



PHOENICIAN STUDIES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN: LOOKING AHEAD*

VASSOS
KARAGEORGHIS

* This paper was read at the 5th International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies held in Palermo in October 2000.

The purpose of this paper is not to present a history of Phoenician studies, but to put forward some thoughts regarding their development during the last three decades or so, and to attempt some speculations about their future (see also Karageorghis 1995).

The name of Sabatino Moscati has dominated all efforts to give respectability to Phoenician studies in modern times. With his standard book *Il Mondo dei Fenici*, published in Milan in 1966 and translated into English in 1968, he provided the student with a handbook dealing with all aspects of Phoenician civilization, which was the equivalent to a passport for somebody who hitherto did not possess legal travel documents. This situation had a long prehistory. In the foreword which he wrote to the Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Palazzo Grassi in 1988 he gave a gloomy picture of Phoenician studies before the 1960's. Speaking as an Italian scholar, he wrote: '... it must be remembered that the Phoenicians are relevant to us not only in terms of continuity, but also as a comparison or even contrast. They are the 'others' of ancient history, the vanquished rather than the visitors. Without the events in which they met and clashed with our predecessors we would not be who we are today. This makes the fascination of rediscovery all the greater'. In the first chapter which followed and which is entitled 'A civilization rediscovered', he tried to understand the reasons for the prejudice (obviously on the part of Italian scholars). Classical literature... was and still is a rich source of information. Most of it concerns the clash between Carthage and Greece in Sicily and between Carthage and Rome all around the Mediterranean area

It is, of course, a somewhat partial historiography, for it was compiled by enemies who tended to cast shadows on the Carthagians, stressing their cruelty and perfidy and the like. This did not apply to Hannibal, however, or at least not completely. Along with hostility towards Rome's greatest enemy, there was a tendency to acknowledge and indeed exaggerate his valour, in order to justify the defeats that Rome suffered at his hands.

The truth is that the shortcomings of classical sources do not lie so much in their partiality as in their limited horizons and interests, which give us only restricted information. Apart from accounts of wars, we have only sporadic data, such as what Aristotle says about the constitution of Carthage, the writings of Polybius on the revolt of the mercenaries, the account of Hanno's circumnavigation of Africa in the Greek version, and so on (Moscati 1988, 16-18).

Moscati goes on to explain the beneficial part played by archaeological discoveries as a result of excavations in the central Mediterranean, due

mainly to his own initiative and the efforts of his colleagues and students. The discoveries in Phoenicia proper and in Cyprus enriched Phoenician archaeology with architectural remains and works of art, to which I shall return later. Thus, in 1975 an entire volume was consecrated to the Phoenicians in the series *Univers des Formes*, directed by André Malraux and André Parrot and the authors of the volume were Maurice H. Chéhab and Sabatino Moscati. In this volume it is clear how confusing our knowledge of the Phoenicians in the East was at that time. Not so, however, in the central and western Mediterranean, where research in Sicily, Sardinia, Malta and Spain, by well trained archaeologists, provided a clear and full picture of Punic civilization. Research in the Phoenician homeland was badly affected by political disturbances and an inadequately staffed Department of Antiquities. Thus the Italian team, led by Sabatino Moscati, and the team working in Spain, supplemented by research in Tunisia, were able to paint the portrait of the Punic civilization in such a way as to make Phoenicia proper look more or less... 'provincial'. It is true that the discoveries in the East (Lebanon, Syria, Israel and Cyprus), were not so well known. In 1970 I was invited by Moscati to read a paper at the second round table on the Phoenicians organized by him in Rome. The theme of the round table was '*L'espansione Fenicia nel Mediterraneo*' and the proceedings were published in 1971. I read a report on the Phoenician discoveries at Kition. The first round table had been organized in 1969 on the theme '*Richerche Puniche nel Mediterraneo*'. The proceedings were published in 1970. When I remarked, on that occasion and during subsequent international meetings, that it was a pity that we had nobody from the Eastern Mediterranean, from the Phoenician homeland, he answered with a smile, not allowing any further discussion on this matter: 'But we have you...'. Later on I realized that he was hindered by some personal attitudes towards scholars from the East and these attitudes prevented him from adopting a more broad-minded attitude. We all have our weaknesses!

In 1976 a popular book of mine appeared in the series *New Aspects of Antiquity*, directed by my former teacher Sir Mortimer Wheeler, entitled: *Kition, Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus* (Karageorghis 1976). In 1973-74 the three parts of the third volume of the series *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* had appeared (Karageorghis 1973-74). I invited Moscati to come to Cyprus, and together we visited both Kition and Salamis. This visit made an everlasting impression on him, and thereafter Phoenician discoveries occupied a prominent place in his writings. In the first chapter of the Palazzo Grassi Exhibition Catalogue, he wrote: '... excavations on Cyprus by the local Antiquities Authority have been making great progress, in particular the finds at Kition (Citium), an impressive Phoenician colony dating back at least to the 9th century BC, that is, to the initial stages of the Phoenicians' expansion overseas, and the work at Salamis, which has brought to light a burial ground of the 8th-7th century BC, with an abundance of funerary accessories, including some of the most highly prized ivory work of its kind ever found. We now know that the entire southern coast of Cyprus was penetrated by the Phoenicians' (Moscati 1988, 21). In the meantime Moscati's collaborators and disciples in the *Istituto per la Civiltà Fenicia e Punica* published the first fascicle of the prestigious periodical *Rivista di*

Studi Fenici in 1973, which became the first journal entirely devoted to Phoenician and Punic studies. Although Punic studies occupy most of the pages in each issue of this journal, which appears regularly twice a year up to the present day, and the editors are not to blame, all scholars of the Mediterranean who have something to contribute to Phoenician and Punic studies find a hospitable harbour. I am proud to have been a contributor from the first volume onward. By the mid 1970's Phoenician and Punic studies had become a discipline which inspired respect and whose future could be described as bright. 88

Thanks to Moscati's vision, but also to his undisputed leadership and political power which helped to finance major projects, this discipline spread beyond the limits of Italy and was embraced by many scholars dealing with the ancient Mediterranean. Moscati, not satisfied with the small 'round-tables' conceived a series of international congresses, with several hundred participants which he organized in Rome, with exemplary efficiency and generosity. The first was organized in 1979 and the proceedings were published in 1983 in three fascicles (*Atti* 1983). The second was also organized in Rome in 1987, and the proceedings, also in three fascicles, were published in 1991 (*Atti* 1991). The third was organized by his disciple M. Fantar in Tunis in 1991. The proceedings, in two fascicles, were published in 1995. The fourth was organized in Cadiz in Spain by M.-E. Aubet in 1995 and the proceedings were published in 2000. During the Cadiz congress an international scientific committee was constituted with Moscati as our Chairman. He found, however, that the interval of four to five years was too long, so between the third and the fourth congresses a meeting was held in Rome in 1994 on the theme *I Fenici: ieri oggi domani*, the proceedings of which were published 1995. In this respect I would like to mention another landmark in Phoenician studies, namely the symposium organized by H.G. Niemeyer in Cologne in 1979 on the theme *Phönizier im Westen*. The proceedings were published in 1982.

The importance of Italy, and particularly Rome, as a centre for Phoenician studies was universally acclaimed and the numerous publications on Phoenician topics sponsored by the CNR, with the initiative of Moscati, increased the bibliography dramatically. I would like to quote Jean Leclant, the *Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, who, addressing the Rome symposium in 1994, referred to the two previous meetings, '*qui ont consacré Rome comme d'actuelle capitale mondiale de ces études*' (Leclant 1995, 3). Very befittingly his friends and admirers dedicated three large volumes of studies to him entitled *Alle soglie della classicità, il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione*, published in Pisa and Rome in 1996. They constitute a landmark in our research, covering the wide spectrum of Moscati's scholarly interests.

We have come today to Palermo for the fifth congress, but this time, alas, without Moscati. His death has deprived Phoenician and Punic studies of a leading spirit, the tireless organizer who never left anything to chance, a model of an enlightened leader.

It would have been a serious omission not to mention the excellent work in Phoenician studies accomplished by the Belgian *Groupe de contact interuniversitaire d'études phéniciennes et puniques*, under the direction of Professor E. Lipinski. The series *Studia Phoenicia*, of which fifteen volumes have already been published, is an indispensable series of handbooks for students of Phoenician civilization, particularly of religion. The same *Groupe de contact interuniversitaire* has also made other numerous contributions to Phoenician and Punic studies by organizing exhibitions and publishing monographs. I look forward to the day when there will be a *Fédération Internationale pour les Études Phéniciennes et Puniques* which will gather under its aegis all the groups which carry out research and contribute towards the advancement of our discipline. 89

Before I turn to future perspectives I would like to consider another aspect of Phoenician studies, namely the attitude of classical scholars, dealing with the civilizations of the Aegean. The Homeric epic and later references to the Phoenicians by Herodotus, Thucydides and Plato, in which the reputation of the Phoenicians is not at all complimentary, must have had an influence, consciously or unconsciously, on the attitude of Greek scholars towards the Phoenicians. Irene Winter, in a recently published article, tried to explain the attitude of Homer: '...The composite picture presented in the *Odyssey* of the Phoenician King of Sidon acting according to proper rules of behaviour, but his people on the seas clearly not observing the rules, leads one to wonder whether this is not an expression of the trepidation the Greeks must have felt anticipating the dispersal of their own population into the colonies and onto the seas of commerce. Seen through the lens of a nostalgia not only for the past but for the integrity of the 'homeland', the particular state of Greek social (colonial) and economic, not just political, development becomes a significant factor in the representation of Phoenicians in the Homeric epics' (Winter 1995, 263; cf. also Morris 2000, 179).

When I was a student of Classics in the late 1940's and early 1950's and later, as a young archaeologist, I had the chance to make the acquaintance of enlightened scholars such as Richard Barnett, Pierre Amandry, John Boardman, and Nicholas Coldstream, who admirably mastered both the Aegean and Near Eastern civilizations. It is no doubt their influence which led me, at a very early stage in my career, to keep my eyes open both to the Aegean and to the Near East when I started my excavations at Salamis and Kition. I managed to overcome the prejudices of my classical education and local tradition, but it was not easy. I remember how dismayed my Gymnasium teacher of classics was when I proudly announced to him, in all innocence, that I had discovered the temple of Astarte at Kition.

My contemporaries in Greece, under the strong influence of powerful classical scholars, both Greek and foreign, followed the traditional view of discrediting the Phoenicians and minimizing the debt of Greek art to that of the Orient. A series of doctoral dissertations was written during the 1950's and 1960's, all trying to refute any oriental influence on Greek art. Although, even today, we hear voices raised against the Phoenician impact on Greek art and

culture, the tone has changed considerably. Greek art and culture have their own high standing; they have nothing to fear, nothing to hide.

This brings me to the second part of my presentation: perspectives. We urgently need more research of a methodical nature in the Phoenician homeland. The opportunity for excavations in the centre of the old city of Beirut which was made possible, unfortunately, by the destruction caused by the civil war, has unearthed invaluable evidence relating to some 5,000 years of continuous habitation of this city. Once the wounds of war have been healed, Sidon and Tyre should also reveal their Phoenician contribution to modern research, with the study of old material and the excavation of new. Many of you will remember the hopes that we all cherished to be able to organize the 5th Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies in Beirut as was the wish of our Lebanese colleagues. Alas, the homeland of the Phoenicians has not been in a position to host this congress.

Important excavations pertaining to the Phoenicians were carried out in Israel and are still continuing, but the publication of the results has not always been considered to be a priority. I have in mind the excavations at Achziv which have revealed unique Phoenician material. The renewal of these excavations should offer an excellent opportunity to publish the previous finds. Speaking of unpublished excavations, we should all confess that we are culpable, in Cyprus, in the Lebanon and elsewhere, and the sooner we remedy the situation the better.

Modern technology can help us to establish better chronological sequences and to solve problems of provenance of pottery. The ceramic term 'Cypro-Phoenician' should be abolished and it should be established whether the pottery is Cypriote or Phoenician. We should give the Phoenician material from the East (pottery, terracottas, bronzes, jewellery and other categories of objects), its proper place in the history of Mediterranean culture, and thus achieve a better understanding of the transplantation of Phoenician art to the west. We should also resolve problems relating to religion; the character of the tophet, for instance, still creates controversies.

A very encouraging phenomenon is the new evidence which has become available in recent years for Phoenician activities in the Aegean. Crete was one of the first places to be visited by the Phoenicians during their westward expansion. The discoveries in the Northern Cemetery of Knossos and their prompt publication (Coldstream and Catling (eds) 1997) offer new possibilities for the study of relations between this great island and Phoenicia, as well as the study of the role of Cyprus in these contacts. The dramatic results of the new excavations carried out by Stampolides at Eleutherna as well as the evidence from Kommos (Di Vita 1992-93; Shaw 1998) leave no doubt that there were Phoenicians on Crete at a very early stage, as early as the 9th century BC. Those who saw the special exhibition at the Heraclion Museum and attended the symposium on 'Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th-6th century BC', must have witnessed not only the

importance of *Orientalia* in the formation of one of the most vigorous aspects of Greek art, the orientalizing art, but also the radical change of the attitude of young Greek scholars towards a traditional 'enemy' (Karageorghis and Stampolidis (eds) 1998; Stampolidis, Karetsou and Kanta (eds) 1998). When the material from the Idaean cave is published, the picture will be even more dramatic.

Discussions of the role of the Phoenicians in the Aegean, particularly with regard to Near Eastern imports in Euboea and other Aegean islands, will no doubt continue. But this is a healthy development, as long as we free ourselves from traditional prejudice. The prompt publication of the material from Lefkandi in three volumes (Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1979-80; Popham, Calligas and Sackett (eds) 1990; *idem* 1993; Popham 1996) has provided a wealth of *orientalia* to digest and interpret. There was a time when classical scholars refrained from, or hesitated to recognize the role of the Phoenicians in the West, namely at Lefkandi and Corinth, but the situation is now changing. Nevertheless, the opposite extreme must be avoided whereby Phoenicians are seen everywhere in the Aegean and central Mediterranean, an attitude which produced the *Black Athena* syndrome; we need to have a balanced and unprejudiced view. I will quote a passage from a recent article by Sarah Morris and John Papadopoulos (1998, 262-263 with relevant bibliography):

'Of all of the Aegean sites discussed so far, Lefkandi has not only produced the earliest known imports from the east since the end of the Mycenaean era, but is the site topographically closest to the ideal Phoenician trading settlement, as described by Thucydides (VI.2.6) for Sicily. Rather than representing a spontaneous Greek self-generation, as is often assumed by Aegean archaeologists, the precept of Lefkandi - like Corinth later on - is one inspired by eastern traders and settlers. If Lefkandi and Corinth are places where Greeks and Phoenicians/eastern Mediterraneans co-existed, the sort of place from where a 'joint venture' to the west may have been mounted, then the ramifications for Greek and Phoenician expansion in the West are profound. From such a perspective, the 'joint venture' or Phoenician and Greek 'common interests', as discussed by Aubet, as well as Niemeyer and Docter, even Burkert's 'mutual competition', or the 'few Phoenicians and a lot of Euboians' of Ridgway, takes on a very different meaning, through a shift in focus from the exclusively regional to the more broadly Mediterranean'.

Other classical scholars prefer to skirt the issue, but nevertheless do not exclude the involvement of easterners in the affairs of Euboea. To quote from a recent book by Malkin (1998, 92-93): *'We cannot be certain about the identity of the agents who brought wealth to Euboea from the east. These could have been Euboeans themselves, 'Cyprîotes', 'Phoenicians' or all of the above'.*

A word of caution is, however, in place here, as I mentioned above. We should not lose focus and overestimate the role of the Phoenicians, particularly in the Aegean, where they had no colonies but rather *emporîa*. Classical scholars, with some exceptions, have gradually come to accept

their role in its true dimensions, not only with regard to their influence in art, but also in habits and behaviour. I have in mind a recent article by Hartmut Matthäus, who went as far as to suggest that the Phoenician reclining symposium was adopted by Greek aristocracy on the island of Crete during the 8th century BC, probably the earlier part of the 8th century at least (Matthäus 1999, 258-59). His appreciation of the art of Crete is indicative of the new attitude of classical scholars. "The art of the island during the 9th and 8th centuries BC is cosmopolitan in character, displaying a mixture of the overwhelming common Greek Geometric style, of North-Syrian, Phoenician and Cypriot elements plus some heritage of the Minoan civilization. This is demonstrated by local metalwork from the Idaean cave, which has been discussed, by gold jewellery from Cretan centres (Idaean Cave and Knossos) of the same period, even by the more traditional branch of vase-painting, which shows a repertoire of Near Eastern motifs as early as Protogeometric B in the second half of the 9th century BC' (*ibid.*). Returning to the symposium, we should stress its importance in the diffusion of a *koene* behaviour among the aristocratic society of the Mediterranean, in Cyprus, the Aegean and also in Etruria in the 8th century BC. This behaviour is reflected in the Homeric *Odyssey*. It has been convincingly argued that the symposium may have been the context for gift exchange and for the prestige goods discovered in Greek and Etruscan 'princely tombs', as well as at Salamis and elsewhere in Cyprus (Mallrin 1998, 167). The role of the Phoenicians in providing such prestige goods is undeniable (cf. Morris 2000, 178-185). 92

For many decades Homeric scholars have been debating the debt of Homer to Near Eastern epic. It is interesting to read the following passage from an article by Sarah Morris in the *New Companion to Homer* published in 1997 (Morris 1997, 622-623):

'... most widely shared in Greek and Near Eastern literature is poetic nature and performance. The resemblances in poetic techniques like repetition of type-scenes and formulaic epithets, or similes from the natural world describing human action, have long been noted. Another shared feature is the strong dramatic quality of direct speech; the Homeric combination of poet's voice with direct speech by heroic characters has been traced to the second millennium and Near Eastern influence. The very occasion of Homeric performance offers interesting parallels to the long-lived Near Eastern tradition of the marzeah or ritual banquet in honor of the dead. Such commemorative events may have celebrated heroic deeds of the dead, prehistoric epic poems performed in groups anticipating the θύσας Greek celebrants at functions equivalent to the marzeah. Indeed, it has been claimed that the entire bardic tradition is more Oriental than Greek, and the shape of Homeric poems B in 24 books, corresponding to the letters of the new Oriental alphabet B more than coincidence'.

The elusive world of the Etruscans and their relations with the Greeks and the Phoenicians needs to be re-examined. Now that more careful excavations are bringing new material to light, especially from princely tombs, it is time to re-evaluate the evidence in its entirety, including the material from

older excavations. The Italian-Phoenician metal bowls form an important class in this regard, and the iconography of their decoration deserves a reassessment. In 1982 Culican drew attention to them, suggesting that they 'were made by a Phoenician workshop established in Italy, though quite clearly they are parented directly from the Orient, and perhaps precisely from Cyprus' (Culican 1982, 27). It is gratifying that the whole problem of relations between Cyprus and Italy will be the theme of an international symposium organized in New York in November 2000. 93

At the beginning of this paper I praised the role of Italian scholars, particularly Moscati, and Italian institutions in maintaining and propagating interest in the study of the Phoenician and Punic civilizations. We are grateful to them all, as well as to all other protagonists, whether in Belgium, Spain or Tunisia. Now is the time to enlarge the circle, both geographically and also with regard to people. In order to study the Phoenicians we need to trace their steps, their activities, throughout the Mediterranean and even beyond. Comparison of the list of participants of this congress with the lists of previous congresses reveals a major difference. We now have among us people working in the Levant, Cyprus, the Aegean, the central Mediterranean, the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast of the Iberian peninsula. This is the new world of the Phoenicians. I have already suggested the creation of a *Fédération Internationale pour les Études Phéniciennes et Puniques*. This is something our congress should face.

Our present International Scientific Committee should become truly international, and should include more members of the younger generation, the hope for the future. The *Rivista di Studi Fenici* should be given greater support by all of us, and I can even see room for another international journal concentrating on Phoenician civilization. If we wish to see a future in our studies - whether we are students of Classical Greece or the Near East - we should broaden our horizons to include the whole of the Mediterranean, the cultural lake which was the cradle of our civilization.

Atti 1983, *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 5-10 Novembre 1979, Rome.

Atti 1991, *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 9-14 Novembre 1987, Rome.

M. H. Chéhab and S. Moscati, 1975: *Les Phéniciens. L'expansion phénicienne, Carthage* (Univers des Formes), Paris.

J. N. Coldstream and H. W. Catling (eds.) 1997, *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs Vols I-IV* (British School at Athens Supplementary Vol. 28), London.

W. Culican, 1982, "Cesnola Bowl 4555 and other Phoenician Bowls", *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 10(1), pp. 13-32.

A. Di Vita, 1992-93, "I Fenici a Creta. Kommos, i 'troni di Astarte' a Phalasarna e la rotta 'delle isole'", *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 70-71, pp. 175-203.

V. Karageorghis, 1973-74, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III*, Nicosia.
----- 1976, *Kition, Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*, London.

----- 1995: "Cyprus and the Phoenicians", pp. 327-334 in *I Fenici: ieri oggi domani. Ricerche, scoperte, progetti* (Roma 3-5 marzo 1994), Rome.

V. Karageorghis and N. C. Stampolidis, (eds.) 1998, *Proceedings of the International Symposium Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th - 6th cent. BC*, Athens.

J. Leclant, 1995, "Adresse", 3-5 in *I Fenici: ieri oggi domani. Ricerche, scoperte, progetti* (Roma 3-5 marzo 1994), Rome.

I. Malkin, 1998, *The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

H. Matthäus, 1999, "The Greek Symposium and the Near East. Chronology and Mechanisms of Cultural Transfer", pp. 256-260 in R. F. Docter and E. M. Mooreman (eds.), *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Amsterdam, July 12-17, 1998, Amsterdam.

I. Morris, 2000, *Archaeology as cultural history*, Oxford.

S. P. Morris, 1997, "Homer and the Near East, pp. 599-623", in I. Morris and B. Powell (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer*, Leiden, New York, Cologne.

S. P. Morris and J. K. Papadopoulos, 1998, "Phoenicians and the Corinthian Pottery Industry", pp. 251-263, in R. Rolle and K. Schmidt (eds.), *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt*, Göttingen.

S. Moscati, 1966, *Il Mondo dei Fenici*, Milan.
1968, *The World of the Phoenicians*, London.
1988, *The Phoenicians*, Milan.

H. G. Niemeyer, (ed.) 1982, *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Köln 1979* (Madrider Beiträge 8), Mainz.

M. R. Popham, 1996, *Lefkandi III (Plates)* (British School at Athens Supplementary Vol. 29), London.

M. R. Popham, P. G. Calligas, and L. H. Sackett (eds.), 1990, *Lefkandi II. The Protogeometric Building at Toumba. Part I, The Pottery* (British School at Athens Supplementary

Vol. 22), London.

----- 1993: *Lefkandi II. The Protogeometric Building at Toumba. Part II: The Excavation of the Building, its Architecture and Finds* (British School at Athens Supplementary Vol. 23), London.

M. R. Popham, L. H. Sackett and P. G. Themelis, 1979-80, *Lefkandi I: The Iron Age* (British School at Athens Supplementary Vol. 11), London.

J. W. Shaw, 1998, "Der phönizische Schrein in Kommos auf Kreta (ca 800 v. Chr.)", pp. 93-104 in R. Rolle and K. Schmidt (eds.), *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt*, Göttingen.

N. C. Stampolidis, A. Karetsou and A. Kanta, (eds.) 1998, *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th - 6th cent. B.C.* Heraklion.

I. J. Winter, 1995, "Homer's Phoenicians: History, Ethnography or Literary Trope? (A Perspective on Early Orientalism)", pp. 247-271 in J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris (eds.), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin.