Athens Journal of History

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The current issue is the first of the eighth volume of the *Athens Journal of History (AJHIS), published by the History Unit of ATINER*.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER

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20th Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology:
From Ancient to Modern, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece

The History Unit of ATINER, will hold its **20th Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern, 30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of History. The aim of the conference is to bring together scholars and students of all areas of history, archaeology and other related disciplines. You may participate as a stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2022/FORM-HIS.doc).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **7 February 2022**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: 2 **May 2022**

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30-31 May & 1-2 June 2022

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- Submission of Paper: **2 May 2021**

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, Literature Research Unit, ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

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Wars and Foreign Interventions in Greece in the 1820s

By Gregory T. Papanikos[*]

In Greece, the 1820s is a well-remembered decade. Many things happened which future Greek generations can study and learn. In the beginning of the decade (1821), some Greeks rebelled against the Ottomans, but, parallel with this War of Independence, they, as did so many times in their heroic past, started fighting between themselves (1823-1825). The Olympians intervened, as in Homer's masterpieces, and "independence" came as a result of a direct foreign (divine) intervention by Britain (Poseidon), France (Athena) and Russia (Hera). This began first in the battlefields in 1827, and then at the negotiation table in 1832. This paper looks at the reasons of all of these three types of events (the Greek War of Independence, its civil wars and the foreign interventions), as well as their results. The reasons are traced by applying the rule: "follow the money." Of course, the obvious result was the official creation of an "independent" Greek state. However, other concurrent events have had long-lasting effects on the Greek political and military developments, which lasted until the end of the third quarter of the 20th century. These developments are only briefly discussed in this paper.

Introduction

The year 2021 marked the bicentennial of the beginning of the Greek War of Independence, which lasted almost for a decade. At the end of the War, a new Greek state was established by the London Conference and the Treaty of Constantinople; both taken place in 1832. This period of eleven years was marked by (a) a Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire which erupted in February of 1821; (b) two civil wars (1823-1825) which had taken place in the midst of fights with Ottomans; and (c) a war between the Ottomans and the three European powers (Britain, France and Russia) which culminated with the navy battle of Navarino in 1827, and some skirmishes between French and Ottoman armies in 1828. After these events, the Ottomans understood, the hard way, that Britain, France and Russia meant business; especially international business. In those years, when international businesses were involved, the British excelled and Greece was not an exception as I shall explain later in this paper.

The purpose of this paper is to answer the following questions: (a) what were the reason(s) of the Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1821? (b) how can the two civil wars be explained at the peak of this War of Independence? (c) what was the role of the concurrent world's political, social and cultural environment, especially in Europe, which might explain the interventions (economic, political and military) of Britain, France and Russia? (d) in particular, how did the

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intellectual movements of enlightenment and romanticism affect the course of the war events and the eventual establishment of the Greek state? The events of the 1820s have had many consequences. For example, as shall be seen, the Greek War of Independence is considered as the first example of a foreign intervention which was the outcome of public opinion pressures on national governments. This might be true, but "money had talked" before that.

This paper's structure is as follows. The next section summarizes the relevant theoretical literature which is pertinent to the issues addressed in this paper. Why do a group of people revolt? How can internal conflicts within the same group, and especially a civil war, be explained? On top of these, how can foreign intervention be explained? Selective theoretical works on these issues are presented in the next section emphasizing the economic aspects of all of these events. This background theoretical literature is then applied to the three events of Greece in the 1820s. Two descriptive models are developed to motivate the discussions on the reasons of the revolt and the civil wars (first model), as well the foreign intervention (second model). The last section concludes with a discussion on the long-term effects on Greek international and domestic political developments well into the 21st century.

An Integrated Theoretical Approach: A Selective Literature Review

This section selects to examine a small number of papers which look at the theoretical aspects of revolutions, civil wars and foreign interventions. This literature serves well the sole purpose of this study mentioned above. However, there is a selection bias towards papers which emphasize the economic aspects. In other words, a claim is made that all three events can be explained by looking at economic and business dimensions which are considered here as the main causes of the Greek revolt, the two civil wars and the foreign interventions.

It is difficult to distinguish between a general war and a civil war.[1] What was the Greek War of Independence? It was a war that took place within the boundaries of a sovereign state, i.e., the Ottoman Empire. Greeks were part of the empire, and in this way, it was an internal affair. Was their revolt a war against a foreign power, or a civil war? Eckstein used other terminology and called these wars internal wars.[2] One of the objectives of an internal war might be the change of the constitution, and therefore the socioeconomic status. Eckstein used other terms as well, such as revolution, revolt, insurrection, rebellion, uprising, guerilla

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1. I reviewed this literature on wars and civil war in my book G. T. Papanikos, *O Ελληνικός Εμφύλιος της Δεκαετίας του 1940* (Athens, Greece: ATINER, 2020).

2. H. Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars," *History and Theory* 4, no. 2 (1965): 1331-1363.

warfare, mutiny, coup d' etat, and terrorism.[3] The latter term was used by the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire to describe the Greeks who participated in what the Greeks called a War of Independence. As it turned out, the most important countries in the world at the time accepted the Greek interpretation of the conflict.

Economists usually assume that wars are exogenous; presumably to be explained by other social sciences. Most economists would take them as given and proceed with an analysis of their consequences—like a natural disaster such as a pandemic, an earthquake, a flood, a fire, etc. However, there do exist few papers which emphasize the economic explanations of revolutions and wars. For example, Roemer has developed a theoretical economic model in which wars (revolutions, civil conflicts and foreign interventions) are treated as an allocation (redistribution) problem between two groups of people: one group supports the current regime (e.g., the Ottoman Empire) and the other group wants to overthrow it (e.g., the Greek rebels).[4] The latter group desires to overthrow the former in order to improve its income and wealth distribution while the former fights hard not to lose the benefits which arise from the existing distribution. Thus, both groups fight to increase (maintain) their welfare or to improve (maintain) their living conditions.[5] Rationality is impended in the model by assuming that there is an optimal distribution advocated by the two conflicting groups (i.e., you will be better off under our rule), a punishment announced by the dominant group (e.g., a massacre of your entire family and confiscation of your property) and a possible war coalition of both groups with foreign powers (e.g., Austria, Britain, France, Russia, etc.).

This description of the model may explain the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire. The latter was developing a rational strategy which minimized the probability of a revolution. This approach included both punishments if people participated in the revolution and/or rewards if they did not join. In addition, international relations were promoted to form coalitions with other powers to suppress the outbreak of the revolution, e.g., Austria and Russia. As it turned out, the Ottoman Empire failed miserably on this conclusive endeavor. On

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3. Ibid.

4. J. E. Roemer, "Rationalizing Revolutionary Ideology," *Econometrica* 53, no. 1 (1985): 85-108.

5. A careful reader would point out that all wars can be analyzed as economic phenomena. The Greek War of Independence can be considered as the demand for a commodity, namely national freedom. Why did they want freedom? A part to this answer is economic freedom, i.e., the freedom to produce, consume, invest, and in general, doing business within an institutional framework which applies equally to all subjects. Unequal distribution of freedoms leads to unequal distribution of income and wealth. In many cases the latter dominates any other type of freedom. For example, a nationality within an empire may not enjoy political freedom as the dominant nationality, but they enjoy as much freedom as anybody else to do business. Singapore is a good modern example. Of course, free business means free movement.

the other hand, the opposing group, who wants to overthrow the regime, (a) punished those who did not participate, (b) rewarded those who participated with the promise of spoils and (c) built up international coalitions to support them to achieve their endeavors, e.g., Britain. The Greek rebels whom were assisted by a favorable world public opinion received the decisive support of the Great Powers.

Roemer's model abstracts from any ideological influences by assuming that both groups are non-ideological. Thus, the whole discussion of the influence of enlightenment, romanticism and religion (all being weighed as ideological variables) is superfluous in the context of this theoretical model. What are the consequences of this model? Roemer comes up with twelve results which emerge from his theoretical model.[6] Here, I discuss only those which relate to the context of this study. First and foremost, not mentioned explicitly by Roemer, there is always a non-negative probability of revolt. In his model there are three groups of stakeholders: poor people (e.g., most Greeks, mainly peasants, under the Ottoman yoke), a middle stratum (e.g., Greeks who had special privileges under the Ottoman rule such as the well-known Phanariotes and local Demogerontes) and the rich chieftains (e.g., Ottomans of Turkish origin).[7] The latter group was benefited primarily from what economists would call today "economic rents" provided by Ottoman authorities. According to this model, the poor will always participate in the revolutionary coalition, the middle class will be in-and-out, depending on the circumstances, and the rich will always be outside the revolutionary coalition. If the probability of revolution is high and the situation is highly polarized, then the middle class disappears and joins the ranks of the poor. The severity of penalties of participating in a revolution is a monotone function of wealth; the higher the wealth, the more severe the penalties could be. In other words, poor people have nothing to lose. The results of the revolt are highly unstable.

Esteban et al. make the same arguments as Roemer by emphasizing the economic motivations of results, but find its economic "… expression through the cleavages generated by religion, ethnicity, or national origins. It could be further exacerbated by hatreds and resentments—perhaps primordial, perhaps owing to a history of violence—that are attached to the markers themselves."[8] In earlier papers, Esteban and Ray, and Esteban and Debraj developed a theoretical model

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6. Roemer, "Rationalizing Revolutionary Ideology," 1985, 106-107.

7. According to Finlay (1861, p. 21) "The Greeks were allowed a considerable share authority in the executive administration of the Ottoman government."

8. J. Esteban, L. Mayoral and D. Ray, "Ethnicity and Conflict: An Empirical Study," *American Economic Review* 102, no. 4 (2012): 1311.

where income inequality (or land ownership) is proxied by ethnicity because the former is difficult to observe.[9]

An interesting idea was proposed by Grossman which might be considered as a theoretical explanation of what went on before and during the 1820s in Greece.[10] Grossman's argument is that all wars can be explained as a rivalry between two kleptocratic leaders (or groups). This analytical framework can explain the organization of some Greeks into smaller groups of gangs headed by a kleptocratic leader who were after the Ottoman kleptocrats. Once the Ottomans were beaten on the battlefields in the first and second year of the revolution, then the kleptocratic Greek gangs started fighting between themselves over the spoils of the Ottomans until a great power, Britain (a kleptocrat of a different scale), stepped in and stabilized the situation. The British interference in the Greek War of Independence started earlier as an economic interference, in 1824, then continued as a military one in 1827, and ended at the negotiating table with the Ottoman and Greek authorities in 1832. After 1832 the British interference in the Greek internal and external political and military affairs continued until 1947 when this "property right" was transferred to the new superpower of USA. One may think that this ended in 1981 when Greece was accepted as a full member of the European Economic Community (European Union).

In another significant paper, Acemoglu and Wolitzky examined the "conflict spirals" defined as the recurrence of the same events due to mistrust.[11] This may also be interpreted that generations after generations do not learn from previous generations' mistakes. At the end, all of these conflict spirals wear out. This model explains how two opposite groups come to an agreement; it involves foreign interference. Thus, an explanation is needed to describe foreign involvement into an "internal conflict."

How can foreign intervention be explained? According to Aidt et al., "In an interconnected world, where one nation's fortunes or misfortunes influence those of others, economic and political interests inevitably reach beyond national borders."[12] This is as old as the written history itself. Herodotus, the father of history, was the first to demonstrate this with the wars between some Greek city-states and the Persian Empire. But it was left to Thucydides' masterpiece of the

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9. J. Esteban and D. Ray, "Conflict and Distribution," *Journal of Economic Theory* 87, no. 2 (1999): 379-415; Esteban and R. Debraj, "Linking Conflict to Inequality and Polarization," *American Economic Review* 101, no. 4 (2011): 1345-1374.

10. H. I. Grossman, "Kleptocracy and Revolutions," *Oxford Economic Papers* 51, no. 2 (1999): 267-283; Grossman, "A General Equilibrium Model of Insurrections," *The American Economic Review* 81, no. 4 (1991): 912-921.

11. D. Acemoglu and A. Wolitzky, "Cycles of Conflict: An Economic model," *American Economic Review* 104, no. 4 (2014): 1350-1367.

12. T. S. Aidt, F. Albornoz and E. Hauk, "Foreign Influence and Domestic Policy," *Journal of Economic Literature* 59, no. 2 (2021): 426.

Peloponnesian War to manifest, in an unequivocally manner, how a state's fortune can be affected by direct or indirect foreign interventions.

Aidt et al., define foreign intervention or influence as an interaction between a foreign power and another one which the former wants to influence.[13] The latter country may be called the target. Of great interest to the analysis here is the typology of what is meant by a foreign power which can be a single state, a group of states, an international organization as well as a non-state actor. In the Greek case of the 1820s, a chronology of foreign influence may be ascertained as being initially a non-state actor who affected state-actors. The latter then made up the foreign powers in the above typology which intervened in the Ottoman Empire to support a specific ethnic and religious group in order to achieve its independence from the Ottoman yoke. Aidt et al., identify three foreign intervention strategies— only the last of the three that are institutional interventions is of interest here.[14] This strategy is further divided into two subcategories: regime interventions and conflict interventions. The latter are defined as those "…which cause, intensify, or end a violent conflict." As shown later, this was the case of the foreign interventions of the 1820s by three foreign powers.

In the last few decades, the (economic) literature on wars has mushroomed. A big part of this relates to foreign interferences. Both theoretical and empirical studies have found that economic variables, such as low-income are related to revolutions and internal wars. Koubi and Bohmelt have concluded that one of the most common findings of the empirical literature is that higher incomes are correlated with lower probabilities of a revolution.[15] In addition, Collier and Hoeffler have found that economic variables better explain internal wars than political and social variables.[16] Brückner and Ciccone found that lower incomes increase the probability of an internal war, particularly when there are weak (or inexistent) democratic institutions.[17] Lu and Thies have proposed an interesting interpretation of the income and wealth variable.[18] What is important is not if income (wealth) is low, but how this is perceived by people. If they think that are treated unfair, then they might joint a revolutionary coalition.[19] A number of

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13. Ibid, 431.

14. Ibid, 432.

15. V. Koubi and T. Bohmelt, "Grievances, Economic Wealth, and Civil Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 1 (2014): 19-33.

16. P. Collier and A. Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (2004): 563-595; Collier and Hoeffler, "Civil War," in *Handbook of Defense Economics* 2 (ed.) T. Sandler and K. Hartley (Elsevier, 2007), 712-737.

17. M. Brückner and A. Ciccone, *Growth, Democracy, and Civil War*. CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP6568 (SSRN, 2007).

18. L. Lu and C. Thies, "Economic Grievance and the Severity of Civil War," *Civil War* 13, no. 3 (2011): 215-231.

19. The Ottoman Empire was not as bad as many Greeks think; many Greeks thrived under the Ottoman Empire. However, the Ottoman Empire failed miserably on its public

other studies relate income differences to religion and ethnic differences as well, but with mixed results (see among many other studies Fearon, Fearon and Laitin, Reynal-Querol, Buhaug et al.)[20] It seems that one of the reasons of a revolution or a civil war is income (wealth) inequality, which, if it is related to religious and ethnic differences, raises the probability of the revolt. Was this the case in Greece in the 1820s? This question is addressed in the next section of the paper.

The Greek Revolution of 1821 and the Two Civil Wars

The 1820s marks the beginning of the modern Greek state. The years which followed the formation of the new nation until the 1970s are characterized by revolutions, civil wars and foreign interferences. One may argue that all of these conflicts ceased when Greece decided to become a republic instead of a kingdom in 1975 with a referendum, but, most importantly, when it was accepted as a full member of the European Union the successor of the European Economic Community in 1981. Future historians will analyse this long period of 1821 to 1981 as being another homogeneous phase of the long history of the Greek race.

One may argue that the written history of Greece started with Homer's account of the Trojan War (around 1200 BCE); Herodotus' account of the Greek-Persian Wars (early 5th century BCE); Thucydides' unsurpassable historiography of the Peloponnesian War (late 5th century BCE); Arrian's historical account of Alexander's conquer of the East (4th century BCE, but written a few centuries later); and so many historians who followed them.

Unfortunately, many historians' works have been lost and only fragments have survived. In one of them, Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 550 BCE – c. 476 BCE) wrote that "Hecataeus of Miletus here declares: I write these, which I consider

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relations with its own people. Even the richest of Greeks felt that they were unfairly treated by the Ottoman authorities, or even by a single individual Turk. This created an unnecessary rancor which resulted in almost all Greeks hating the Ottoman Empire and the Turks altogether, despite the many good examples of Turks who even sacrificed their lives to save Greek lives during the War of Independence. In that sense, I find Lu and Thies' (2011) interpretation applicable to the Greek revolt that demands a further analysis which goes beyond the scope of this study.

20. J. D. Fearon, "Why do Some Civil Wars Last so Much Longer than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (2004): 275-301; Fearon and D. D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90; M. Reynal-Querol, "Ethnicity, Political Systems, and Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): 29-54; H. Buhaug, L.-E. Cederman and K. S. Gleditsch, "Square Pegs in Round Holes: Inequalities, Grievances, and Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (2014): 418-431.

true; because the sayings of Greeks are, in my opinion, many and ridiculous."[21] With the exception of Thucydides' outstanding historical accounts, the rest of Greek historiography meets the criterion of "many and ridiculous."

The historiography about the 1820s was not an exception. The historical writings are many, but the quality of the analyses does not meet the basic criteria of scientific historical discourse. The problem is not so much the objectivity of accounting for the events of the 1820s, but the subjective incapability of those who wrote about the event—and they are so many—to provide a true analysis even if they wanted to. All of them are atheoretical and lack the internal coherence demanded by any historical analysis of such events, facts and data are mistreated. I have analyzed these issues elsewhere; see Papanikos.[22]

The historical sources[23] can be divided into those which were written by eyewitnesses of the events and those whose authors did not experience the events, but wrote about them much later, based on facts and data provided by the eyewitnesses and by looking at official and other documents which had since become available. Furthermore, the written evidence provided by the eyewitnesses can be divided between those who attempted to provide an overall account of the events of the 1820s, and those who described specific events as personal memoirs and as part of their autobiography. In many cases these autobiographies were not written by them because they were illiterate, but by someone else which might have influenced how the events were portrayed. Most importantly, since these memoirs and autobiographies were written long after the events, the views might have served the needs of the period in which they were written. This is definitely the case of the civil wars since the political repercussions have a tendency to persist for decades. Finally, for many of them who today are considered the heroes of revolution, their posthumous fame was important and their writings quite possibly reflect this human ambition as well.

Two sources both written by foreigners who actually participated in the events like Thucydides, an Athenian general who fought in the Peloponnesian

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21. Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν.

22. Papanikos, *What is History? An Assessment of Carr's Monograph* (Athens, Greece: ATINER, 2020); Papanikos, "The Use of History as a Tool of Policy-Making," Opening Speech at the *4th International Conference on History: From Ancient to Modern*. Athens, Greece, 28-31 December 2006 (National Archaeological Museum of Athens, 2006); Papanikos and N. C. J. Pappas, *European History: Lessons for the 21st Century: Essays from the 3rd International Conference on European History* (Athens, Greece: ATINER, 2006); Papanikos, "European History: Lessons for the 21st Century," in *European History: Lessons for the 21st Century: Essays from the 3rd International Conference on European History* (ed.) Papanikos and N. C. J. Pappas (Athens, Greece: ATINER, 2006), 3-8.

23. I applied the same methodology/distinction in my book: Papanikos, *Ο Ελληνικός Εμφύλιος της Δεκαετίας του 1940*, 2020; Papanikos, "The Two Great Wars and the Two Great World Crises," *Archives of Economic History* Special Issue (2000): 99-106.

War—are worth mentioning because they provide an overall account of the events of the 1820s even though their history cannot compare with Thucydides' history of the *Peloponnesian War*. Thomas Gordon (1788-1841) was a British army officer who played a role in the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s. He will be remembered for his history of the war which was published in 1832. Many have used his work as the main source of the Greek War of Independence. George Finlay (1799-1875) wrote a much better history of the Greek revolution (published in 1861), but even his history is based on Gordon's earlier work.[24] Both are standard reference books of the Greek War of Independence and are used by many authors thereafter. I also use them as well in this study.

Apart from these sources, many other writings have appeared ever since the break of the revolution which aimed to explain why Greeks revolted against the Ottoman Empire in general, and during the 1820s in particular.[25] The demand to overthrow the Ottoman yoke was always there; ever since the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. But it was the Latins who first sacked Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade which paved the way to the Ottoman occupation of Constantinople in 1453.[26] Even though it goes beyond the scope of this paper, one may argue or hypothesize that the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans was the rational choice made by Greek Orthodox leaders when faced with two choices: accept the head of the catholic church and Catholicism in general, or accept the Sultan as political leader but keep the Greek Orthodox faith. They chose the latter because they believed that the Ottoman occupation would be short-lived. On the other hand, succumbing to the Pope would be a permanent event. As turned out, the Ottoman occupation was temporary, but lasted more than 400 years. It still lasts even today if one considers that Constantinople is under the occupation of the successors of the Ottoman Empire.[27] On the other hand, succumbing to

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24. G. Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1861).

25. Gordon (1832) in his preface mentions that forty books had already been published but only three or four could be considered accurate. Furthermore, as I have already pointed out, most, if not all, of these writings account for isolated war events. Gordon's own experience as a Greek army officer and his friendship with many people who were eye-witnessing the events were his sources.

26. D. Jacoby, "After the Fourth Crusade: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish States," In *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500–1492* (ed.) J. Shepard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 759-778.

27. There is a dark side to the occupation issue of Constantinople which is not emphasized so much in the relevant political and historical literature. One could argue that Catholics (or the Pope) would never support the return of Constantinople to Greek Orthodox authorities because the polis is the holy city and the holy seat of the Ecumenical Patriarch of all Greek Orthodox Churches. Thus, if a Greek Orthodox prefers the Ottomans in order to avoid the dominance of Catholics, and a Catholic prefers the Ottomans in order to avoid the Greek Orthodox from getting more prestige and threaten the Vatican, then it is not surprising that Constantinople will remain occupied by a Muslim authority. Thus,

Catholicism was not permanent either, as the protestant and other secessions from Catholicism have demonstrated.

Greeks wanted to get rid of the Ottoman Empire and had been preparing for it ever since the collapse of Constantinople in 1453. Many Greeks left Byzantine areas and migrated to Italy and other European countries, bringing with them their superior knowledge; particularly of ancient Greek grammar. As a coincidence, there was a great demand in the host countries for Ancient Greek language. Some have argued that the collapse of Byzantium spearheaded the Renaissance of Europe, but this is an egg-chicken argument, or, in economic jargon, a causality effect.[28] Did the migration cause the renaissance in Europe or was the renaissance in Europe which created a demand for educated Greeks resulting to their emigration? Or, is it a pseudo-relation and there is another causal variable (reason) which forced both variables (migration and renaissance) to move together? These very important questions go beyond the scope of this paper and beyond the ability of this paper's author to address them.

Why would Greeks want to revolt against the Ottoman Empire? The theoretical answer to this question is given by Roemer as presented in the previous section of the paper.[29] According to his theory, the purpose of a revolution is income distribution. Greeks and Ottomans were competing for the same scarce resources by forming coalitions and applying force to achieve their objectives. Of course, a revolution brings benefits if victorious, and entails high costs if fails. The last might include loss of life and definitely a worsening of the income and wealth situation relative to the pre-revolution stage.[30] From the siege and the fall of

the dark sides of this story took place in 1204 when Constantinople was sacked by Latins under the auspices of the Pope, then the occupation of Constantinople by Muslims in 1453 followed. These are well-known historical facts. An unknown fact which belongs to the dark side of the issue is the liberation of Constantinople by Christian forces in 1918. A century ago, the joint-military forces of France, England and Italy occupied Constantinople for five years from 3 November 1918 to 4 October 1923. If they wanted, they could have made it a Christian city state, and Hagia Sophia its Christian cathedral. In the 1920s, half of Constantinople's population was non-Muslim with many westerners living in the city. Instead, the Christians' non-Orthodox powers decided to peacefully return it to a Muslim authority. Now some of them lament crocodile tears that Hagia Sophia became a mosque.

28. K. M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100, no. 1 (1956): 1-76; J. Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West, 1400-1520* (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1995).

29. Roemer, "Rationalizing Revolutionary Ideology," 1985.

30. Worst of all, wars bring pandemics as it did in ancient Peloponnesian War so eloquently described by Thucydides; Papanikos "Thucydides and the Synchronous Pandemic," *Athens Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (2021): 71-94. The effect of the pandemic in Ancient Athens resulted to huge losses of life which included Pericles' life. Today COVID-19 apart from the impact on lives and wellbeing it affects the economy primary through tourism; see Papanikos, "The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Greek Tourism," *Athens Journal of Tourism* 7, no. 2 (2020): 87-100.

Constantinople in 1453, Greeks were defending whatever remained of the Byzantine Empire, but were outnumbered by the attacking Ottomans. Thus, it was imperative to form a coalition with other forces to enable them to cope with the Ottomans. This situation remained unchanged throughout this long period, 1453-1821. In all of the occasions that the Greeks revolted against the Ottomans, this was in collaboration with some other foreign powers. Some examples, without any further analysis, are the following:[31]

1. Ottoman–Venetian War (1463-1479).
2. Around 1571 (Battle of Lepanto), a number of revolts occurred such as in Epirus, Phocis and the Peloponnese.
3. Short uprisings led by bishop Dionysius the Philosopher in Thessaly (1600) and Epirus (1611).
4. The Cretan War (1645-1669): Greeks assisted Francesco Morosini and the Venetians in the Peloponnese and the Ionian Sea.
5. The Orlov Revolt during one of many Russian-Turkish wars (1768-1774).
6. In 1778-1790, a Greek fleet of seventy vessels led by Lambros Katsonis engaged in a number of naval battles with the Turkish fleet.

The above shows that there was only one reason which explains why Greeks revolted against the Turks and the Ottoman Empire: they wanted their freedom. Ever since the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 which followed the occupation of Constantinople by Franks in 1204, Greeks never stopped the fight for their independence. Unfortunately, all of these revolts failed. However, what did not fail was the permanent uprising of small groups of Greeks called armatoloi and klephtes who would rob and punish Turks and any other who happened to be at their reach, including visitors to Greece who went there to admire the remnants of her past glory. Of course, Thucydides had warned all future generations that these Greek "pirates" existed in the mainland and in the sea, at least since the second millennium BCE. In many areas of Greece, these armed gangs became the *de facto* rulers; no Ottoman would dare to cross their territories. They would collect taxes from the local population in collaboration with Ottoman authorities. The distinction between armatoloi and klephtes was that the former groups' chieftains were appointed by Ottomans to collect local taxes while the latter were doing sort of the same thing but without the permission of the Ottoman authority. Of course, in the eyes of the people, both were the same, and in many occasions, the two groups were interconnected. These small groups of armed gangs were the ones who rebelled against the

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31. Many writings account for the wars of this long period of more than four centuries. For example, Davies and Davis (2007) look at wars between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. Venice's involvement in the area started much earlier with the conquer and plunder of Constantinople in 1204.

Ottoman Empire in 1821. Their motive was mainly economic; they wanted to gain from the spoils of a collapsing Ottoman Empire. However, this time was different. The probability of being successful in getting rid of the Ottoman Empire altogether was higher.

Two events which took place in the 18th century increased the probability of a successful Greek revolution. Firstly, throughout the 18th and the early 19th centuries, the Ottoman Empire was collapsing and suffering from major internal (civil) wars. It was forced to sign two peace treaties of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774 and Jassy in 1792, as a result of two Russian-Turkish Wars. The most important concession made by Ottomans was Article XI of the first treaty which allowed "… free and unimpeded navigation for merchant ships of both countries. Subjects of both Empires may also trade on land." This was a great opportunity for Greeks to develop their merchant trade under the protection of the Russian Empire. And so, they did. Their ships were using the Russian flag.

The second event was the outbreak of the French Revolution. The effect was positive but for different reasons from what many "ridiculous" Greek historians— and they are "many"—are claiming.[32] They do see the true correlation (causality) between the French Revolution and the Greek War of Independence, but they think that it was the ideas of the enlightenment and the emergence of French Revolution which "caused" the Greek revolution. This is a pseudo-correlation of the two events. The real causality was mentioned by Gordon as early as in 1832. The war had paralyzed the French commercial fleet and there was a great demand for wheat which was satisfied by the Greek commercial fleet. The result was an unprecedented increase in the Greek ownership of ships. Gordon mentioned that in 1816 this fleet accounted for more than 600 vessels with 17,000 people working on them, and carrying more than 6,000 canons. Gordon wrote:[33]

> The thirty years that elapsed from 1790 to 1820, made, in the ideas and prospects of the Greeks, a wonderful alteration, proceeding chiefly from two causes; the growing influence acquired by Russia in Eastern affairs after the peace of Yassy, and the consequences of the French revolution. The first afforded them hopes of future liberation, as well as ready means of exchanging obedience to Ottoman authority, individually, for the protection of the court of St. Petersburg, through the medium of the Russian embassy at Constantinople. The second, by creating a demand for corn in the ports of the West, sharpened their instinctive love of commerce and navigation, and, for a paltry coasting traffic in small barks, substituted strong and lofty vessels, distant voyages, and extensive speculations. By unlocking the straits between the

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32. This of course is based on claims made by Finlay (1861, p. 20) who wrote that, "At the commencement of this century the effects of the French Revolution were strongly felt in Greece." I think Gordon's economic interpretation is much better and more persuasive. The French Revolution did have an effect, but it was an economic effect which enriched many Greek merchants and developed a considerable merchant shipping fleet.

33. Gordon, *The History of Greek Revolution,* 1832, 35-36.

Euxine and the Mediterranean, the Empress Catharine had procured an outlet for the harvests of Poland and southern Russia. The new town of Odessa, built on a Tartarian steppe, attracted a multitude of Greeks, all occupied in commercial pursuits. War had paralyzed the merchant marine of France; while that of Austria, now so flourishing, did not as yet exist. Thus the trade of the Black Sea fell, without competition, into the hands of some islanders of the Egean. The impulse once given was followed up with singular alacrity: at Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonika, and every great city of the Turkish empire -- at Odessa, Trieste, Leghorn, and all the principal ports of Europe, were established opulent Greek houses, whose rising prosperity casting into shade that of the foreign Levant merchants, excited too commonly in the breasts of the latter a rancorous feeling of hostility, which has been its own punishment. In 1816, the number of vessels belonging to the Christian subjects of the Porte, and fitted out from the havens and islands of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, (many of them, however, carrying the Russian flag,) amounted to upwards of 600, employing 17,000 seamen, and armed with 6000 pieces of cannon. Nor was it on the coasts alone that trade gained ground, the movement communicated itself to the secluded valleys of Pindus, Ossa, and Cyllene; and the woolen manufactures of Thessaly and Epirus, the exportation of oil from Crete, of currants, silk, and other commodities from Peloponnesus, brought in considerable sums, and vivified countries hitherto poor and neglected. It is universally admitted, that commerce essentially contributes to the progress of knowledge and refinement, and that the Greeks are as anxious as they are apt to learn.

The above analysis can be depicted in a schematic form as Gordon's explanation of not only the eruption of the Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire, but the reasons of its success. However, the success of creating a Greek state was achieved only after the foreign intervention. This is explained by another model to be developed in the next section.

Figure 1 depicts what can be called Gordon's model of the Greek revolution. A few comments are in order here. Two events of the 18th century—already mentioned above—gave rise to an unprecedented accumulation of wealth in the hands of Greek merchants who were located all over the then-known world, inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. Many Greeks used the surplus of this unprecedented accumulation of wealth to promote education inside and outside the Ottoman Empire and prepare a War of Independence if conditions were favorable; this provided the human and physical capital of the desired revolution. In 1815 a secret society was formed by three merchants that aimed at liberating Greece from the Ottoman yoke. Even though it is questionable how this helped the events of the revolution, there is no question that it helped mobilize many Greeks around the world. For example, investments in education were huge. New schools were established inside and outside of Greece. Books were published of both ancient Greek literature and of current concerns. A good example of this is the work of Adamantios Korais. Greeks, along with other educated Europeans, discovered the glorious past of Greece in all areas of epistemes; natural and metaphysical. Thus, educated Greeks (those who read Pericles' funeral oration)

could not stand the Ottoman yoke, or to that extent, any yoke. But, most importantly, they understood that in an independent Greek state their economic benefits would be much higher. Thus, a revolution was not based so much on a romantic ideal of reviving the past by on hard economic needs to make more profits and accumulate more wealth. The substitution of the collapsing Ottoman Empire with a new independent Greek state could provide the necessary stability and freedom to profit from the new world's economic opportunities. If Greek merchants thrive under the Ottoman Empire, imagine how much better-off they would be in a freer business environment.

Figure 1. *Gordon's Model of the Eruption of the Greek War of Independence*
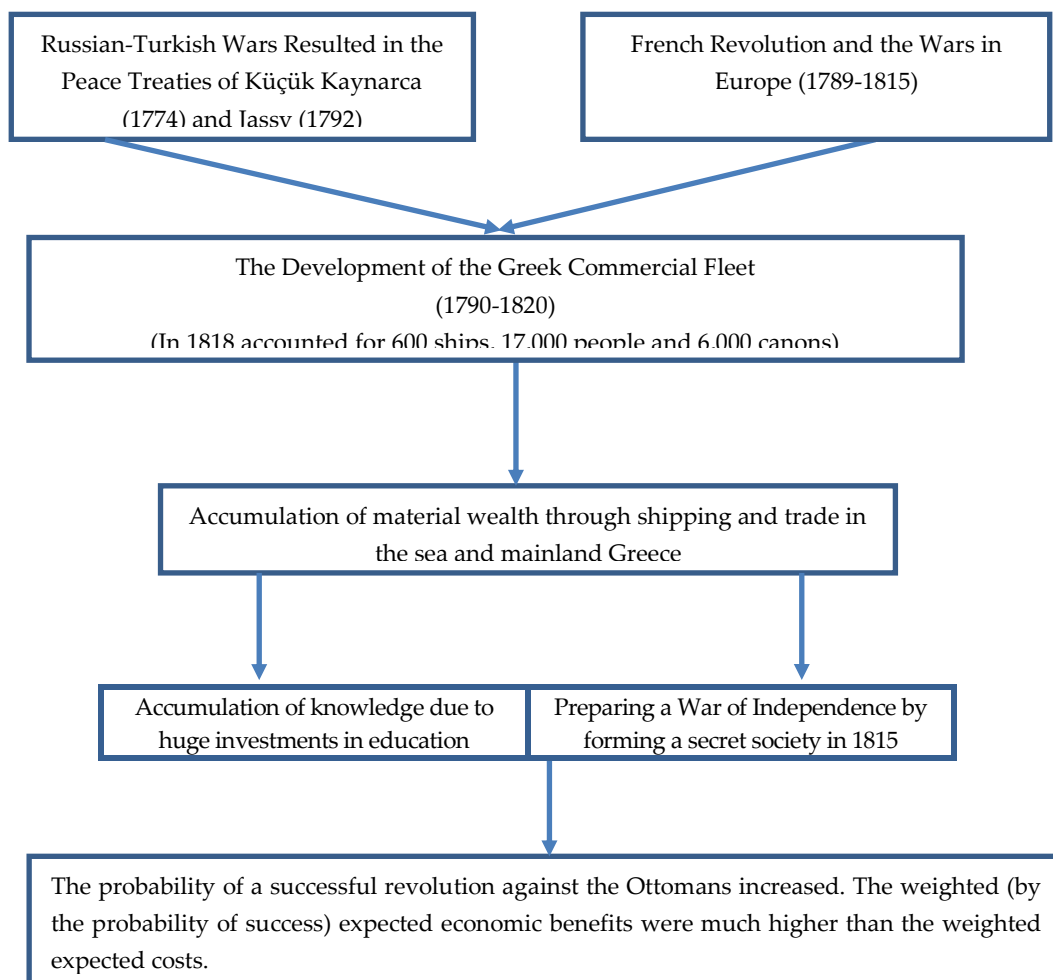
The above description explains why the rich Greeks of diaspora supported the revolution. What about the armatoloi and klephtes of mainland Greece? What was at stake for them? Many were very reluctant to participate in yet another revolution because the disaster of the Orlov was still in their memory. In addition, they did not consider the Ottoman yoke so bad. In certain areas of Greece, there was more religious and economic freedom than in any other place in Europe.

How would one compare the area of Akarnania, for example, with the area of Scotland in 1820? Armstrong describes the military events and the execution of the Scottish insurrectionists accused for treason in 1820.[34] From a rational point of view, an individual who would be presented with two choices in 1820, Akarnania under Ottoman Empire or Scotland under the British Empire, I am sure they would have selected Akarnania as being safer and freer.

Gordon's model emphasizes the economic aspects of the War of Independence. The improvement in income and wealth of Greeks became a cause of the revolution because they were expecting more material benefits. In the 1820s, Greeks had the material means to support the outbreak of the revolution, but as is shown, the material means were not sufficient and the Greek rebels were recognized as fighting for the creation of a state by Britain which qualified them to draw two loans in 1824 and 1825. Yes, the loaners were British.[35]

In the beginning, the revolution was very successful. Small and large cities were sieged and eventually were conquered by Greek rebels. Many Ottomans were massacred and their wealth became prey to the Greek bandits. The most important case was the massacre of Turks after Greeks conquered the city of Tripoli in the middle of the Peloponnesus.[36] The fall of Tripoli was followed by the worst looting in the history of the Greek War of Independence. A disgusted Thomas Gordon would quit Greece after these barbaric actions against innocent people, women and children.[37] The War of Independence became a war of income and wealth distribution between Ottomans and Greeks. However, this income

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34. M. Armstrong, *The Fight for Scottish Democracy: Rebellion and Reform in 1820* (London: Pluto Press, 2020).

35. Reinhart and Trebesch (2015) examine the long history of Greek debt concluding that Greece was "addicted" to foreign borrowing. There many such ahistorical explanations that sometimes go beyond the limits of academic decency.

36. Another important issue which is not discussed here is whether Greeks would have preferred an Ottoman rule, as opposed to say, a Venetian rule because of lower taxes and a more tolerant rule compared to any western catholic ruler (Dakin 1973). This is an important issue and might explain why Greeks living abroad, including in the Ottoman Empire, preferred, after the formation of the Greek independent state in 1832, to stay abroad and not come to their liberated homeland. Patriotism notwithstanding, I think economics might very well explain such decisions.

37. These are described in Phillips (1897) and more recently by St Clair (2008) as well as in many others including chieftain Kolokotronis' memoirs. There are always many excuses of such barbaric atrocities and the Great Thucydides has warned us. What separates barbarians from civilized ones is when they face such challenges, they punish those who were responsible for a criminal action and not massacre indiscriminately people who by definition were innocent. These Greek gangs who entered Tripoli were barbarians. And once a barbarian, always a barbarian. If the excuse was that they were of different ethnicity and religion who oppressed them for four hundred years, they did exactly the same thing to their own people during the same year as part of the civil wars which followed the first successes of the War of Independence.

and wealth distribution had a second phase. The first phase was to maximize the extraction of wealth from Ottomans and other non-Greek ethnicities. The second phase was the most difficult one because there was no efficient and effective mechanism to distribute the spoils between the Greeks themselves. Eventually this mechanism was found and it resulted in the two civil wars. The main reason of the two civil wars was the distribution of wealth which was extracted from the Turks and the other subjects of the Ottoman Empire, e.g., Jews.

As already mentioned, Greeks would never be able to achieve their national cause without the direct (military) and indirect (economic and diplomatic) foreign interference.[38] A good discussion of the world situation at the time is provided by Stivachtis (2018) and I will not elaborate here. The next section will emphasize the economic aspects of the foreign interference.

The Foreign Interference and the Establishment of a Greek State

Figure 2 presents a model of the foreign interference in the 1820s. The most important box of this model is the world political developments or the European international society.[39] The European (world) political environment was not conducive to ethnic revolutions. The Congress of Vienna of 1814 (November)-1815 (June), chaired by Austrian Klemens von Metternich, among many other things, was against any revolutions in Europe, or to that extent, anywhere in the world. Force could be used to suppress them and so they did: in 1821 Austria send their army to suppress a revolt in Italy; in 1823 France intervened in Spain; and in 1826 Britain intervened in Portugal. However, there was a loophole which could be used by any of the European powers to support the Greek revolution because the Ottoman Empire was not clear whether it was part of the agreement or not. In addition, the Ottomans were Muslims and the Greeks, Christians. This also created a crack in the agreement.

At the same time and as a coincidence, the ideology of romanticism swept Europe which revived the interest in classical studies, Greek being the most important of them. I think if there is any ideological context in the Greek revolution, this can be found in the movement of romanticism. However, this

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38. I have examined growth, trade and military skirmishes in the Mediterranean in Papanikos, "Military Spending, International Trade and Economic Growth in the Mediterranean Basin," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 1, no. 2 (2015): 187-194. However, today this relates very much to energy which as an issue has been examined in Papanikos, "Energy Security, the European Energy Union and the Mediterranean Countries," in the *Roundtable Discussion on Energy Security and Policy in the South European Peninsula and the Mediterranean Basin* (Athens, Greece: ATINER, Monday 30 March 2015).

39. Y. A. Stivachtis, "'International Society' Versus 'World Society': Europe and the Greek War of Independence," *International Politics* 55, no. 1 (2018): 108-124.

would never be sufficient by itself to begin a War of Independence. However, once the Greeks revolted against the Ottomans, the movement of Philhellenism grew stronger and stronger which was fueled by the news of the Ottoman atrocities against the "heroic" Greeks who were fighting to restore the glory of the past. A whole literature has developed to explain all these, including who were these Greek rebels. Were they really Greeks? Yes, the Philhellenist would say, because they spoke Greek. This of course was even further documented by the Greek intelligentsia of diaspora. Adamantios Korais was one of them who, by the way, was not fond of the timing of the Greek revolution, but once the revolution started, he used of all his power to support it, including his friendship with the USA President.

Figure 2 shows the complexity of the interactions of the various forces which led to the foreign interference. A few comments will help to explain the figure. First, Ottomans failed badly in building international coalitions. They needed a public relations manager but their structure was such that they did not understand that the world was changing, and in this new world they would never be a leading force unless they were westernized. This failure in understanding what was going on in the world led to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire one century later, and the eventual establishment of modern Turkey in 1923 by Kemal Ataturk who changed many things so that the Turks would become a European-civilized country. The Ottoman atrocities during the Greek War of Independence had two effects. First, many people of influence were mobilized to help the Greek cause, and by their artistic work and writings they were able to influence the greater public opinion to act by collecting money and/or travel to Greece to fight against the Ottomans to liberate not only Greece, but the civilization itself from barbarism which was represented by Ottomans, by the easterners, by the Muslims. The public opinion became favorable and where this counted, especially in France and Britain, governments were under pressure to act in favor of Greece. Even in countries where public opinion did not count at all, such as in Russia and Austria, the Ottoman atrocities, such as the hanging of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and the throwing of his body into the sea by a gang of people, were considered as a great insult to Russia. Austria's support for the Ottomans was not taken seriously by any other European power anymore.

Figure 2. *A Model of Foreign Interference in the Greek War of Independence*
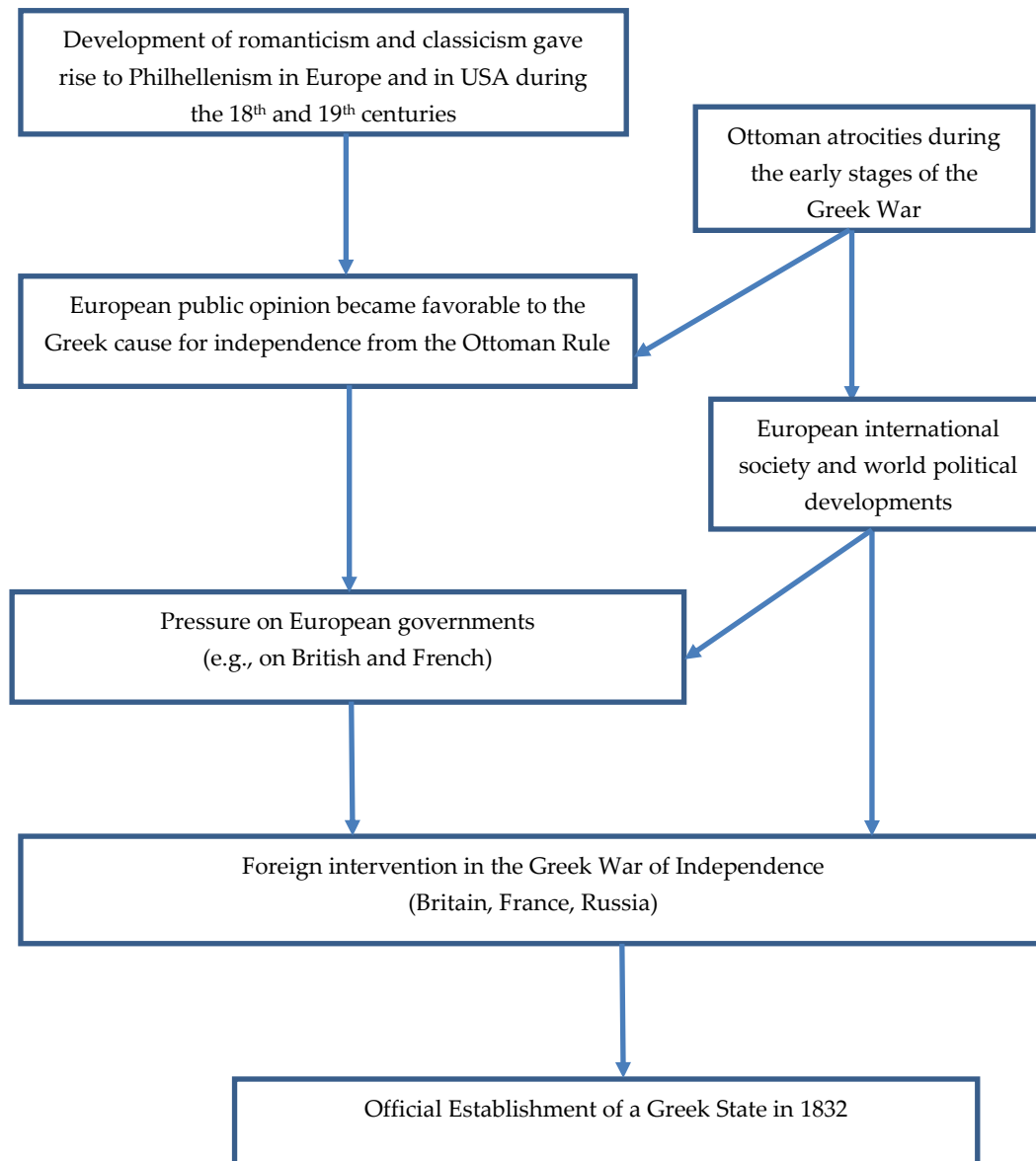
For these and perhaps for many other reasons, the British government thought that they could do "business" with a new Greek state. The recent example of the Mexican War of Independence from Spain (1810-1821) taught the British government some important lessons which could be applied to the Greek case. As a coincidence, the Mexican and the Greek wars each lasted 11 years. The British started negotiation with Mexico right after their establishment as an independent state and provided them with a loan in 1822.[40] Similarly, the British started negotiating with the Greek rebels which ended with the provision of two

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40. C. A. True, "British Loans to the Mexican Government 1822-1832," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1937): 353-362.

loans in 1824 and 1825.[41] The die was cast. Greece, as Adamantios Korais had so wisely prognosed, became part of the British Empire and her destiny will follow the British destiny until 1947 when the USA replaced her. This was the best option for Greeks at the time and it was not bad at all. They had the great support of the people (public opinion) of British and USA. Very difficult for their governments would ago against their people' will. The fact that Greeks were unable to take full advantage of this should not be blamed on foreign governments but on Greek governments themselves.

In 1825 Britain revealed her preference for Greece by committing itself with two loans. Of course, the loans were owned by British people and not just by the government, but the British government would always support her individual subject even with the means of gunboat diplomacy as Greeks found out very quickly after 1832.

The Ottomans did not make a note of that and still they would argue that the Greek War of Independence was an internal affair and the other countries should not interfere. It was a matter of time, Ottomans argued, to crash this rebellion as they had done many times in the past. They could do it themselves, and they were almost there by 1825. From a military point of view, Greeks had lost the war by the mid-1820s but Britain along with France and Russia had other ideas. They told the Sultan their ideas and he did not like them. Paraphrasing the famous Thucydides trap argument, I might say that when a civil wish by a superpower (e.g., Britain) is ignored by a declining great power (e.g., Ottoman Empire), then a war is inevitable. In 1827 and 1828 the joint forces of Britain, France and Russia gave a hard lesson to Sultan on gunboat diplomacy. Some naively argue that the naval battle of Navarino in 1827 started as a mistake. Some others argued that it was a mistake. When so many battle ships are concentrated in one small area, they are there for a rational purpose: to support the economic interests of the participating countries. Similarly, some historians argue that the naval battle of Salamina started as a mistake. Thus, the three powers were at Navarino with their naval battle ships and regular army (14,000 French soldiers were stationed in Peloponnesus) to enforce what they had agreed upon: the creation of an independent Greek state. They were willing to avoid the battle if the Ottomans retreated, but they did not and the choice of a battle became inevitable. The outcome was the result of rational choices made by both opposite forces. Rationality implies that all adults seated on the same table negotiate, and this is exactly what the Sultan did. This time was obvious who was at the head of the table. The first meeting took place in London (at the winners' table) and the second in Constantinople (at the losers' table). The London Conference and the Treaty of Constantinople were convened in 1832 and the result was a Greek state which was definitely independent from the Ottoman yoke. A new chapter in the

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41. N. Apostolidis and C. Velentzas, *Greece's Loans from the United Kingdom (1824-1825): Myths and Truths* (Society for Hellenism and Philhellenism, 2020).

Greek history had begun, which can be titled the British dominance in internal and external Greek affairs. This new exciting chapter is not examined in this paper. It is left for future research.

Conclusion

The 1820s is an important decade in the modern Greek history. In a way it looks like the 1940s. In both decades Greece experiences a War of Independence (liberation), two civil wars and a direct and indirect foreign intervention. Once again, Greek history repeated itself and always as a tragedy.

Thucydides wrote his history to teach all future generations how to avoid making the same mistakes over and over again, because, as he claimed, it is in human nature to repeat the same faults. Thus, in these conclusions it is useless to draw any lessons for the future generations of the human race.

The only humble purpose of this paper was to illustrate the economic dimensions of the three events that took place in the 1820s in Greece. The War of Independence can be interpreted as an economic war between Greeks and Ottomans. Similarly, the two civil wars were the result of distributing the spoils of the war against the Ottomans between various Greek gangs. Finally, foreign interference (from 1827 onwards) protected the economic interests of Britain which had committed herself as early as 1824.

This paper does not argue that other reasons, apart from economic, did not play a role. On the contrary, they played a significant role, particularly in determining the results of the events of the 1820s which were the creation of a Greek state, independent from the Ottoman Empire, but attached to the British Empire. An economic cost-benefit analysis would show that the net present value of the latter was much higher than in the first option. In 1947 the USA option gave higher net present value, and by 1981 the European Union was a much better (investment) alternative and still is today, 200 years after the Greek revolution. Until the next alternative comes forward, all these choices make perfect rational, economic sense and can be explained by economic theory alone.

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Intercultural Dialogue in the Middle Ages:
A Christian Cemetery in Pagan Vilnius

*By Rytis Jonaitis**

In Medieval Europe, Lithuania remained a pagan state the longest, officially accepting Catholic baptism only in 1387. But the country had already been influenced by Christian culture, Orthodox from the East and Catholic from the West, since the 11th century. It should be noted that this influence was not the same: Catholicism was mostly brought 'by fire and sword' in the role of the Teutonic Order while the spread of Orthodox Christianity could be more peaceful. It is frequently stressed that the Ruthenian Orthodox Christians were close neighbours of the pagan Lithuanians, settling in Lithuania as subjects of the grand dukes. While the Catholics needed to be invited, the Orthodox Christians from the Ruthenian lands were already subjects of the grand dukes. Thus, communities of both branches of Christianity: Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic, had settled here and were interacting in a still pagan environment in pagan cities ruled by pagan dukes. This article, in seeking to present the circumstances of the settlement of one of the early Christian communities in Vilnius, the Orthodox one, and its development, examines this community through data from the burial site it left and the interpretation of those data.

Introduction

The *Chronica nova Pruthenica* (*New Prussian Chronicle*)[1] of Wigand of Marburg contains the following entry describing the events of September 1383: "The Master sent forward four commanders, namely Elbing, Balga, Brandenburg, and Christburg with orders to burn the Ruthenian city as much as they were able. And a battle occurred there on the bridge."[2] In this way this part of the city of Vilnius, the Civitas Ruthenica or Ruthenian city is mentioned for the first time in written sources. Lithuania was still a pagan country at that time and therefore the question arises as to why and how representatives of the Orthodox Christian church had settled in Vilnius, in the part of the city mentioned by the Western European chronicler.

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1. Chronica nova Prutenica (New Prussian Chronicle) is one of the main sources about the history of the Prussian lands and parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, covering the period between 1293 and 1394.

2. In the Latin: exercitus festinat prope William et premisit magister 4 commendatores, sc. de Elbingo, de Balga, de Brandenburg et Kirstburg, ut civitatem Ruthenicam incinerarent modo quo possent, et fit ibidem conflictus in ponte. Vygandas Marburgietis, *Naujoji Prūsijos Kronika* (Vilnius: Vaga, 1999), 186.

In Medieval Europe, Lithuania remained a pagan state the longest, officially accepting Catholic baptism only in 1387. But the country had already been influenced by Christian culture, Orthodox from the East and Catholic from the West, since the 11th century. It should be noted that this influence was not the same: Catholicism was mostly brought "by fire and sword" in the role of the Teutonic Order while the spread of Orthodox Christianity could be more peaceful as many of the Ruthenian lands already in the time of King Mindaugas (1253–1263), were under the influence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[3] Conditions arose for the first Christian communities to settle in pagan cities in a pagan state, which was founding cities in the second half of the 13th century. That migration was not spontaneous. Could Christians have freely settled in a pagan city in a pagan environment? The arrival of Christian communities must have been initiated by the grand dukes; the new state needed trained craftsmen and merchants. The archaeological sources together with the historical context show that the beginning of the founding of the first cities likely coincided with the reign of Grand Duke Traidenis of Lithuania (1268–1282). Lithuania's grand dukes, beginning with Traidenis, understanding the importance of Christian immigrants for the economic and commercial situation of the cities, invited them to the new city of Vilnius.

In fact, although some residents were Christian, the history of the Orthodox and Catholic Christian communities was not identical in Lithuania.[4] First of all, the view of the representatives of the different religions was shaped at that time by the contemporary political situation, i.e. the relationship between Lithuania and its neighbors. In speaking about pagan Lithuania, it is frequently stressed that the Ruthenian Orthodox Christians were close neighbors of the pagan Lithuanians, settling in Lithuania as subjects of the grand dukes. While the Catholics needed to be invited,[5] the Orthodox Christians from the Ruthenian lands were already subjects of the grand dukes, his wife even being one of them. In addition, the grand duke was the guarantor of their safety in a pagan environment. Thus, communities of both branches of Christianity: Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic, had settled here and were interacting in a still pagan environment in pagan cities ruled by pagan dukes.

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3. Edvardas Gudavičius, *Lietuvos Istorija nuo Seniausių laikų iki 1569 Metų* (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1999), 48.

4. Ритис Йонайтис and Ирма, Каплунайте, "Многокультурный Вильнюс. Сосуществование двух христианских конфессий на раннем этапе развития города," *Elite ou egalite. Северная Русь и культурные трансформации в Европе VII-XII вв.* (2017): 283-304.

5. Rowell C. Stephen (Ed.), *Gedimino Laiškai. Chartularium Lithuaniae res Gestas Magni ducis Gedeminne Illustrans* (Vilnius: Vaga, 2003). The so called Gedimino laiškai or the letters of Gediminas were written in 1323–1324 by Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas. These letters are the oldest documents about Vilnius. They were sent to Western Europe, the pope, merchants, and craftspeople.

Lithuania's second half of the 13th–14th-century political history has been fairly thoroughly investigated in historiography. But the main focus has been on the East-West policies of the grand dukes, the battles with the Order, and changes in the country's domestic political history.[6] This area of interests was in large part determined by the nature of the contemporary written sources (and especially their lack). In speaking specifically about Christian immigrants in Vilnius, both Orthodox and Catholic, this topic has not received sufficient attention, from questions of the places of worship[7] to initial attempts to define the areas inhabited by both communities.[8] Attention is usually focused on the so-called political history, not on an analysis of the everyday life of the immigrants or, especially, the history of their relationships with each other and with the local pagans. Ordinarily the letters written by Grand Duke Gediminas of Lithuania (when talking about the first Catholics in Vilnius) and the earlier mentioned *New Prussian Chronicle* of Wigand of Marburg are dissected. Archaeological data is currently allowing for the augmentation of this investigation direction which has mostly been determined by the nature of the historical sources.[9] The inclusion of precisely these data has provided new knowledge about the relationships among the different communities in Vilnius, allowing the chronology of the settlement of the communities in Vilnius, their locations and the changes to them, and their population density to be determined as well as helping to follow the history of the relationships among the city's residents.

This article, in seeking to present the circumstances of the settlement of one of the early Christian communities in Vilnius, the Orthodox one, and its development, examines this community through data from the burial site it left and the interpretation of those data.

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6. Darius Baronas, Artūras Dubonis and Rimvydas Petrauskas, *XIII a.–1385 m. Valstybės Iškilimas tarp Rytų ir Vakarų. Lietuvos Istorija, no. III* (Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, 2011).

7. Rytis Jonaitis, "Orhodox Churches in the Civitas Rutenica Area of Vilnius: The Question of Location," *Archaeologia Baltica*, no. 16 (2011): 110-128.

8. For a broader discussion of the historiography of both Christian communities in Vilnius see: Jonaitis, *Civitas Rutenica Vilniuje XIII–XV a* (Klaipėda: Klaipėdos Universitetas, 2013), 6-15; Irma Kaplūnaitė, *Vilniaus Miesto Katalikiškoji Dalis XIV–XVI Amžiaus Pradžioje* (Klaipėda: Klaipėdos Universitetas, 2015), 12-31.

9. Two dissertations recently prepared by this article's authors investigate the history of the Orthodox and Catholic Christian communities in Vilnius primarily on the basis of archaeological sources: Jonaitis, *Civitas Rutenica*; Kaplūnaitė, *Vilniaus Miesto*.

The First Settlement of Orthodox Christians in Lithuania

The very first contacts between the pagan Lithuanians and their Orthodox Christian neighbors occurred prior to the state's creation in the 13th century. The relationship with the neighbors was accompanied by military conflicts and peace treaties as well as steady commercial and cultural ties. While for both sides, the foundation of these relations in the 11th century was military conflicts, a stage of peace treaties against common enemies began in the 13th century.[10] An exchange of captives and perhaps the migration of one or more families to Lithuanian ethnic territory could have occurred at that time, but Lithuania had no need or possibility for a greater movement of people or for the founding of a separate suburb. A new pagan state far from the main trade routes was not attractive to Christian immigrants. In addition, the pagan dukes did not yet feel a great need for such immigrants.

The process of the city's creation, i.e., from the third quarter of the 13th century is associated with a massive influx of Christians. At that time two such administrative centres in ethnic Lithuania were stood out for their multi-religious nature: Kernavė and Vilnius[11] (Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Vilnius and Kernavė Location*
Source: Lietuvos Archeologijos Draugija. Additions by R. Jonaitis.

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10. Vladimiras Pašuta, *Lietuvos Valstybės Susidarymas* (Vilnius: Mintis, 1971), 212-213; Tomas Baranauskas, *Lietuvos Valstybės Ištakos* (Vilnius: Vaga, 2000), 177; Laurynas Kurila, "Lietuvių Etninė Riba Rytuose IX–XII a. (2. Rašytinių Šaltinių Duomenys)," Lietuvos Archeologija, no. 28 (2005): 121-132.

11. Gudavičius, *Lietuvos*, 92.

Kernavė, which is considered Lithuania's first capital flourished earlier. It was the principal residence and domain of Grand Duke Traidenis. It is likely that the first Orthodox Christian immigrant community was created precisely there in the second half of the 13th century.[12] But those investigating Kernavė do not agree, claiming that the inhumation cemetery there is not the legacy of the Orthodox Christians but of the Yotvingians.[13] This was probably a community of craftsmen and merchants catering to the grand duke's needs for household and luxury goods.[14] The Orthodox Christians could have settled there after the influence of Galicia–Volhynia became stronger, strengthening the young Lithuanian state and the ongoing centralization processes.

After the death of Grand Duke Traidenis,[15] a new dynasty, the Gediminids, entered the Lithuanian political arena. Thus during the reign of Grand Duke Vytenis (1295–1316) a favorable political situation developed for the emergence of a new center, which would replace Kernavė, the patrimony of Grand Duke Traidenis. Vilnius, the future capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (and the current capital), became precisely such a center. The history of the creation of an Orthodox Christian community in Vilnius begins from this moment. While it is possible to talk about Orthodox, Catholic, and pagan contacts in the late 13th century, mostly with the ruler's entourage up until then, one needs to talk about the life of two Christian communities together with the pagans and their 'managing to fit' into one city (Figure 2).

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12. Jonaitis, *Civitas Rutenica*, 2013; Artūras Dubonis, "Lietuva po karaliaus Mindaugo Mirties: Kova dėl Sosto 1264–1268 m." *Istorijos Akiračiai. Skiriama Profesoriaus, Habilituoto Daktaro Antano Tylos 75-Mečiui* (2004): 65-76; Dubonis, *Traidenis* (Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2009); Dubonis, "G. Vėlius. Kernavės Miesto Bendruomenė XIII–XIV a. Vilnius: Vilniaus Universiteto Leidykla, 2005, 112 p.: il. ISBN 9986-19-816-X," *Lietuvos Archeologija*, no. 35 (2009): 259-264.

13. Aleksiejus Luchtanas and Gintautas Vėlius, "Laidosena Lietuvoje XIII-XIV a," *Vidurio Lietuvos Archeologija: Etnokultūriniai Ryšiai* (1996): 80-88; Gintautas Vėlius, *Kernavės Miesto Bendruomenė XIII–XIV Amžiuje* (Vilnius: Vilniaus Universitetas, 2005); Гинтаутас, Велюс, "Могильник XIII–XIV вв. В Кярнаве (Кривейкишис): этническая принадлежность погребенных)," *Археология и история Литвы и Северо-Запада России в средневековье* (2013): 59-79.

14. Jūratė Kiaupienė and Rimvydas Petrauskas, *Nauji Horizontai: Dinastija, Visuomenė, Valstybė. Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė 1386–1529 m. Lietuvos Istorija, no. IV* (Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, 2009), 90.

15. Traidenis died without leaving an heir.
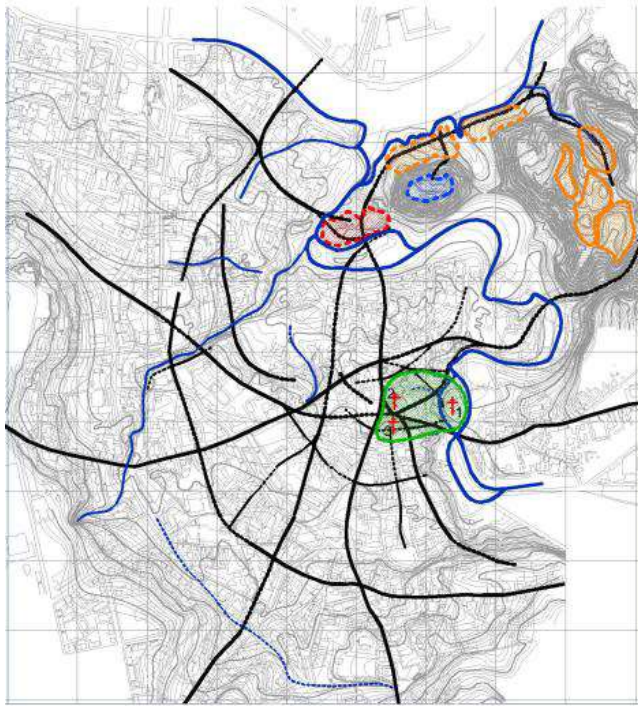
Figure 2. *Vilnius Situation in the End of the 13th – The Beginning of the 14th Century. Blue – Citadel; Red – Catholic mission; Green – "Civitas Rutenica" or Ruthenian City; Yellow – Pagans*
Source: O. Valionienė. Additions by R. Jonaitis.

The growing city with its grand dukes, who understood the benefits provided by the Christian immigrants, became a magnet for settlers. It is possible to distinguish several reasons for Orthodox Christians to settle in Vilnius. First of all, the residence of the grand dukes and its environs must have been a magnet; the new commercial possibilities would have drawn Orthodox Christian merchants and craftsmen. There would have also been unforeseen circumstances for settling there, such as becoming a captive[16] or serving in the grand duke's army. For example, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (German: *Livländische Reimchronik*)[17] mentions the active participation of Ruthenian bowmen in the 1274 siege of Daugavpils.[18] It is possible to make an assumption that the first representatives of

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16. Дарюс, Баронас, Древнейшие следы пребывания русских в Вильнюсе," *Slavistica Vilnensis. Kalbotyra* 53, no. 2 (2004): 163.

17. The so called Livonian Rhymed Chronicle covers the period 1180–1343 and contains information about Livonia— current South Estonia and Latvia.

18. "Eiliuotoji Livonijos Kronika, "*Mindaugo Knyga: Istorijos Šaltiniai apie Lietuvos Karalių*" (2005).

Orthodox Christianity in Vilnius were the warriors mentioned in written sources. The military comradery in Ruthenia at that time, it can be said, was in the vanguard of protecting Christian values.[19] Of course, serving in the Lithuanian grand duke's ranks was not an invitation to proselytise but through these people some of the pagans also serving the grand duke could have been introduced to Orthodox Christianity. But warriors were only one societal stratum useful to the new state; skilled craftsmen and merchants were also definitely desirable. In addition, Orthodox Christians could have lived in a pagan city only if a place of worship, i.e., an Orthodox church, was present. There must have been priests in the city. The data in the written sources also reflects their presence. For example, we know of Nestor, who in the mid-14th century could have performed Orthodox Christian rites among the ruler's entourage and in the city itself.[20]

Next up for discussion is one of the biggest differences in the establishment of the Orthodox and Catholic communities in pagan Vilnius, namely the circumstances under which these communities were created in the city. The Catholics needed to be specially invited, which is reflected in the letters of Grand Duke Gediminas.[21] In addition, the grand duke not only had to guarantee the immigrants Rīga Law, but also promised to supply warriors and squires with equipment and property, everyone else with land.[22] There were far fewer Catholics but they needed the grand duke's aegis and security guarantees. At the same time Lithuania was experiencing a savage military conflict with both branches of the Teutonic Order: Prussian and Livonian, which ended with the 1410 Lithuanian and Polish victory at the Battle of Žalgiris (Grunwald). Meanwhile the Orthodox Christians came to Vilnius without a separate invitation as subjects of the grand duke.[23] Other data also shows that they had a large community in Vilnius. For example, as is shown in one source, in 1387 Jogaila, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1377–1401) and King of Poland (1386–1434), baptised "half the residents of Vilnius."[24] Meanwhile the other half must have already been

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19. Евгений Мусин, *Milites Christi древней Руси. Воинская культура русского средневековья в контексте религиозного менталитета* (Militaria Antiqua no. VIII.). (Санкт-Петербург: Петербургское востоковедение, 2005), 63.

20. Баронас, "Древнейшие," 162.

21. *Gedimino Laiškai*, XVII.

22. For more about the circumstances of the settlement of the Catholics, see: Kaplūnaitė, *Vilniaus Miesto*, 32-41.

23. According to letters during the reign of Grand Duke Gediminas (1316–1341), part of the Ruthenian cities and lands: Vitebsk, Volyn, Polotsk, etc. fell into the Lithuanian sphere of influence. For more see: Stephen, C., Rowell, *Iš Viduramžių Ūkų Kylanti Lietuva* (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2001), 89-93.

24. Juozas Jurginis, Vytautas Merkys and Adolfas Tautavičius, *Vilniaus Miesto Istorija. Nuo Seniausių Laikų iki Spalio Revoliucijos* (Vilnius: Mintis, 1968), 49.

Christians,[25] the majority Orthodox. Thus, the Orthodox and Catholic Christians settled in Vilnius at the initiative of the grand dukes, as people necessary for the city and the ruler, but the view of these two communities differed.

The different reasons for and circumstances of the emergence of these two Christian communities could have determined the position of the communities themselves, their location in the city, and of course, their different significance in the life of the city. But, there are also common features in the development of the Christian communities, such as the social composition of the communities. First, the craftsmen, merchants, and representatives of the clergy had to come to the city. This shows that the emergence of the Christian communities in the city had an exceptional practical significance. For the grand dukes, Christians were necessary people, who could revive and expand commerce, promote the development of the crafts (for example, jewellery making), introduce new knowledge (masonry construction), and run the grand duke's chancellery. In addition, the Orthodox Christians were also needed as military experts. Thus, the Orthodox and Catholic communities in Vilnius were mainly united by the fact that both were desirable mainly due to a practical contribution to the city's economic and commercial life. As noted by Historian Darius Baronas, during that period the pagan militancy, combined with Christian trades, craftsmanship, and commercial skills, was a good solution for Lithuania.[26]

After settling in a pagan city, the Orthodox and Catholic Christians inevitably performed certain roles in the social – religious – political – economic space and urbanistic structure, e.g., the layout of the city. The Orthodox Christians brought their knowledge of crafts, which is seen especially clearly in jewellery making with the appearance of new metalworking – pressing technology. The peak of the spread of pressing technology was the turn of the 10th century, and the developed forms of pressing technology in Ruthenia date to the 10th century inclusively. The majority of investigators agree with this.[27] According to Rybakov, pressing technology appeared in the cities of Ruthenia through Byzantine influence.[28]

Pieces of jewellery produced using this method have been discovered in Kernavė, Vilnius, and peripheral burial sites. Although Orthodox influence in

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25. Darius Baronas, "Christians in Late Pagan, and Pagans in Early Christian Lithuania: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, no. 19 (2014): 68.

26. Ibid, 59.

27. Галина Корзухина, "О технике тиснения и перегородчатой эмали в древней Руси X–XII вв." *Красткие сообщения института истории материальной культуры* no. XIII (1946): 45-54; Борис Рыбаков, *Ремесло древней Руси* (Москва: Наука, 1948); Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города* (Москва, Ленинград: Академия наук СССР, 1958); Vėlius, *Kernavės*.

28. Рыбаков, *Ремесло*, 305.

mainly noticeable in the everyday life of city residents,[29] it definitely must have also occurred in the city's political life, especially in the period prior to the official Catholic baptism. Later, after the official Western baptism, the Orthodox Christians, despite some restrictions, remained an important part of the population of Vilnius. In fact, it must be stressed that unlike in the neighbouring states, the arrival of Christians in Lithuanian cities occurred exclusively for economic and political reasons, and not for proselytising. There are no grounds to say that the Orthodox Christians came to Vilnius to proselytise.

The Civitas Ruthenica in Vilnius

The topographic position of Vilnius is very suitable for division into separate areas. Within each such area, the members of a separate social stratum or religion could develop independently from the others. It is probably no coincidence that the Christian suburbs are laid out especially neatly on different sides of Vilnius, as if "closer to one's kin": the Orthodox in the East, the Catholics in the West, and separating them was a north-south road leading to the castle. The communities were logically founded in such a way that it would be more convenient, accordingly on the road leading east or west. The archaeological material shows some of the former boundaries between the communities. For example, between the eastern Orthodox and the western Catholic parts of the city lay a very clear, long-standing boundary, the strip of land between the territories of north-south road (running from the castle territory to Medininkai and Rūdninkai), the centre of which became the Rotušė (City Hall) and a marketplace from the mid-15th century. Therefore, the hypothesis has been proposed that the growth of the Orthodox Christian suburb was regulated.[30]

Traces of the Orthodox Christian presence can also be seen in the landscape of present-day Vilnius, i.e., several surviving Orthodox churches that have been mentioned since the mid-15th century[31] (Figure 3).

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29. Alvydas Nikžentaitis, *Ikikrikščioniška Lietuvos Visuomenė XIII–XIV a.* (Vilnius: Vilniaus Universitetas, Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas, 1999), 32.

30. Gediminas Vaitkevičius, *Vilniaus Įkūrimas. Vilniaus Sąsiuviniai / 1* (Vilnius: Lietuvos Nacionalinis Muziejus, 2010), 62; Jonaitis, *Civitas Rutenica*, 31.

31. Jonaitis, "Orthodox," 110.

Figure 3. *St. Nicolas Church. Lithography Based on a Painting by Ivan Trutnev*
Source: www.wikiwand.com.

On the basis of later city maps, the location of the Orthodox churches, and the incidence of the cultural layer, the approximate outer boundaries of the Civitas Ruthenica or Ruthenian City as well as their chronology and changes over time[32] were successfully determined (Figure 4).
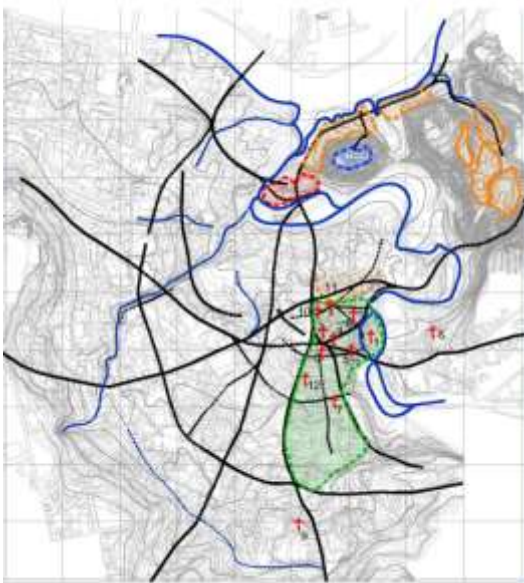
Figure 4. *Vilnius Situation in the Middle of the 14th Century. Blue – Citadel; Red – Catholic Mission; Green – "Civitas Rutenica" or Ruthenian City; Yellow – Pagans*
Source: O. Valionienė. Additions by R. Jonaitis.

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32. Jonaitis, *Civitas Rutenica*, 109.

For example, based on the earliest non-local pottery discovered in this territory, the settlement of the part of the city inhabited by the Orthodox Christians dates to the turn of the 14th century.[33]

The new Orthodox suburb influenced the city's layout: one of the main crossroads of principal roads as well as possibly one of the first marketplaces in Vilnius formed there.[34] The emergence of the Civitas Ruthenica altered the street network and became a new magnet, towards which the city developed. The oldest known Vilnius cemetery (more later) was also nearby. The territory was distinguished by numerous Orthodox churches, which likewise influenced the city's spaces. It is difficult to say how much influence the architecture of these churches could have had in general on the architecture of the city of Vilnius because the earliest Orthodox churches have not survived. The majority was wooden and only fragments remain of the masonry examples. During this period, the Civitas Ruthenica was the best place to live, being, as it was, near the ruler's castle (roughly 550 m), i.e., close to a place of safety, apart from areas inhabited by local pagans, with access to groundwater, and at a main crossroad. The orthodox believers could freely settle here and they were protected by the ruler. The Civitas Ruthenica was a magnet stimulating the building of new roads to and from the suburb as well as transforming the already existing road network. The infrastructure had to match the changing conditions. All of the investigators agree that first placed occupied by the Civitas Ruthenica was at a ford over the River Vilnia.

In the late 14th century the Civitas Ruthenica reached the peak of its expansion at roughly 15 ha (Figure 5).

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33. Vaitkevičius, Vilniaus, 62.
34. Jonaitis, *Civitas Rutenica*, 15.
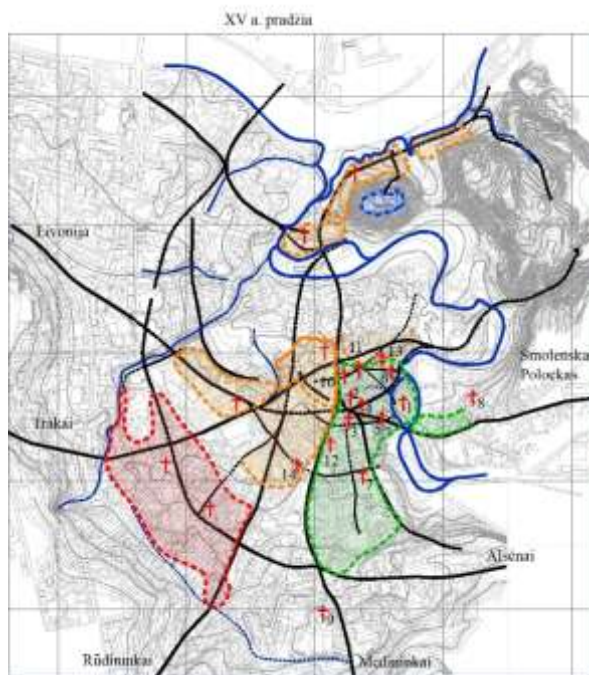
Figure 5. *Vilnius Situation in the End of the 14th – The Beginning of the 15th Century. Blue – Citadel; Red – Catholic or German Town; Green – "Civitas Rutenica" or Ruthenian City; Yellow – Pagans.*
Source: O. Valionienė. Additions by R. Jonaitis.

It was also well distinguished by twelve Orthodox churches[35] with another three on the suburb's edge. Such an abundance should come as no surprise. In the authors' opinion, the Orthodox churches of that time were not what people imagine today, i.e., large, masonry structures. In the 14th century, Orthodox churches must have first of all been small and almost without exception wooden, and more reminiscent of a chapel than a church in respect to size. All the more since no archaeological investigation in Vilnius has yet to discover the remains of any of the former Orthodox churches. Only in one instance was a quadrangular masonry building, discovered during an investigation, interpreted as the masonry foundation of the bell tower of the Orthodox Church of St Nicholas.[36]

Although the influence of Orthodox Christians is more noticeable in everyday life, it must have been felt to a greater or lesser degree in the city's public life, especially during the period prior to the official Catholic baptism[37] when Lithuania was still hesitating over the choice of the Eastern and Western

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35. Jonaitis, "Orthodox," 126.

36. Teresė Dambrauskaitė, *Gorkio–Latako Gatvių Kampas. Istoriniai Tyrimai* (Vilnius, 1975).

37. In 1387, most of Lithuania's ruling elite were Catholics, but that elite took into consideration the multi-religious nature of the society (Kiaupienė and Petrauskas, *Nauji Horizontai*, 211).

religions. And afterwards the Orthodox Christians, despite some legal restrictions, remained an important part of the society.

A more complete picture of the settlement of the Orthodox Christians in pagan Vilnius was missing only one major bit of evidence concerning their presence in Vilnius, namely their burial site. And so, in 2005, in the east part of present-day Old Town, which is associated with the Civitas Ruthenica, beside a former ford over the River Vilnia, a hitherto unknown archaeological site, an inhumation cemetery displaying Christian funeral features, was discovered[38] (Figure 6).
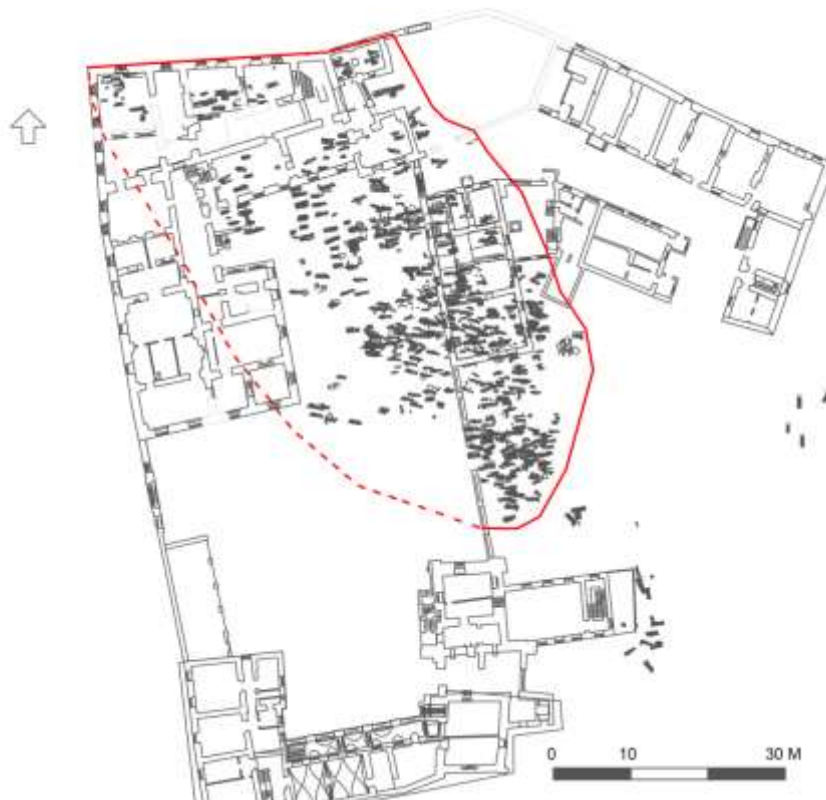
Figure 6. Cemetery in Bokšto Str. 6
Source: I. Kaplūnaitė.

According to the data from the archaeological and interdisciplinary investigations, the cemetery dates to the second half of the 13th–early 15th century (see below).

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38. Saulius Sarcevičius, *Archeologinių Žvalgomųjų Tyrimų Vilniuje, Bokšto g. Nr. 6, ataskaita* (Vilnius, 2006).

The Cemetery on Bokšto Street

The site at Bokštas St. 6 is in the southeast part of present-day Vilnius Old Town. During the 17th–mid 20th century, the site was home to a city hospital. The excavations began there in 2005 with several test pits that revealed a very rich cultural layer containing human remains.[39] The excavation, begun in 2006, ended on 31 December 2014[40] and resulted in the excavation of 6000 m² of the plot's 8600 m². The 2–7 m thick cultural layer going back to the 13th century yielded about 20 000 potsherds, a huge assemblage of metal, antler, skin, leather, and glass finds, and inhumation burials from the second half of the 13th–early 15th centuries (533 undisturbed and perhaps 250 destroyed burials). The research affiliated the burials with Orthodox Christianity. One of the exceptional features of the investigated location is that little construction had occurred within the cemetery's territory over six centuries and so, unlike in much of the rest of Vilnius Old Town, the cultural layer and burials remained well preserved.

All of the burials had been only 50–70 cm below the former ground's surface. The individuals had been buried supine in wooden coffins (or coffin-like structures). Almost all had an east (foot) – west (head) orientation, with marginal error. The funeral features: an inhumation in a pit grave with the head to the west facing east point to it being a Christian cemetery. In addition, some of the grave goods bear Christian symbols. While the burials belong to Orthodox Christians, these Christians were not necessarily only immigrants; some could have been local converts. A number of burials lay one atop another, i.e., two individuals buried in the same grave, which points to strong family ties. The arrangement of the burials in orderly rows proves that a certain amount of order had been maintained and that some sign had been left on the surface to mark the grave. An age analysis yielded an especially important insight, namely the high mortality of individuals under eighteen.

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39. 2005 investigation headed by Sarcevičius (Sarcevičius, *Archeologinių*).

40. 2006–2007 and 2009–2011 investigations headed by Jonaitis: *Vilniaus Senojo Miesto Vietoje (A1610K1), Sklype Bokšto g. 6, Esamų Pastatų vietose, 2006–2007 m. Vykdytų Archeologijos Tyrimų Ataskaita (I DALIS. Tekstas, Tyrimų Nuotraukos, Priedai)* (Vilnius, 2009); *Vilniaus Senojo Miesto Vietoje su Priemiesčiais (25504), Ligoninės Statinių Komplekso (1033) ir Vilniaus Miesto Gynybinių Įtvirtinimų Liekanų (39) Teritorijos, Vilniaus m. sav., Vilniaus m. Bokšto g. 6, 2009–2011 Metų Detaliųjų Archeologinių Tyrimų Ataskaita* (Vilnius, 2018). And 2012 and 2014 investigations headed by Kaplūnaitė: *Vilniaus Senojo Miesto Vietoje su Priemiesčiais (25504), Sklype Bokšto g. 6, 2012 m. Vykdytų Detaliųjų Archeologijos Tyrimų Ataskaita (I DALIS. Tekstas, Tyrimų ir Radinių Nuotraukos, Priedai)* (Vilnius, 2014); *Vilniaus Senojo Miesto Vietoje su Priemiesčiais (25504), Ligoninės Statinių Komplekso (1033) ir Vilniaus Miesto Gynybinių Įtvirtinimų Liekanų (39) Teritorijos, Vilniaus m. sav., Vilniaus m. Bokšto g. 6 2014 Metų Detaliųjų Archeologinių Tyrimų Ataskaita (I TOMAS. Tekstas ir Priedai)* (Vilnius, 2016). No investigation was conducted in 2008 or 2013.

Roughly a quarter of all of the burials were distinguished by more distinct grave pits, which were quadrangles with straight walls and flat bottoms. Some of the pits were trapezoids narrowing towards the foot. Pit length and width varied, the size probably depending on the body shape of the deceased. Coffin traces were also discovered in a quarter of the burials. But these were not coffins like are used now but wooden constructions imitating a coffin, i.e., unjoined planks laid on both sides of the body, above or under it, and/or at the head or foot. Burial in such wooden constructions must have symbolised the separation of the body from the soil surrounding it, a full coffin even more so. In fact, coffins were still fairly rare during the period under discussion. For example, in Novgorod coffins are rarely discovered in late 11th–14th-century burials, the onset of their use on a massive scale having so far not been precisely determined.[41] Individuals were frequently interred without one in English cities.[42] Elsewhere in Western Europe they were used only in roughly a third of all burials. They were usually very simple and constructed using dowels. It is interesting that iron nails were discovered in only one burial on Bokšto Street. Everywhere else the planks seem to have not been joined and therefore on the ground's surface such a construction had a stretcher form, as if providing 'handles' (Figure 7).

Figure 7. *Grave No. 214*
Source: R. Jonaitis.

Such constructions were found in the burials of both sexes and various age groups throughout the cemetery. They were often in the burials of various-aged children and even infants. This situation, where the burials of the least members

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41. Владислав Соболев, "Древнерусская погребальная культура Новгородской земли: проблемы и особенности формирования," *Археологические вести*, no. 21, (2015): 360.

42. John Schofield and Alan Vince, *Medieval Towns. The Archaeology of British Towns in Their European Setting* (London: Equinoxe, 2003), 187.

of the community are made in the same way as those for adults is one of the funeral features of Christianity.

An exceptional feature of the cemetery on Bokšto Street was the large number of stones in the grave pits and around the deceased. The greater part of the stones did not form a clear shape and could have found their way into the grave accidentally. The sterile soil at the investigation site contained a very large number of stones and consequently some of them simply were part of the grave pit fill. Overall, 135 burials discovered in the cemetery contained larger stones. It is known that coffins were frequently placed on stones so as to achieve that symbolic separation of the body from the soil.[43] Keeping in mind that incomplete coffins and wooden planks not secured with nails were used on Bokšto Street, the presence of stones becomes even more logical. Stones could have been used to prop up, support, and put pressure on the planks. In addition, at least some of the stones could have been used as signs marking the gravesite, and would later, after the soil had settled, end up in the grave's fill soil.

Previously, the presence of stones in burials was usually associated in historiography with rituals or magic. But recently their practical purpose has been stressed more,[44] i.e., stones can be used to support the coffin or body and serve as a sign on the surface. The presence of stones in the cemetery on Bokšto Street was likewise mostly associated by the authors with the construction of the grave pit and of the coffin as well as with the natural geological conditions. In fact, several burials, which looked as if they had been "framed" by stones, were distinguished in the cemetery. Only one burial, no. 226, was completely framed by them (Figure 8).

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43. Roberta Gilchrist, "Transforming Medieval Beliefs. The Significance of Bodily Resurrection to Medieval Burial Rituals," *Death and Changing Rituals. Function and Meaning in Ancient Funerary Practices* (2015): 383.

44. Jonaitis, *Civitas Rutenica*, 54.

Figure 8. *Grave No. 226*
Source: R. Jonaitis.

Such framing or the placement of several stones on both sides of the deceased was a frequent phenomena in Medieval burial sites. Usually they are considered part of the grave construction. The tradition of placing stones is also known in Yotvingian lands, in the vicinity of Novgorod (where they are known as '*Жальник*, (zhal'nik)) and in the southern territories inhabited by the Slavs.[45]

One of the most distinct and essential Christian funeral features is the east-west spatial orientation of the burials. After evaluating the orientation of all of the burials discovered in the cemetery on Bokšto Street, it is seen that an east-west burial orientation predominated there, to wit, 395 burials with the deceased interred in a precise or almost precise true east-west orientation (Figure 9).

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45. Татьяна Панова, *Царство смерти. Погребальный обряд средневековой Руси XI-XVI веков* (Москва: Радуница, 2004), 68.

Figure 9. *Plot No. 18*
Source: R. Jonaitis.

In the other burials the deviation was likewise determined to be fairly small. This could have arisen due to the changing position of the sun at different times of the year. In addition, the topography, i.e., the scarp running down to the River Vilnia and the direction of Išganytojo Street with its bend, could have contributed to the error. The orientation of 15 burials was completely different. But these burials were at a distance from the main part of the cemetery and there are insufficient data so far to establish their connection with it.

Another important Christian funeral element is the position of the arms and legs. The position of both arms was successfully determined in only somewhat less than half of the burials. It is possible to distinguish at least 14 different arm placement variants. But it was seen that in almost half (125) of all of the burials, in which the position of both arms was determined, they were placed symmetrically, i.e., both extended or both on the pelvis, abdomen, or chest or near the neck/forehead/shoulders.

In Christian inhumation burials the legs are usually extended, but in the cemetery on Bokšto Street instances were encountered where they were turned to one side or the other. This was considered to be the result of the disintegration of the body or its movement during the funeral. Ten instances were encountered where one of the legs was bent slightly at the knee. It is important that pathologies, some being movement related, were established for six of the individuals, for example, healed leg fractures. These perhaps influenced the exceptional position of their legs.

The grave goods discovered in burials were for a long time given an exceptional role. It was thought that finds might reveal religious or ethnic

affiliation as well as the individual's status.[46] But post-processual archaeology has rejected this assumption that there is a direct correlation between ethnicity and grave goods.[47] It is not possible to directly associate finds with a specific ethnic group. In addition, various clothing elements, which can be more closely associated with fashion rather than religion, are frequent grave goods. Nevertheless, by analysing the finds and the entire available context, it is possible to better evaluate the community that left the burial site, the level of its crafts, and its cultural influences.

In talking about the finds discovered in the cemetery on Bokšto Street, it needs to be said that there, like it should be in a Christian burial site, very few grave goods were found, i.e., in 53 of 537 burials, or 10% of the excavated graves. In addition, they were mostly pieces of jewellery – ornaments, clothing elements, and several crosses. Aside from these, only several other grave goods were found in the burials: symbolic keys, belt fittings, a key for a cylindrical lock, and small knives. The latter were characteristic of only female burials in the cemetery on Bokšto Street. Nevertheless, although the finds were few in number, they, especially the chaplets and rings, were distinguished by their ornateness and uniqueness. The discovered chaplets consisted of sheet metal plates (silver, usually gilt), attached to a cloth or leather band. The plates were quadrangles (square or rectangular), but pentagonal, round, fleur-de-lis shapes were also encountered. Glass (seed) and bone beads were often sewn onto the plates (Figure 10).

Figure 10. *Chaplets. 1 – Grave No. 15; 2 – Grave No. 21; 3 – Grave No. 106; 4 – Grave No. 188.*
Source: 1-2, 3 – A. Blažys; 4 – R. Jonaitis.

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46. Michael Garcia, "Burial Practices in Early Medieval Britain and Their Interpretation" (2017): 11.

47. Ibid, 12.

The tradition of wearing chaplets was not known in Lithuania until the 13th century. The assumption was made that both the tradition of manufacturing chaplets and the fashion of wearing them could have arrived in ethnic Lithuanian lands from Galicia-Volhynia together with the first Orthodox Christians.[48] The emergence of this fashion can be called a cultural phenomenon precisely connected with the arrival of the Orthodox Christians. The first Eastern Christian immigrants brought not only their tradition of wearing chaplets but also the technology for the manufacture of chaplet plates. In summarising the road of chaplets to Lithuania, it is possible to distinguish the following highpoints: chaplet prototypes first appeared in Byzantium, this fashion novelty being transmitted to Kievan Rus' together with Christianity. In the 10th century the technology for pressing metal, which was used in the production of chaplets, first appeared and spread in the lands of Galicia-Volhynia and the fashion of wearing them spread to the neighbouring regions. Against the background of precisely the relationship between Galicia-Volhynia[49] and Grand Duke Traidenis[50] of Lithuania, the fashion of wearing chaplets made its way, via lands inhabited by the Yotvingians, to the first two centres of ethnic Lithuania: Kernavė and Vilnius.

Another find group, rings, or more precisely, idiosyncratic silver rings with glass stones, is also worthy of more attention (Figure 11).

Figure 11. *Ring. Grave 21.*
Source: A. Blažys.

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48. Рітіс Йонайтіс, "Головные венчики как индикатор миграционного пути в XIII-XIV вв. через Киев в Литву," *Ukraina Lithuanica: студії з історії Великого князівства Литовського. Т. IV: На пошану Миколи Федоровича Котляра з нагоди його 85-річчя* (2017): 113.

49. This Galicia-Volhynia direction was already dominating in Ruthenian politics during the reign of Mindaugas. For more, see: Gudavičius, *Lietuvos,* 48-51.

50. The sister of Vaišvilkas, who escaped to Galicia-Volhynia, can be mentioned here.

The cemetery on Bokšto Street yielded 40 rings of various types, which can be divided into several groups: rings with a woven upper shank; tapered rings; rings with a glass stone; signet rings; band rings; rings with a hollow gallery; a ring with a disc. Rings with a glass stone, at 6 items, were the third largest ring group in the cemetery on most Bokšto Street. In two burials adult females were interred together with two such rings, one on each hand. These are not a frequent find in urban cemeteries.[51]

The rings with glass stones were definitely the work of local jewellers. No analogues of these rings could be found in the Ruthenian archaeological material. Only one ring of this type is known from the Yotvingian cemeteries.[52] Ornaments are a reflection of the cultural influences and migration. But at the same time, their presence simply shows the fashion. They are an important and interesting source for research but in evaluating them, one need not give them too much meaning by very simply and directly associating some ornament with a religion or, even worse, with an ethnic group.

Only 6 adult male burials contained grave goods (8 items): rings, belt fittings, purses, and a brooch(?) fragment. This situation is logical. Men wear little jewellery and the other grave goods (weapons and tools) were no longer placed in Christian burials. In addition, tools and weapons are not found at all or are discovered very rarely in urban cemeteries. Weaponry and tools are more a grave good of village communities living on the periphery.

In summarising all of the grave goods discovered in the cemetery on Bokšto Street it is possible to distinguish several of their features, which are connected with place of origin or cultural influence. The majority of the discovered ornaments are characteristic of Ruthenians rather than Lithuanians, but they also have local features, such as the chaplet plates: Ruthenian ornaments are usually made of quadrangular pieces of sheet metal, but in Lithuania pentagonal or pentagonal and quadrangular examples are found. The very decoration of the sheet metal and the arrangement of the designs are different.[53] In addition, the technology for the manufacture of such sheet metal had come from Kievan Rus' via Galicia-Volhynia. Multi-bead temple ornaments were popular not just in Vodskaia Piatina in the lands of Novgorod; they spread to a significantly wider area, having been found in North Estonia, Latvia, the lands of Pskov, and the upper reaches of the Nemunas (not only in Drahichyn, but also in the stone barrows of ordinary villagers), in the vicinity of Moscow, and in some other

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51. Not that many were found in the cemetery on Bokšto Street compared to nearby Kriveikiškis cemetery, where 22 rings with glass stones were discovered: Vėlius, *Kernavės*, 73.

52. Ala Kviatkovskaja, *Jotvingių Kapinynai Baltarusijoje (XI a. pab.–XVII a.)* (Vilnius: Diemedžio Leidykla, 1998), 93.

53. Ona Kuncienė, "XIII–XIV a. Rytų Lietuvos Moterų Galvos Papuošalai," *Mokslų Akademijos Darbai, A serija,* no. 3 (48) (1974): 70.

regions.[54] It is likely that these ornaments were connected with the religious affiliation of the women who wore them.[55]

An analysis of the burials showed that the funeral features of the individuals interred there were very similar, at least those features, which archaeology allows to be revealed. A homogeneous tradition was practiced; at least part of the rituals must have been the same for everyone. In investigating the burials, no differences or any idiosyncratic features characteristic of either sex or any age group were noticed, except, of course, the more numerous presence of ornaments in female burials. The rituals were the same for male and females, adults, adolescents, and children, and even infants and newborns. This is a characteristic Christian funeral feature. In addition, even the richer burials with grave goods did not differ from the other burials in respect to construction. This situation reflects a feature of Christianity where little individuality remains.

The situation of the cemetery on Bokšto Street is fairly unique. Individuals were interred there in accordance with Christian traditions, but in a pagan environment. Vilnius is a city on the border between different religions. This situation also left traces in the funeral traditions. Some funeral aspects could have been affected by fashion and ambient influences. Pagan features could have existed, but no such slight deviation was observed in the case of Bokšto Street, except perhaps the grave goods. But these were few in number, ornaments predominating, and there were no finds, which it would be possible to associate with paganism.

It is possible that not only Orthodox Christian immigrants were interred there but also local converts. The female ornaments and the motifs of their decoration are characteristic of Slavs and have Byzantine roots. But these pieces of jewellery could have been manufactured by local craftsmen. That these were probably Orthodox Christians was decided on the basis of the tradition of wearing chaplets, a tradition that came from Kievan Rus'. In the same way, the technology for manufacturing chaplets arrived from the territories of the Southern Slavs.

Conclusions

The archaeological material from the cemetery at Bokšto St. 6 represents the settlement of the first Orthodox Christians in Vilnius. The arrival of new people is connected with the backyard phenomenon of the ruler. In the mid-13th century,

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54. Юрий *Лесман*, "Многобусинные височные кольца," *Новгород и овгородская земля. История и археология*, no. 3 (1990): 100.

55. In historiography it has been noted that hoop earrings are an ornament of Ruthenian origin: Kuncienė, "XIII–XIV a. Rytų", 73; Мария Седова, *Ювелирные изделия древнего Новгорода* (Москва: Наука, 1981), 9; Vėlius, *Kernavės*, 59.

Vilnius, as a city, was still being created and the first Orthodox Christians had not formed a separate territorial unit (suburb) in the territory of present-day Vilnius Old Town. The new entity in Vilnius is known in historiography as the Civitas Ruthenica, which began to form during the reigns of Grand Dukes Vytenis and Gediminas, i.e. from the turn of the 14th century. From this time it is possible to talk about Orthodox Christians as a distinctive city community inhabiting a separate territory. This community's base consisted of ordinary city residents, merchants, craftsmen, and priests.

The grand dukes of Lithuania understood the benefits provided by the Christian immigrants for increasing the importance of Vilnius. The settlement of Orthodox Christians was a result of the Eastern policy carried out by the rulers. Vilnius had to be attractive to the Orthodox Christian immigrants in respect to security, economic, and commercial matters. The Orthodox Christians settled in a convenient place to live, which was in part due to the topographic position of this territory: a high ground water level, convenient communication with the ruler's castle, and proximity to the earliest marketplace, which had formed at the intersection of international roads. The Orthodox Christians settled under the aegis of the grand duke of Lithuania. The development of the Civitas Ruthenica was regulated by the ruler. This was an open community; its priests could proclaim the truths of their faith in the city without hindrance. The selection of the location of the Civitas Ruthenica shows that security was not the main criterion. Orthodox churches best marked the territory occupied by the Civitas Ruthenica. In the earliest development stage, the area occupied by the territory of the Civitas Ruthenica was roughly 3 ha, but in the early 15th century, up to 15 ha.

The material from the cemetery at Bokšto St. 6 best represents various aspects of the Civitas Ruthenica community. The cemetery reflects the Orthodox Christian funeral tradition, intertwined with local funeral features. The cemetery at Bokšto St. 6 represents a community of ordinary city residents; no grave goods characteristic of elite burials, e.g., weapons, were discovered there. All of the burials discovered in the cemetery were inhumations, the individuals having been interred supine in a coffin, or a wooden constructions imitating a coffin, that was buried in a grave pit. The main and greatest part of the grave goods consisted of ornaments: various chaplets, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and various types of rings. Some of the ornaments were characteristic of the Slavs (multi-bead and three-bead temple ornaments); some were of local origin (rings with hollow galleries and glass stones). The large number of ornate chaplets allows one to state that the sheet metal chaplet plates were manufactured locally, but under the influence by Slavic culture. All of the grave goods show a high level of jewellery making skill. Based on the find assemblage the cemetery on Bokšto Street has more features in common with the Slavic lands than with the Balts. But the discovered ornaments should be associated more with the fashion contemporary in the city than with an ethnic or religious affiliation.

The emergence and growth of the Civitas Ruthenica cannot be disassociated from Vilnius as it became a city. The suburb's golden age should be considered the period of the reign of Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–1377). The systemised data allows an image to be recreated of the Civitas Ruthenica as a unique and, at the same time, not an accidental entity in Vilnius. It allowed the logical and consistent development of this part of the city, which was influenced by the country's political history, economic development, natural situation, and even the everyday needs of the city's residents, to be determined. The cemetery at Bokšto St. 6 yielded diverse data about the special features of the life of Vilnius residents of that time, their view of life after death, and their traditions.

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Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim:
His Corpuscular Theory and the Spread of Paracelsianism

By Elli Papanikolaou*

The purpose of this article is to analyze Paracelsus's corpuscular theory in order to be explained how his theory redefined the terms of minima naturalia[97] and semina rerum adding new terms, such as archeus. Initially the study refers to important information about his life and to historical theories of analysis of Paracelsus's corpuscularianism. Next, the paper undertakes a detailed analysis of his matter theory focusing on the terms of minima naturalia, semina rerum and tria prima. Finally, the research explains how Paracelsus's matter theory was adopted by his followers and constituted a controversial subject between the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, providing a different view of how his matter theory constituted a force key in the development of the Scientific Revolution.

Introduction

Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493-1541), known as Paracelsus, is one of the most important alchemists of the sixteenth century, since his philosophical theory influenced many subsequent physicians, alchemical and natural philosophers, such as Daniel Sennert (1572-1637). Although Paracelsus's matter theory has been investigated by many historians, he remains a controversial figure because of the complexity of his particle theory.

In this paper I will offer a detailed analysis of Paracelsus's corpuscular theory. Firstly, I will show what alchemical and philosophical theories inspired Paracelsus; secondly, the changes in the concepts of *semina rerum* ("the seeds from which things are formed") and *minima naturalia* (the smallest parts into which a homogeneous natural substance can be divided and yet preserve its essential character) in Paracelsus's theory; and, finally, the new terminology introduced by Paracelsus in his matter theory. I will also illustrate the influence that Paracelsus exerted on his contemporaries. I hope to demonstrate the importance of Paracelsus's ideas for subsequent vitalistic particle theories and for the development of Scientific Revolution, a term that historians of science use to describe the dramatic changes in scientific thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In order to achieve this purpose, the methodological tools, which were used, were the study of primary and secondary sources. Initially, the investigation of different oeuvres was necessary as Paracelsus's theory is not gathered into a

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[97]. For this and other terms used in this paper, please see the Glossary following the Bibliography.

specific work, but is found scattered in his works. Of course, the difficulty of studying his original works must be emphasized. Many of his works and treatises began to be published and became widely known after his death by his followers, the Paracelsians. As a result, the bulk of spurious works attributed to Paracelsus throughout the sixteenth century has made it difficult to recognize the authentic and inauthentic works. The production of forgeries under Paracelsus's name was an integral part of the diffusion of Paracelsianism and many of those forgeries were widely read by scholars from many fields. For example, one of the most popular writings ascribed to Paracelsus, *De natura rerum*, which appeared in 1572 is a forgery production, but was well known and was read along with the genuine work *Archidoxis*.[98] For this reason, his matter theory has been explained mostly based on the works, which are authentic. Paracelsus's work *Opus Paramirum*, translations of his books[99] as well as the research of important historians were studied, with the intension of understanding his matter theory and the conceptual shifts that he created in it. Through the comparative history and important historical views a different historical exegesis of Paracelsus's matter theory has been proposed.

Paracelsus's Biography and Philosophical Theory

Paracelsus was born in 1493 in Einsiedeln, in the German-speaking Switzerland and lived his childhood in Villach of Austria. At the age of about fourteen, he studied as an apprentice of the alchemist Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516) studying all the popular beliefs of alchemy; while, simultaneously, he worked as an assistant in the mining school of Fugger near Villach.[100] This probably helped him to gain knowledge and experience in alchemy, medicine and mineralogy and may have influenced his later theories about the usefulness of metals in human health. Between 1513 and 1516 Paracelsus probably studied and taught medicine in Italy and from that period onwards travelled extensively in Europe, mainly as a military surgeon, spreading his theories and teaching alchemy.

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[98]. Hiro Hirai, "Into the Forger's Library: The Genesis of De Natura Rerum in Publication History," *Early Science and Medicine* 24 (2019): 488. See also Thomas Willard, "Living the Long Life: Physical and Spiritual Health in Two Early Paracelsian Tracts," in *Religion und Gesundheit*, 347-380 (ed.) Albrecht Classen (De Gruyter, 2011), 348-50 and Didier Hahn, "Pseudo-Paracelsus: Forgery and Early Modern Alchemy, Medicine and Natural Philosophy," *Early Science and Medicine* 24 (2019): 415.

[99]. I have studied Paracelsus's translations on his authentic works *Opus Paramirum*, *Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature, The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus.*

[100]. Henry M. Leicester, *The Historical Background of Chemistry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956), 91-94.

Many historians, like William Newman, have shown that the German medical reformer was influenced by the traditional alchemical doctrines and techniques. However, what makes Paracelsus a major figure is that he wanted to distinguish himself from the traditional teachings of alchemy by sharply criticizing its doctrines, theories and methods. Paracelsus, considering himself a Christian physician, accused many scholars of not studying the nature properly and of referring to metals only in terms of sulphur-mercury, without including salt; and he blamed them of being only interested in the transmutation of metals into gold.

> "He will learn nothing from there is like the Heathen Masters and Philosophers, who follow the Substities and Crafts of their own Invention and opinions, such as are Aristotle, Hippocrates, Avicenna, Gallen etc, who grounded all their ARTS upon their own Opinions onely. And if it any time they learned anything from Nature, they destroyed it again with their own Phantasies, Dreams or Inventions, before they came to the end thereof."[101]

Although he knew many remarkable alchemical discoveries, he criticized many theories and techniques of his predecessors, explaining that many of them belonged to their fantasies. Therefore, he dealt with the alchemical doctrines, but he redefined and developed them in different directions, emphasizing that the main goal of alchemy is the creation of elixirs for the prolongation of life. He stressed that the alchemy is one of the four pillars of medicine, along with philosophy, astronomy and virtue of the physicians.[102] Thus, alchemy should be considered a process by which natural products were transformed to serve a new purpose.[103] Paracelsus sought the profound transformation of medicine by means of the art of alchemy and that is why his alchemical theory is really unique, as through it he changed the term of alchemy[104] by introducing a new term, iatrochemistry.

As many historical studies have proved Paracelsus, inspired by the Renaissance philosophical syncretism, was looking for the truth of God's work, which is hidden in Nature and in the Sacred Scriptures.[105] He stated that the

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[101]. Paracelsus, *Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature. Of the Spirits of the Planets. Of Occult Philosophy. The Magical, Sympathetical and Antipathetical Cure of Wounds and Disease. The Mysteries of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac* (trans.) R. Turner (print.) J. C. for N. Brook and J. Harison (London: Library of Congress, 1656), B2.

[102]. Paracelsus, *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus, Volume II* (ed.) Arthur E. Waite (1976), 148.

[103]. Antonio Clericuzio and Piyo Rattansi, *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London, Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston, 2013), 17.

[104]. Georgiana D. Hedesan, "Inventing and Alchemical Adept: Splendor Solis and the Paracelsian Movement," *Academia.edu* (2019): 68.

[105]. Hirai, *Le concept de Semence dans les Théories de la Matière à la Renaissance: de Marsile Ficin à Pierre Gassendi* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 180.

process of knowledge is something that starts from our senses and goes beyond us. The knowledge of the world starts from what a man is able to see, but in order to understand the world itself, the man must understand the invisible part of nature. Paracelsus emphasized that reality is visible and invisible at the same time, and that invisible offers wisdom, while the visible offers knowledge.[106] The knowledge of the world comes through these two polarities, or otherwise through the "transmutation" of the invisible into visible and vice versa. As he stressed in *Opus Paramirum* (1529-1530), this is accomplished only through alchemy, which is the only true science that can help us conquer the divine plan of the world. For Paracelsus only the alchemist can penetrate the surface of bodies and discover their components, so that each of them can be seen and touched. The alchemist should create tinctures and elixirs and this can be fulfilled only if they find the quintessence of all things. Therefore in the world exists a quintessence.

> "The transforming and digesting art of alchemy is the signature art of the medical author who understands nature itself as the bearer of a macrocosmic stomach or archeus,(…) the diseases associated with tartarus (…) such processes (…) are interpreted in the Sixth Treatise on the basis of macrocosmic processes in nature."[107]

The alchemist can create *tartarus* with the help of this quintessence, which many times is called *archeus.* This quintessence is an occult supreme power within the cosmos and was conceived as a double nature, the visible or earthly and the invisible or astral; and these two parts are in every living or lifeless being.

Additionally, Paracelsus supported the theory of correspondences between the world, "macrocosm", and man, "microcosm". All parts of the human body correspond to natural things and planets. This correspondence is achieved through "sympathy" and "antipathy*"*, which are the invisible forces of nature and are identified with the invisible and occult *spiritus*, or quintessence, which has a lesser corporeality. In the "microcosm", man, the *spiritus* is the mediator between the intangible body of the soul and the material body, and it develops the soul by building the "astral body". Consequently, Paracelsus added an *anima* or soul into the human corpus *spiritus* and this *anima* is the living breath of God.

However, what really distinguished him from his predecessors is his theory of natural bodies. As claimed by Paracelsus matter is composed of *tria prima*, namely salt, mercury and sulphur. This theory was an extension of the medieval alchemical theory of pseudo-Geber sulphur and mercury, and was not deprived of the gendered allegory of the alchemists, since in many of his treatises, like *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum*, he called sulphur

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[106]. Clericuzio and Rattansi, *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 2013, 18.

[107]. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum," in *Paracelsus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim 1493-1541: Essential Writings* (ed. and trans.) Andrew Weeks, volume 5 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 19.

"male seed" and mercury "female seed". Paracelsus stated that these principles are not really referred to the well-known substances, which bear the same name "*These are certainly distinct from the common substances of those names.*"[108] Generally, it could be supported that the t*ria prima* are constitutive of all bodies albeit invisibly. The sulphur, or *feuer* or *resina*, is the "male seed."[109] The mercury, or *cataronius*, is the noblest and "female seed."[110] Lastly, the salt, or *balsam* can be characterized as the "neutral seed."[111] The *tria prima* are not always the same in all physical bodies, but differ qualitatively and quantitatively.[112]

According to Paracelsus alchemists could extract these three principles from a body and inject them into powerful medicines.[113] The *tria prima* operate within the living body as occult force and there is only one way to make them visible, hence to demonstrate their existence. This method was fire.

> "That is to say, the fire proves the three substances and presents them pristine and clear, pure and clean"[114] "The fire in the furnace is compared to the Sun"[115] "Now we come to speak of a manifold spirit of fire, which is the cause of variety and diversity of creatures (…) for the transmutation of the fire is made in the elements, in which the bodies it is imprinted by this fire."[116]

For him this fire comes from Heaven. He did not perceive fire as an Aristotelian element. He viewed it as being something more spiritual and active than the sublunary elements and one of its roles was to separate bodies. This philosophical separation was a fundamental act to create the invisible to visible, and the spiritual to material. Thus, with the help of fire, alchemists could extract from a body its fleeting "spirits" and *tria prima* and incorporate them in medicine.

Also many historians have explained that Paracelsus, insisting that the cures were part of nature, accepted the homeopathetic Germanic folk tradition that "like cures like"[117] and the "action at distance" through which he explained the transmission of diseases, especially the pandemic ones, and how to fight them through the knowledge of the composition of matter. For example, he stressed

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[108]. Ibid, H 1:74, 321.

[109]. Ibid, H 1:79, 332.

[110]. Ibid, H 1:78, 331.

[111]. Ibid, H 1:79-H 1:80, 332-333.

[112]. Clericuzio and Rattansi, *Alchemy and Chemistry in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 2013, 22.

[113]. Hedesan, "Theory in the Seventeenth Century: Robert Boyle Against the Paracelsian Tria Prima," *Springer* (2016): 17-18.

[114]. Paracelsus, "*Opus Paramirum, The First Book,*" 2008, H 1:69, 305.

[115]. Paracelsus, "*Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature, Chapter I,*" 1656, 2.

[116]. Paracelsus, "*Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature, Chapter II,*" 1656, 3-4 (B4).

[117]. Paracelsus in his work *Opus Paramirum* and, especially in the treatise "*On the invisible diseases*", explained that the physician should investigate the poison that have caused the disease and process it to use it as an antidote (H 1:239, H 1:244).

that mercury asserted itself as the only effective cure against syphilis.[118] Opposing to the phlegmatic humour theory of Galenic medicine, Paracelsus developed his corpuscularianism in order to comprehend nature. Through it he explained that the diseases of human body are due to dysfunctions caused within the body itself, when the *tria prima* are not in the proportion they should be, stressing that a major cause of diseases is the extraterrestrials seeds, which are found in nature and are harmful, when they enter and settle in specific organs affecting their vital force. As they deregulate the ratio of the three principles. While, at the same time he supported that some invisible diseases are caused by evil powers and devil himself, and only the miraculous powers of God could help the recovery of the body.[119]

Nevertheless, despite the fact that his theory has been analyzed by many historians, Paracelsus's corpuscularianism is really complex and is still being investigated. Many studies have been done, so as to understand Paracelsus's theory and the importance of the concept of *semina rerum*, but usually the term of *semina* was primarily understood only in the field of iatrochemistry, where *seeds* were conceived as an external factor, which affected health.[120] Two of the historians, who dealt extensively with the term of seed in Paracelsus's theory, is W. Pagel[121] and H. Hirai.[122]

Despite the great contribution of the historical studies, there is still a strong controversy regarding Paracelsus's corpuscularianism.

Paracelsus's Matter Theory

Paracelsus presents his theory mostly through his cosmotheory, which is analyzed in different works (the most important of them is *Opus Paramirum*). Initially Paracelsus explains that before the creation of the world there was nothing, God created all things by bringing something (*etwas*) out of nothing (*nichts*). Thus, he proposed the "Creation *ex nihilo*". "*God created all things. He*

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[118]. Emma Priesendorf, "Paracelsianism and the Theoretical Foundation of Chemical Medicine," *History Matters* 12 (2015): 73.

[119]. Paracelsus, "*Opus Paramirum, On the Invisible Diseases,*" 2008, H 1:242- H 1:243, 21.

[120]. For example Newman in his article "*Bad Chemistry: Basilisks and Women in Paracelsus and pseudo-Paracelsus*" explains Paracelsus's theory about *homunculus* and *basilisks* and how it was adopted, while the historian Hedesan has done important research on the nature of *imagination* and on the meaning of the *vegetable stones* and *seeds* in Paracelsus works.

[121]. Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of Renaissance,* 2nd Edition (Basel: Karger, 1982), 122-124, 127-128. See also Pagel, "Paracelsus and the Neoplatonic and Gnostic Tradition," *Ambix* 8, no. 3 (1960): 130-131.

[122]. Hirai, *Le concept de Semence dans les Théories de la Matière à la Renaissance*, 2005, 181-186.

created something out of nothing. This something is a seed. This seed indicates the end of its predestination and its functions."[123] He considers creation itself as a chemical process of separation. God showed the archetypal word *fiat* at the beginning of the world, and with the use of the word *fiat*, He created the "first cause" of prime matter or the primordial immaterial seed of the word, the *yliaster*, creating everything of it. Paracelsus was obviously influenced by the Bible and the Holy Scriptures. As it is mentioned in the Bible, God created the world in seven days through his Will and his Word, accordingly Paracelsus explains that God through his Word created the cause for the creation of the first immaterial particles. The great *yliaster* can be conceived as the spiritual primordial seed or as the world-soul, which contains in it all the necessary information about the creatures and things that will be born and it gives birth to the four Aristotelian elements. Hence, this divine seed or world-soul can be conceived in two ways. Either as it is enclosed within itself the four elements and all the archetypes of their seeds, as well as all the particular seeds and the *tria prima* of all bodies and their powers, [124]or as the soul or breath of the cosmos, which is necessary for the creation of the four elements and all the archetypes of their seeds in order the particular seeds and the *tria prima* of all bodies and their powers be created. "*In the beginning, the yliaster, (…), was divided and given, fabricated and ordered the four elements. It is only such a seed from which a stem grows (...) The stem, which was born from the yliaster, that is to say the four elements.*"[125] It should be stressed that when God created the *yliaster* and made it possible to be divided, He did not need to act directly in the matter. We can support that, in Paracelsus's cosmotheory God is omnipresent, but He does not act directly in everything. Hence the *yliaster* is not only a world-soul or the first primordial seed, which contains the God's Will, but it also acts as an intermediate factor of God.

Continuing Paracelsus elucidates that God divided the *yliaster* into four parts and that is how the four Aristotelian elements, water, air, fire and earth, were created. The four Aristotelian elements are also immaterial and each one of them is responsible for the creation of all natural things and for the diversity that exists between them. The air is Heaven and circumscribed all the things. The fire is the firmament responsible for the phenomena of weather. The earth is responsible to give the vegetable fruits and the water is responsible for the birth of all the stones, minerals and their ores. It is significant that Paracelsus, although he was inspired and used the Aristotelian elements in his matter theory, he changed their meanings

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[123]. Paracelsus, "Labyrintus, V," (ed.) Sudhoff, 1922-1933, t.11, 187.

[124]. Henrik Langerlund and Benjamin Hill, *Routledge Companion to the Sixtennth Century Philosophy* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 406-407. See also Hirai, "Logoi Spermatikoi and the Concept of Seeds in the Mineralogy and Cosmogony of Paracelsus," *Renue d'Histoire des Sciences* 61, no. 2 (2008): XIV.

[125]. Paracelsus, "*Philosophia of Generationibus Quator Elementorum,* I," (ed.) Sudhoff, 1922-1933, t.19, 9.

and their qualities. He stressed that each immaterial element has only one quality or nature. Fire is hot, water is moist, air is dry and earth is cold. For him the four elements are not the Aristotelian material causes of the natural bodies, but they are cosmological receptacles. They are the matrices, which contain *tria prima* and the particular seeds of all natural things.

> "(…) so reliable the three substances, which are the Salt, Mercury and Sulphur, that prove themselves in regard to the four generations, that they are brought into the nature of the four mothers and elements."[126] "Like someone who has in a bay all the seeds of the world gathered and who sows them in the garden, this is the Nature (…) Not only must it be understood in this way, but also in the case of the element "water", as if it were a bay in which would be contained bare all the seeds and as if they were sown. (…) So the God has ordained the miracles of his Creation in the four elements."[127]

Therefore, Paracelsus stresses that the four Aristotelian elements are the matrices, which have been created by the division of the great *yliaster*. They are the vehicles of all living and lifeless beings around us and each element is responsible for the creation of different natural things. For example he states that the mother of the minerals is the water:

> "God transformed this ultimate material into raw material. Like a fruit which must generate another fruit, as a seed (…) So the ultimate matter of minerals is transformed into a raw material that is into a seed. And this seed is the element water (…) The water is an element and a mother, a seed and a root of all minerals."[128]

In another part Paracelsus refers:

> "Before heaven and earth were created, the spirit of God hovered upon the water and was carried by it. This water was matrix. For in this water heavens and earth were created (…) In it the spirit of God was carried (…) On account of this spirit (…) the human being has been created in it, and the spirit of the Lord within him (…)The water is the vessel of the seed." [129]

That means that God created each element through the *yliaster*, so as to carry His spirit, His soul, and even human beings have been created from a specific element, *water*, and *water* is the vehicle of specific seeds, which are responsible for the individuality of all things, and also contains inside it the *tria prima*, which are united with the particular seeds. Therefore, according to Paracelsus, the four elements have not exactly the meaning of *minima naturalia*, but they are the cause

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126. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The Second Book, II," 2008, H 1:115, 433.
127. Paracelsus, "De Mineralibus, I," 1922-1933, t.3, 41-42.
128. Ibid, 34-35.
129. Paracelsus, "De Matrice, Book VI," 2008, H 1:202, H 1:205, 645, 651.

of the creation of *minima naturalia*. They are immaterial and their body is invisible, because they are spiritual in essence. A thing made of an element means that is not made of the body of the element, but of its essence, which is conceived as its soul or spirit. The three Paracelsian principles are what really gives a material subsistence in the elements.

The bodies of the four Aristotelian elements have been created so that they can be divided into three parts and these three parts of each element are the three principles, *tria prima*. Thus, each body of the elements and their fruits are made up of the union of *tria prima*.

> "Without the three nothing can grow, they become elements and subsequently lose their name yliaster and are now called elements (...) There are thus the four elements or only the first three (…) And there is only one everywhere of the first three, that is to say a mercury in all, a Sulphur in all, a Salt in all, but differentiated by the character."[130]

Paracelsus proposes that the three principles complete each other and together they create each Aristotelian element. Without the union of *tria prima* nothing grows up. That illustrates that the three principles are the real cause of the materialization of the world. Every natural thing has been created by the three principles and everything in this world differs from the others, because in each element the three principles are differentiated.

> "It is therefore to be known that this variety of Metals is made of the mixture of the Elements, because that their spirits are also found divers and without similitude; (…) but the manifold variety of forms interceding, hath introduced the same among the creatures. From this is may easily be gathered, why so many and so various forms of Metals are found, and wherefore there is none like to another."[131]

The variety of the *tria prima*, seeds and spirits, which also reside in them, are the real cause of why the metals have different form and characteristics. For the same reason all natural things are different from each other, because not only do they have different three principles, but also because their *tria prima* are reside in different elements. In more simple words, we can support that each element is responsible for the variety of the species, and the differences, which exist inside the same kind, are caused by the variety of the *tria prima,* seeds and spirits, which reside in the element.

The concept of *tria prima* is very important, as it constitutes the core of Paracelsus's corpuscular theory. The three principles are not material or spiritual, but something in between, as they are immaterial but they compose the real

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[130]. Paracelsus, "Philosophia of Generationibus Quator Elementorum, I," 1922-1933, t.13, 14-15.

[131]. Paracelsus, "Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature, Chapter III," 1656, 4.

reason of the materialization of all natural things. Therefore, we can support that for Paracelsus *tria prima* have the meaning of *minima naturalia*, but he created a conceptual shift in this concept. *Minima naturalia* is generally considered the smallest point of matter, the smallest particles, from which the larger ones are created. However, the three principles are not material. Of course, they are the minimal matter (*minima naturalia*), but as principles, they are immaterial. These immaterial principles are integral and necessary for the creation of matter. Furthermore, *tria prima* not only are the cause of materialization of all natural things, but also the alchemist through the technique of fire can extract these principles in order to understand the nature and to use them for making *arcana* to cure all the diseases. Thereafter, these immaterial principles become material or they are something like spirits as only in this way could the alchemist extract them. Thus, Paracelsus creates a conceptual shift in the meaning of *minima naturalia*, as according to him everything in the world has been created by and because of the three principles.

> "Three are the substances that thus give each (being or thing) its corpus. That is to say that each corpus stands in three things. The names of these three things are sulphur, mercurius, sal. When these three things are put together, there is that which is called corpus and nothing is added to them but life and which pertains to it. Thus when you take a corpus in hand, you have invisibly three substances."[132]

The three Paracelsian principles are dynamically present in all things, thereby qualifying nature and all objects within them as both divine force or virtue and process. Paracelsus claims that if the alchemist dissolves any natural thing around him, he will get sulphur, mercury and salt. But, in reality, the *tria prima* are not the same in every natural thing. They are multiple, because each natural thing is made up of its own sulphur, salt and mercury. "*For just there are many sulphura, there are also many salia (…) for this reason, it can be said that there is a single mercurius, which has as many forms and distinctions as there are sulphura and as there as salia.*"[133] So, there are as many kinds of *salts* as there are many natural things around us and everything is always made up of its own unique three principles. That is why every natural thing around us differentiates from the other. Nevertheless, at this point we should notice that Paracelsus stresses that there are so many and different salts and sulphurs as all the things, but only one mercury with different forms. That is because of the nature and properties of *mercury*. In *Opus Paramirum* (1531) Paracelsus states:

> "That which burns and appears fiery to the eyes is sulphur; its consumes itself; for it is volatile"[134] "From the sulphur the corpus grows (…) Next comes the congelation of

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[132]. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The First Book, II," 2008 H 1:73, 317.

[133]. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The Second Book, I," 2008, H 1:107, 413.

[134]. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The First Book, II," 2008, H 1:74, 321.

the corpus from the salt. (…) Finally, the third thing is mercurius; this is the liquor.(…) For this reason, it can be said that there is a single mercurius which has as many forms and distinctions as there are sulphura and as there as salia (…) these three things are the human being, which is to say a single corpus (…) The mercurius is a (form of) smoke; for it does not burnt, but instead flees from the fire."[135]

For him salt is a solid component of matter, that means that it is responsible for the colors, balm and the coagulation, as it preserves the things from the corruption and endows them with solidity. Salt applies for compaction, freezing and unification. Sulphur is considered to be the combustible or flammable element, which make the things more or less combustible and formats the body. This means that it gives the body substance and construction. Sulphur indicates the body where manufacturing can start. Finally, mercury is a liquid and is only one with different forms. Mercury is the volatile or fluid principle, which makes things unstable, fluent, fugitive, vaporous and spiritual. Hence, mercury gives virtues and properties in every natural thing and can create drugs, *arcana*. In more simple words, for Paracelsus mercury has probably the meaning of the Aristotelian form or of the Neo-Platonic soul, and that is why mercury is only one and not so many as there are the salts and sulphurs, because it has different forms and distinctions. "*This body hath not this power and virtue in itself, but from the spirit of the Sun which is included therein; for we know that the Sun is the body of Mercury.*"[136] Indeed for Paracelsus mercury is the most important of the three principles, because it corresponds to the power of the Sun, the most important celestial body, as the sun is responsible for the life of the planet. Nothing can exist without *tria prima*. But how are the *tria prima* united with their elements and how do they act?

To be able to unite *tria prima* with their elements and seeds and explain their behavior Paracelsus uses inside his theory a vitalistic occult power.[137] According to Paracelsus, into the *yliaster* seeds may exist, which have been carried by God and, sometimes he declares that they create the elements or, sometimes that they are the elements themselves, as he also refers to elements as seeds. I reckon, that this is because the same term of seeds is used with two different concepts inside his matter theory, one spiritual and one metaphorical, or we could support that it has a double nature. In his work *De mineralibus* (1526-1527) he states:

> "Like a fruit which must generate another fruit, it has a seed. This is found in the raw material. So the ultimate matter of minerals is transformed into a raw material that is into a seed. <u>And this seed is the element "water".</u> God has determined that there is water. He created it in Nature to produce the ultimate matter. <u>This is in the water and take what is in it.</u> It is subject to its strength and its preparation. It separates what

135. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The Second Book, I," 2008, H 1:106- H 1:107, 411-413.

136. Paracelsus, "Of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature, Chapter III," 1656, 5.

137. Paracelsus created the term of *archeus* in order to explain some functions of the *tria prima*.

is part of metals into metals and classifies each metal in its own way (…) He also created for element water a harvest and an autumn so that all things may have their harvest and their fall in due time."[138]

Therefore, Paracelsus refers the element of water as a seed, so as to be easier for him to explain how the elements have been created and sown by God. While at the same time he uses the term of *semina* in order to explain the particular spiritual seeds, which exist inside the elements. He proposes that from the *yliaster* the seeds of elements come. In the element of water resides a seed, which is responsible for the creation of the prime matter (*material prima*), so as the minerals be created. Hence, the element of water is the vehicle of the individual ultimate matter of the minerals. For the minerals or any other thing be created into their final stage of their development (their ultimate matter), the seeds, which are in the element, are unique and responsible to grow accordingly to the specificity of its species already programmed in it.[139] Additionally, he interposes a specific agent of God, an occult power, in order to explain the specific separations and creation in all things. He explains that in the great *yliaster* a quintessence also exists, which is a power of specific form[140] and hints the degrees of matters. The quintessence activates the seeds inside the elements, in which the prime matter are (*material prima*). This quintessence is the original state of the entity and possesses the matter and its essence exclusively. The quintessence can be conceived as a soul, which governs the elements and the seeds and makes them adopt definite characteristics. Paracelsus identifies this quintessence as *arcanum* or *archaea* (*archeus*), when he refers to the nature of minerals or of human beings, and *vulcanus*, when he refers to minerals or other natural things.[141] So, in each element, which encloses the particular seeds and *tria prima*, there is also the *archeus,* which is conceived as the quintessence or the spirit of God that acts as a "small alchemist", who furnishes the *tria prima*. The *archeus* sleeps in the element and, when it awakes, it activates the particular seed and *tria prima*, in order to create every natural thing. As Reijer Hooykaas states in his work about Paracelsus:

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[138]. Paracelsus, "De mineralibus, I," 1922-1933 t.3, 34-35.

[139]. Paracelsus expresses the idea of the predestination. According to the Christian idea of predestination God has "programmed", in the beginning of the Creation, how all the animated and unanimated things will be, their final stage.

[140]. The Paracelsian quintessence is probably inspired by the Aristotelian theory of matter or by the Neoplatonic theory of soul. We should bear in mind that when Paracelsus mentions the term of quintessence in his theory about the celestial bodies, he usually refers to the element of *aether*, but when he mentions the term of quintessence in his matter theory, he refers to the *archeus.*

[141]. Eugene Kuzmin, *Alchemical Imagery in the Works of Quirinus Kuhlmann (1651-1689)* (Oregon: Sirius Academic Press, 2013), 156. See also Langerlund and Hill, *Routledge Companion to the Sixtennth Century Philosophy*, 2017, 406-407; Hirai, "*Logoi Spermatikoi and the Concept of Seeds in the Mineralogy and Cosmogony of Paracelsus*," 2008, VIII.

"the 'Archeus terrae', the earth spirit, guides theirs Development. Not only that the Archaeus as an externally working principle of life Promotes the formation of minerals, a spirit of life is also assumed in the minerals. Out the spirits of life come out of the air and with the help of Archaeus seek one to them matching body. Conversely, the body only accepts what is "spiritual to it", such as wine."[142]

Thus *archeus* plays a major role in Paracelsus's theory, because it helps him explain how the occult forces activate *tria prima* and unite them with the particular seeds.[143] He also uses the *archaea* in order to explain the generation of people.

"The human being has his prima material in the limbus, which was the sulphur, mercurius and sal of the four elements which were combined into a human."[144] "As for the sperma (…) it is limbus and does consist of the four elements and it possesses a certain array of powers. These powers are properly known as impressions, (…) God inherits everything from limbus; He inherits it instead from the limbus; for he has been made by the hand of God."[145]

He describes that in the generation of people, for which the women's womb has a precious value, the *archeus* lives in the limb of the sperma of the man and then inside the womb of the woman, the *archeus* or *architect* is activated and is responsible for making the *seeds* of the man fertile. Inside the *sperma* are the elements and *tria prima*, which are able to grow up and create a new human being. Furthermore, he explains that the *archeus* has the impressions, which belong to the Heaven and have been created by the God.[146] Therefore, the *archeus* or *vulcanus* is an invisible occult agent, which activates the seeds and the three principles, in order to have their specific properties. This is how Paracelsus explains the relationship between *tria prima* and their elements and particular seeds; and the unity between the invisible and visible matter.

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142. Reijer Hooykaas, *"Die Chemische Verbindung bei Paracelsus"*, Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften," *Jstor* 32, no. 3 (1939): Bd.32, H3, 167-175.

143. That is one of the main reasons that the Paracelsian matter theory is considered vitalistic, as he used occult theories in order to explain the composition of matter. Of course, instead of *archeus,* he could have used the power of God, but the Paracelsian God, was an omnipresent God, who did not act directly in the matter. From his works it becomes clear that Paracelsus prompted the idea that God created occult powers, so as to govern and help the proper functioning of the world and everything in it.

144. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The First Book, II," 2008, H 1:76, 325.

145. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The Second Book, VII," 2008, H 1:135- H 1:137, 487-493.

146. Hedesan, "Paracelsian Medicine and Theory of Generation in "Exterior Homo", a Manuscript Probably Authored by Jan Baptiste Van Helmont," *Medical History* 58, no. 3 (2014): 387.

"I must say now that we have to understand how the three things unite in one body. Take this example, every seed is a triple seed (…) As only one seed appears, we see that these three things are one (…) When the growth begins, these three elements grow each being mixed and united in its nature, in a body not in three (…) so these three things give one body and they are invisible in this one."[147]

In every Aristotelian element there is a specific seed, which contains the necessary information for the thing that will be created and probably activates the *tria prima* with the help of *archeus.* The three principles are immanent there and act as one body. According to their function and characteristics, they grow and create every kind of natural things.

Also, inside the elements there are seeds, which are called "little seeds" or "centre". These seeds are invisible, particular for every natural thing and are activated by *archeus* in order to start the creation of the prime matter. This means that the seeds with the help of *archeus* either contain all the important data for the future natural things and activate the three principles, which are probably enclosed in them, or are united with three principles and being inside them, as *tria prima* also bear the necessary information for the future natural things. The only sure, as Hirai has supported, is that the three principles acquire some of their characteristics, because of these seeds, which have a connection with the *yliaster* and the spirit of God.[148] Or in other words, the specific seeds, which are responsible for the different characteristics of *tria prima*, already contain in them God's Will, because they have been divided into different elements by the *yliaster*, which initially contained them. The three principles, when are activated with the help of *archeus*, they "grow" and act as the soul, the spirit and the essence of this element and, in relation to their properties, they take their final form, ultimate matter. Thus, according to their element, their specific seeds and their properties, the three principles with the help of *archeus* are responsible for the creation of all natural things.

Consequently Paracelsus's corpuscular theory is based on the concept of *tria prima*. Of course his theory is complicated and in some parts he does not explain explicitly the role of seeds or *tria prima.* Nevertheless, it is really fascinating how he achieves to present, firstly, how the world and all things have been created; secondly, the synthesis and function of matter; and thirdly, how matter decomposes and dies. The German physician, believing that the generation of the things is just like the generation of the living beings, elucidates that the elements of the three principles suffer death as much as all the other things.[149]

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[147]. Paracelsus, "Opus Paramirum, The Second Book, II," 1922-1933, t. 9, 82.

[148]. Hirai, *Le concept de Semence dans les Théories de la Matière à la Renaissance*, 2005, 196-197.

[149]. It is fascinating that Paracelsus supports that only the elements are subject to decay and death and not the *tria prima*. This is probably because elements contain inside

Paracelsus's theory is characterized vitalistic, as he used occult powers, like *archeus*, which are distinct from chemical or physical forces. He was inspired from his predecessors alchemists, but he changed the concept of many terms and redefined alchemy by placing it on the "altar" of medicine. Firstly, it is obvious that Paracelsus was influenced by the alchemical medieval two principles of sulphur-mercury. He used this doctrine adding a third principle, salt, so as to explain the composition of matter. However, he changed the meaning of the two principles, since the *tria prima* were considered neither elements, nor incorporeal spiritual forces, nor had the common concept of *minima* particles from which matter is composed, but were something among these three. Indeed it can be supported that Paracelsus created a conceptual shift in the term of *minima naturalia*. *Tria prima* are invisible immaterial elements, which are responsible for the creation of matter, but the alchemists through a specific procedure could extract them. Therefore, the three principles are not something completely material or spiritual, but the *minimal* immaterial-material elements, which, although they are spiritual, can be extracted and create corporeal matter. Secondly, Paracelsus was inspired by Aristotelianism, as he used the four Aristotelian elements, as well as the divine element of aether, but he changed their functions and meanings. For him the elements were not conceived as the *minima* elements, which constitute the matter, but they were incorporeal matrices of *tria prima,* which could not exist without the three principles. The four Aristotelian elements were now responsible for the creation of *tria prima* and were equally important as *tria prima*, but they acquired a different meaning into his theory.

Thirdly, it becomes clear that Paracelsus was influenced by Neo-Platonism and the theory of *semina rerum*. In Middle Ages, the doctrine of *logoi spermatikoi* became popular among the scholars. In the Stoics' system *logoi spermatikoi* were responsible for the transmission and preservation of the specificity of each type of natural thing. Plotinus (205-270 AD) used this idea by modifying and spiritualizing its materialist content, while Augustine (354-430 AD) through his theory of seminal reasons transmitted into the Latin world and Christianized the theory of the incorporeal *logoi spermatikoi.* Nevertheless, the most important scholar for the establishment of *semina rerum* was Marsile Ficino (1433-1499). Ficino developed a theory, which is based on the rule of the "seminal force" over matter, and linked it with the Thomistic understanding of Aristotelian forms. As a result, in the period of Renaissance, the theory of *semina rerum* for the understanding of composition of matter was really common, and sometimes the alchemists comprehended the two volatile or active principles of sulphur and mercury as seeds. Thereafter, it is obvious that Paracelsus was influenced from the

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them the predetermined information of their death, which God has given. According to Paracelsus, alchemists can extract *tria prima* from a corpse, so the three Paracelsian principles are not destroyed or die and continue to bear their properties. This means that *tria prima* cannot provoke corruption and death.

Augustinian or Ficinian tradition, as well as from the medieval alchemical doctrines.[150] Last but not least, in Middle Ages some alchemists stressed that alchemy had to be used in medicine using the meaning of *semina* in their theories. One of the most important was Jerome Fracastor (1478-1553), who attacked to Galen's doctrine and used the concept of seed to explain the diseases that are transmitted through direct contact. Thus, as the historian Hirai supports, Paracelsus had probably been inspired by Fracastor's theory about the *seminaria contagionum*, "*semina* on contagions" using the term of seeds in order to explain some diseases.[151]

Conclusion

Paracelsus wanted to break the tradition in order to develop a different form of science in medicine and, by studying his corpuscular philosophy, we can claim that he achieved it. Through his alchemical theory, not only did he introduce iatrochemistry, but he succeeded a "scientific shift", as he created conceptual shifts and new terms. His theory of *tria prima* was the milestone for many later corpuscular theories and, even if some scholars criticized it, they were so influenced by him, that they tried to prove through their theories whether or not Paracelsus's theory is valid. His natural philosophy is so crucial that some historians, like Lucien LeClerc, stressed that the first major confrontation of the Scientific Revolution was between Paracelsus and Galen, rather than Copernicus and Ptolemy,[152] and they placed Paracelsus at the beginning of the moment aimed at breaking with antiquity and Middle Ages by constructing a completely new form of alchemy and medicine from fiat principles.

Having thoroughly analyzed Paracelsus's corpuscularianism, we can affirm and strengthen this view, as Paracelsus proposed a new form of thought. Paracelsus was influenced by his predecessors, however he brought a huge "drop" in the continuation of the "normal science" of alchemy by proposing a different "paradigm". According to him alchemy should be put in the service of medicine. His theory and statement was not something really extraordinary or new, since many alchemists before him were interested in medicine and created elixirs or worked as physicians. What was really new is that for Paracelsus the main goal of alchemy is medicine. He did not just believe that alchemists could contribute in medicine, but stressed that they are the real physicians and nobody

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[150]. Langerlund and Hill, *Routledge Companion to the Sixtennth Century Philosophy*, 2017, 405. See also, Hiro, "Logoi Spermatikoi and the Concept of Seeds in the Mineralogy and Cosmogony of Paracelsus," 2008, III-IV; Hirai "Seeds Sprouting Everywhere," *Annals of Science* 64, no. 3 (2007): 413-415.

[151]. Hirai, *Le Concept de Semence dans les Théories de la Matière à la Renaissance*, 2005, 73-75.

[152]. Lucien Leclerc, *Histoire de la Medicine Arabe: Les Sciences en Orient* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876), 358.

should follow the Galenic doctrine. The alchemists must study metallurgy so as to examine their substances for understanding the nature in order to use this knowledge for the creation of *arcanas* for human health. That is probably one of the main reasons why he built a corpuscular theory. Hence, we can support that Paracelsus created a "transformation of the paradigm", as he opposed to every previous authenticity, even Aristotle's theory, promoting a new critical thought, which he believed would lead the alchemists into the Truth. Additionally, Paracelsus not only did establish *tria prima*, but he changed the meaning of *semina rerum* and *minima naturalia*. He used the meaning of seeds with two different meanings, one metaphorical and one spiritual; and proposed that *tria prima*, the *minima* particles, are not material but immaterial and at the same time can be extracted. Thus, Paracelsus supported a new "paradigm" and provoked an "anomaly" and a rift with previous alchemical matter theories. As Kuhn proposed a new theory "*to be accepted as a paradigm, a theory must be seem better than its competitors.*"[153] Indeed Paracelsus's theory was accepted and was followed by the majority of the alchemists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who supported that his theory was better than the Galenic theory. Paracelsus's philosophy was the milestone for many scholars of that era; and through the analysis of his particle theory we can declare with tangible arguments that he provoked a "scientific shift". Hence, alchemy participated in the "Scientific Revolution"[154] and this statement can be supported throughout the analysis of the development of Paracelsianism.

The significance of the Paracelsian theory became apparent as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, when many followers of Paracelsus, such as Adam de Bodenstein (1528-1577), began to edit and publish his manuscripts regardless of their authenticity. In fact, the chronicler Daniel Specklin regarded the year 1517 as one of particular importance in the cultural history of Europe, marked by the efforts of Paracelsus, who became known as the Luther of medicine.[155] Petrus Severinus (1542-1602) and Oswald Croll (1563-1609) were among the first known physicians to publish detailed responses about the German reformer. Particularly Severinus can be characterized as the most important follower of Paracelsus, because through his work *Idea Medicinae* (1571) not only did he explain Paracelsus's philosophical theory, but he promoted Paracelsianism in whole Europe. As a result, during the second half of the sixteenth century, the manuscripts of Paracelsus circulated, studied and printed. In France, the medical community was quickly split into Galenist and Paracelsian camps that violently

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153. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (The University of Chicago, 1970), 17.

154. I use the term of "Scientific Revolution" as it was proposed by Kuhn and is still used by many historians of science.

155. Charles Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton: Magic and the Making of Modern Science* (Dover Publications, 2005), 3-4.

argued about the therapeutic usefulness of chemically prepared mineral-based drugs. The French Paracelsianism reached at its zenith between 1610 and 1650. Accordingly, in Germany Paracelsianism was mostly connected with religion. Protestant ideologists drew the Paracelsians into their seemingly endless debates about the nature of medicine and what the implications of the Paracelsian theory are, using the religious dogma and secondary texts proliferated.[156] In fact, the impact of Paracelsian dogma in Germany was so huge that the Protestants had to rack their brains over the writings of Paracelsus, before they began to attack the religious and radical church critics. What is really crucial is that even if in Germany Paracelsianism was considered a threat for the church, in England Paracelsianism was identified with the Protestantism. The English Paracelsianism is largely featured after 1650, where the English Paracelsians had to confront both Aristotelians and Galenists. Paracelsians hoped to replace the old doctrines with the Christian, Neoplatonic and Hermetic, Paracelsian theory, which, as they claimed, could analyze all natural phenomena. Consequently, we comprehend that Paracelsus's theory was adopted, modified and was integrated in different ways. There is no unanimity in the Paracelsian dogma, because, depending on the country and their religious or political beliefs, Paracelsians changed and modified their teacher's theory. Nevertheless, many historians have shown that Paracelsians shared some common ideas.[157]

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Paracelsian philosophy caused so strong reactions that almost all the scholars dealt with the Paracelsian doctrine. Already from the 1570s there has been a huge segregating between the scholars who followed him, "Paracelsians", his attackers, "anti-Paracelsians", and the "compromisers."[158] Many of his attackers studied him in detail as well as the philosophical theories of his followers, so that they could overthrow him. Something which confirms us that Paracelsus's theory was not only adopted by many scholars, but really shook the foundations of the established theories. Actually, the Paracelsian dogma inspired so many scholars, where it was often spread not by its followers but by its attackers, many of whom, although they criticized Paracelsus, were influenced by his corpuscular theory and, despite denying it, often used the Paracelsian terminology and meanings in their own matter theory, such as Walter Charleton (1619-1707) did. For example, the Paracelsian ideas in English early medical literature indicate that many English

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[156]. Jole Shackelford, "Early Reception of Paracelsian Theory: Severinus and Erastus," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 1 (1995): 123.

[157]. Priesendorf, "Paracelsianism and the Theoretical Foundation of Chemical Medicine," 2015, 71. See also Debus G. Allen, *Man and Nature in the Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 1978), 33-51.

[158]. The terms of "anti-Paracelsians" and "compromisers" have been created by the historians, although it should be stressed that in the 16th -17th cent., many scholars attacked to Paracelsians using the term of "pseudo-scientists", while at the same time the Paracelsians or Helmontians used the same term for their opponents.

scholars first learned about Paracelsus through Thomas Erastus's (1524-1583)[159] and Andreas Libavius's (1550-1616) censure, who were two of the most important attackers of the Paracelsian theory.

To sum up, Paracelsus is a key figure in the development of the alchemical corpuscular theories, because he inspired many scholars. Of course, many times the scholars of that era did not study the authentic texts of Paracelsus. Consequently, his matter theory was misunderstood and propagated, as some pseudo-Paracelsian terms and concepts were incorrectly established, and many times certain scholars criticized Paracelsus without having read his original works. Nevertheless, Paracelsus's theory became a landmark for many significant physicians, alchemists and natural philosophers. Some of whom are, John Dee (1527-1608), Jan Baptist van Helmont (1580-1644), Robert Fludd (1574-1637), Robert Boyle (1627-1691) and Isaac Newton (1643-1727), who possessed a major edition of works of Paracelsus. In fact, it is well known that Newton used Paracelsian terminology in his *Principia* (1687) and *Opticks* (1704). In few words, Paracelsus's matter theory is important, because through it he laid new foundations for the concepts of *semina rerum* and *minima naturalia*, and generally, for the vitalistic corpuscular theories.

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[159]. Shackelford, "Early Reception of Paracelsian Theory: Severinus and Erastus," 1995, 124, 126.

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Glossary

Archeus: the esoteric "small alchemist", occult power.

Four Aristotelian elements: According to the theory of Aristotle everything in the geocosmos has been created by the four elements, namely earth, air, fire and water.

Logoi Spermatikoi: In Stoicism the seminal reason (*logos spermatikos*) is the cosmic source of order; its aspects are fate, providence, and nature. Subordinate *logoi* seem to perform something of the function of Plato's forms. *Logos* also has another aspect: it is what enables us to apprehend the principles and forms, i.e. it is an aspect of our own reasoning.

Minima naturalia: were developed by Aristotle as the smallest parts (atoms, particles) into which matter could be divided and still retain its essential character.

Semina rerum: the theory that everything in the universe has been created by seeds. The terms and theories of "seeds" (*semina*), "seeds of reasons" (*semina rationem*), "seminal principle" (*principium seminal*), "seminary" (*seminarium*) are grouped under the simple name of "concept of seed" and usually called "*semina rerum*".

Tinctures, elixirs, *tartarus* and *arcana*: (these terms have almost the same meaning) drugs.

Tria prima/three Paracelsian elements: According to Paracelsus (1493-1541) *tria prima* are the three basic principles of sulphur, mercury and salt by which all the substances and matter, in general, are composed.

Vitalism: the theory that the origin and phenomena of life are dependent on a force or principle distinct from purely chemical or physical forces.

Yliaster: the prime matter or the primordial seed by which all the other elements have been created.

A New Suggested Site for Troy (Yenibademli Höyük)

By Oliver D. Smith[*]

Nearly all archaeologists identify the remains of Troy with Hisarlik. This article in contrast looks at some alternative suggested locations and finding them to be implausible suggests a Bronze Age site – Yenibademli Höyük – on the North Aegean Island Imbros (Gökçeada). The popular identification of Hisarlik with Troy is questioned and doubted. It is argued on the basis of an ancient tradition Hisarlik cannot be the site of Troy and reveals descriptions from the Iliad are not compatible with Hisarlik.

Introduction

Archaeologists and classical scholars almost universally identify the city Troy (*Troia*) with Hisarlik in northwestern Turkey; the classicist John Luce argued while not impossible, the probability of an alternative location for Troy is "virtually nil."[1] However, Hisarlik is not a particularly strong candidate since its archaeology is somewhat different to the Troy described in Homer's *Iliad* (c. 700 BCE). Despite discrepancies between the two which have long known to exist, the identification of Troy with Hisarlik remains popular because in the words of Carl Blegen (who excavated the site in the 1930s), "No other key site has been found in the northern Troad. There is no alternative."[2] On the other hand, it is a mistake to think Hisarlik has been proven to be Troy; an eminent archaeologist in 1978 cautioned:

> Although Blegen fully accepted the identification of Hisarlik with Homeric Troy, the equation, however, remains unproved.[3]

To this day the Troy-Hisarlik hypothesis remains questionable:

> Theoretically, it is not impossible that Troy might be one day identified with other settlements in Anatolia or the Aegean…[4]

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1. John V. Luce, *Celebrating Homer's Landscapes: Troy and Ithaca Revisited* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 91.
2. Carl Blegen, "The Identification of Troy," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume 1, Part 2 (ed.) Iorwerth E. S. Edwards, Cyril J. Gadd and Nicholas G. L. Hammonds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 411.
3. James Mellaart, *The Archaeology of Ancient Turkey* (Totowa, NJ: *Rowan* and Littlefield, 1978), 34.

Troy can be found outside of the Troad,[5] but with caveats; the site cannot be far from this region because the *Iliad* notes the allies of king Priam of Troy inhabited adjacent territories of the Troad such as Mysia and (southern) Thrace.[6] The Achaean army sacked nearby Aegean islands, including Tenedos[7] which undoubtedly locates Troy also near the Hellespont (modern Dardanelles). Furthermore, in one passage of the *Iliad*, Troy is explicitly placed next to the Hellespont: "With this in his hand the strong Argeiphontes flew, and quickly came to the land of Troy and the Hellespont."[8] The general geographical setting of the *Iliad* is therefore not in doubt by any classical scholars, but this does not necessarily mean Troy is the site of Hisarlik.

Hisarlik

Prior to Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Hisarlik (a 200 x 150m mound and lower plateau) in the 1870s,[9] archaeologists disputed the location of Troy across the Troad, including Pinarbaşi (six miles southeast of Hisarlik) and Akça Köy (four miles south of Hisarlik). In fact, Schliemann originally favoured Pinarbaşi over Hisarlik. What though made the Hisarlik-Troy hypothesis popular is Pinarbaşi and Akça Köy were either falsified or shown to be improbable, leaving Hisarlik which benefited from Greco-Roman tradition.[10] Throughout most of classical antiquity Hisarlik was thought to be the location of Troy (and its citadel Ilios/Ilion) to the extent the site was visited by Alexander the Great; the Romans later named the same location, Ilium:

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4. Catalin Pavel, "Homer and Archaeology: Perspectives from the East Aegean/ West Anatolian Interface," in *Homère et l'Anatolie 2* (ed.) Valérie Faranton and Michel Mazoyer (Paris: Association Kubaba, 2014), 11.

5. The Troad is an ancient name for the Biga Peninsula in the Çanakkale province of Turkey.

6. Hom. *Il*. 2. 816-877.

7. Hom. *Il*. 11. 625.

8. Hom. *Il*. 24. 345-346. August T. Murray (Trans.) William F. Wyatt (Rev.), *Homer Iliad* (Volume 2) Books 13-24, Loeb Classical Library 171 (Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 589.

9. These digs were sanctioned by the archaeologist Frank Calvert (who owned land at Hisarlik) and made the first excavations on the site between 1863 and 1865. Calvert had met Schliemann in August 1868.

10. For classical sources that identify Hisarlik with Troy see Abigail Baker, *Troy on Display* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 17; Susan H. Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 37-40; Michael Wood, *In Search of the Trojan War* (London: Guild Publishing, 1984), 29-31; Joachim Latacz, *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 5.

…rumor since ancient times has identified the city of Troy – poetically known also as Ilion – with ruins on a mound at Hisarlik near the Turkish Dardanelles (ancient Greek Hellespont). Alexander the Great famously reversed the site of Achilles' rage, and the Romans so romanticised the spot that they rebuilt it as Roman Ilium, commemorating the home town of Vergil's hero Aeneas. Although the ancient site was rendered inhabitable ca. 500 CE, admirers of the *Iliad* continued to visit Hisarlik for centuries.[11]

There is no evidence Greeks identified Hisarlik with Troy during the time of Homer in the late eighth century BCE.[12] A few ancient Greeks rejected to identify Hisarlik with Troy, namely Strabo in the first century BCE who "stood alone among major authors in his insistence that it lay elsewhere."[13] The earliest literary evidence Greeks identified Hisarlik with Troy dates to the fifth century BCE.[14] Strabo knew the idea or claim Troy is Hisarlik did not predate the sixth century BCE.[15] Therefore, it is possible Troy was originally a separate location during the time the *Iliad* was composed but a few centuries after the time of Homer – Troy was relocated to Hisarlik. Nearly all contemporary archaeologists are convinced Hisarlik is Troy[16] based on the sheer lack of viable alternative Bronze-Age sites (that are fortified settlements) in the Troad:

> The arguments for locating Troy here [Hisarlik] are as follows. First, from Homer's poems it has always been clear that Troy (Ilios/Ilion) was situated very close to the Achaean camp on the Dardanelles. Second, since Classical times the settlement at Hisarlik has been identified by inscriptions and coins as Ilion. Third, excavations since Schliemann's first campaigns in the 1870s until this day have unearthed at Hisarlik a citadel with remarkable architecture and finds as well as a 30ha fortified lower city. Fourth, a number of surveys across the Troas have established that the largest site in the Troad is undoubtedly Hisarlik. Fifth, Hittite sources of the late 15th

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11. Margo Kitts, "Anthropology and the Iliad," in *Ashgate Research Companion to Anthropology* (ed.) Stewart Pamela and Andrew J. Strathern (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 389-390.

12. Jonas Grethlein, "From Imperishable Glory to History: The Iliad and the Trojan War," in *Epic and History* (ed.) David Konstan and Kurt A. Raaflaub (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 135; Latacz, Ibid., 4 incorrectly claims Homer's contemporaries identified Troy with Hisarlik.

13. Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 1999, 40.

14. Hdt. 7. 43. 2; Hellanicus apud Strab. 13. 1. 42.

15. Strab. 13. 1. 25.

16. On the apparent consensus Troy is Hisarlik by archaeologists, see Luce, *Celebrating Homer's Landscapes: Troy and Ithaca Revisited*, 1998, 81; Mark Q. Sutton, *Archaeology: The Science of the Human Past* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 32; Barry Strauss, "Why is Troy Still Burning?" *Historically Speaking* 8, no. 2 (2006), 18 notes "virtually all archaeologists now agree [Hisalik] was the site of Troy"; Matthew Maher, "Fall of Troy VII: New Archaeological Interpretations and Considerations," *The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 11, no. 1 (2003): 59-60.

to late 13th c. speak of conflicts between Mycenaeans and Hittites (or their vassals) … over 'Wilusa' in the region later named Troad.[17]

How strong are these five arguments? Each one is addressed below.

The Hellespont

It is not in doubt the *Iliad* locates Troy next to the Hellespont (modern Dardanelles), but it is reasonable to argue for a different site outside the Troad if nearby the Hellespont.[18]

Desolation of Troy

The Greco-Roman tradition Hisarlik was Troy is contradicted by the fourth century BCE Athenian writer and orator Lycurgus who claimed the city of Troy after its destruction by the Achaeans was abandoned; in fact, he maintained the site was left uninhabited in his own day:

> Who has not heard of Troy and how it became the greatest of the cities at that time and ruled over all of Asia, and then was obliterated all at once by the Greeks and is eternally uninhabited?[19]

Lycurgus' claim Troy was left desolate after its destruction is impossible to reconcile with the archaeology of Hisarlik (consisting of many different layers from 3000 to 500 CE revealing continuous occupation). Hisarlik was destroyed more than once during the Bronze Age; many classical scholars identify the Trojan War[20] with archaeological layer VIIa which shows signs of warfare and burning[21] (although this is quite contentious since some archaeologists question if the Trojan War took place as Homer describes, if at all.[22]) Despite destructions,

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17. Pavel, "Homer and Archaeology: Perspectives from the East Aegean/West Anatolian Interface," 2014, 10.

18. Crowe, John, *The Troy Deception: Finding the Plain of Troy* (Leicester: Matador, 2010), 10.

19. *Oratio in Leocratem*. 62. 3 (trans.) Cassandra J. Borges, *The Geography of the Iliad in Ancient Scholarship* (University of Michigan, 2011), 43.

20. The siege of Troy was dated by ancient Greek chroniclers sometime between 1250 and 1135 BCE.

21. Maher, "Fall of Troy VII: New Archaeological Interpretations and Considerations," 2003, 60-61.

22. For different perspectives on Trojan War, see: Moses Finley et al., "The Trojan War," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 84 (1964): 1-20; Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Homer, the Trojan War and History," *The Classical World* 91, no. 5 (1998): 386-403; Donald F. Easton, "Has the

Hisarlik was rebuilt and continuously inhabited until the sixth century CE, when the settlement was suddenly depopulated because of an outbreak of a plague.[23] Throughout the Greek Dark Age (eleventh to ninth centuries) Hisarlik was a sparse settlement until colonisation by Greeks (c. 800 BCE).

Site Level	End Date (Approx.)	Cause of Destruction	Aftermath
VIh	1300 BCE	Earthquake	Continuity/rebuilding
VIIa	1230 – 1180 BCE	Attacked by enemy / fire	Continuity/rebuilding
VIIb [1]	1150 BCE	Unknown	New Culture
VIIb [2]	1100 BCE	Earthquake or enemy attack	Continuity/rebuilding
VIIb [3]	900 – 800 BCE	Unknown / fire?	Sparsely populated until Greek settlement

Schliemann outright dismissed Lycurgus' claim as stemming from his poetic imagination.[24] However, there is reason to think Lycurgus was relying on a tradition Troy was left desolated when sacked and destroyed by Achaeans – rivalling the separate tradition Hisarlik was Troy. Strabo[25] knew a story Troy was not rebuilt after its destruction because reoccupation of the site was considered a bad omen; he therefore rejected to identify Hisarlik (or Roman Ilium) with Troy and proposed another location nearby, about three miles to the east.[26] Strabo further knew of "other inquirers who find that the city changed its site" and named Demetrius of Scepsis.[27]

Troy's Citadel (Ilios)

Hisarlik is often identified with Troy based on its citadel and walls. Troy's citadel (Ilios) is described in the *Iliad* as "well-fortified"[28] with high gates and

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Trojan War been Found?" *Antiquity* 59, no. 227 (1985): 188-196; Denys L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley: *University* of California *Press*, 1959); there is also an interesting collection of papers in Lin Foxhall and John K. Davies (Ed.), *The Trojan War: Its Historicity and Context* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1984).

23. Kitts, "Anthropology and the Iliad," 2015, 390.

24. Hendrich Schliemann, *Troja* (London: John Murray, 1884), 292.

25. Strab. 13. 1. 42.

26. Strab. 13. 1. 25, 35.

27. Demetrius' writings from the second century BCE are lost but are quoted by Strabo.

28. Hom. *Il.* 2. 113.

stone walls.[29] The *Iliad* mentions the word Ilios, 105 times and Troy, 53 times; the former presumably refers to a smaller division within the larger city[30] meaning the citadel which was elevated on a mound[31] and housed Trojan royals.[32] Its summit was called Pergamos, where stood a temple to Apollo.[33] Homer repeatedly describes Ilios as sacred, referring to the prominent position of the temple. Outside the citadel, the lower area (of the plateau) was also fortified with a surrounding wall and gates,[34] as well as a large tower.[35] Proponents of the Hisarlik-Troy hypothesis argue despite inconsistencies between the Homeric or Iliadic Troy and Hisarlik, nowhere else in the Troad is there a mound with a fort; to quote Blegen again, "no place other than Hisarlik… can show characteristics of a royal fortress."[36] This is only though true if the search for Troy is limited to inside the Troad.

In 1988, the archaeologist Manfred Korfmann carried out excavations at Hisarlik and claimed to have found evidence Hisarlik's lower plateau was once surrounded by an outer wall and contained a large number of buildings (he dated these layers to VI, VIh and VIIa c. 1700 – 1180 BCE). Korfmann's claims have been challenged (mainly on the grounds "excavations have not proven the existence of a lower city wall"[37] and the number of buildings in the lower plateau are likely much lower than estimated by Korfmann in his controversial reconstruction). It is now known Korfmann was mistaken about the purpose of a ditch on the periphery of the lower plateau; the hole instead of a trench to defend Hisarlik was "an attempt at draining the area below the hill in the south."[38]

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29. Hom. *Il*. 4. 34.

30. Maria D. V. Muñoyerro, "Troy and Ilios in Homer: Region and City," *Glotta* 75 (1997-98): 68-81.

31. Hom. *Il*. 20. 52.

32. Hom. *Il*. 6. 317.

33. Hom. *Il*. 4. 508; 24. 700; 5. 446

34. Hom. *Il*. 5. 789; 6. 393.

35. Hom. *Il*. 6. 386.

36. Blegen, "The Identification of Troy," 1971, 411.

37. Frank Kolb, "Troy VI: A Trading Center and Commercial City," *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, no. 4 (2004): 577-613; Korfmann's supporters have responded to similar criticisms, see: Donald F. Easton et al., "Troy in Recent Perspective," *Anatolian Studies* 52 (2002): 75-109.

38. Nicolas A. Corfù, "Was Hisarlik an Interregional City With Important Harbor in the Late Bronze Age?" *Orbis Terrarum* 13 (2015): 77.

Wilusa

Troy/Ilios is sometimes identified as a place named Wilusa in ancient Hittite documents but not all scholars agree with this identification.[39] The Wilusa-Ilios equation is based on a simple linguistic argument Wilusa (or Wilusiya) was the Hittite name of the Greek word Wilios (an archaic form of Ilios before dropping the "w"). Hittite documents are vague about the location of Wilusa and do not provide many geographical clues, "as with most of Hittite geography, no strict proof is possible."[40] Therefore, even if it is one day proven Wilusa and Troy/Ilios are one and the same place, its location will probably remain undeterminable by Hittite documents.

Troy – Alternative Location Hypotheses

If the search for Troy is restricted to the Troad, there is no doubt Hisarlik is the sole candidate because "Troy was the only fortified settlement in the Troad during the second millennium BC."[41] However, alternative sites for Troy have been suggested outside of the Troad by a small number of amateur archaeologists and independent researchers.[42] The most notable of these unorthodox location hypotheses for Troy is Karatepe – the site of an ancient fortress in Cilicia, southern Turkey.[43] The Cilicia-Troy hypothesis was proposed by a German translator of Homer and accomplished poet named Raoul Schrott in 2008; a few scholars have published a lengthy rebuttal.[44] The other location hypotheses have attracted very little if any attention of classicists: Pergamon (northwestern Turkey), Cambridgeshire (England), Helsinki, Finland and Dalmatia, Croatia.[45]

39. Vangelis D. Pantazis, "Wilusa: Reconsidering the Evidence," *Klio* 91, no. 2 (2009): 291-310.

40. Hans G. Güterbock, "Troy in the Hittite Texts?" in *Troy and the Trojan* War (ed.) Machteld J. Mellink (Byrn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College, 1986), 41.

41. Charles Rose, *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 27.

42. Corfù, "Was Hisarlik an Interregional City With Important Harbor in the Late Bronze Age?" 72.

43. Raoul Schrott, *Homers Heimat: Der Kampf um Troia und Seine Realen Hintergründe* (Munich: Hanser, 2008).

44. Christoph Ulf and Robert Rollinger, *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011).

45. Pergamon: John Lascelles, *Troy: The World Deceived* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2005), Crowe, *The Troy Deception: Finding the Plain of Troy*, 2011; Cambridgeshire: Iman Wilkens, *Where Troy Once Stood* (London: Rider and Company, 1990); Helsinki: Felice Vinci "The Nordic Origins of the Iliad and Odyssey: An Up-to-Date Survey of the Theory," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3, no. 2 (2017): 172; Dalmatia: Roberto S. Price, *Homeric Whispers* (San Antonio: Scylax Press, 2006).

The latter three hypotheses are far too distant from the Hellespont to be taken serious and are best categorised as pseudoarchaeology.[46] One archaeologist points out quite rightly it would be unfair to lump the more reasonable Cilicia location hypothesis with Helsinki.[47]

Unlike the Cilicia-Troy hypothesis, the Pergamon (or Pergamos) hypothesis has seldom been mentioned or been paid attention to by classical scholars.[48] This is unfortunate since John Lascelles and John Crowe, the main proponents of this theory have amassed a lot of evidence against Hisarlik being the site of Troy.[49] Both researchers sensibly distance themselves from the three much less credible hypotheses; Lascelles even describes them as blatantly false trails:

> These false trails should not confuse us. Ancient writers provide abundant evidence that the Trojan War took place, not in Dalmatia, England, or Finland, but around the Aegean Sea.[50]

The identification of Pergamon with Troy however is implausible because of its chronology. Pergamon dates no older than the eighth century BCE (the earliest dated ceramics at the site are proto-Corinthian.[51]) Lascelles and Crowe are left with revising the chronology of the Trojan War but Homer's setting for Troy certainly predates the construction of Pergamon by at least a few centuries.[52] Perhaps this major difficulty is why no classicists have bothered to rebut the Pergamon hypothesis in detail. If Pergamon and Cilicia are both dismissed, are there any viable alternative locations for Troy left? The author of this article in 2020 identified a different site for Troy at Yenibademli Höyük on the North

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46. Anthony M. Snodgrass, "A Paradigm Shift in Classical Archaeology?" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12, no. 2 (2002): 190 (Snodgrass describes Wilkens as an "infinitely less serious" writer); Eric H. Cline, "Troy as a Contested Periphery...," in *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbours* (ed.) Billie J. Collins, Mary R. Bachvarova and Ian Rutherford (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 17-18 (Cline notes "assertions that Troy was located in England and/or Scandinavia" are patently nonsense). Neither mention the obscure Croatian location hypothesis.

47. Pavel, "Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias," *BMCR* (2011).

48. An exception is a brief mention by Corfù, "Was Hisarlik an Interregional City With Important Harbor in the Late Bronze Age?" 2015, 72.

49. Lascelles, *Troy: The World Deceived*, 2005; Crowe, *The Troy Deception: Finding the Plain of Troy*, 2011.

50. Lascelles, *Troy: The World Deceived*, 2005, 16.

51. Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 8.

52. For different perspectives on the setting of the *Iliad*, as Late Bronze Age, Greek Dark Age or an amalgamation of these periods (both predate the eighth century BCE) see: Kitts, "Anthropology and the Iliad," 2015, 389-410; Sinclair Hood, "The Bronze Age context of Homer," in *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (ed.) Jane Carter and Sarah P. Morris (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 25-32; Oliver Dickenson, "Homer the Poet of the Dark Age," *Greece and Rome* 33, no. 1 (1986): 20-37.

Aegean Island Imbros (Gökçeada), close to the Hellespont.[53] Before this hypothesis is discussed, below are reasons to doubt Hisarlik is Troy.

<div align="center">

Five Reasons to Doubt Hisarlik is Troy

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There are many reasons to doubt Hisarlik is Troy,[54] but five are:

1.   Poseidon's View of Troy

The god Poseidon in the *Iliad* observed Troy and Achaeans from the highest mountain on the island Samothrace. If Hisarlik was the site of Troy, there would be no clear line of sight because the mountainous island Imbros (Gökçeada) sits between them and obstructs the view:

> …the Shaker of Earth, keep, for he sat marvelling at the war and the battle, high on the topmost peak of wooded Samothrace, far from there all Ida was plain to see; and plain to see were the city of Priam, and the ships of the Achaeans.[55]

The nineteenth century traveller Alexander Kinglake visited the mound of Hisarlik and realised it was impossible to view Samothrace because Imbros sits in the middle (see Figure 1):

> Now Samothrace, according to the map, appeared to be not only out of all seeing distance from the Troad, but to be entirely shut out from it by the intervening Imbros, a larger island, which stretches its length right athwart the line of sight from Samothrace to Troy.[56]

Likewise, from Samothrace – there is no clear line of sight to the mound of Hisarlik. Although it has been argued on occasions when the sky is not cloudy or hazy Hisarlik is dimly observable from the highest peak on Samothrace (Mount Fengari), "even a small amount of haze in the atmosphere blots it out."[57] Homer stresses Troy was plainly visible to Poseidon on the topmost peak, where he had

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53. Oliver D. Smith, "An Alternative Site for Troy on Imbros (Gökçeada)," *Kerberos: KCL's Classics Undergraduate Research Journal* 2, no. 2 (2020): 61-70.

54. At least one difficulty of identifying Hisarlik with Troy was known as far back as Strabo; Homer describes there having been two springs one hot, one cold outside the walls of Troy, but these have never been found near Hisarlik. This topographical problem was never explained by Schliemann, Blegen nor Korfmann, see Lascelles, *Troy: The World Deceived*, 2005, 80.

55. Hom. *Il.* 13. 10-14, Murray (trans.).

56. Quoted in Lascelles, *Troy: The World Deceived*, 2005, 134-135.

57. Luce, *Celebrating Homer's Landscapes: Troy and Ithaca Revisited*, 1998, 24.

observed the Trojan War.[58] The distance of Mount Fengari to Hisarlik is approximately 45 miles; this is too distant for an ancient observer to have a good view of the Trojan battlefield. Crowe[59] acknowledges the aforementioned problem, but he tries to avoid it by arguing Poseidon viewed Troy from the island of Samos (instead of Samothrace):

> …line 12 seems to offer a wonderful opportunity for some later poet to change the name of Poseidon's lookout from Samos to Samothrace.

Relocating Poseidon from Samothrace to Samos is not supported by the Homeric text. Why deny the obvious? Poseidon would have had a clear line of sight to Troy from Samothrace if the former was on Imbros (only about 20 miles away); the highest peak on Samothrace towers over the highest mountain on Imbros (İlyas Dağ) and would have provided Poseidon (or a real ancient watcher), with a decent view of the Trojan battlefield. This is the most straightforward explanation while proponents of the Troy-Hisarlik hypothesis have failed to provide a solution.

Figure 1. Map of Hisarlik and Surrounding Territory.
Illustration credit: Oliver D. Smith.

2.   Mount Ida

Poseidon is said to have had a plain view of "Ida" from the highest peak on Samothrace.[60] The is a mountain range named Ida (modern Kazdağı) in the Troad, but ancient Greeks knew of separate mountains named Ida such as Mount

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58. Hom. *Il*. 13. 11.

59. Crowe, *The Troy Deception: Finding the Plain of Troy*, 2011, 102.

60. Hom. *Il*. 13. 13.

Psiloritis on Crete; Idalia was also the name of a mountain in Cyprus.[61] Ida (ἴδη) translates as "wooded hill" and was a generic name applied to mountains with forests during classical antiquity. The distance of Mount Fengari to Kazdağı is about 75 miles. However, if one considers the lower slopes and foothills of Kazdağı – the distance is approximately 60 miles. This distance is unquestionably too great for Poseidon to have a clear view of the mountain Kazdağı; instead, the Homeric Ida can arguably be identified with the stratovolcano İlyas Dağ on Imbros. Homer describes Ida as shaken by earthquakes.[62] The island Imbros sits close to the Northern Anatolia Fault and is a high seismic intensity area.

3.   Zeus' View of Troy

Zeus watched the Trojan War on Ida from its highest peak where he signalled Trojans in battle against the Achaeans.[63] Kazdağı's summit ridgeline to Hisarlik is about 30 miles and if weather is not too hazy, there is a faint view.[64] The Homeric Ida could not though have been Kazdağı because the *Iliad* argues for a clearer view of Troy (Ilios) from Ida, implying a shorter distance. The distance of İlyas Dağ to Yenibademli Höyük is under ten miles (there is a plain view from atop the stratovolcano). The identification of İlyas Dağ with Ida is supported by the fact Homer describes Ida as a place of oxen sacrifice.[65] Greek inhabitants of the Imbros village Agridia (modern Tepeköy) nearby İlyas Dağ sacrifice oxen at an annual festival at the bottom of the mountain.[66] Homer notes a small settlement adjacent to Ida was named Zeleia (Ζέλεια). An argument can be made this is the same place as Agridia (Αγρίδια).[67]

4.   Desolation of Troy

An ancient tradition first recorded by Strabo[68] asserts Troy was not reoccupied after its destruction, rather it was left desolated and uninhabited. Hisarlik therefore could not have been Troy because it was continuously occupied until the sixth century CE. As noted by a classicist:

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61. Virg. *Aen*. 1. 681.

62. Hom. *Il*. 20. 58-59)

63. Hom. *Il*. 8. 170-173.

64. Luce, *Celebrating Homer's Landscapes: Troy and Ithaca Revisited*, 1998, 27.

65. Hom. *Il*. 22. 170.

66. Elene Psychogiou, "Thysia Taurin kai Nekrika Ethima st' Agridia tes Imbrou," *Archaiologia* 41 (1991): 83-91.

67. Hom. *Il*. 2. 824.

68. Strab. 13. 1. 42.

Enough has been adduced, I think, to prove that in the settled Greek belief of at least six centuries – from the time of Plato to that of Pausanias – Homeric Troy has been utterly destroyed and had ceased to be inhabited.[69]

5.   Achilles' Sacking of Cities

Homer mentions Achaeans led by Achilles sacked twelve cities by ships and eleven cities by land[70] (including across Mysia before Troy). A few islands are mentioned: Lesbos, Scyros, and Tenedos but Imbros is noticeably absent from the list.[71] Arguably the reason Imbros is not among the islands Achilles sacked before Troy – is because Troy was itself located on Imbros. Imbros is not either mentioned as having been sacked by Achilles in any other classical source.

Yenibademli Höyük – Troy?

Yenibademli Höyük is a mound (covering an area of 120 x 130 meters) on the northeast of the island Imbros (Gökçeada) about one mile from a harbour and bay (Kaleköy); nearby is a village with same name. Approximately 250 meters west of the mound is a creek (Büyükdere) which drains into Aegean Sea (see Figure 2). In classical antiquity the creek was a larger river, named Ilissos (or Ilissus).[72] Remarkably, this is similar in name to Ilios, and these could be the same location; the citadel of Troy might have taken its name from the valley, or vice-versa. Yenibademli Höyük was first settled at the beginning of the third millennium BCE; after an interval it was resettled during the Late Bronze Age and abandoned at the end of Mycenaean era (c. 1100 BCE). It was left uninhabited until a hundred years ago when a church was built.
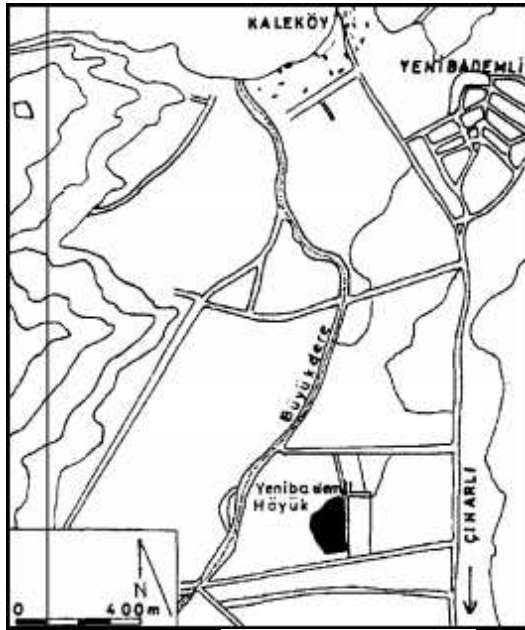
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69. Richard C. Jebb, "Homeric and Hellenic Ilium," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2 (1881): 15.

70. Hom. *Il.* 9. 328-329.

71. Hom. Il. 9. 129, 668; 11. 625.

72. Plin. *NH.* 4. 73; Halime Hüryılmaz, Ivan Gatsov and Petranka Nedelcheva, "The Early Bronze Age Lithic Industry in Yenibademli Höyük (Gökçeada/ Imbros)," *Studia Troica* 18 (2009): 229.

Figure 1. Map of Yenibademli Höyük
Illustration credit: Halime Hüryılmaz.

Since the 1990s the site has been excavated by Halime Hüryılmaz (who has recently published a paper detailing the three historical periods of occupation, beginning c. 3000 BCE):

> The systematic excavations conducted between 1996 and 2013 have revealed the presence of three cultural periods at this old settlement. From most recent to oldest, these can be listed as follows: (1) The culture of the inhabitants with Greek origins, (2) Late Bronze Age culture, (3) Early Bronze Age II culture. The chapel, which was built as a singular structure on the hilltop about 100 years ago, was used by the inhabitants with Greek origin. There have not been any settlement activities around this religious building, which represents the first cultural period at the mound. The second cultural period is made identified by the Mycenaean and Minoanising pottery sherds and small-scale remains of cyclopean masonry. The finds of this period which represent Late Bronze Age, are dated between 1400-1060/1040 B.C. The third cultural period is characterized by wide-spread settlement activities and lasted for about 400 years, starting from beginning of the third millennium B.C.[73]

The archaeology of Yenibademli Höyük matches the tradition Troy was abandoned after destroyed and not reoccupied. Early Bronze Age archaeology of the site during its first period of occupation (3000 – 2600 BCE) has revealed the mound was fortified with stone walls from the east, south and west; there is

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73. Hüryılmaz, "Northwest Anatolian Influences on Early Bronze Age Cultures of Gökçeada (Imbros) Yenibademli Höyük," in *The Early Bronze Age in Western Anatolia* (ed.) Laura Harrison, Nejat Bilgen and Asuman Kapuci (Albany, NY: University of New York Press, 2021), 83.

evidence for a tower with a ramp structure and gate.[74] Within the hillfort lay buildings and wide roads (an average width of 1.6 meters).[75] The *Iliad* describes Troy as having "broad paved streets".[76] Palaeogeographical studies have shown the site at the beginning of the third millennium BCE was adjacent to a bay and the Aegean Sea (see Figure 3). Over the past five thousand years, the bay has expanded to the extent Yenibademli Höyük is now about a mile inland from the bay and harbour town (Kaleköy).

Figure 3. Yenibademli Höyük 5000 Years Ago (Top), Compared (Bottom) Today
Illustration and photo credit: Sercan K. Alkan.

The second occupation of Yenibademli Höyük began during the Late Bronze Age (dating is based on LH IIIB to LH IIIC Mycenaean decorated sherds). The Late Bronze Age levels have eroded away but it is reasonable to presume these occupants built on top of earlier fortifications and buildings. In the late 2nd

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74. Hüryılmaz, "Yenibademli Höyük: Kuzeydoğu Ege Denizi'nden Bir Erken Tunç Çağı Yerleşmesi," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 19 no. 1 (2002): 27-44.
75. Hüryılmaz, "Gökçeada-Yenibademli Höyük'te Kent Organizasyonu ve Yönetim," *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 5 no. 18 (2006): 34.
76. Hom. *Il.* 2. 329.

millennium BCE, the site was more distant to the bay (a quarter of a mile or 400 meters) than it was a thousand years earlier. An invading Greek force could have docked in this bay and set up camp on the shoreline. The close distance of the Greek camp on the beach to the walls of Troy is implied by Homer in several lines of the *Iliad*, for example, the Trojans had a clear view of the Achaean encampment from a lookout in Troy and Greeks were at one point driven back from the Trojan battlefield to their camp on the shore:

> That the [Greek] camp looked directly onto the plain and across to Troy is clearly implicit in Homer's picture of the sleepless night spent by Agamemnon before the second engagement… Similarly, Achilles, standing on the stern of a ship to watch the progress of fighting, catches sight of Nestor's chariot leaving the fray.[77]

Conclusion

This paper identifies Troy with a fortified mound outside of the Troad but still near the Hellespont – Yenibademli Höyük on Imbros. The island Imbros is mentioned five times in the *Iliad* but refers to two places (1) the island, and (2) a city on the island. To distinguish the two, Homer gave the epithet "rugged" to the island[78] (when Hera departs from Imbros to Mount Ida, she does not leave the island but its capital of the same name[79]). Blegen's assertion Troy could have only existed in the Troad is arguably disproven since it has now been shown Yenibademli Höyük is a viable alternative site. The Imbros-Troy location hypothesis is more plausible than Pergamon and Cilicia; the author plans to develop his ideas about Troy in a subsequent book.

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[77]. Luce, *Celebrating Homer's Landscapes: Troy and Ithaca Revisited*, 1998, 143; see also Hom. Il. 8. 532; 14. 8-15.

[78]. Hom. Il. 13. 33.

[79]. Hom. *Il*. 14. 281.

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