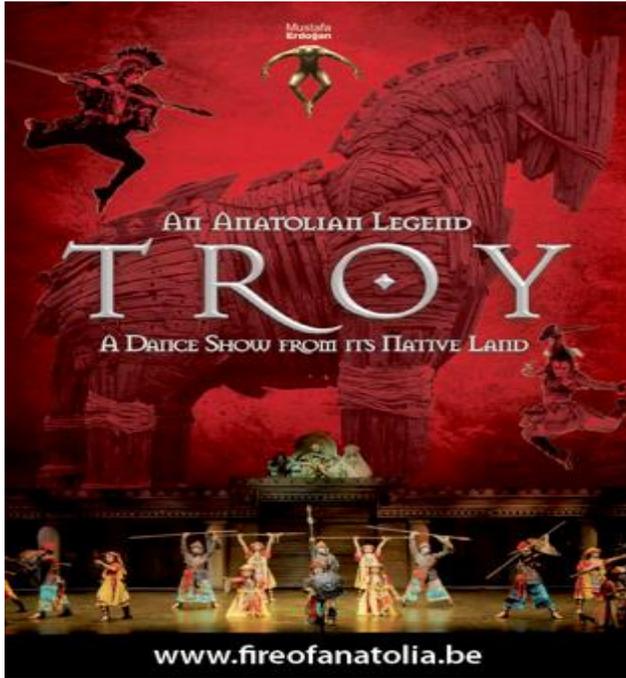


Figure 3  
A Poster of the popular  
Turkish Dance Performance.



Figure 4  
A Poster of the yearly Troy  
Festival in Çanakkale.



Figure 5  
The wooden horse from  
the 2004 Hollywood  
movie Troy in Çanakkale  
(Photo Günay Uslu, 6  
November 2012).



Figure 6  
Sultan Mehmed II (ca. 1480),  
attributed to the court painter  
Şiblizade Ahmed or his master  
Sinan Bey (Kelder, Uslu and  
Şerifoğlu 2012).



Figure 7

Troy has a long history of settlement. The artificial mound of Hisarlık, the current name for Troy, can be subdivided in nine major layers of construction, starting in the third millennium BC, with the a Greek and Roman settlement from 700 BC to 450 AD on the eighth and ninth phase. The tenth layer consists a Byzantine church (Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, 2012).