

AENEAS IN THE TROAS AND LATIUM REGIONS

Mythology and Archaeology

“On the Steps of Aeneas: a common cultural heritage between Italy and Turkey” was funded by the European Union in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture.

The project, developed by the Aeneas Route Association, in partnership with the Sapienza University of Rome and the Municipality of Edremit (Türkiye), as part of the Common Cultural Heritage between the European Union and Turkey (IPA-II), constitutes one of the many international collaboration activities promoted and coordinated by the Association.

In the belief that culture plays a fundamental role in promoting dialogue and cooperation, it integrates two main objectives: the dialogue between civil society and institutions and the enhancement of a common European culture. The project activities include the creation of an interactive digital platform called ARISTE (Aeneas Route Information System for Tourism and Education) on the theme of the journey of the Trojan hero.

One of the main components of the project was the International Conference held in Edremit (Turkey) on October 26, 2021, “Aeneas in the Troad and Lazio: mythology and archeology”: the proceedings are published in this volume. The summary of the conference results will be also available in an informative form through the ARISTE platform for dissemination to a larger audience and to schools.



The Conference participants at Troy excavation

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“On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage
Between Italy and Turkey”

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Mythology and Archaeology

edited by Sandra Gatti



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“On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage Between Italy and Türkiye”

Aeneas in the Troas and Latium Regions: Mythology and Archaeology

Proceedings of the International Symposium
Edremit, 26 October 2021

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Following the certification of the Aeneas Route as Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, the Aeneas Route Association promoted the project ‘On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage Between Italy and Türkiye’, in partnership with Edremit Municipality and Sapienza University of Rome. This project seeks to promote and further develop common cultural heritage activities jointly implemented by Turkish and EU Institutions. The overall objective of this grant scheme is to further improve civil society dialogue through culture, arts and cultural heritage as well as international cooperation for cultural heritage and to promote cultural values and assets in Türkiye.

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Reyhan Körpe

**PRINCE AENEAS OF DARDANOS:
HIS POSITION IN TROJAN MYTHOLOGY
AND HIS REFLECTIONS IN TROY
IN ANCIENT TIMES**

Abstract

Aeneas, who was considered as the founding ancestor of the Romans, appears as one of the leading heroes of the Trojans in Homer's Iliad. His descendants extends from his father Anchises to the founding fathers of Troy, to his mother Aphrodite and the gods of Olympus. In the war that started with the attack of the Achaeans to the city of Troy, he joined the support to Troy as the prince of Dardanus with the Dardanians under his command. His achievements in the war made him one as one of the most important hero of the Trojan army after Hector in Iliad. He killed many Achaeans in the war and clashed with Diomedes and Achilles, the leading heroes of the Achaeans. Instead of attracting the anger of the Olympus gods like other Trojans, Aeneas was protected by Apollo and Poseidon, especially his mother Aphrodite, as the new founder of Troy at the end of the war. But by his mother destiny set him on a completely different path, and instead of being the founder of the new Troy, he became the founding father of a new nation far away in Italy. The return of Aeneas to Troy, who sailed to Italy with a handful of survivors after the fall of Troy, was thanks to the Romans, who believed that they were descended from him hundreds of years later. The Romans became rulers not only of this city but of all Asia Minor, just as the gods prophesied in the epic.

Keywords: Troas, Troy, Dardanus, Aeneas, Homer

Aeneas, which the Romans regarded as the founding ancestor, appears as one of the leading heroes of the Trojans in Homer's Iliad. His lineage extends from his father Anchises to the founding fathers of Troy, to his mother Aphrodite and the gods of Olympus. In the war that started with

the attack of the Achaeans on Troy, he joined the aid of Troy as the prince of Dardanus with the Dardanians under his command. His achievements in the war are described as the most important hero of the Trojan army after Hector in Iliad. He killed many Achilles in the war and clashed with Diomedes and Achilles, the leading heroes of the Achilles. Instead of attracting the anger of the Olympus gods like other Trojans, Aeneas was protected by Apollo and Poseidon, especially his mother Aphrodite, as the new founder of Troy at the end of the war. But his fate led him to a completely different path, and instead of being the founder of the new Troy, he became the founding father of a new nation far away in Italy. The return of Aeneas to Troy, who sailed to Italy with a handful of survivors after the fall of Troy, was thanks to the Romans, who believed that they were descended from him hundreds of years later. The Romans became rulers not only of this city but of all Asia Minor, just as the gods prophesied in the epic.

The Kingdom of Dardanus on the Hellespont Coast

It is told that the Kingdom of Dardanus, which is a small ancient settlement on the banks of today's Çanakkale Strait, was founded by its first ancestors Dardanus long before Troy in ancient mythology¹ (Fig. 1). Although it has a much older history than Troy, which was later founded by those who left this city, this settlement turned into a small kingdom that remained in the shadow of Troy over the time. Although the kingdom of Dardanus was on the Asian coast of Hellespont, its territory stretched to Mount Ida in the south and to the western end of the Gallipoli peninsula opposite Hellespont in the north. Protesilaus, the first Achaean landing at the beginning of the Trojan war, was actually killed by a Dardanelles when he set foot on the western tip of the Gallipoli peninsula, which belonged to the Dardanian principality². It can be thought that the lands of the kingdom of Dardanos on the Asian side are also quite large and extend to Mount Ida, and even the southern foothills of the mountain are included in this kingdom. Before the Achaeans besieged the city of Troy, they plundered the lands of the king-

¹ SCHWERTECK 1997, 321.

² Hom., *Il.*, II. 15.696.1.



Fig. 1: The ancient city of Dardanus is located on the shore of Hellespont, in this small hill and its around today (R. Körpe archive)

dom of Dardanos overlooking Mount Ida and the Adramytion plain. In *Iliad*, this incident is described as Aeneas being chased by Achilles while trying to protect the cattle herds in this region. In fact, Demetrius of Skepsis reports that the city of Skepsis is also the capital of the region³. Hellespont's piece of land from the Asian coast to Mount Ida continued to be known as "Dardania" even after the Trojan wars⁴. In the later centuries, the territory of the city of Dardanus, which was rebuilt by Greek immigrants after the Trojan War, covered the lands of the Dardanus Principality in Asia in the Late Bronze Age. In fact, in the 5th century BC, Zenis and Mania, the rulers of the city of Dardanos during the Persian dominance of the region, formed a subordinate estate, including

³ LEAF 1923, 275.

⁴ WISSOWA 1901, "Dardania", 2157.



Fig. 2: This consists of many hills and valleys starting from the north of Edremit Bay to the inlands of Ida Mountain. (R. Körpe archive)

the interior of the region, including Skepsis and Kebren at the foot of Mount Ida⁵. Historically, it has been accepted for centuries that these lands belong to Dardanos (Fig. 2).

Documents written on nails that appeared in Hittite archives in recent years revealed that in the Late Bronze Age Troy was a small kingdom located in northwestern Anatolia called Wilusa. These documents show that there are diplomatic relations and alliance between Troy and the Hittite. Although the Hattusha documents have not yet been obtained, it is understood that the Hittites did not only form an alliance with the Trojans in this region, but also formed a similar alliance with the Dardanians. One of the allies who fought alongside the Hittites in the battle of Kadesh between the Hittite Empire and Egypt in 1274 BC was the Dardanians. The name “drdny”, which is referred to as “drdny chariots” in Egyptian docu-

⁵ Xen., *Hell.*, 3. 1. 18-20.

ments, is thought to be Dardanian⁶. Although the presence of the Dardanians in the Kadesh war is claimed to be the result of Troy's alliance with the Hittites, in Egyptian sources, the Trojans/Wilusans are not mentioned at all, while the Dardanelles are even shown among the prisoners in Egyptian reliefs. This situation reveals that the Dardanians are an important power, enough to make a separate alliance with the Hittites. Considering that the Trojan War was about a generation after the battle of Kadesh, we can say that the fame of the Dardanus chariots in the Trojan War dates back to Kadesh.

The events that developed in the years after the Trojan War changed everything in the Aegean and Asia Minor world. This wave of migration, later called "Sea Tribes", also brought the end of the Bronze Age. While Mycenaean and Troy are quietly disappearing in history, the Dardanians appear once again in the most turbulent phase of world history.

In the Iliad epic, Dardanus, which was mentioned as a close ally other than kinship with the Trojans, is now a completely underground ruin. The surface survey and the ceramics found in the rescue excavations prove that the settlement existed in the Late Bronze Age, when the Trojan wars took place⁷. A Trojan-like settlement will probably emerge in Dardanus during the archaeological excavations that will take place here in the future.

Royal descendent of Aeneas and Dardanos

All of our knowledge about Aeneas comes from mythology and ancient writers especially Homer. Considering that the debates about the reality of the Trojan War described in Iliad still continue, it may never be known whether the names mentioned in this epic are the real persons of the period. Although the names of kings or administrators such as Walmu and Alaxandu have been mentioned in the Hittite texts in recent years, none of the kings mentioned in Iliad are yet on Hittite nail tablets or Linear-B tablets. Likewise, no record was found in these written documents that could be associated with Aeneas or a member of the kingdom of Dardanus. On the other hand, the archaeological excavations that started in Troy and Mycenae since the mid-century revealed the cities, palaces and tombs

⁶ MATIĆ 2015, 215-238.

⁷ FILIP 2004, 21-25.

where these kings came, especially Troy, where the war took place, and illuminated the Late Bronze Age of the Aegean world where the Trojan War took place. The armor and helmets found in the cities, the palaces and graves that emerged in the excavations are consistent with the depictions of Homer in archaeological terms. Dardanus is one of the places where we are really sure of its existence during the Trojan War due to the correspondence of the position of the kingdom with information given in the *Iliad*, the presence of the city with the same name in the same place, and most importantly, the Late Bronze Age ceramics found in archaeological researches. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Aeneas, the prince of this kingdom known to exist in the Trojan War, comes from Homer and other ancient sources, like other Trojan War heroes. The life of the hero is so entwined in the epics and mythological weave that the proportion of reality in him will never be understood in the measure of how much this reflects his real personality. Therefore we have no choice but to return to epics and mythology to tell the story of Aeneas' life.

Before explaining Aeneas' role in the Trojan War, it is necessary to take a look at Aeneas' lineage and his relationship with Troy. The ancestors of Aeneas descended from the founding line of Troy. If we look at this lineage, we should first start from Dardanus, which also gave its name to the city of Dardanus. Dardanus, the son of Zeus from Electra, the daughter of Atlas, crossed⁸ from Samothrace island to the opposite coast, that is, to the lands known as Troas in the northwest of Anatolia. According to Vergilius, Dardanus originally lived in Italy, in the city of Corythus (probably in Cortona, near today's Arezzo)⁹. This place is ruled by a king named Teucer. Teucer, on the other hand, is almost entirely indigenous to this region. He is the son of Ida and Scamander, that is, the largest mountain of the region and the river. Teucer gave Dardanus his daughter Batieia and gave up his throne after his death.

Dardanus has now established a city with its own name on the banks of the Dardanelles. Troy was the ancestor of the royal line. Erichthonius, his son from Batieia, Tros, his son, and Ilios, the son of Tros, also established the city of Troy. Laemedon, the son of Ilos, and Priamos, the last king of Troy, were his sons.

⁸ Apollod., 3. 12. 1; Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 3.167, 7.207, 10.719; McDONOUGH 2008.

⁹ Verg. *Aen.*, III, 170; VII, 209; IX, 10; HORSFALL 1973, 68-79.

The descendants of Aeneas were Assarakos, another son of Tros, Kapys, his son, and Anchises, his father.

Assaracos, the founder of the Dardanus dynasty, was the second of three sons born of Callirhoe, daughter of Scamander, the river god of Tros¹⁰. While his brother Ilios later left Dardanos and founded the city he would name after himself, he kidnapped his other younger brother, Ganymede, to the god Zeus Olympos¹¹. Like his father, Assaracos married Hieromneme, the daughter of another river god Simoeis. Some sources say she married Clytadora, the daughter of Assaracos' cousin and also the king of Troy, Laomedon. In this case, the two relatives were united by marriage. Of these marriages, his only son and heir Kapys was born. When Assaracos died, Quintus Smyrnaeus, not Dardanus, told that he was buried in the very center of Troy near the Athena temple and Priamos palace¹².

When Assaracos died, his son Capys took the throne of Dardanus. According to some ancient sources, Capys married his cousins Themiste, one of the daughters of Ilios, who came from the Trojan kings, just like his father. Two boys named Anchises and Acoethes were born from this marriage. There is not much information about Acoethes from these children. We do not know except that he is the father of Laochoon, who, at the end of the Trojan war, felt that the wooden horse built by the Achaeans was a trick and objected to its being brought into Troy, and was therefore killed with his sons by the serpents sent by Poseidon¹³. He probably should have been an Apollo priest like his son Laochoon.

Capys's rule in the kingdom of Dardanus continued until the end of the Trojan War. Neither Anchises, his son nor Aeneas his son, could sit on the throne of Dardanos. With the Trojan War, it is understood that the Dardanos royal dynasty moved to Troy when the Dardanians joined the war alongside Troy. At the end of the war, when the Achaeans left the wooden horse in front of the Trojan walls, Kapys, the king of Dardanos, as his son Laochoon, sensed that this was a trick and even told the horse to be thrown into the sea according to Vergilius¹⁴. But no one believed the old king's words.

¹⁰ Diod. Reg., *Bibliotheca historica*, 4.75.3-5; Ps- Apollod., *Bibliotheca*, 3.12.2.

¹¹ Homer., *Il.*, XX, 233-235.

¹² Qui. Smry., *The Fall of Troy*, 6.145, 266.

¹³ Tax. Aen., 2.35-38.

¹⁴ Tax. Aen., 2.40-198; LYNCH 1980 170-179.

Anchises, the other son of Capys and heir to the throne, is much more well known. Anchises, who is extremely handsome enough to make the goddess Aphrodite fall in love with him, is the father of Aeneas. The legend of Aeneas can be said to begin with Anchises being with Aphrodite in a sense. Legend has it that this handsome Dardanian prince drew Aphrodite's attention as she grazed the royal cattle on Mount Ida in the south of the kingdom, as we mentioned above. Aphrodite seduces this young man by approaching him in the guise of a Phrygian princess or a young girl¹⁵. After this union, which took place in a cave on Mount Ida, two boys named Aeneas and Lyrus will be born. We have no information except that Lyrus died without his child. Apart from his short-term relationship with Aphrodite on Mount Ida, Anchises married his cousin Alcathus and had a daughter named Hippodamia from this marriage.

In Trojan mythology, Anchises, who was depicted as an old and crippled man who was carried on his back by his son Aeneas at the end of the war, is one of the few people who managed to escape from Troy. But what cripples him, let alone his old age, is that he revealed his association with the goddess Aphrodite. After making love in the cave on Mount Ida, Aphrodite appears to Anchises as a goddess this time and tells her that they will have a son named Aeneas. However, he warns not to tell anyone that the mother of this child is a goddess. If he will do so Zeus will punish Anchises. But Anchises breaks the word gave to the goddess and reveals his secrets by boasting that he loved Aphrodite one day. As a result, he is maimed by striking Zeus' lightning, just as Aphrodite warned before.

Thus, the descendants of the Dardanos, which started with Dardanos, the son of the god Zeus, stretched back to Aeneas, the son of a goddess. In addition, it can be seen that Aeneas and the Trojan dynasty are relatives and cousins of the same lineage, which can be considered quite distant. Geneas, as described in the epic before the Trojan war, was the prince of the kingdom of Dardanos in the north of the kingdom of Troy and founded by his founding fathers. And Aeneas wasn't really a Trojan and a Trojan prince, he was a Dardanelles prince.

Back to mythology and the birth of the hero, Aeneas' mother was Aphrodite, an Olympus goddess. Thus, while Aeneas stretched from his father's lineage to Dardanos and the god Zeus, his mother's bond with

¹⁵ *H.H.* 108-1; OLSON 2011, 5; ROSE 1924, 11.

Olympus became stronger due to Aphrodite. However, as we have seen examples in Greek mythology on the Trojan battlefield in Iliad, while the godly parents of many heroes whose parents are gods or goddesses could not prevent their deadly fate, we see that Aeneas had full protection that the Olympians withheld from all other children during the war.

Where does this privilege of Aeneas come from? In fact, when we look at the epics, we see that the gods' plans for Aeneas started with his birth. Just after she slept with Anchises, Aphrodite said:

*You will have a son, king to the Trojans.
it will be.
And children will be born to your children.
for all eternity!*

This is the fate of Aeneas in the future¹⁶. However, it should not be forgotten that Dardanos and Troy were separate kingdoms at this time. One never knows how a child will become king of the Trojans.

Before the Trojan War, we know nothing about Aeneas' position in the kingdom and what he did except the limited information given in some passages of Iliad. The young prince watched over the royal lands and herds around Mount Ida, as did his father, Anchises, in the kingdom of his grandfather, King Capys. Probably because of his father's injury, he not only took on these duties, but also became the crown prince. He was also the commander of the royal armies because the king of Dardanos was too old. The fact that Aeneas assumed these duties from a very early age must have gained him experience and fame before the wars. Like the kings of Dardanos before him, Aeneas married Creusa, the daughter of Priamos, the neighbour and relative of Troy.

Aeneas and the War of Troy

As the fate of Aeneas was drawn before he was born, the fate of Troy was drawn when Paris who did not yet know that he was the prince of Troy, gave the golden apple to Aphrodite on Mount Ida. Continuing from ancient mythology, after the events began with the beauty contest proceed

¹⁶ H.H. 195.



Fig. 3: The city of Troy and Hellespont. It is thought that the Trojan War was made on the plain outside the city until the city was captured by wooden horse trickery (Troy Excavation Archive)

with the journey of Paris to Troy, and from here to Sparta where he encountered Helene; from that the Helene's abduction, and then the Trojan War. It is seen that Aeneas had a role in the kidnapping of Helena. On an Attic vase dated 5th century BC, is depicted Menelaus king of Sparta with his wife Helena, greetings Paris and Aeneas visiting them¹⁷. We can attribute the fact that Aeneas went to Sparta with Paris to be the "*counselor of the Trojans*," as Homer later said in Iliad.

According to the words of Homer, the Trojan War took place in proximity of Troy and was fought between Agamemnon and his allies and Priamos and his allies (Fig. 3). Priamos, the ruler of a powerful kingdom in the region, immediately calls on his own allies to help against this attack on his country. In Iliad, both the Achaeans and the distant and nearby countries called for help by Troy are counted one by one.

¹⁷ WOODFORD 1993, 23, fig. 11.

One of the allies that Priamos immediately called for help was the nearest neighbouring kingdom and its distant cousin Dardanos. Moreover, the distant kinship relations between Troy and Dardanos were strengthened again when Priamos gave his daughter Creusa to Aeneas, the young prince of Dardanos.

However, as will be seen later during the war, it is understood that the relations between these two distant relatives are not very warm. In the attack of the Achaeans on Troy, the Dardanells did not rush to the aid of Troy. But it must have changed the mind of the king of Dardanos when the Achaeans attacked not only the Trojans but also other neighbours. The fact that the Achaeans first attacked the southern lands of Dardanos and captured the herds¹⁸ around Lyrnessus and looted the cities brought the Dardanians and the Achaeans against each other. In the battles here, the Achaeans succeeded and Achilles forced Aeneas to flee. However, later, when the Achaeans attacked their land at the end of the Gallipoli Peninsula, opposite Troy in the north of Dardanos, they saw an unexpected response from the Dardanians. As happened in the Çanakkale wars three thousand years later, after the attack of Dardanos soldiers on the Achaeans who landed at the end of the peninsula, Protesilaus, the hero of the Achaeans, was killed by a Dardanian and the Achaeans also gave the first martyr of the Trojan campaign on this coast¹⁹.

When the Dardanians joined the war alongside the Trojans, they must have thought that their own city was no longer safe, so the royal family must have moved to Troy. They must have stayed here until the end of the war. On behalf of the old king Capys and his father, the crippled Anchises, Aeneas took his place in the Trojan army as the commander of the Dardanos troops.

*"The strong son of Anchises was leader of the Dardanians –
Aieneias whom divine Aphrodite bore to Anchises
the folds of Ida, a goddess lying in love with a mortal."*²⁰

.....

¹⁸ LEAF 2012, 245.

¹⁹ KÖRPE 2015, 142.

²⁰ Hom., *Iliad*, II, 820. The citation of the *Iliad* here and always in this contribution are in the translation of Richmond Lattimore, 2011.

*The leader of the fourth group was the strong son of Anchises,
Aieneias*²¹

In the collisions, we see Aeneas appearing as a hero equivalent to Hector in the Trojan army.

*... A man lies
fallen whom we honoured as we honour Hektor the brilliant,
Aiineias, who is son of the great-hearted Anchises.*²²

In the epic of Iliad the name of Aeneas is mentioned in books II, V, VI, VIII, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XX. In these parts of the epic, as described in the battles of Aeneas, both information about his past and prophecies about his future are made.

In the V book of Iliad, Aeneas encounters Diomedes, one of the most powerful heroes of the Achaeans. In this battle, Aeneas wears the armour of the god Hephaistos and he returns from the death. Diomedes would hurt his mother, Aprodite, who tried to save Aeneas. Another Olympus god, Apollo, rescues the hero from this situation. Aeneas saved his own life, but lost his horses, descended from the godly stallions that the god Zeus gave to his ancestor Tros. Diomedes will then win the car races in honour of Patroclus with these horses.

*But Aineias sprang to the ground with shield and with long spear,
for fear that somehow the Achaians might haul off the body,
and like a lion in the pride of his strength stood over him
holding before him the perfect circle of his shield and the spear
crying a terrible cry.*²³

.....

*... But Tydeus' son in his hand caught
up a stone, a huge thing which no two man could carry
such as men are now, but by himself he lightly hefted it.
He threw, and caught Aineias in the hip, in the place where the hip-bone*

²¹ Hom., *Iliad*, XII, 95.

²² Hom., *Iliad*, V, 465.

²³ Hom., *Iliad*, V, 295-300.

*turns inside the thigh, the place men call the cup-socket.
 Il smashed the cup-socket and broke the tendons both sides of it,
 dropping to one knee stayed leaning on the ground with his heavy
 hand, and a covering of black night came over both eyes.*²⁴

*Now in this place Aineias lord of men might have perished
 had not Aphrodite, Zeus' daughter, been quick to perceive him,
 his mother, who had borne him to Anchises the ox-herd.*²⁵

.....
*She gave a great shriek and left fall her son she was carrying,
 but Phoibos Apollo caught him up and away in his own hands,
 in a dark mist, for fear that some fast-mounted Danaan
 might strike the bronze spear through his chest and strip the life from him.*²⁶

.....
*Now as these were talking in this way which each other
 Diomedes of the great war cry made for Aineias.
 Though he saw how Apollo himself held his hands over him
 he did not shrink even from the great god, but forever forward
 drove, to kill Aineias and strip his glorious armour.
 Three times. Furious to cut him down, he drove forward,
 And three times Apollo battered aside the bright shield*²⁷

Aeneas, who returned to the war after his wounds were healed, brought morale to the Trojans in their attacks against the Achaeans again.

*So Aineias stood among his friends, who were happy
 as they saw him coming back, still alive, and unwounded
 and full of brave spirit; yet they asked him no question,
 for the rest of their fighting work would not let them, that the silver-bow god
 woke, and manslaughtering Ares, and Hate, whose wrath is relentless.*²⁸

²⁴ Hom., *Iliad*, V, 305-310.

²⁵ Hom., *Iliad*, V, 311-313.

²⁶ Hom., *Iliad*, V, 343-346.

²⁷ Hom., *Iliad*, V, 431-437.

²⁸ Hom., *Iliad*, V, 514-518.

*Now Aineias killed two great men of the Danaans
the son of Diokles, Orsilochos and Krethon,
men whose father dwelt in Phere the strong-founded,
rich in substance, and his generation was of the river
Alpheios²⁹*

*There Aineias lunging at Aphareus, the son of Kaletor,
struck him with the sharp spear in the throat where it was turned toward him.
His head bent over to one side, and his shield tumbled,
and the helm, and death breaking the spirit drifted about him.³⁰*

.....

*But Aineias slaughtered Medon and Iasos. Of these
Medon was a bastard son of godlike Oileus³¹*

We see that Aeneas and Hector fought side by side and drove the Achaeans to their camps with the superiority of the Trojans over the Achaeans with the withdrawal of Achilles from the war.

*... Priam's, Helenos, best by far of the augurs,
stood beside Aineias and Hektor and spoken a word to them:
"Hektor and Aineias, on you beyond others is leaning
the battle-work of Trojans and Lykians, since you are our greatest
in every course we take, whether it be thought or in fighting³²*

But despite all the heroics Aeneas had done for the Trojans to lose his whole life, he still felt that he was not appreciated by Priamos as much as his own sons. Because he had long been displeased with Priamos; he had not given him the dignity he deserved, despite his bold actions. So much so that in one of the angriest moments of the war, the hero retreated from the front lines.

*So he spoke, and the heart in Deiphobos was divided,
Pondering whether to draw back and find some other high-hearted*

²⁹ Hom., *Iliad*, V, 541-544.

³⁰ Hom., *Iliad*, XIII, 541-544.

³¹ Hom., *Iliad*, XV, 330.

³² Hom., *Iliad*, VI, 75.

*Trojan to be his companion, or whether to attempt him singly.
and in the division of his heart this way seemed best to him,
to go for Aineias. He found him at the uttermost edge of the battle
standing, since he was forever angry with brilliant Priam
because great as he was he did him no honour among his people.³³*

The Trojans, who are in a difficult position in the face of the attacks of the Achaeans, say that their sister, who was killed even if not for Priamos, should enter the war to draw the hero back to the war to help her husband.

*"Aineias, lord of the Trojans' counsels, now there is need of you
to stand by your brother-in-law, if this bond of kinship touches you.
Come then, stand by Alkathöös, who was your sister's husband
and in time past nursed you in his house when you were still little.
But now Idomeneus the spear-famed has killed him in battle."³⁴*

Thus, Aeneas, who returned to the war, will meet the most famous Achali towards the end of the epic. In fact, the two heroes participated in the war reluctantly, their success in the war was not appreciated enough by their supreme commanders, but eventually the war turned into a personal revenge of both in a sense. While Achilles' motivation in the war was to revenge his friend Patroclus, who was killed by Hector, Aeneas was fighting for the revenge of his brother-in-law and the Dardanelles.

Although Aeneas was fighting for revenge, he was also aware that the battle with Achilles would end. Zeus saved Aeneas, who had previously encountered Achilles when he destroyed Lyrnesso's and Pedasos at the foot of Mount Ida. But the god Apollo seduces the hero and reminds the Trojan king that he has promised to fight Achilles. He also implies that while Aeneas is the son of an Olympus goddess like Aphrodite, Achilles is only the son of a smaller goddess, and therefore the gods will surely support him in this battle.

*"Aienias, lords of the Trojans", counsels. Where are those threats gone
Which as you drank your wine you made before Troy's kings, solemnly,*

³³ Hom., *Iliad*, XIII, 455-461.

³⁴ Hom., *Iliad*, XIII, 462-467.

*The you would match your battle strength with Peleian Achilleus?"*³⁵

.....

In turn the lord the son of Zeus Apollo spoke to him:

*"Hero, then make your prayer, you also, to the everlasting
gods, since they say that you yourself are born of Zeus' daughter
Aphrodite, but Achilleus was born of a lesser goddess,
Aphrodite being daughter of Zeus, Thetis of the sea's ancient.*

*Carry your weariless bronze straight against him, let him by no means
Turn you back by blustering words and his threats of terror."*³⁶

Thus, Aeneas confronts Achilles with the encouragement of Apollo. When he sees Aeneas again in front of Achilles, he asks him why he wants to fight him by putting himself in such danger. He tells Aeneas not to think of becoming the king of Troy in the future, and that Priamos has many more sons.

*"Aineias, why have you stood so far forth from the multitude
against me? Does the desire in your hearth drive you to combat
in hope you will be lord of the Trojans, breakers of horses,
and of Priam's honour. And yet even if you were to kill me
Priam would not because of that rest such honour on your hand.
He has a son, and he himself is sound, not weakened.
Or have the men of Troy promised you a piece of land, surpassing
all others, fine ploughland and orchard for you to administer
if you kill me?"*³⁷

Homer here explains the exact position of Aeneas in Troy from the mouth of Achilles. Although the cities of Dardanos and Troy are of common ancestry, it can be seen that there is a coldness between the two dynasties. This rivalry between the two relatives probably goes back to the separation of the kingdom of Troy from the kingdom of Dardanos. It should not be forgotten that the kingdom of Troy and its lands were once part of the kingdom of Dardanos. The lands of Dardanos actually surround the lands of Troy in a sense. We know that the lands on the western tip of the Gallipoli peninsula just op-

³⁵ Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 83-85.

³⁶ Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 104-109.

³⁷ Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 178-186.

posite Troy and Mount Ida in the south belong to the Dardanians from the collisions Aeneas made with the Achaeans in this region. But Mount Ida was also important to the kingdom of Troy. Considering that the herds of the kingdom graze at the foot of this mountain, it can be argued that the problem between the two relatives' kingdoms originated from the lands on Mount Ida. The reluctance of the Dardanians to participate in the war, on the other hand, was noticed even by the Achaeans that Priamos did not appreciate Aeneas as much as his own sons for his valour. Aeneas had no claim to the throne of Troy, no matter what he did in the war, even if he killed Achilles. Nevertheless, Aeneas, who was at war with Achilles, soon realized his mistake. The gods who watched the battle also saw the result. Poseidon, who was among the gods and took the side of the Achaeans from the very beginning of the war, intervened in the war and saved Aeneas' life once again. While telling the purpose of saving Aeneas, he also prophesies about the future life of the hero and his descendants³⁸.

*"Ah me; I am full of sorrow for great-hearted Aineas,
who must presently go down to the death, overpowered by Achilleus,
because he believed the words of Apollo, the far ranging;
poor fool, since Apollo will do nothing to keep grim death from him".*³⁹

.....

*But come, let us ourselves get him away from death, for fear
the son of Kronos may be angered if now Achilleus
kills this man. It is destined that he shall be the survivor,
that the generation of Dardanos shall not die, without seed
obliterated, since Dardanos was dearest to Kronides
of all his sons that have been born to him from mortal women.
For Kronos' son had cursed the generation of Priam,
and now the might of Aineias shall be lord over the Trojans,
and his sons' son, and those who are born of their seed hereafter."*⁴⁰

In other parts of Homer's Iliad saga, Aeneas is not mentioned again. After that, the epic ends with the killing of Hector by Achilles and the funeral.

³⁸ CASALI 2010, 40-41.

³⁹ Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 293-6.

⁴⁰ Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 300-308.

In the verses in the above Iliad that speak of Aeneas, Homer clearly stated the lineage of this hero, his role in the battles, and most importantly, the value that the gods gave him. On the other hand, it is seen that Aeneas is not as prominent in the epic as an Achilles or Hector. While Achilles is the main hero of the Achaeans, the Trojans' is undoubtedly Hector. Homer said that Aeneas was "equivalent to Hector" in the Trojan army and showed where his place and position was. Undoubtedly, Iliad was the war between the Trojans and the Achaeans, and Aeneas was one of the close allies who participated in this war alongside the Trojans. But it is clear that Troy is first and foremost among its allies.

Perhaps the most important factor that brought Aeneas to the forefront among other Trojan allies in Iliad is the fact that among those who came to Troy's aid, it was the Dardanians who were attacked by the Achaeans on their own territory. In a sense, Aeneas is fighting against the invaders who also attack their lands in the Trojan plain. Along with the Trojans, he actually defends his own homeland. This must be the motivation for Aeneas to join the war so eagerly and risk his life against Achilles.

We learn what happened next in the Trojan War from other epics defined as *Iliou Persis* and *Epic Cycle*, which reached the present day only indirectly and in very small pieces, rather than comprehensive and detailed sources such as Homer's Iliad⁴¹. Moreover, these pieces are mostly in the form of quotations of ancient sources. Our knowledge of the wooden horse trick, the capture of Troy, the looting of Virgil until the epic of Aeneas is limited and related to restricted resources, except for very few returns in Odyssey. We also need to add to these written sources ancient vase paintings, mosaic and wall paintings, and a wide range of sculpture works. The details in these works and the written sources that have not been obtained in a sense are completed.

Although there is no mention of it in the written sources, Aeneas' last role in the Trojan War is described among the Trojan heroes who made a move to take Achilles' body. When Paris guided by Apollo, shot Achilles from the heel, his only deadly place, the Achaeans and Trojans stepped forward to capture the dead body of this hero. Unfortunately, the vase in which this scene was depicted disappeared like other ancient sources. The night that Troy fell into the hands of the Achaeans thanks to the wooden horse trick, and the Achaeans looted the city and braided the Trojans, Aeneas

⁴¹ HORSFALL 1979, 273-276; WEST 2013.

sees Helena hiding in fear in the midst of this destruction. When he tries to kill Helena, whom he sees as the cause of all this pain, he is stopped by his mother Aphrodite. Aphrodite tells her son to control his anger and save his family while he is still alive and run away⁴².

Thus, the most iconic description of Aeneas is his escape from Troy, which we encounter in almost every way from the 6th century BC to the late antiquity, especially in ancient sources and vase paintings. Here the hero is shown with his father Anchises on his back, along with his son Ascanius and a woman described as his wife Creusa⁴³.

Although ancient sources largely agree that Aeneas escaped from Troy, statements about how and when he escaped are diverse. It is said that some of the Achaeans decided after leaving the wooden horse in front of the walls of Troy, that the prophet Laochoon tried to warn the Trojans and Poseidon killed the prophet and his sons by sending giant sea snakes⁴⁴. Others say that the Achaeans escaped from the confusion during the looting of Troy. Some sources say that he was warned primarily by his mother, Aphrodite, and other gods, and that among the stimuli was the ghost of Hector. In another story, they say that his wife Creusa, whose fate was to die in Troy, was left behind, and that the hero returned to Troy to find his wife and met the ghost of his wife here, and that Creusa told her husband to leave Troy and marry again.

Aeneas' survival from this destruction was interpreted by sources such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus in ancient times as his agreement with the Achaeans and betrayal of the Trojans⁴⁵. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 4 BC Century historian Menecrates of Xanthus says that Aeneas was excluded from his share of sacrifices by Paris, the new leader of the Trojans, after Hector's death, and therefore, he cooperated with the Achaeans in the fall of the city by agreeing with the Achaeans after the death of Achilles⁴⁶.

Another proof of Aeneas' collaboration with the Achaeans was that Aeneas and his family were untouched the night the Achaeans captured and pillaged Troy and killed the Trojans. While even the boys of Troy were killed,

⁴² *Tax. Aen.*, 2, 594-629.

⁴³ WOODFORD 1993, 114-116, fig. 109, 110; SIMON 2001, 159-162, fig. 1.

⁴⁴ MOST 2010, 227.

⁴⁵ SCAFOGLIO 2013, 1-14.

⁴⁶ *Ant.Rom.* 1.48.3 = *FGrHist* 769 F 3.

Aeneas was taken prisoner by Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and in a sense survived the mass murder.⁴⁷

Neoptolemus, who was brought to Troy after the death of his father Achilles, stands out especially in the destruction of the Trojan royal family. As depicted in many vase paintings, the king killed Priamos by grabbing his grandson Astynax by the foot and shooting him⁴⁸. It is unthinkable that such a warrior would capture Aeneas, who is said to be Hector's equal. We know that during the war, powerful gods such as Poseidon and Apollo were protected, especially his mother Aphrodite. At the end of the war, it can be said that the hero was protected by the Achaeans; at least he was allowed to escape.

In the ancient depictions of this escape, Aeneas almost escapes from the burning Troy. Thus, his journey to Mount Ida and then to Italy began.

The Journey to Italy of the Dardanos Aeneas

The next adventure of Aeneas, who escaped from Troy, is described in great details by ancient writers, especially Vergilius. Numerous works written on this subject try to explain the journey of the hero in its historical sense, especially its literary aspect, since it is considered as the founding ancestor of the Romans.

The night Troy was looted, the Trojan line of the descendants of Dardanos was completely wiped out. This includes Aeneas' wife, Creusa. In addition to her mother being Aphrodite, Aeneas was also saved from the Trojan dynasty. He was from Dardanos from the very beginning, and joined the war with the Dardanians. As often stated in *Iliad*, he is destined to rule the Trojans one day, or perhaps with a more accurate interpretation, his descendants. Although some ancient sources, such as Strabo, say that his descendants later returned to Troy and ruled the city, many Greek sources and, of course, Vergilius lead our hero to an irreversible path.

Aeneas' journey to Italy is not only his own adventure but also the adventure to find a new home for those who survived the Trojan War. The fact that a people whose country have been occupied and whose cities have been looted get on ships and search for a safer land and a new future is ac-

⁴⁷ SCAFOGLIO 2013, 11.

⁴⁸ WOODFORD 1993, fig. 111.

tually a frequent event throughout history. This event, which frequently takes place in the Aegean world especially during the colonization movements in the 19th century, it happened also during the 5th century BC when Persians invaded Western Anatolia. The Phocaeans fled from the Persian invasion to the colonies of the Mediterranean off the coast of France⁴⁹.

It can be thought that Aeneas and those with him left their country for such a reason. But what was the power here that forced them to migrate overseas? The answer to this question, which has been known for centuries, was of course the Achaeans, who captured Troy. In the Aeneid epic, which was enriched with both epics and Vergilius' details, Aeneas first took refuge in Mount Ida and then left his homeland by building ships in Antandros at the foot of Mount Ida.

The use of mythology and epics as a source has long been discussed among historians. How much of the events described in the epics reflect the truth can only be verified to the extent that they coincide with historical events and are proven by archaeology. Until the excavations in Troy which began in the middle of the 19th century, the Trojan War was just a saga. Excavations and written documents in recent years have revealed that the war described in the epics and those mentioned may be historical personalities.

The truth here is that the region, especially Troy, was looted, burned and killed by invaders from outside. Those who survived this destruction fled to inland areas and mountainous areas such as Mount Ida. Unfortunately, the archaeological excavations carried out in Troy since one hundred and fifty years have not yielded any definitive evidence of the war that Homer described in his Iliad. Although there are several layers of fire and destruction within the time period considered to be war, it is not clear which one belongs to the war Homer mentioned.

Although we are not very sure about the traces of the war described in the epic in Troy, the traces of a great destruction and then abandonment in the city are clearly evident. Moreover, all the Late Bronze Age settlements in the region, especially Dardania, not only Troy, but also in its immediate vicinity, were abandoned simultaneously. It is very clear that it was not the Achaeans who caused this destruction and abandonment because they were living a similar fate at the same time.

⁴⁹ *Hdt.* 1. 164-168.

This movement, which started in north-western Anatolia, soon descended to the south like an avalanche and ended the Hittite Empire and its contemporary West Asian states. It happened so suddenly that we could only find out who caused it when they were based in Egypt. Among the peoples whom Egyptian sources referred to as “Sea Tribes”, there was a familiar from the Kadesh war: the *Dardanoi*⁵⁰. The Dardanians, who fought against the Egyptians with their chariots beside the Hittite army, probably came to the north African coast, Egypt, this time in a wave of migration that dragged them by ships.

This force, which displaced the Dardanians and other Troas peoples and forced them to emigrate overseas, could not have been the capture of Troy by the Achaeans. The movement that first forced these people to take refuge in the safety of Mount Ida from the cities they lived in and then caused their country should be the great migration movement, which would later be called “Sea Tribes”. Some of these people who participated in this wave of migration with other Anatolian people must have reached the coast of North Africa.

One of the leaders of one of these groups must undoubtedly be one of the local leaders of the region, such as Aeneas, the prince of Dardania. Other sources, especially Vergilius, later describe the detail of Aeneas, who we know from the Iliad saga that he fought against the Achaeans alongside his Trojan allies, took refuge in Mount Ida at the end of this war. Going back to the epics again, there must be a far greater force forcing Aeneas, destined to be king of the Trojans, to leave his homeland.

The Dardanians, led by Aeneas, must have finally reached the Italian coast after a long stroll between the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, just like the other peoples who formed the Sea Tribes and sought new lands to live in.

Aeneas and Trojans

All sources, especially Homer, agree that Aeneas was the prince of the kingdom of Dardania and participated in the Trojan War as the leader of the Dardanians, just like Sarpedon, the leader of the Lycians, and Penthesileia, the queen of the Amazons. But after the war, and especially

⁵⁰ BARNETT 1975, 359-363.

on his journey to Italy, we see that Aeneas of Dardania turned into Aeneas of "Troy". In Iliad, it is clearly stated that he was from Dardania and even was excluded by Priamos. In Vergilius' epic of Aeneid, the bard mentions him six times as "Dardanian" and six times as "Trojans". In addition, the poet mentions those who came with Aeneas as both Trojans and Dardanians.

Vergilius must have known that Aeneas was a Dardanian, not only from the sagas of Homer, but from the numerous sources he had read in his own time, which he had come to this day in pieces, whose name we know or never knew. But he must have thought that the fact that the hero who would be the ancestor of the Romans was from Troy would attract more attention than the fact that he was from Dardania. It is clear that Aeneas deliberately converted from Darcos to Trojanism.

On the other hand, there is a place where Vergilius is right about this. The people referred to as "Trojans" in Iliad and Aeneid should not only be the people of the city or kingdom of Troy (Ilion), but all the people living in the vicinity. In the Late Bronze Age, Hittite cuneiform tablets are also referred to as "Taruisas" other than Wilusa in the region⁵¹. The name of the region indicated along with the classical ages as "Troas" should be largely related to the ethnic origin of the people living in the region. Most of these people living in the area can be considered Trojans. So the Dardanians and the Trojans were actually people who spoke the same language. Our only source in this regard is *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. Aphrodite, who approached Anchises of Dardania as a Phrygian princess, says that her mother-in-law is from Troy and that she learned this language from her. Unfortunately, except for a single bronze seal written in Luvian found in the Trojan excavations, we do not have epigraphic finds that will allow us to understand the language spoken by the people of the region.

⁵¹ GÜTERBOCK 1986, 33-44; Some scholars even suggest that the Etruscans in the northwest of the Italian peninsula may *originate* from the Taruisas region. BILLIGMEIER 1977, 5-10; FONTAINE 2016, 8.

Back to Troy

The events of the Late Bronze Age greatly changed the demographic structure of the region. A new group of people arrived in the region through the Balkans. All the cities of the Late Bronze Age, especially Troy, were abandoned. Again with Troy, these settlements remained as ruins for a while and they started to be resettled by Greek-speaking people coming from the south from the 20th century onwards. The newcomers must have called Troy, mentioned in the epics and whose glorious walls can still be seen, Ilion in reference to both the name of Wilusa in the Late Bronze Age and the name of Ilios mentioned in Iliad.

But the newly established Ilion was now an ordinary city far from its former glory. Kings such as Xerxes and Alexander the Great, who knew this history of the city from time to time, tried to revive the city, but it was not very successful. He even turned into a miserable town with no tiles on the roofs of their house. It is understood that the visitors who came to the city's economy made an important contribution in this period. Visitors to Troy were guided by local guides and shown the traces of the Trojan War and the graves of the heroes and their remains. However, apart from Hector, a monument or similar places related to the cult of Aeneas has not been found until now, while relics of Achaean heroes and their tumuli are visible in Ilion. Is Aeneas once again to be excluded from Troy? We don't know that yet, but the hero will return to Troy permanently.

The fate of Troy will change with the fall of Western Anatolia under the Roman domination⁵². Although Aeneas is seen more in Rome as a figure related to its own founding legends, this will change after the Romans become a Mediterranean power. For the Romans, who thought that their founding father was Aeneas, who came to Italy after the Trojan wars, the city of Troy became to have a special place⁵³. Although the burning of the city by Roman general Fimbria during the wars with Mithridates was the greatest catastrophe that the city experienced after the Trojan wars, the subsequent Roman statesmen will correct this mistake⁵⁴. Sulla, who came to Troy after the disaster of Fimbria, started the works to restore the former

⁵² ERSKINE 2001.

⁵³ ROSE 2015, 142.

⁵⁴ Strabon 13. 1, 27; MÜNZER 1909; MAGIE 1950, 228; HAYES 1995, 177-183; ROSE, KÖRPE 2016, 219-221.



Fig- 4: Roman structures and inscriptions in Troy (R. Körpe archive)

glory of the city. But everything will change after Caesar, who visited Troy after the Pharsalia wars in 48 BC. Believing that he himself was descended from Aphrodite and Aeneas, Caesar visited the city⁵⁵ and its surroundings just as Alexander the Great did⁵⁶. During this visit, which was described in detail by the Roman poet Annaenus Lucanus, a local host showed Caesar the “ruins of ruins” from the time of Troy’s past wars⁵⁷.

After Caesar’s death, Rome was transformed into an empire by his nephew Octavianus after a long civil war, and Octavianus, who took the title of Augustus, based his descendants on Aeneas, just like his great-uncle⁵⁸. Rome’s policy of settle its roots in Troy culminated in the writing of Vergilius’ Aeneid during the time of Augustus. Due to this particular attention, Troy became one of the cities that the Roman Empire valued the

⁵⁵ Cass. Dio., XLIII, 43, 3.

⁵⁶ MINCHIN 2012, 86; CARVOUNIS 2014, 191.

⁵⁷ Lucan., 9, 964-999; PERROTTET 2002, 244.

⁵⁸ Suet., *Caesar* 39. 2; *Augustus* 43. 2; *Tiberius* 6. 4; *Claudius* 21. 3; Cass. Dio., 54. 26. 1, 55.10.6–7, 59.11.2; Plin., 8.65; ALLEN 1922, 255.

most in Anatolia⁵⁹ (Fig. 4). The myth of Aeneas, initially highlighted by the Caesar and Julio-Claudius dynasties, soon became the mythological infrastructure of Rome's political presence in Asia. The Romans showed that Aeneas escaped from Troy and went to Rome in every way from coins to reliefs and mosaics in these lands of the empire. There are so many Aeneas depictions that emerged in archaeological excavations of many ancient cities today that even Saint Paulus in the 1st century BC, during his several trips in Western Anatolia mentioned about it.

Coming back to Troy and Aeneas, Aeneas has returned to Troy, even thanks to the Romans. As we see in many imperial city coins in Anatolia, we see his famous depiction in Ilium coins⁶⁰. However, a monument belonging to this hero in Troy does not appear until the beginning of the 3rd century, until the Aurelian period⁶¹. Realizing the interest of the Romans in Aeneas, the Ilionians added another place among the places they showed to the visitors who came to the city before. This was perhaps the cave where Aeneas' father, Anchises, laid with Aphrodite, which most Roman tourists wanted to see at the time. In the cave there was even a bed which was said to have belonged to the couple and the bed in it was one of the most interesting details⁶². Aeneas, who was respected as the founding ancestor for the Romans, was no longer anything but a tourist figure for the new Trojans-Iliumans.

Aeneas eventually returned to Troy, but his return was hundreds of years later, thanks to the Romans, who believed they were his descendants. The Romans dominated all Asia Minor, not just the Trojans, just as the gods prophesied in the epic.

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⁵⁹ KÖRPE 2019, 134.

⁶⁰ DUNCAN 1948, 15.

⁶¹ FRISCH 1975, 141-5; ROSE 2014, 255.

⁶² KÖRPE 2019, 138.

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