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"THE ILIAD" AND THE LYCIAN LOCATION OF MOST OF THE ACTIONS OF THE "TROJAN WAR"

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ABSTRACT

While the *Iliad*, by 'Homer' is not an account of history, but a work of epic poetry, analogous to modern 'historical fiction', nonetheless the history – the real events influencing it – has intrigued humanity since it was created close to 3000 years ago. While it can be agreed that no war of this magnitude ever occurred, the consensus is that somewhere a war of this nature *did* occur and became the central inspiration for the work. The long-accepted location of the real events has been near the mouth of the Dardanelles the ancient "Hellespont". A fortified city there has been excavated by archeologists but it does not agree with what was expected, based on the details in the *Iliad*. That "Troy" was not there was already proposed in ancient times, and the mystery has endured as to where the events – with the city, the landscape, the rivers, etc – took place. The proposals have ranged widely, from other locations in Asia Minor to even the Baltic. But the answer may lie within the *Iliad* itself, in the author's many references to Lycia, and in particular to using an alternative name for Scamander – *Xanthos* – which is the river in Lycia around which the original Lycian civilization developed. Andres Pääbo therefore went on the internet and searched for everything he could find about ancient Lycia (southwest Turkey today) and the ancient *Xanthos* River, and found remarkable agreement with the *Iliad* details, if one allows that over the past 3000 years or more, there was a bay that was gradually filled up with river sediment coming down from the mountains, and the beach was several kilometers inland, above today's Kinik. In that setting, the ancient city of *Tlos* would be identifiable with the "Troy" of the *Iliad*.

1.
INTRODUCTION: REAL CONTENT WITHIN THE POETRY

MYSTERY ABOUT THE LOCATION DESCRIBED IN THE ILIAD

Answering the question of where was the location of the Trojan War presented by Homer in the ***Iliad***, has been one that has gone on for ages. The locating and unearthing of Troy has been pursued by archeology in recent times in the location where it has traditionally been assumed to be located – on the coast of Anatolia at the beginning the channel called Dardanelles, considered the ancient *Hellespont,*   that links the

Mediterranean to the Black Sea. But although the ruins of a city have been found, the results have not agreed with the Troy depicted in the *Iliad*.

THE NORTH ANATOLIAN SITE POSES PROBLEMS

Nor does the location in general fit the descriptions in the *Iliad* very well. The ancient scholar Strabo first questioned the long-assumed Anatolian location. He reported that the assumed plain of Troy had been an inlet of the sea during the Trojan War and had since that time become filled by the sediments from the river. If that was the case, the traditional assumed location of Troy on the hill of Hisarlik, would have placed it too close to the beach where the invaders landed. The *Iliad* suggests there was a plain of considerable size that the armies could move through back and forth. Troy ought to be many kilometers from the beach. Modern testing has affirmed what Strabo said, and this filling up of a bay is also what we expect from rivers descending to the sea. Rivers constantly bring sediment and deposit it when they slow down after tumbling rapidly. What develops is what is called an alluvial plain. If the river enters a bay, that bay will gradually fill up. If the river does not enter a bay, if there is no bay, what results is a delta – the sediment extends itself into the sea. Thus if there is no delta at the mouth of the Scamander River (today called Menderes), then at one time there must have been a bay that filled up.

As Strabo wrote long ago about the traditionally assumed location of Troy "*This is not the site of the ancient Ilium if one considers the matter in accordance with Homer's account...*" (Strabo, ***Geography***, 13,1,27)

In terms of archeology and other information: There is nothing in the archeology of Greece or Asia Minor or from the Linear B tablets found at Mycenea that fit the tale of a large confederation sailing against Troy and its allies. There is no evidence of any Mycenean coalition lead by a Mycenean king, nor at the Troy excavations any evidence of it being captured, certainly not by such a gigantic force.

Another issue arises in regards to the distance of the allies who came to the aid of Troy. Some appear to come from quite far, and indeed the *Iliad* acknowledges it when goddess Iris in Book 2 informs Hector before the *Iliad* lists the allies of Troy: (Butler's translation)

Hector, I charge you above all others, do as I say. There are many allies dispersed about the city of Priam from distant places and speaking divers tongues. Therefore, let each chief give orders to his own people, setting them severally in array and leading them forth to battle.

Even in ancient times scholars questioned whether there were so many participants in the war, on either side. Clearly some of the problems in the *Iliad* arise from the author taking poetic liberties in terms of location and participants. Perhaps Troy as described never existed and it is an idealization. Perhaps the location at the Dardanelles is an assumed one as well, and the real war on which this historical fiction is based occurred elsewhere? If so, where could it have occurred?

CURIOSITIES: SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE LYCIANS

I noticed this myself when I reread the Iliad, but others have too. For example here is a comment by Martin P. Nilsson in *The Mycenean Origin of Greek Mythology*.

"The passages where Lycia and Lycians are mentioned are too numerous to be enumerated and I need only point to the prominent part played by Lycian heroes Glaucus, Sarpedon, and Pandarus in various songs of the Iliad. However in the fourth Book, it is said that Pandarus came from the town of Zeleia and the river Aesepus, which flows from Mount Ida to the sea, and these indications are reproduced in the Catalogue of Ships. This contradicts the Lycian location of Pandarus..."

He also points to a similar problem with the Cilicians. While the Cilicians were supposedly located in southeastern Asia Minor, the ruler of the Cilicians and king of Thebes is described in such a way as to suggest Thebes is not far from Troy. It is almost as if in some portions of the *Iliad*, information is given in relation to a Lycian Troy, and perhaps even a Lycian Ida Mountains elsewhere.

In many parts of the *Iliad*, the Trojan side is referred to as *Trojans and Lycians*, almost as if the long list of allies of Troy are not there – well that is explained by assuming the list of allies of Troy is a poetic idealization, and that the real war was carried out by Lycians and whoever the "Trojans" represented (if the reference is to a real people not poet's fiction). Later the *Iliad* also adds the Dardanians. There is no large coalition on either side!!

THE TWO XANTHOS RIVERS MYSTERY

What I found most peculiar was that the *Iliad* always identifies Lycia with the Lycian river *Xanthos*, but then in the thick of the war, uses "Xanthos" to describe the "Scamander" – a substitute name. It makes one wonder if the war described may be taking place in Lycia. It is one of the major reasons for this close look at Lycia as the site of the real war.

To be specific we cite the following passages to show how *Xanthos* (or in Latin – *Xanthus*) is most often associated with Lycia, but then is also a second name for the *Scamander* at the traditionally assumed Dardanelles location of Troy. The small excerpts are from the Butler Engish prose translations:

LYCIAN LOCATION:

► *...Sarpedon and Glaucus led the Lycians from their distant land, by the eddying waters of the <u>Xanthos</u>.* (Note the description 'eddying waters' – it suggests considerable movement: rapids,etc.)

► *...I have come from afar, even from Lycia and the banks of the river <u>Xanthos</u>, where I have left my wife, my infant son, and much wealth to tempt whoever is needy*;

► *.."When he reached the river <u>Xanthos</u>, which is in Lycia, the king received him with all goodwill, feasted him nine days, ...*

► *....Moreover we hold a large estate by the banks of the river <u>Xanthos</u>, fair with orchard lawns and wheat-growing land*

SCAMANDER LOCATION:

►(On the night they camp with fires going) *even thus shone the watchfires of the Trojans before Ilius midway between the ships and the river <u>Xanthos</u>.* (This actually suggests the location – halfway between "Ilium" ("Troy") and the beach.)

► *...When they reached the ford of the fair stream of <u>Xanthos</u>,* (Note to the reference to a ford – *when they reached*, suggests it was not close to the ships but perhaps half way. This also requires the geography to be such that a fording of the *Xanthos* was necessary to reach "Troy")

► *....when they came to the ford of the full-flowing river <u>Xanthos</u>,*

►....*even so was the eddying stream of <u>Xanthos</u> filled with the uproar of men and horses,* (This suggests a stretch near the ford, which was shallow for fording but somewhat rushing)

►....*while you go along the banks of <u>Xanthos</u> burning his trees and wrapping him round with fire*

►… *even so were the goodly waters of <u>Xanthos</u> heated with the fire till they were boiling.*

►....*When they came to the ford of eddying <u>Xanthos</u>,* (Note here that the expression *eddying Xanthos* was used above with reference to the Lycian *Xanthos.*)

The use of "Xanthos" for "Scamander" appears to occur in the actual descriptions of the war. Did the author situate the **Iliad** events in general, in a fictional way at the traditionally assumed location of Troy, but then used (an) account(s) of war elsewhere (ie Lycia?) to describe the war in detail? Did he forget to convert "Xanthos" to "Scamander"?

One notices that the Iliad uses substitute names often. For example the *Achaeans* are alternatively called *Danaans* and *Argives*. Troy itself has the alternative name of *Ilium*. One possibility is that Homer is – as scholars have always believed – drawing from a number of legend sources to weave together a grandiose historical fiction. Perhaps the alternative names pay homage to the particular legends or events used. Perhaps if he used existing verse, he ran into difficulties with meter if he changed names. For instance "Xanthos" is two syllables but "Scamander" is three syllables, and would ruin the lines.

While early in the text the Trojan side is described as "Trojans and Lycians" later he adds the "Dardanians". I presume the Dardanians were the real people at the Dardanelles Troy location, and so, if "Trojans" are fictional, perhaps Homer is acknowledging his reference to two battles – the main one at Lycia and a lesser one at that Dardanian location.

But our desire here is not to debate what Homer may or may not have used as source material and how he wove it into his epic. Our interest here is in the ugly war that takes up very many lines of the **Iliad**, and is portrayed vividly enough that we can clearly picture the landscape. .The Lycia evidence described above, suggests is that if we wish to find the location of the war described we are wise to look to Lycia.

When I did so, I discovered the perfect site for Troy at the ancient site called **Tlos**. Lycian texts call it **Tlawa.** Given that "L" is in the same location as "R" there may once have been an original "TRAWA", which sounds close to Greek *"Troia"*. The Lycian language may have soften its softer R's to L's in the many centuries between the war and Lycian inscriptions. (Note that Chinese languages do not recognize the R, and speakers are inclined to say L so it is not unusual for L and a soft R to become interchangeable.

HISTORICAL FICTION DRAWING ON AUTHOR'S KNOWLEDGE

Most of the problems scholars have encountered about the **Iliad**, must be considered from the point of view of the **Iliad** being an epic poem and NOT a document of history. While there are instances of cultures that have a strong institution of transmitting history orally through generations, there is no evidence such an institution existed in the Greek past. I believe that Homer was a poet, like other poets or minstrels of his day. Such poets were a little annoying to the historians. Herodotus, for example, wondering about the source of the name *Eridanus* a supposed source of trade amber, ended by saying with distain: it was probably invented by the poets!

Still, if we consider that Homer may have borrowed work of another culture, say borrowed a Lycian epic, that the other culture may have been more strict in maintaining the integrity of the verse being passed down. In such a culture, the tale was created long ago, and there would have been a role in the culture for a carrier of oral history. The official singer has all the peoples songs memorized, and then in the course of life passes it all to a young selected protégé to memorize it next, and so it gets passed down orally without being altered. For example such a role existed among the Hanti (Ostjak) peoples. I can therefore entertain the notion that there may have been Lycian epics that had to be memorized faithfully and not altered.

But, unless a culture had such an institution, in which the singers could only originate new verse from their own time, unless that was the case, most commonly and throughout history, poetry produced and sung by minstrels or balladeers, was not intended to preserve history as much as to entertain audiences. History was what the audiences <u>thought</u> to be true. Poets created history as much as responded to whatever it was that audiences considered to be history. If there was truth somewhere in its core, it was quite lost in the fiction that had been created and continued to be created. There is no question that ancient Greek singers took poetic license. They wove interesting tales from many sources together, adapting them to produce the final product that appealed to their audiences. What one minstrel told their public also affected other minstrels. They all had to address the current body of public opinion about Greek history such as it was.

If the *Iliad* presented discrepancies, this was after all, the work of a poet. Any real war experienced by the poet was only the inspiration for the larger entertaining and impressive work of art he sought to create. The author obviously exaggerated, modified and embellished it. There couldn't possibly have been so many boats and such a large army as described in the list of participants in the war Homer depicted. The author can also make mistakes. Who knows what the reason is for a particular curiosity? We cannot go too far in expecting the *Iliad* to present a true account with a real place, people, and war. The *Iliad* is, at best, what we would today call 'historical fiction'. Let's explore this truth.

FICTION IN THE OVERALL – TRUTH IN THE INNER CONTENT

Besides the mythological dimension achieved by the involvement of the gods, there is one significant fact that betrays the *Iliad* as being overall a masterful work of fiction. In Book 2, the *Iliad* offers a list of participants in the war, first on the Achaean side and then the Trojan side.

If we locate the nations on a map of the ancient Aegean, what we find is that the first list includes everyone on the Greek mainland, peninsula and major islands. Next, moving counterclockwise from the Thracian Sea, the second list – the allies of Troy – includes everyone from Thrace clockwise down through Anatolia down to southwestern Turkey (Lycia) and eastward as well into Asia Minor. What we really have is an idealized war that includes EVERYBODY involved in the Aegean – all the Greek nations on the west side of the Aegean and all the NON-Greek nations on the east side of the Aegean – with "Troy" being at a central, and significant, location (significant in that it guards the entry to the passage to the Black Sea).

 It seems quite clear that the author simply listed everyone in the Aegean world of his time, adding notes about their leaders and various tales from his accumulated knowledge in

his life probably as a high-ranking soldier. And then he located the citadel he called "Troy" at the best location for this all-out east-west drama. That means the "Troy" location may be real, and there may have been a fortified city (such as is being found by archeologists) there, but that the "Troy" presented in the *Iliad* was made up, or it was modeled after a real city elsewhere, adapted to suit the Dardanelles/Scamander location. It is this real city, and the real war that inspired the 'historical fiction' that we are interested in here.

Figure 1

A PAST DEPICTION OF THE GREEK WORLD CLOSE TO HOMERIC TIMES
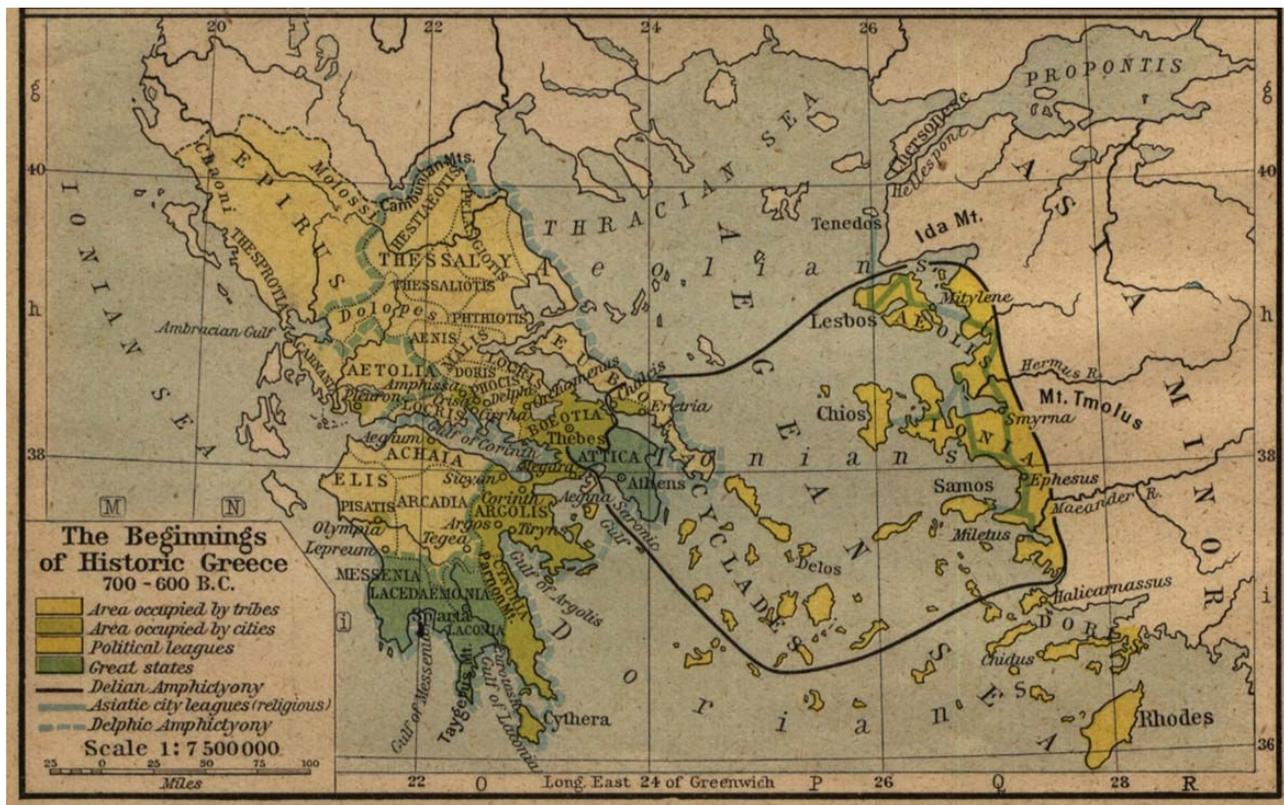
This map helps us understand Homer's purpose. Note the expansion of the Greek world to the Anatolian coast. Essentially, Homer took all these Greek peoples, and pitted them against the NON-Greek peoples of the white regions, at least those bordering the Aegean. He then needed to find a good location for all the Greeks and all the coastal Asia Minor peoples to clash, and the ideal location from many considerations was at the top, where the passage from the Aegean to the Black Sea, so strategic for trade, was located. When viewed in this way, it becomes clear Homer was using poetic license to summarize the history of Greek expansion at the hands of Mycenean kings. "Troy" then becomes symbolic. But in terms of the content of the Iliad, it is obviously compiled and woven together from diverse sources, but I believe, mainly from a real Lycian war since the details of the landscape, the citadel, the river, fit the Lycian location better. Lycia is just off the bottom right corner of the map.

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Anyone learning how to write fiction today will be told to write about what they know. You cannot create a sense of realism about something you know little about. This truth offers the strongest case for the view that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* , although both attributed to "Homer" were written by vastly different kinds of authors and probably centuries apart. The *Odyssey* is dominated by endless drama about events at the household at "Ithaca", suggesting that the author was perhaps a minstrel in such a setting, being able, in his role as minstrel to observe the behaviour of his hosts and the elites who visited.

The *Iliad*, on the other hand is dominated by gruesomely realistic imagery of war. We learn all about how war was waged in those times, including scenes of spears slicing into bodies, splitting heads apart, disemboweling, amputating, etc. Furthermore, in the Catalogue of Ships, the detailed information about the participants, their leaders, their backgrounds seems genuine, and not made up. Would a writer just make up stuff? If so, why does he do it less in his description of allies of Troy?

 The *Iliad* "Homer" was clearly a soldier who had eventually achieved a high rank so as to become knowledgeable about all the Greek peoples in the Greek mainland and peninsula. He had himself witnessed war, and could write about combat in gruesome detail. I believe it is this realism that has made people down through the ages believe it really occurred. The war described <u>probably did, but it was adapted to the larger tale</u>.

While the overall tale was fiction – an exaggerated idealized war describing the Greek-NON-Greek tension and conflict in Aegean history in general – the reality is that Homer could not make up the details of the war. He, or whoever was the author of such a vivid account, must describe a real war somewhere, a real event with boats landing on a beach, a real alluvial plain, a real river, a real fortress, possibly drawing from his own real experience. We should all give up looking for complete truth in the overall tale in the *Iliad*, and instead try to identify the truths in the content that the author used. Where was this beach? Where was the citadel? Where was the alluvial plain? Where was the river? As I said, the evidence seems to point to the core of the war scenes having occurred in Lycia.

2.
THE LYCIAN LOCATION AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

ALL ABOUT LYCIA AND THE LYCIANS

The ancient Lycians inhabited the mountainous territory of present day Turkey between the bays of Antalya and Fethiye. We are interested in the valley of the ancient *Xanthos* River, today called the Eşen River.

References to the Lycians date back to the Late Bronze Age (ca 1500-1200 BC) in numerous Egyptian, Hittite and Ugaritic texts. These references call the Lycians by 'Lukka', but in early records the Lycians themselves never used the 'Lukka' term, but called themselves *Trmmli (Termilae* in Greek) and their country *Trmmisa*. Early records connect the 'Lukka' with pirates. About 1200 BC the name *Sea Peoples* began to appear in

ancient records, a sudden emergence of a group of barbarian tribes who raided and critically damaged the ancient civilizations of Greece, Anatolia and Syria, and seriously threatened the southern Levant and Egypt. Ramses III of Egypt put together a great fleet to take on the 'Lukki' and soon the coast was free of pirates for a while. The king of Alasiya (part of Cyprus) also had problems with the Lukki, he complained that "men of Lukki, year by year, seize villages in my own country."

It is difficult to connect the piratical "Lukki" to Lycians because the Lycians had the ideal location for an economy that would always prosper – endless farmlands in the alluvial soils of the *Xanthos* Valley, and valuable cedars on the hills. Pirates tend to arise from the impoverished peoples – those who are driven to plunder. It seems to me that there is a greater chance of pirates arising from hard-up Aegean seafaring peoples with mere volcanic islands for homes, than from successful ones engaged in farming. But this whole business does underscore one reality – it was possible to make invasions from the sea for the sake of plunder. And that is what we see among individual participants of the Trojan War on the Achaean side. Perhaps individual clans or tribes among the Greek states, helped themselves to making invasions and plunder on their own time, and that this uniting into one massive invasion of Troy was a special occurrence, a forced coalition created by authority of the power of a Mycenian king. But what really is the difference between a piratical attack for plunder and the Achaean invasion of Troy, other than that the latter was larger and more organized? Call them what you will, the Achaeans, the Greeks, are depicted in the ***Iliad***, as one giant piratical organization. Everything there is about winning the war, and procuring plunder. On the Trojan side it is all about self-defence.

Originally, it is thought, Lycia was confined to the *Xanthos* River Valley. That is the sense we get from the ***Iliad*** too. According to the ***Iliad***, they seem to be defined by the *Xanthos* River (See the passages given earlier).. The river may be the true origin for their name – Apparently *Lycus* or *Lykos* (Greek: Λύκος), was a common name for Greek rivers, and *seems to have originated in the impression made upon the mind of the beholder by a torrent rushing down the side of a hill, which suggested the idea of a wolf (Greek: Lykos) rushing at its prey*. (or so says a Wikipedia entry) This certainly agrees with the ***Iliad*** descriptions of the *Xanthos* River as whirling or eddying. It would be incorrect, given the matrilineal and pre-Indo-European roots the Lycians seem to have had, to find their name originating from 'wolf' or aggression. Indeed, as I said, the ***Iliad*** itself pictures the Trojans and Lycians are being defensive, and being forced into war by the aggressors.

The region of the Lycians was a very desirable region. There was plenty reason outsiders would want to conquer it. Sources say that Greeks made efforts to colonize it during the first millennium B.C. but were unsuccessful. What does that mean in practice? Wars in which the Greek immigrants were defeated and chased away? It is in the context of Greek desire to capture and settle this desirable region that we may find the origins of the war described in the ***Iliad***. Were there attempts by Myceneans and their allies to conquer Lycia? History is dark for the period before about the 6th century. We know, however, that Persians attacked the Lycian capital city of ***Xanthos*** around 540BC, and the Lycians put up a strong resistance, but in the end chose mass suicide to defeat. The men of *Xanthos* gathered their wives, children and possessions in the acropolis and set fire to all before rushing out to fight and die, as Herodotus wrote in the 5th century BC:

"The Persian Army entered the plain of Xanthos under the command of Harpagos, and did battle with the Xanthians. The Xanthians fought with small numbers against the

superior Persians forces, with legendary bravery. They resisted the endless Persian forces with great courage, but were finally beaten, their womenfolk, children, slaves and treasures into the fortress. This was then set on fire from, below and around the walls , until destroyed by conflagration. Then the warriors of Xanthos made their final attack on the Persians, their voices raised in calls of war, until every last man from Xanthos was killed."

About 80 families outside the city at the time of the mass suicide survived and the city was repopulated by them and other Lycian immigrants. Persian rule of Lycia was mild and the country was left to continue as before and there was prosperity as indicated by coinage of Lycia in the 5th and 4th centuries. The first monumental rock-cut tombs were carved at this time and the Lycian alphabet came into wide-spread use. While participating in the Greek influenced culture of the larger social order of the Aegean, they remained firm in their own traditions and identity for a while longer.

To understand the behaviour displayed by the Lycians when invaded by Persians, we might be wise to look into aspects of their world-view and custom. There is evidence that Lycians had at their roots, religious beliefs the Goddess. Proof of their female oriented culture is in their being matrilineal.

Herodotus wrote of them: *They have customs that resemble no one else's. They use their mother's name instead of their father's. If one Lycian asks another from whom he is descended, he gives the name of his mother. And if a citizen woman should cohabit with a slave, the children are considered of free birth; but if a citizen man, even the foremost of them, has a foreign wife or mistress, the children are without honour".*

Scholars believe that the Lycians originally spoke an Indo-European language closely related to Luwian and Hittite. But this idea contradicts the original characteristics that point to a non-Indo-European origin in a Goddess worshipping matrilineal society. The original Greek notion of an affinity with Crete is, from that respect, more believable. The scholarly decision that it was of Indo-European origin comes from its Indo-European cognates; but as we all know it is easy to borrow words from other languages. What reveals origins is its grammatical operation, and in that respect, it is not yet understood. (If one could categorize a language by the origins of most of its words, we would have to declare Basque Indo-European – which it isn't – because it is filled with borrowings from Latin and Romance languages!) Language is closely linked to culture and worldview, and if a culture is matrilineal, empowers women, and worships the Goddess, that means the language roots must be original to the Mediterranean world, predating Indo-European arrivals.

The pre-Indo-European world of the east Mediterranean, leaning towards the female, also embraced female characteristics. One of them is the ability to be conciliatory and desire to find compromise.(This appears to be a characteristic stimulated by the female hormone). It accounts for how Lycians were able to unite its independent city states into a peaceful union. Greeks admired it because, Greek city-states were constantly at war with each other. We can blame the constant wars between the Greek city states to the Indo-European institution of war.

Before the Indo-Europeans arrived in southeastern Europe, and before the use of bronze for armour and weapons, the world was quite peaceful. Unity was established through trade relationships. The pre-Indo-European world was based on diligent work effort and trade. Peace was the rule, and war was a last resort.

The Indo-Europeans – those who invaded established civilizations, rather than merely migrated into unused territories - introduced conquest and plunder, and the plundering mentality of the Greek Indo-European nations is one of the main themes of the *Iliad*. The author, whoever "Homer" was, makes commentary on the historical agenda of Mycenea through the moral struggles of Achilles. Agamemnon is a symbol of all that was wrong with the Greek war mentality. War was waged as tests of power and strength, with the winner getting to plunder the loser, wherein even women were considered booty. This was also a culture that was male dominated, so wars became contests between males.

If the early Lycians were still rooted in the pre-Greek, pre-Indo-European mentality, then winning was not about males winning a contest and being able to take the other's women, children, and material wealth, as booty. There was no winning and losing for them. There was pure serious self-defense. From their perspective to have the enemy capture their women and children as booty, was worse than death, hence their committing suicide.

Lycia was located where the Greek and Near Eastern cultures met and Lycians came under twin influences. Both influences were Indo-European (Hittites on the one hand, Greeks on the other). No wonder their language adopted a great deal of Indo-European into both customs and language. Maintaining their own identity would certainly have been a struggle, and they, like the original pre-Indo-European culture on Crete, would eventually succumb to the influences of the new Greek world. In the centuries after the Persian invasion, Lycia came increasingly under Greek influence, and around the 3rd century BC, Greek language and culture began to take over. By about 300BC, owning to various developments and defeats, Lycia became an occupied territory of Carian rulers who began imposing Helleno-Carian culture. The Letoon Trilingual text, discovered at Letoon in 1973 now in the Fethiye Museum discusses the introduction of two Carian cults in the heart of Lycia and gives clear evidence of Carian rule. This marks the period of conversion to Greek language and culture.

And history progressed from there - the arrival on the scene of Alexander the Great; then the rise in Rome, Lycia becoming Romanized and prospering again, now speaking Latin and following Roman customs. Most of the monuments and public works in Lycian cities dates from the Roman period mainly from the 2nd century A.D.

The central message of Lycia's history is that it was very economically strong location. Its prosperity came from timber, olives, wool, and agriculture. The ancient alluvium of the valley supported agriculture while elsewhere in the Aegean there were only volcanic rocks. Lycia had the large cedar of Lebanon forest that was one of the most demanded materials in antiquity for construction. Although much use was made in Lycia of limestone, we can be certain that there was plenty use of wood everywhere. The wooden constructions have rotted and we only see the stone structures today.

RELEVANCE OF THE *ILIAD* IN LYCIA IN LATER CENTURIES

By Greek times, Lycia seems to have identified strongly with the Lycians mentioned in the *Iliad*. The reliefs of the Heroon of Trysa, show scenes of the Trojan War from a Trojan rather than a Greek perspective. The rulers of Lycia also sometimes appear in myths as the descendants of the mythical hero *Bellerophon*. Where these Lycian heros in the *Iliad* invented by Homer, or real? Did any of the Lycian myths about them predate the *Iliad*? We'll never know.

The mass suicide committed at the time of the Persian invasion of 540BC, portrays a desperation that must have had a precedent. One does not behave like that upon the first invasions. There had to have been (an) earlier invasion(s) in which they were conquered and their women and children subjected to atrocities and slavery. It must have happened before 540BC. And I think it is that earlier event that we can tie to the Trojan War. If the earlier invasion had occurred around 700-800BC, that would have been recent enough for memories of it to be strong when the Persians next invaded.

LYCIA WITH ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES DATING TO THE ROMAN AGE

The following are some of the major ancient sites in Lycia by the time of the Roman period. (Only a couple of them, including *Tlos*, would have existed at the time the *Iliad* was written.)

Tlos   We begin with the city of interest, which I believe was the model of Troy for the detailed account in the *Iliad*. As already mentioned, in Lycian inscriptions, *Tlos* is called *Tlawa* by the Lycians in 5th century inscriptions, and if the L had replaced an original R, the name might have been originally "TRAWA", which is now close to "TROIA". *Tlos* was located a considerable distance up the valley. See the location on the map of Figure 2 below.   While today its distance to the mouth is quite large, the lower portion of the *Xanthos* was a bay when the city was built. The further back in time we go, the larger the bay of the ocean would have been, and the closer to *Tlos*. The site has endured up into the 19th century, and as a result of changes in peoples and cultures, the ruins there now are a mish-mash of styles, but mostly it presents ruins from the Roman Age. Archeology, however, indicates that underneath it all, is habitation dating back at least to 2000 BC. The bay must have been relatively close when it was built, to make it accessible from the sea. Over the course of millennia, sediment from the mountains has been constantly carried down by the rivers and creeks, deposited in the bay, filling up the bay, while also causing the sides of the valley to develop slopes. If the beach was near the city of *Xanthos* around 500BC (today's Kinik), it would have been some kilometers above the city about 1000BC, and we can only imagine where it was even earlier in the Bronze Age. As the alluvium filled the valley and the ocean receded further away, it became necessary to reestablish a major city closer to the coast, to send and receive trade goods. I believe that is why *Xanthos* city was built − on a rise that may originated as an island in the former bay.

Xanthos (the city)– It is a UNESCO World Heritage Site (combined with *Letoon*) and was one of the six principal cities of Lycia. It was the capital city of Lycia for much of its history. It is located near the village of Kınık on a hillside in a beautiful natural site overlooking the Eşen river (the ancient *Xanthos* River). From this hillside there is a view of the *Xanthos* Valley surrounded by the Taurus Mountains. Most of the impressive archeology in *Xanthos* dates to around the 5th century BC, about the time of the Persian invasion. The presence of imagery connected to Greek deities and mythology, suggests strong participation in the broader Greek culture. But did *Xanthos* exist before the Persian war? If we are to propose that the *Iliad* portrays an invasion of *Tlos*, from a beach, then we cannot have *Xanthos* to be built yet. Is it possible that in the aftermath of the "Trojan War" the people decided on a fresh start with a new city more handy to the sea for trade, *Tlos* having now receded too far away. As I said, my thinking is that the lower *Xanthos* (Esen) River was originally a bay, and has been steadily filling up with sediment washed down

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from the mountains by the river, creating an alluvial plain creeping towards the open sea. Are we justified in proposing that *Xanthos*, the city, had not been built at the time of the war depicted in the *Iliad*, and that the beach was actually still above *Xanthos*? While I have guessed this to be the case (see later maps), it ideally needs archeological and geological study. Has or will archeology found any evidence of a city there before the 5th century? I feel confident it hasn't and won't. If so, then *Letoon*, even further out towards the sea would not have existed either. Possibly *Letoon* was developed after the Persian war. Itr was also probably an island even at the time of the founding of *Xanthos*; otherwise *Xanthos* might very well have been built there, as it is even closer to the sea. *Letoon* became the sacred cult centre of Lycia. Three side-by-side temples to Leto, Artemis and Apollo, the national deities were located there.

   Patara Was the major naval and trading port of Lycia in later times. An extensive city with many ancient structures, including what may be the world's oldest lighthouse. Figure 2 shows quite a high hill at that location, and it would have been an island even when the alluvial plain had reached *Letoon*. I expect archeology will say it was developed only by Roman times when the alluvial plain had finally reached it.

   The above four cities are the only ones of significance in the *Xanthos* Valley. *Pinara* can be added to the list. It was in a mountain setting with pines, ancient olive trees, wildflowers, on the west side of the *Xanthos* valley.

   The original Lycia appears to have been limited to the *Xanthos* Valley. Indeed, mentions of Lycia in the *Iliad*, invariably mention the *Xanthos*, the swirling, eddying *Xanthos* filled with rapids. It was and still is very energetic water where it tumbles down from the adjacent mountains, and is still bringing sediment down the valley towards the sea.

   How rapidly would the alluvial plain advance? That would depend on the depth of the original bay and the width between the original sides, assuming a constant movement of sediment down from the mountain. As study of this problem would be welcome. It it turns out that *Xanthos*, the city, existed around the time the *Iliad* was written, we can still consider "Homer" to have used an existing Lycian epic depicting an event from around 1200BC. It is only the mass suicide that prompts one to think that the Trojan War was more recent so that the memory of it was fresh when the Persians invaded.

   The following are other archeological sites in the later larger definition of Lycia,

   Kekova-Simena – A scenic area with underwater ruins. *Myra* Another of the six principal cities of Lycia. Has rock-cut tombs and the largest amphitheatre in Lycia. There are other archeological sites that people visit today, including *Arcycanda, Sidyma* and *Cyaneae*   Visit www.lycianturkey.com for details about ancient Lycia and the modern one with its archeological sites.

   The following map, figure 2, shows all the ancient sites, but they include everything up into Roman times. About the time of the Iliad, there wouldn't have been any sites in the *Xanthos* Valley other than *Tlos*. Figure 2 is useful in that it shows topography. Note there are a mountains (today called the Taurus Mountains) behind *Tlos* to the east. Perhaps these were considered the *Ida Mountains* from the Lycian point of view. The *Iliad* text always gives the impression *Ida* is right there – suggested by *springs of Ida, gorges of Ida*.

   But the most important information in the topography is the river valley, extending down to the sea. This is not a slow meandering river like the Nile, but very energetic rivers descending   from surrounding mountains, bringing down a great amount of sediment constantly. One can imagine that the advance of the alluvial plain was significantly fast.

Figure 2
LYCIA'S ANCIENT CITIES (red)
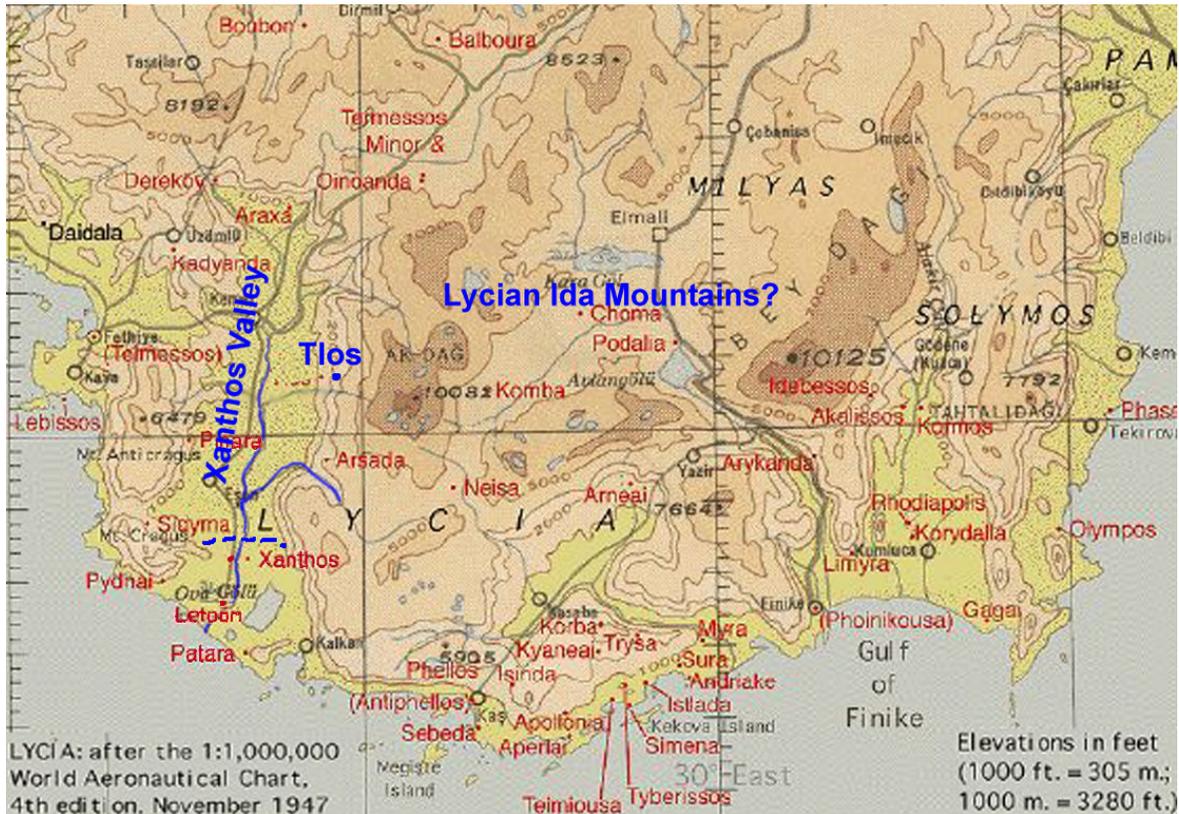
The above map, cropped a little with added blue, comes from
www.lyciaturkey.com/images/LYCIA_map.jpg *and although based on an old topo map, is a good one as it shows all the locations of ancient Lycia up to Roman times in relation to topography. Of interest to us here is the river valley in green to the west of center. The river is shown in blue. Note the ancient city of **Tlos**, in which we are interested is located to the west of a mountain peak. The river descends to the sea, near **Patara**. Close to the coast we see the ancient cities of **Xanthos** and **Letoon**, but I believe they did not exist at the time the **Iliad** was written because the alluvium depositing was only about where I put the dashed blue line. Rivers and creeks rush down from the highlands and mountains, carry a great amount of sediment suspended by their energy. When they slow down they deposit their sediment. We can presume there was once a bay of the sea coming into the valley, and that the sediment depositing has been constantly filling up the bay. Today the beach is now flush with the coast, but in Homer's time and earlier, I believe the bay extended inland to above the ancient city of **Xanthos** (today the city of Kinik is located there), and the hill of the **Xanthos** city was an island. **Xanthos** first appears in literature as part of the saga of the Persian attack of 540BC. Geologists and hydrologists may be able to determine the history of the filling in of the bay and the development of the alluvial plain, by taking a measure of the sediment in the water pouring down from the mountains. All this sediment must be deposited somewhere.*

3.
THE ANALYSIS OF THE LYCIAN LOCATION RELATIVE TO ILIAD

THE LYCIAN TROY: TLAWA=TRAWA=TROIA?

Our proposed location for the citadel that is the subject of the real war recounted in the *Iliad.* is the site known as ***Tlos***.

Tlos is one of the oldest and largest settlements of Lycia. Depending on how far back one goes into the Bronze Age, it may originally not have been very far from the sea. The sediments deposited constantly into the valley of the river have steadily filled up what was once a bay.

Tlos lies on the east side of the *Xanthos* valley, facing west into the valley, obviously. It is on a rocky outcrop that slopes up from a plateau that has a small village today, and ends on the west, north and northeast in almost perpendicular cliffs. Since ***Tlos*** has been continually in use into the 19th century, it consists of layers of many cultures, new ones building on the old, and archeologists have a time distinguishing between them. We can believe that many of the ruins may represent upgradings of original constructions. For example, if in ancient times there were city gates, well why change their location since gates were usually well situated with respect to geography.

Tlos is dominated by its acropolis, and we can expect there was something like it originally. The acropolis hill overlooks the *Xanthos* valley of fertile fields and orchards with mountains rising in the distance. Today on the acropolis hill are the remains of a fortress of an Ottoman feudal lord, which was built upon the foundations of a Lycian fortress. The acropolis hill also has a Lycian wall and a Roman era wall. Since early times, the city's settlement was probably concentrated on the southern and western slopes, given that archeology has found wide terraces with huge cisterns and the back walls of buildings carved from the rock. There is a 360 degree view over the valley and surrounding mountains. Even though the hill looks high, apparently it isn't difficult to get to the top via a path there. Even though the hill looks high, apparently it isn't difficult for tourists to get to the top via a path there. It is likely this route has always been there, as it too would have been determined by the terrain.

Under the acropolis hill, is the ruins of a stadium from the Roman period. Running parallel to the stadium is a long 150 metre hall with two stories, over 30 feet wide, not divided into chambers that researchers believe was a market hall. It has small rectangular doors but large arched doors in its west wall. At the south end is a wider building with several chambers and four large arched doors. Was this from the Roman period? Even if it was, it would likely have been built on the foundations of something earlier? Is there significance in the fact that larger arched doors were located in the west wall? All ancient cities had large market areas, whether roofed or not, near a main entrance.

Other features of the site, could be new to the Roman Age, but more likely be improving upon or replacing earlier Lycian constructions.

The site can be easily interpreted as the "Troy" or "Ilium" of the *Iliad*. Also, as described earlier, the Lycian name for *Tlos*, was *Tlawa* and linguistically L and R are sometimes replaced with one another. If that happened here, the original Lycian name was "TRAWA" which is close to the Greek word for "Troy" is "TROIA". What is the probability that this is purely a coincidence, given the many other coincidences?

LEGENDARY LYCIAN HEROES – ORIGINAL OR INVENTED BY HOMER?

Inscriptions tell us that the citizens of TLAWA were divided into demes, the names of three of them are known: *Bellerophon, Iobates* and *Sarpedon*, famous Lycian legendary heroes mentioned in the *Iliad*. There exist legends associated with there legendary heros, and we may wonder how much is original and how much was inspired later by the popularity of the *Iliad*. The fact that Lycians identified with the Lycian heroes in the *Iliad* is natural. The real question is whether legends about these heroes already existed before Homer, and whether Homer used pre-existing Lycian legends. For example did these men actually participate in the Lycian war depicted?

In the *Iliad*, *Sarpedon* lead the Lycians who assisted the Trojans against the invading Greeks. He is presented as the son of *Zeus* and *Laodamia*, the daughter of *Bellerophon*, and was killed by *Patroclus* after which Zeus had him carried back to Lycia by Apollo for a hero's burial. Did some of this come from pre-existing Lycian legends?

We cannot really know, because after the *Iliad* became famous, Lycians celebrated their heros. *Sarpedon*'s chief cult center developed at *Xanthos* by the 5th century BC, the *Sarpedoneia. Bellerophon* was honoured at *Tlos* where his body was supposedly laid to rest . He is seen often on reliefs from the end of the 5th century BC and later. There is a tomb relief of *Bellerophon* on Pegasus dating c.350-320 BC.and Pegasus appears frequently on Lycian coins.

Central to the *Bellerophon* myth is an eternal fire emitting from the mountainside at *Olympos* (in Lycia) identified as *Chimerea*, seen as a fearsome fire-breathing monster. It was slain by *Bellerophon* and fallen into the earth. In one version of the long tale involving Pegasus, *Bellerophon* kills the monster, but King *Iobates* does not reward *Bellerophon* for it, nor for several other incredible and brave deeds. In anger, *Bellerophon* begs Poseidon to flood the plains of *Xanthos*, which he did.

While this tale doesn't at all parallel Achilles dealing with the flood of the "Xanthos" (aka *Scamander*), and the deities responding with fire, it does point out two things – *Xanthos* did get flooded now and then, and there is a connection to fire.

Lycians took the *Iliad* to heart, but told the tale from the Trojan point of view. Did it resonate with them? Did they know that "Troy" had been right here? It is difficult to ascertain, of course what represents legends from before *Iliad* was composed, and legends arising from the popularity of the *Iliad*. Almost everything known about Lycia, other than what the *Iliad* offers, comes from about the 5th century or later. The history back to the time of Homer, or earlier if the war occurred earlier, is unknown – other than what archeology might chance to discover.

The ultimate question is, did Homer invent *Bellerophon, Iobates* and *Sarpedon?* Good question. The *Iliad* does not sound like it is written by a man with a wild imagination. His descriptions of the war in the *Iliad* are all too detailed and meticulous. It is likely Homer

obtained his information from existing legends and may only have altered content a little to fit his overall narrative.

"SCAEAN GATES"?

The **Iliad** repeatedly speaks of the *Scaean Gates* of Troy. These apparently faced out towards the plain as the following quote from book 6 suggests: *He crossed the great city and reached the Scaean Gates through which he intended to go out onto the plain*

There are many other text pieces that clearly have the *Scaean Gates* facing the plain, which in this context means facing west.

Archeology has found, as already described, a large 150 meter long building. It has large arched doors in its west wall. Could these arched doors have been, the *Scaean Gates* of the **Iliad**? The fact that these particular ruins are considered to be from the Roman Age should not hinder the speculation since new structure were built over or replaced old structures wearing down. That would be especially true of the location of major gates. People are not likely to change the location of the main gates by which farmers from the plain enter the city.

Here is a photo of the stone arches representing the large west-facing doorways of the 'market center', from the website www.lyciaturkey.com, a very good resource for viewing southwest Turkey from the perspective of its Lycian history.

Figure 3

(image source www.lyciaturkey.com)
Large gates facing west
Note how large the arches are relative to the person. Note the acropolis in the background.
All of it is high up above the valley. While the gate faces west, the road to the plain
probably first turned south and then turned again down to the plain from the south side

At the end of book 2, mention is made of a high mound in front of the city: *Now there is a high mound before the city, rising by itself upon the plain. Men call it Batieia, but the gods know that it is the tomb of lithe Myrine. Here the Trojans and their allies divided their forces.*

This description of a high mound, rising by itself upon the plain, is quite unique. This is not a hill on the edge of the plain. Does the site of *Tlos* have in front of it in the plain a "high mound"? Yes! It appears in the satellite images. Use the shadows to understand elevation.

Figure 4

*What is the probability that we would find this precise detail from the **Iliad**? What is the likelihood of such a mound in an alluvial plain, let alone find it right in front of the ancient city, exactly as the Iliad stated?!!! By the laws of probability this alone speaks strong support for a theory that **Tlos** was the model for Troy. Note one other thing seen on the map. At one point in the **Iliad** we learn that Troy was vulnerable on one side. This is what we see in the aerial. The **Tlos** area has sheer cliffs on most sides, but not towards the east. It is vulnerable from the east.*

THE RUSHING RIVER XANTHOS

Again and again in the ***Iliad***, the river called *Xanthos*, whether reference is made to the Lycian one or the one disguised as the "Scamander", it is described as an animated river, rushing, eddying, filled with rapids. At the ford across it, water is rushing quite fast. As we noted earlier the word Lycia may have originated from a common name for Greek rivers ,*Lycus* or *Lykos* (Greek: *Λύκος*), inspired by the image of a torrent rushing down the side of a hill, suggesting a wolf (Greek: *Lykos*) rushing at its prey. It certainly makes sense that Lycia would be named after its river, since the ***Iliad*** always associates it with the river *Xanthos*

Xanthos supposedly means 'yellow' from the yellowish color of its sediment. If a river has a name like that, it means it is always filled with sediment – probably from its eroding of limestone cliffs. Given all the references in the **Iliad** to its eddying and swirling, can we find the ancient *Xanthos* River to be a rushing, swirling river? Indeed this is what we see in the satellite view (Figure 5) – not the lower river which meanders through the alluvial plain, but the upper river which pours down from the mountains. There are creeks flowing into the *Xanthos* from the sides everywhere as well. But the satellite view shows a major contribution coming down from the north. It meanders, meaning it is slow.. The **Iliad** mentions the *Simoïs* River flowing into the *Xanthos* River. Although there is a *Simoïs* in the Dardanelles location, that one does not flow into the *Scamander* but into the sea. We do not know what this Lycian river's name may have been as Homer does not give an alternative to *Simois*. Perhaps it was something like Esen as it is now. We show it on the map as "Simois" (in brackets).

Figure 5

Midway on the route from the ships to "Troy", perhaps at about the 5km location, water pours down from the hills to the right, and filled with energy it rushes, and swirls, and produces rapids exactly as required which I have labeled Xanthos, until it joins the slow meandering river coming down from above which I have labeled Simois. The ford the armies had to cross could have been anywhere along the stretch of rough water. We cannot use the modern situation to determine something several millennia ago. In spire of the passing of time, and the accumulation of silt that filled the bay, and the development of slopes for the valley, there are two constants – the river pouring down from the mountain was filled with energy, and always rapid and rough, and when the river reached the alluvial plain and sea level, it became slow and meandering. Then as now, the rushing Xanthos refers to upper portions that are coming down slopes and filled with energy. The depth of the gorge (upper right) suggests this river has been there for a long time!!!

GARGARUS, GORGES OF IDA, SPRINGS OF IDA

There were in the ancient world, more than one location for Mount Olympus and Mount Ida. For example Crete had a Mount Ida. In the ***Iliad***, it seems as if Mount Ida, and perhaps even Mount Olympus were not far. Note on the topographic map of Figure 2 the several mountain peaks to the east of ***Tlos***. It only makes sense if we regard this as the landscape described by the ***Iliad***, where Lycian 'Ida mountains' are to the east. (It is possible that *Ida* simply meant 'east' in non-Indo-European languages) Then we can easily associated the ***Tlos*** site with gorges and springs. If we used the Darndamelles location then the Ida mountain range is rather far from Troy. At the start of Book 8 Zeus heads to a peak near Troy and the fields of war: ...*After a while he reached many-fountained Ida, mother of wild beasts, and Gargarus, where are his grove and fragrant altar. There the father of gods and men stayed his horses, took them from the chariot, and hid them in a thick cloud; then he took his seat all glorious upon the topmost crests, looking down upon the city of Troy and the ships of the Achaeans*. A nearby peak where the Trojan people would have an altar to Zeus is what we have here! Is the dark brown height in Figure 2, to the east of ***Tlos, Gargarus***? It is a perfect vantage point for watching all the events going on! In that case, can we propose that the other larger mountain further east might be the Lycians' own 'Mount Ida'?

We cannot minimize the significance of the repeated phrases *the gorges of Ida*, or *the springs of Ida*. It defines the character of the region. For the easy creation of gorges we need soft rock like limestone or sandstone, and that is plentiful in the Lycian region. For springs one similarly needs soft rock for underground streams and rivers to be cut through the rock. These streams then emerge at the sides of hills. The Lycians instituted a custom of creating tombs into the limestone cliffs, but that did not begin until about the 5th century centuries after the time of the ***Iliad***.

THE FILLING OF AN ANCIENT BAY TO CREATE ALLUVIAL PLAINS

The almost three millennia that have passed since the time of "Troy" will not have changed the basic hard rock geography of the region, but the continuous flows of water down from the mountain, will have <u>constantly brought sediment down from the mountains</u>. Moving rapidly even large grains of sand would have remained suspended and been carried as long as the water was filled with energy. When water slows down as it reaches the shallower sloped of the valley and then the sea level, it drops its sediments. This sediment pours into the bottom of the bay and gradually builds up until it is above the ocean level. The river keeps a path through the alluvial plain, usually meandering like a snake. Gradually the beach at the mouth of the river moves further and further towards the coast of the open sea.

Meanwhile we must also bear in mind that small creeks and runoff come off the mountains too, and these too move sediment from higher regions to lower regions. The consequence of this is to create sloped landscapes from the higher land down to the river. There slopes too can be cut by subsequent water flow, roughening up the plain. The plain may be smooth near the bottom of the valley but increasingly furrowed by new stream action on higher sloped.

How this affects the matter of ***Iliad***, is that several millennia ago, there was a noticeable bay area at the mouth of the *Xanthos* (today Esen), were now, the beach is flush with the coast. Since the ***Iliad*** does not reveal any city near the coast, we can presume the ***Iliad*** events occurred before the building of the city of ***Xanthos***. We first hear of that city with the Persian War around 540BC. Several centuries earlier the beach would have been further north. How many centuries earlier depends on the rate by which alluvium filled the original bay. Since the ***Iliad*** does not speak of any city called ***Xanthos***, at the time of the events of the ***Iliad***, the bay would have to be above where ***Xanthos*** is located, and ***Xanthos*** be merely an uninhabited island in the bay. Study is needed by geologists to determine the location of the beach relative to date. If scientists and archeologists discover that ***Xanthos*** already existed in Homeric times (800BC), that does not negate the theory presented here of a Lycian Troy. We can still push back the time of the war to as early as 1200BC since that has been the traditional assumption of the date of the Trojan War. Achaeans and Mycenean kings date to about that time. We can validly consider Homer to have used a Lycian epic faithfully memorized for generations.

If we inspect a satellite view (Google maps) of the coast where the *Xanthos* (Esen) enters the Mediterranean, we can envision the patterns of alluvial accumulation. If we look at the topographical map, although rough, of Figure 2, we can see an elevated area to the right of the river mouth, where ***Patara*** was located, and next to it a bay. Further inland there is what looks like a lake or lagoon. Today it may be a wetland, as it appears as dark green on the satellite view. It is certain that the bay and this lake were once connected, and that originally there was a delta coming out of the mouth of the river. This delta fanned outward till it reached the higher elevation where later ***Patara*** was established, uniting the mainland to this higher elevation, prompting the creation of ***Patara*** as a port. Since ***Letoon*** is located in higher ground, we can presume it was originally an island too, and was built upon when the alluvial buildup reached it. But earlier when ***Letoon*** was still an uninhabited island, the river mouth was at ***Xanthos***. It too was originally an island, and was built upon when the island was surrounded by alluvial plain. Thus we can go backwards in time, moving the alluvial shoreline back up the valley.

How much did the sand and sediment accumulate per year? A geologist could perhaps calculate it by sampling the amount of sediment coming down per year from the mountains – all of which must be dumped!!! Whatever the timing of the advance of the beach, the fact is that at the time depicted by the ***Iliad***, there would have been a significant bay with headlands on both sides, a wide beach, and the city of ***Xanthos*** would have been still but a shallow island in the bay. The following passage describes the scene from when the Trojans camped for the night and lit campfires. That they camped half way between the ships and the ford of the *Xanthus* demonstrates that Troy was some distance away (by our theory maybe still 10 km) *As when the stars shine clear, and the moon is bright--there is not a breath of air, **not a peak nor glade nor jutting headland** but it stands out in the ineffable radiance that breaks from the serene of heaven; the stars can all of them be told and the heart of the shepherd is glad--even thus shone the watchfires of the Trojans before Ilius midway between the ships and the river Xanthus. A thousand camp-fires gleamed upon the plain, and in the glow of each there sat fifty men, while the horses, champing oats and corn beside their chariots, waited till dawn should come.* The bolded text above draws a clear picture – mountain peaks, glades, jutting headland. How can it be anywhere else!!

Figure 6

The above mosaic of satellite shots shows the bottom portion of the Xanthos Valley. I have drawn red lines – purely guesses - to suggest where the coasts were at various times in history. Even if my red lines dates are wrong, bear in mind that the war could have taken place as early as 1200BC. Arrows show the journey of the invading army.

The map of the river in Figure 6 shows the lower end of the valley, the end that would once have been a bay. The entire valley is not an even plain because of sediment buildup from secondary creeks and runoff from the mountain slopes that have caused additional accumulation. The orange region in the middle might be the location the Trojans camped overnight and lit fires, and the scene was described in the passage quoted above from the Butler translation. The distance from the beach at the time of the **Iliad** to the ford of the swirling rapids area, would depend on where the beach was, but certainly at most about 6 km, less if the beach was further north. The remainder of the journey to **Tlos** (ie "Troy") would be constant and about 8km or so. Thus if the Trojans were close to the beach after attacking the ships, it would be wise to remain on the beach side of the *Xanthos* River ford, and camp there, instead of trekking back.

But now what does the north end look like? We have already above shown the plain and hill near **Tlos**, with the strange mound in the plain which fits the description of **Batieia**. In the top part of the satellite map, there is nothing special to look at other than **Tlos**, perched on top of the hill, with steep cliffs on three sides, hence vulnerable on the east side. To the east – as we see in Figure 2 – are the mountains. Figure 7 is a closeup of the **Tlos** site.

Figure 7

*This is a view of the ruins of **Tlos**, showing its situation. The shadows show steep cliffs on the north and west sides.. The site is vulnerable from the east and south side. It is at a high enough elevation that it offers a 360 degree view. It can qualify as a true 'citadel', or indeed Ilium (if we view the word as pre-Indo-European meaning 'high place')*

Figure 8

Upper part of the valley, showing location of Tlos which I identify with "Troy"

The arrows show an arbitrary route. In reality we cannot know how the terrain was almost 3000 years ago, and the route the invading army would have taken.

4. SUMMARY

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HISTORY

History shows that there is such a thing as post-history effects. Today we see such effects in conflicts around the world, that seem not to have an entirely rational basis. For example can we trace the conflict between Jews and Palestinians to conflicts – not necessarily between exactly the same peoples – that occurred a thousand or two thousand years ago? There was much conflict in Northern Ireland until recently. While ostensibly it was rooted in historic conflict between Protestants and Catholics, perhaps it is ultimately rooted in conflicts between indigenous Picts and immigrant Celts. The actual conflicts may be forgotten, but the "spirit" of conflict endures. We can also point to the same kind of trans-generational memory from positive history as well.

The fact that the Lycians of *Xanthos*, when attacked by Persians in 540BC, sought to commit suicide rather than to submit to their attackers, clearly suggests they had endured one or more earlier invasions, in which they suffered too greatly to wish to relive it. This suggests a vicious assault had been carried out at a time that agrees with the time associated with Homer, and his writing of the ***Iliad***. When did that event occur? In Homer's own time (if he was a participant in the war), or earlier? If it occurred earlier, it could have been recorded in Lycian epics. Perhaps Lycians took their epics seriously and it wasn't merely entertainment. If that is the case, then the epics would have been memorized and passed on to new generations without altering them. We can still allow Homer to draw from his own experience in war, if he was a soldier as his detailed descriptions of the Greek side, suggest. Certainly the further we can project the epic back in time, relative to Homer's time, the closer the beach would have been to ***Tlos*** and the less of a problem it will be to determine when the ***Xanthos*** city was built (since the Iliad makes no mention of any city near the beach)*.*

A very satisfying theory is that perhaps the beach was where ***Xanthos*** was built (today Kinnik), after ***Tlos*** (as "Troy") had been plundered and burned. ***Tlos*** had receded further and further from the coast anyway – access to the coast was important for trade. The Lycian survivors of the Greek invasion would have seen it as a new beginning. But then a century or so later, when the Persians invaded, trans-generational memory filled them with such fear they committed suicide than to submit to defeat. The theory is satisfying, but depends on archeologists discovering the city of ***Xanthos*** at the time of the Persian invasion (540BC) to be relatively new at that time (only century or so in age). If that is not what is discovered we can still push the time of the invasion back even as far as 1200BC.

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF GEOGRAPHY

To me so many of the geographic features fits the descriptions in the ***Iliad***. We have the highlands and mountains to the east - *Ida*. We have a peak near ***Tlos*** that serves as *Gargarus*. We have a plain which at the top end of the valley there is an unusual small hill (*Batieia*) down below ***Tlos***. We have the rushing river tumbling down from the mountains in the east, that agrees with the descriptions of the *Xanthos*. We have two rivers meeting, one is calm, and the other is rough and rapid. They fit the descriptions of the

Xanthos/Scamander and the *Simois* in the **Iliad**. We have a beach at the mouth of the *Xanthos*, which is at the end of a bay, from where one sees jutting headlands. The distance from the ancient beach to **Tlos** may be 15 km, but that is not an enormous distance. It can be covered on foot in a couple hours of marching. A chariot can cover it much faster.

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ITS NAME

The name **Tlos** does not resemble "Troia" of the **Iliad** very much, but the Lycian texts called it **Tlawa**. If we allow L to be expressed as an R, we get "TRAWA", and that now begins to sound like "TROIA". Since the **Tlawa** of Lycian inscriptions appear in the 5th century, there are innumerable ways by which Greeks could end up with the word "TROIA".

THE STRONG REFERENCES TO LYCIA IN THE *ILIAD*

Why else would Homer make so much reference to the Lycians if he did not rely a great deal on Lycian information for the Trojan side of the war? Add to this the use of *Xanthos* instead of *Scamander* in texts giving an account of the war. It appears that although Homer may have created a tale about a "Troy" situated near the Dardanelles, in reality the war he describes is based on either a detailed Lycian epic he copied closely, or he himself participated in that ugly war – of course the real war being smaller and not involving everyone in the Greek world, nor having the antics of the gods.

FINAL COMMENTS: *ILIAD* ITSELF TELLS US TO LOOK AT LYCIA

It is possible a researcher may find other locations where a river flows to the sea, with highlands bordering the valley, and a high location where a "Troy" could be situated. Therefore one must have other reasons as well, for choosing to investigate a particular river valley. In the case above, my search of Lycia was entirely motivated by the **Iliad** over-emphasis on the Lycians, the mention of the swirling *Xanthos* along with the substitution of "Xanthos" for "Scamander" during the war. One can say that Homer's involvement of Lycian references in the **Iliad** practically screams out to look at the location of the Lycian *Xanthos* River. I thought I would use the internet to have a look. Had I not discovered the remarkable coincidences presented above, I would not have written this. Thus, the **Iliad** itself has pointed me to making the above study. Further study, might be to try to reconstruct the topography and coastline for the Bronze Age, and linguistically investigate the view that the Greek word "Troia" may have originated from something like "TRAWA"

Main References Used

1. Various websites for information about Lycia, but especially www.lyciaturkey.com which gives a great deal about Lycia from the point of view of its history and archeology.
2. Google Maps used to study the topography and geography. The aerial illustrations are developed from screen shots.
3. The Iliad – Butler translation and Fagles translation