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**WILUSA (WILIOS/TROIA).
CENTRE OF A HITTITE CONFEDERATE
IN NORTH -WEST ASIA MINOR***

I. WILUSA FROM THE OUTSIDE

1. HATTUSA AND WILUSA

"As follows his Majesty Muwattalli, Great King, [King] of the land of Hattusa, Favourite of the Weather God of Lightning, Son of Mursilis [II], the Great King, the Hero:

*Once upon a time, the labarna, my forebear, had subdued the entire land of Arzawa and the entire land of Wilussa. Later the land of Arzawa waged war for that reason; however, I know, since the event lies far back in the past, no king of the land of Hattusa from which the land of Wilussa has seceded. Yet even if the land of Wilussa has seceded from the land of Hattusa, close ties of friendship were maintained from a distance with the kings of the land of Hattusa and envoys sent regularly to them."*¹

Thus begins the text of a treaty, which the Hittite Great King Muwattalli II (ca 1290–1272) concluded with the ruler of Wilusa of that time. That ruler is addressed 23 times in the text, which comprises 21 clauses, as "Alaksandu". As can be seen from clause § 5 of the text, Alaksandu is the successor of a Kukkunni. This Kukkunni of Wilusa was, as it says in § 3, on friendly terms with Muwattalli's grandfather, the Hittite Great King Suppiluliuma [I, ca 1355–1320], and had sent him envoys regularly. Suppiluliuma in turn was the great-grandson of the Hittite Great King Tudhaliya I, who reigned ca 1420 to 1400. Of him, too, it is said in § 3: "The king of the land of Wilusa [was] on friendly terms with him [and] he sent [envoys] regularly [to him]."

If the text of this treaty was composed in about 1280, the friendly relations between the dynasty of Hattusa and the land of Wilusa had existed for at least 140 years by the year the treaty was concluded. The relations, in fact though, go much further back than that. That this was so can be concluded from the first words of the treaty quoted above (§ 2): "Once upon a time the labarna, my forebear, had subdued the entire land of Arzawa and the entire land of Wilussa." "Labarna" is a title known from Hittite history for the time before 1600.² Consequently, the friendly relations with the Hittite Kingdom had existed for at least 320 years by the year the treaty was concluded. In so far as the Hittite administration can trace the history of the contacts, Wilusa did not secede from Hattusa during this long period and in any case "sent envoys" regularly.

* I am greatly indebted to Manfred Korfmann and Frank Starke for checking this manuscript and offering suggestions and corrections. A longer version of this essay has been printed as a brochure: J. Latacz, Troia – Wilusa – Wilios. Drei Namen für ein Territorium, Basle 2001 (issued separately for the Troia and Hittite exhibitions in the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn; available from the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle Bonn.

¹ Translated into English from the German translation by Frank Starke (Tübingen University), 1999. Wilussa/Wilusa are transcribed variants of the Hittite as they appear in the text.

² Starke 1997, 473f. n. 79.

Since this treaty became known,³ the basic question asked has been: where was Wilusa situated on the map of the Hittite Kingdom? The text itself leaves no doubt at all about the *approximate* location of Wilusa: In § 17 Alaksandu is addressed as one of "four kings within the *Arzawa domains*": "thou, Alaksandu [of Wilusa], Manabatarhunta [of Sēha], Kubantakurunta [of Mirā] and Urahattusa [of Haballa]," and in § 4 Muwattalli relates his father, Mursili [II, ca 1318–1290] has conquered the entire land of *Arzawa* and broken it up into individual states: into the states of Mirā [definitely added to], Kuwaliya, Sēha, Appawiya and Haballa. Wilusa was also mentioned in the same breath with *Arzawa* in § 2. Wilusa must, therefore, have been a neighbour of *Arzawa* from time immemorial and, after *Arzawa* was broken up, it must have been in the immediate vicinity of one of the kingdoms of the new federation of "Arzawa states". Therefore, the first task was to locate *Arzawa*. By 1959 the reconstruction of Hittite geography in the standard work "The Geography of the Hittite Empire" by J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney had led to the conclusion that *Arzawa* and, consequently, all states that came out of it and those that must be regarded as part of it must have been situated in western Asia Minor;⁴ Wilusa was already marked on the map included in that volume as the northernmost kingdom of the *Arzawa* states, north of Sēha, on the south-western fringes of the Troad .

It will not be necessary here to further trace the history of locating Wilusa as carried out within Hittitology.⁵ Instead, we can proceed directly to the present state of knowledge: in 1996 FRANK STARKE, Hittitologist at Tübingen University, was able, on the bases of recently found Hittite sources, to equate Wilusa definitely with the area known to us from Greek as the *Tro[i]ás*.⁶ Working from other Hittite material, the London Hittitologist DAVID HAWKINS was able to confirm and back up this conclusion a year later.⁷ In the meantime other scholars have concurred with his findings, among them, in 1999, the archaeologist WOLF-DIETRICH NIEMEIER, who could draw on nine Hittitologists, specialists in Near Eastern languages and ancient historians who had come out in favour of locating Wilusa there as early as 1970 and had continued to do so. Finally, in October 2001, they were joined by the ancient historian and Bronze Age specialist at Göttingen, GUSTAV ADOLF LEHMANN.⁸ It should be emphasized that this evidence rests entirely on Hittite sources. The combination of data contained in them amounts to Sēha, Wilusa and the island of Lazba – most certainly Lesbos – all being in close proximity to one another.⁹ This geographical evidence alone precludes any inference other than that Wilusa is identical with the Troad.

In 1997 final confirmation came – *after* Starke's location of Wilusa – from an *archaeological* discovery: in the western area of the Lower City at Troia a spring cave with three arms for conducting water into a subterranean reservoir was excavated which ran more than 100

³ First mention: Winckler 1907; first publication of a fragment: Forrer 1920; first provisional evaluation: Hrozný 1922; Kretschmer 1924; first publication of the entire cuneiform text as known then: Götze 1928; first translation into German: Friedrich 1930, 42–102.

⁴ Garstang/Gurney 1959.

⁵ See Latacz 2001, 98–119.

⁶ Starke 1997.

⁷ Hawkins 1998.

⁸ Niemeier 1999, 143 n. 22; G.A. Lehmann in the newspaper DIE WELT (27.10.2001): "Danach können wir Millawanda mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit mit Milet, das Land Avvijawa als frühgriechisch- [gemeint: bronzzeitlich-griechisch-] ägäische Macht identifizieren. Und das Land Wilusa jedenfalls mit dem Raum um den Hügel Hisarlık, wo Korfmann gräbt." [‘Accordingly, we can with great certainty identify Millawanda with Miletos, the land of Ahhiyawa as an early Greek [,that means Bronze Age Greek,] Aegean power. And the land of Wilusa [can] also [be identified] with the area around the mound of Hisarlık, where Korfmann is excavating.’]

⁹ See the discussion in Starke 1997, 450–454; on Lazba = Lesbos *ibid.* 472 n. 58.

metres down into the mountain. Radiometric studies conducted by the Heidelberg Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1999/2000 showed that this was a man-made facility for providing water which had been dug by the early 3rd millennium BC. This discovery shed new light on a particular item in the Alaksandu Treaty: in § 20 of that treaty, in which the chief gods of the two parties to the treaty are invoked as witnesses to the oaths and wreakers of revenge on potential infringers of the treaty, one of the divinities of the land of Wilusa is also invoked "the way into the underworld of the land of Wilusa" (KASKAL.KUR). There can be hardly any room for doubt that the subterranean spring venerated as a divinity means the spring uncovered by the Korfmann excavation.¹⁰

The boundaries of Wilusa are natural ones to the west and north: in the west the Aegean Sea and the off-shore islands; to the north-west/north the Hellespont and (western) part of the south coast of the Sea of Marmara. As for the eastern and southern borders, as long as boundary markers in the form of rock reliefs of the type otherwise usual in the Hittite Kingdom have not come to light,¹¹ only an approximate border can be drawn: In the east it was probably the river Makestos (now: Simav Çayı) which formed the border of the large state of Māsa; in the south the Kaz Mountains north of what is now Edremit represented the border with the land of Sēha, which essentially covered the valley of what would later be the Kaikos (now Bakır Çayı). Covering a total land area of roughly 15 000 km², Wilusa was larger than such Hittite vassal states as nearby Haballa or the states of Alalha, Ugaritta and Amurra to the south-east (now northern Syria). Since the Hittite states tended to be named after their capitals (Hattusa, Karkamissa, Alalha, Halpa, Ugaritta etc), the main city of the land of Wilusa must have also been called Wilusa. And, as is the case of other vassal states in the Hittite Kingdom of the 2nd millennium BC, it is highly likely that the remains of that main city have been preserved. Where are they located?

2. HOMER'S ILIOS

The great epic which marks the onset of Greek literature in the 8th century BC, is called the '*Iliad*'. In Greek that is an adjective (with the accent on the second syllable: Iliás), which derives from the place-name 'Ilios' and to which a noun like 'poiesis' ('poetry'/'poem') should be added. 'Iliás', therefore, means 'Ilios poetry'/'poem about Ilios'. The setting of the story is actually named as 'Ilios' 106 times in the 15 693 lines of the '*Iliad*' – and 'Troie' only 53 times (we won't even go into why it has *two* names in the first place here).¹² 'Ilios' is, therefore, the more commonly used of the two names. And since this name often appears in the ceremonial form as 'Ilios-the-sacred' (an attribute never assigned to 'Troie'; 'Troie' is, however, 'well-walled', 'well-towered', 'with-broad-ways' and 'spacious'), 'Ilios' seems to be the more stately name. Moreover, it is an *old* name, much older than Homer. 'Ilios' is not the original form of this place-name. On the contrary, that was 'Wilios'¹³: the sound W, which the Greeks had both spoken and written until at least 1200 BC, was increasingly slurred in the Greek dialect in which Homer spoke and wrote 450 years later (East Ionic) between

¹⁰ The details (and the evidence) are compiled in Latacz 2001³, 109f. The course of the research: Korfmann 1998, 57–61; Korfmann 1999, 22–25; Korfmann 2000, 32–37; M. Korfmann in 'Brief an die Freunde Troias' of 27.08.2001, p. 3f. Cf also the journal DAMALS, no. 4/2001, 42 (R. Aslan) and 20f. (J. Latacz).

¹¹ See the rock inscriptions from Karabel, Akpınar and, since June 2000, those from the Latmos range near Miletos (see on this Latacz 2001, 339f. and now the ground-breaking article by Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat (with a contribution by Suzanne Herbordt): 'Eine hethitische Großprinzen-Inschrift aus dem Latmos' in: Archäologischer Anzeiger 3/2001 (in print).

¹² See on this Latacz 2001, 119–128; Latacz, Troia - Wilios - Wilusa (see under *), 7f.

¹³ P. Chantraine, Grammaire homérique, I, Paris 1958, 152. More on this in Latacz 2001, 99, 260f.

1200 and Homer's own time (rather like the modern English W) until it was finally left off altogether. This would mean that the epic would be called 'the Wiliad' rather than 'the Iliad'.

If, however, 'Wilios' was the setting of 'the Wiliad', where was 'Wilios'?

The *Iliad* is full of reference to places which can be located. We shall only pick out a few here: the place where the Achaeans, who had come from the Greek mainland with 1186 ships, kept those ships was on the *Hellespont*. The Hellespont is mentioned ten times in all, and two mentions are in the formulaic 'fleeing they reached'/'would they (the Achaeans) reach the ships and the Hellespont' (15. 233; 18. 150) and once in a statement about the god Hermes: 'at once he reached Troié and the Hellespont' (24. 346). In another place Hector says, when challenging his rival to hand-to-hand combat (7. 77–86):

("Should he kill me, with the long-slashing bronze edge,
... /
may he return my body to my home so that to the fire /
The Trojans and the Trojans' wives may consign me dead.)/
Yet should I slay *him* – grant me this vow, Apollo – /
Stripping off his arms I shall bring them to *Ilios*-the-sacred /¹⁴
[...]
But the corpse I'll give back to the *ships*-with-good-banks-of-oars/
That the Achaeans-with-long-hair may bury it/
And heap up a mound [as a sign] on the broad *Hellespont*."

The battlefield on which those lines are uttered lies, therefore, between Ilios and the Hellespont. Ilios is, consequently, near the Hellespont. However, we learn something more precise: at the beginning of the 13th book of the *Iliad* the poet has the god Poseidon look from the highest peak (approx 1600 m) on the island of Samothrace, from where he sees all of *Mount Ida* and *Priam's city and the ships of the Achaeans* before diving into the sea to harness his steeds and set off across the water *to the ships of the Achaeans*. At the end of his journey, he stables his horses in a sea grotto *between Tenedos and Imbros* – while he himself goes to the *host of the Achaeans* (13.10–38). *Mount Ida* is actually a range (over 1700 m) in the south-eastern Troad (now Kaz Dağı), where the source of the Scamander is; Imbros and Tenedos form a 'bridge of islands' between Samothrace and the Troad. You can still see between the two peaks – a distance of roughly 125 km as the crow flies via the island of Imbros. Ilios is, therefore, thought of as lying on a straight line between Mount Ida and the peak of Samothrace and there again between Mount Ida and the Hellespont, *near* the Hellespont.

The *Iliad* also supplies plenty of information on the extent and importance of the sphere of influence which is governed from (W)Ilios. Here it may suffice to quote a single passage from the epic. In the 24th book the poet has Achilles say to Priam, king of Ilios (24. 543–546):

"You, too, old man, we hear, were once prosperous /
As much as Lesbos beyond [ie, in the sea], Makar's seat encloses within/
and Phrygia from above and the boundless Hellespont – /
Always, old man, they say, you surpassed in wealth and sons."

¹⁴ The hyphens indicate as visual signals the conventional links between noun and epithet in Greek hexameter verse, ie, the standard linkage of nouns denoting objects (ships) or people (the Achaeans) with merely conventional, descriptive adjectives (Epitheta ornantia).

Thus are the bounds of Priam's, and that means Ilios', sphere of influence described: to the south lies the border south of the island of Lesbos¹⁵, to the east somewhere in the western part of what was later Phrygia on the Sangarios, in the north beyond the Hellespont, that is, probably on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara. The way this tallies with the area covered by the land of Wilusa on the Hittite map (see above) is obvious. It is a moot question, however, to what extent that is due to ancient tradition or only to topographical features which are self-evident.

In the geographical area thus so precisely described – anyone using a map can see at once where to look – only a single large prehistoric ruin has become known from Homer in the 8th century BC down to the present – that is, during about 2700 years in which the region was known, explored and settled – which matches in scale this positioning and the further detailed description in Homer: the ruin on what is now the Turkish mound of Hisarlık.¹⁶ The Greeks and Romans of the historical era (since about 300 BC, after Alexander the Great visited the place) surely did not revive the ruined area and make it a large city (which they called *Ilion* or *Ilium* in Latin) just because of the mythical aura which clung to it from Homer's *Iliad*. They did so also because of the overwhelming impact it made as a monument. Following pointers given by Calvert, Schliemann excavated this place from 1871 and called it correctly *Ilios*, and then *Troja*.

What the Hittites knew as *Wilusa* must accordingly be identical with what Homer calls (*W*)*Ilios*. This means Schliemann discovered both (W)*Ilios* and, without suspecting it (the Hittites did not enter scholarly field of vision until 1915, when Hrozný deciphered Hittite), *Wilusa*. We do not know what the place was called by its *earliest* – according to archaeology, even before 3000 BC – settlers. The Hittites, whose first encounter with the place we cannot date (it may have taken place about 1700, see below), may have harmonised the name they found there phonologically with their own place-names (ending in *-a*, cf the state/city names listed above and, in addition, *Hattusa*, *Abasa* [= Ephesos], *Millawanda* [= Miletos]). The Greeks, who probably did not become acquainted with the place until 1500 BC, went about it in a similar manner, calling it, in accordance with their own phonology, *Wilios*.¹⁷ The second form of the place-name was, however, a foreign variant. As such it could not justifiably be claimed to be the authentic name of the place (cf in this connection *Ljubljana: Laibach*). Since treaties between this place or 'territorial state' and the hegemonic power in the Asia Minor of the 2nd millennium BC, the Hittites, as we have seen, were concluded under the official place-name *Wilus(s)a*, we should call the place in its archaeologically confirmed 6th settlement phase (ca 1700–1200) neither *Ilios* nor *Troia VI + Troia VIIa* but *Wilusa* instead. This name seems to have suffered an eclipse after the end of the Hittite Kingdom (ca 1175). The only memory of it until the Hittite clay tablet was found in Hattusa in 1905 was evidently retained in Greek oral hexametre poetry recited by rhapsodes,¹⁸ a dim recollection which was given a (partly) written form in Homers *Iliad* towards the close of the 8th century BC.

¹⁵ This is shown in the description of the island of Lesbos in the *Iliad* as enemy territory belonging to Troia, which the Greek paramount hero Achilles conquers and loots (*Iliad* 9. 129, 271, 664). For more on this Latacz 1997, 31f. The known Hittite sources are not clear on the question of whether Lazba = Lesbos belonged to Wilusa or to Sēha; see Starke 1997, 453.

¹⁶ M. Korfmann goes, and surely is right in so doing, even further: north of Mycaene and Tiryns as well as outside the Near East there is nothing comparable and that means: "In the Aegean, in south-eastern Europe, in western Anatolia, in the Black Sea region and in the Caucasus you will hardly find a place with architecture of the quality that Troia has or on a comparable scale." (Interview with Sigrid Löffler in LITERATUREN 10, October 2001, 19).

¹⁷ The Greeks may have become familiar on the spot with its Hittite name *Wilusa*; cf the adoption of the place-name *Abasa* from Hittite (conventional transcription: *Apasa*) as *Ep^hesos* in Greek.

¹⁸ See on this Latacz 2001, 297–331.

II. WILUSA FROM WITHIN

Wilusa was the sixth settlement on the outliers of the limestone plateau, which by dint of having been ‘built up’ – ie, whenever decay set in, mudbrick buildings from the preceding settlement were razed and this went on for two thousand years – to a mound roughly 31 metres high and about 150 x 200m (now Turkish *Hisarlık* = ‘doughty fort’).

The settlement periods Troia I–III (‘Maritime Troia Culture’, ca 2900–2300 and Troia IV/V (‘Anatolian Troia Culture’, ca 2300–1700) were followed by a radically new era of architecture and culture. It began in about 1700 and lasted until roughly 1200 BC (Troia VI and VIIa).

These 500 years represent the acme of the history of settlement at Troia (‘Trojan high culture’). The Citadel Wall was extended by on average 35–45 metres beyond the city wall of Troia II along the edge of the spur of the hill to attain a circumference of 552 metres so that it by now enclosed roughly 20 000 square metres. This wall (with a base), built of blocks of ashlar masonry, each meticulously hewn to fit in a predetermined place without mortar, up to 8 metres high and 4–5 metres deep,¹⁹ sloping, provided with sawtooth salients and, in places, undulation²⁰ as well as towers over 10 metres high and 11 metres wide, is the grandest and most admired part of the fortress to have survived to this day on the mound of Hisarlık. The skill in planning which made this structure possible as well as the knowledge of and skills in statics, architecture and masonry are indicators of a highly sophisticated social organisation.²¹ Within the enclosed precincts of the ‘Acropolis’ large detached buildings, some of them two-storeyed, rested on terraces laid out in circular form. In several cases it has been possible to reconstruct the way these buildings once looked on the basis of the courses of wall masonry that have survived. Unfortunately, the central palace, economic administration and cult buildings were entirely removed and razed when the top of the mound was levelled during rebuilding of the city in the Hellenistic era (late 4th/early 3rd century BC and later).

An extensive Lower City belonged to this Citadel.²² Schliemann was already planning in 1890 to excavate the Lower City.²³ Dörpfeld, his successor, unfortunately did not have enough time for this undertaking. Nor did Dörpfeld’s successor, Carl W. Blegen, go beyond excavating in the Lower City just outside the Citadel Wall of Troia VI/VIIa. The Korfmann excavation, by contrast, followed up the indications of a Lower City and, as early as 1991, has been able, by excavating the remains of more Troia VII houses outside the Troia VI Citadel Wall and directly in its shadow, to add to and verify its existence by means of new finds every year

¹⁹ From this base rose a mudbrick superstructure 4–5 m in Late Troia VI so that the wall was altogether up to 13 metres high. The mudbrick superstructure was evidently replaced in Troia VIIa by a 2-m-high ashlar masonry construction consisting in blocks the size of mudbricks (M. Klinkott/R. Becks, *Wehrmauern, Türme und Tore. Bauform und Konstruktion der troianischen Burgbefestigung in der VI. und VII. Siedlungsperiode*, in: *Begleitband 2001*, 407–414, here: 410).

²⁰ By undulation (‘wavy front’) is meant a slight inward and downward curve towards the centre of horizontal courses of stone between two wall salients. The purpose of this feature is to create a certain amount of scope for movement for the entire section of the wall to increase its resistance to earthquakes (Klinkott/Becks [see n. 19] 408f.).

²¹ Detailed and illustrated representation and explanation: Klinkott/Becks (see n. 19).

²² The following is based on M. Korfmann’s analysis of the material ‘Die prähistorische Besiedlung südlich der Burg Troia VI/VII’, in: *Studia Troica 2*, 1992, 123–146.

²³ H. Schliemann, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890*, Leipzig 1891, 24.

since 1993.²⁴ In the 1993 and 1995 excavation seasons it finally became possible to ascertain the *extent* of the Lower City: south of the Troia VI Citadel Wall two vertically walled ditches from the Troia VI/VIIa phase skilfully hewn in the limestone bedrock were discovered about 400 to 500 metres distant from the Citadel Wall.²⁵

Both ditches were defensive obstacles to ward off invading troops, possibly siege engines and, to a certain extent, probably also battle chariots. This last function of the ditches is verified by 13th-century Hittite sources. In several places the Alaksandu Treaty assumes readers' knowledge as a matter of course that Wilusa possessed modern battle chariots, trained horses to pull them ready for instant deployment and skilled charioteers and fighters (entirely apart from the availability of operable infantry, possibly with a troop strength of more than a few hundred, mentioned several times in the Alaksandu Treaty). This means that Wilusa in the 13th century BC must have been very well known and enjoyed economic and military power which went far beyond that achieved by corresponding minor principalities which were not particularly noteworthy.

Wilusa's commanding position in north-western Asia Minor on the Dardanelles Straits – that means, on the only sea route between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea and on one of two narrows between the continents of Asia and Europe – surely cannot have been based on agriculture and herding alone. That the geopolitical and geographical position of the settlement played the decisive role in the accumulation of wealth is too clearly shown on the map to be overlooked. This place was not merely a port of the usual type but was instead a 'forced port of call' since winds blowing continually from the north accompanied by a strong southerly current often forced ships in summer, which were not yet capable of cruising against the wind, to seek shelter in the port which is now Beşik Bay. Proof of this has been furnished on several occasions by specialists charged with carrying out analyses to this effect.²⁶ In addition to these geographical conditions, there are the Hittite sources: they clearly show that Wilusa was a factor to be reckoned with by the Hittite Kingdom as a matter of course just as much as Ugaritta or Amurra. Wilusa must, therefore, have been generally known and not to rulers alone.

The discovery in 1995 of a bronze seal with Luwian²⁷ 'hieroglyphic script' (a combination of syllabic script and logograms) on both sides in the Citadel area of Wilusa²⁸ also only goes to confirm, from the angle of Wilusa itself that the repeated demands made by the Hittite King in the Alaksandu Treaty to the effect that Alaksandu should 'write' to him without delay in reference to this or that case covered by the provisions of the treaty, just how normal regular

²⁴ Among these finds are the stone foundations of two Troia VI/VIIa houses in the plan quadrants KL 17/18: see above under *, Latacz, Troia - Wilios - Wilusa, 12f. For the progress achieved with each successive find see Korfmann 1993, 19f.; Korfmann 1994, 20, 24; Korfmann 1995, 22f.; Korfmann 1998, 31–48; Korfmann 1999, 14f.; Korfmann 2000, 25. Cf also J. Weilharter, Ober- und Unterstadt von Troia im archäologischen Befund und in den homerischen Epen, in: StTr 10, 2000, 199–210 (here: 200; the comparative part that follows 'archaeological findings: *Iliad* text' will have to be dealt with at greater length in the framework of a comprehensive discussion of Troia as related to the Homeric question).

²⁵ On details of the fortifications as a whole, to which of course a wall round the city behind the inner ditch belonged: see Jablonka 1995, 76; 1996, 86.

²⁶ Essential on this: M. Korfmann, Troy: Topography and Navigation, in: Troy and the Trojan War, Bryn Mawr 1986, 1–16 (here: 7f.). Special essay: J. Neumann, Number of Days that Black Sea Bound Sailing Ships were delayed by Winds at the Entrance to the Dardanelles near Troy's Site, in: StTr 1, 1991, 93–100.

²⁷ Luwian is an Anatolian language closely related to Hittite which was widespread throughout southern and western Anatolia especially in the latter half of the 2nd millennium; see on this A. Morpurgo Davies, article headed 'Anatolian Languages', in: The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford/New York 1996³, 82f., and F. Starke, the article on 'Luwisch' in: Der Neue Pauly, Vol. 7, 1999, cols. 528–534.

²⁸ Latacz 2001, 67–93 (with the relevant references).

written communication between Wilusa and Hattusa was – naturally in cuneiform and in the official state language, which was Hittite. Here we have come to grips with a political system of governance extending from central Anatolia to the Aegean coast, one which, by virtue of the geographical features of the region, remained the same for thousands of years – from the Hittites over the Persians to modern Turkey: the western border is the sea. It is hard indeed to imagine that this political system did not entail concomitant economic interrelationships. This question is being currently worked on in depth.²⁹

The Hittite Kingdom disintegrated in about 1175. Wilusa, too, with its links to Hattusa confirmed by treaty may have been involved in the process which preceded that collapse. In any case, there was a severe conflagration at Wilusa in about 1200 – a burnt deposit several metres thick still attests to it. Whether the people of Ahhiyawa (*Achaean*s) had participated in the fire – and if so, in what way – is not yet clear. The findings of recent years have, however, increased the likelihood that they did have something to do with the conflagration.³⁰ After the sweeping conflagration Wilusa continued to be inhabited, albeit on a reduced scale. The demographic structure and the culture were changed by waves of immigration from the Balkan region. The settlement seems to have gone into eclipse in about 950.³¹

²⁹ On the at that time ‘worldwide’ catchment area from which the objects found in the various settlement layers in Troia as well as the corresponding raw materials see the exhibition guide ‘Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit’ [‘Troia. Dream and Reality’], Braunschweig 2001², 162–176 (A.W. Vetter, N. Büttner, G. Kastl, D. Thumm). For the evaluation of these finds, see for the present M. Korfmann, Troia als Drehscheibe des Handels im 2. und 3. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend, in: Begleitband 2001, 355–368; H. Klengel, Zwischen Indus und Ägäis. Zum überregionalen Austausch in der Bronze- und frühen Eisenzeit, in: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 96, 2001, 349–355. Cf also G.A. Lehmann in the newspaper DIE WELT on 27.10.2001: "Wenn wir in der Bronzezeit von Fernhandel sprechen, reden wir nicht von einer breiten Unternehmerschicht. Vielmehr ist Handel in der Regel eng an die zentralen Residenzen gebunden, wird von ihnen angeleitet und organisiert. Deswegen ist es falsch, auf der Grabung von Korfmann einen dichten Fundniederschlag mit zahlreichen Handelsgütern aus allen Regionen zu erwarten." [‘If we are talking in the Bronze Age of far-flung trade links, we are not speaking of a broad entrepreneurial class. On the contrary, trade is, as a rule, closely tied to the central seats of principalities, is conducted and organised by them. It is, therefore, wrong to expect a thick deposit with numerous goods from trade with all regions from the Korfmann excavation.’] That Wilusa, as a seat of regional government, belonged to this Bronze Age trade network is shown for one thing by the Piyamaradu affair (see Starke 1997, 453–455).

³⁰ Latacz 2001, 338–342.

³¹ Korfmann/Mannsperger 1998, 41f. Cf Korfmann 2000, 32: "The subject of ‘discontinuity or continuity in Troia’ has been addressed several times by scholars. Even the 1999 excavation season has not brought about changes in the ideas we have hitherto entertained [what is meant is the ‘hiatus’ in settlement between ca 950 and ca 700].” Summarised in: R. Becks/D. Thumm, Untergang der Stadt in der frühen Eisenzeit. Das Ende aus archäologischer Sicht, in: Begleitband 2001, 419–424.

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