EPOS
RECONSIDERING GREEK EPIC AND AEGEAN BRONZE AGE ARCHAEOLOGY

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HOMER AND HISTORY:
OLD QUESTIONS, NEW EVIDENCE

1. The State of the Debate Concerning Composition of the Epics

"Many and ridiculous are the legends of the Greeks," warned Hecataeus at the outset of Greek historiography. An epic poem describing a ten-year siege in which gods and goddesses intervene to deflect or return spears may seem a prime example. To some, Homer’s story of a Trojan war has only a slightly greater likelihood of reflecting a core of historical reality than the epic poem of Virgil or the foundation legends of Rome which invoke the Trojan Aeneas plus Romulus and Remus. M.I. Finley famously argued that while there could well have been Bronze Age assaults on Troy, the natures and identities of the combatants were unlikely to have survived centuries of oral transmission. He cited as a possible comparandum the French national epic, the Song of Roland, where a small skirmish was transformed by bards into a decisive battle and the participating armies confused. The German Nibelungenlied is a similar case, where the main characters were in fact separated by generations, and the location of the catastrophe of the Burgundians was moved from the Rhine to Hungary, perhaps as a consequence of the invasion of the Hungarians in the 10th century. Kral Marko (King Marko), known historically as a Turkish vassal who died fighting in the Turkish army against the Christians in Romania, was later celebrated in the folk songs of the Serbs and other Balkan peoples as a protector of Christians from Turkish violence. Moreover, the great walls of Troy (visible in the 8th-7th century B.C. in the reconstruction of the excavator, M. Korfmann), of Mycenae and of Tiryns would surely have sparked the poetic imagination as a locus for myth. Finley also stressed that the society described by Homer did not resemble that of the Mycenaean palaces. Many other Homeric scholars have argued that the depiction of the society presented by the epics corresponds either with Homer’s own time (whether considered as the 8th century B.C. or the 7th, or with a period deliberately

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Manfred Korfmann, excavator, expositor and protector of Troy. In the Trood his work encompassed the sites surrounding Troy and the preservation of the natural environment through his successful advocacy of the creation of a National park. At Tübingen, Manfred Korfmann through teaching and mentorship inspired a generation of scholars to continue his work. I am deeply indebted to Jayne Warner, Erin Hayes and Catriona McDonald for suggestions, research and editorial assistance. I am most grateful to Philip Betancourt, Hector Catling, Oliver Dickinson, Robert Drews, Peter Kuhnloml, Sturt Manning, Penelope Mountjoy, James Muhly and Thomas Palaima for helpful comments on my initial draft of this paper, and in particular to Erwin Cook and Richard Janko for many penetrating comments and references to the literature on the subject. Such errors as remain are solely mine.

For Kral Marko, see P.H. Ilievski, "Tł-Ruše-RőÉ and Some Other Mycenaean Names With Augmentative Prefixes," in Studia Mycenaea (1988)(1989) 79. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that where an uninterrupted priestly class is committed to the faithful oral rendition of religious texts, as in the case of the Indian Vedas, change is less likely.

archaizing and heroically distancing, but only to the extent of about three generations). K. Raaflaub, for example, has argued that the late 9th and 8th centuries B.C. fit the general picture of the society described in the epics as revealed by archaeology and supplied a milieu and value system comprehensible to an 8th century B.C. audience.\(^5\)

Hesiod, Herodotus and Thucydides, on the other hand, all believed that there had been a major expedition against Troy involving almost all of the Greek Bronze Age states, as described by Homer. Indeed Thucydides even accepted the historicity of a ten-year siege and the Greek construction of a defensive wall to protect their forces, but asserted that the wall must logically have been constructed in the first year of the siege rather than the last as stated by Homer.\(^6\)

W.-D. Niemeier believes that a war of the Greeks against Troy occurred, to which a bard or bards added a wholly fictional tale of Achilles and Agamemnon and exploits or incidents involving other heroes.\(^7\) Anthropological studies, on the other hand, provide instances where names in particular were preserved, such as the names Polynesian Islanders hold in common from a time prior to their voyages of settlement to various islands or the names of who begat whom that begin the Hebrew Bible.\(^8\) The Spartan king list contained thirty-five names over twenty generations from Heracles to Leonidas who fell at Thermopylae in 480 B.C., but with suspiciously allegorical names at the beginning.\(^9\) A tombstone on Chios, the reputed home of Homer, lists fourteen generations of ancestors of one Heropythos.\(^10\) Allowing thirty years to a generation would start the chain c. 890 B.C., assuming the list is not a fiction. J. Latacz argues that while bards everywhere alter or create verses to reflect current or recent social structures and physical objects, they have no reason to change names.\(^11\) E. Cook has observed in this regard that poets may retain fossilized name-epithet combinations and other phrases, even after language change has rendered them unmetrical, because of their utility and/or the ancient patina they convey, but generally adopt contemporary social structure and dynamics in order to make poems relevant.\(^12\) The Homeric epics contain sixty personal names which do not appear in later texts.\(^13\) The names of about half the Homeric deities do not appear in the Linear B tablets thus far recovered, while gods mentioned in the tablets do not appear in Homer.\(^14\) Of course even if one believes that Helen and Achilles were the names of living people, whether they were originally part of a Trojan war saga or came from a different story which was subsequently incorporated into the Homeric epic is a separate question.\(^15\)


\(^{6}\) Thuc. 1.11.

\(^{7}\) W.-D. NIEMEI\er, comment made during an open discussion at the workshop Mycenaeans and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age: The Ahhiyawa Question, Concordia University, Montreal, 4-5 January 2006.

\(^{8}\) W.D. WESTERVELT, Legends of Maui—a Demi-God of Polynesia and of His Mother Hina (1910); Gen. 5:1-32.


\(^{11}\) J. LATACZ, Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery (2004; originally published in German as Troia und Homer in 2001) 203.

\(^{12}\) E. COOK, personal communication, for which I am most grateful.

\(^{13}\) T.G. PALAI\\g MA, "Mycenological Perspectives on the Ahhiyawa Question," paper presented (and accompanying handout) at the Workshop Mycenaeans and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age: The Ahhiyawa Question, Concordia University, Montreal, 4-5 January 2006.

\(^{14}\) O.T.P.K. DICKINSON, "Was There Really a Trojan War?" paper presented at the AIA Athens-Greece Society, 9 October 2006.

\(^{15}\) M.P. NILSSON in his The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology published in 1932 summarizes his position as follows: "I know and appreciate the tenacity of folk memory, but I know also how popular tradition is preserved—and confused and remodeled. The remodeling affects especially the chronological relations of the personages, which are changed freely. . . . If good historical tradition is to be preserved, an undisturbed life both in regard to settling and to civilization is an absolute condition, but the downfall of the Mycenaean civilization was a most stormy and turbulent age, and its turmoil, which mixed up the Greek tribes and
It may be useful at the outset to summarize the current state of the debate concerning the manner of composition and transmission of the Homeric epics. The text we have today derives from a stable and standardized text found in Roman era papyri from between c. 150 B.C. and the 7th century A.D., plus some medieval codices written between c. A.D. 900 and 1550. Around 150 B.C., the recension of the Hellenistic scholar Aristarchus, director of the great library of Alexandria in Egypt, excised certain additional verses present in the early manuscripts. The status of the texts before c. 150 B.C. is much less clear and is the subject of intense and enduring debate, revolving principally around what have been termed “oral dictation” vs. “evolutionary” models. The first holds that our inherited texts are generally reliable records of an oral recitation by a bard to a scribe sometime in the 8th century B.C., and that it was the bard (or perhaps one of his predecessors) who was known as Homer. The opposing “evolutionary” model posits that our inherited texts are instead the product of long periods of fluid oral and textual transmission, gradually crystallizing (in the terminology of G. Nagy) between the 8th and 6th centuries B.C., before receiving their current essential form under the reign of the tyrant Peisistratus in Athens in the 6th century B.C., but not finally fixed until the late Classical to Hellenistic period. “Homer” thus becomes a collective term for those primarily involved at the outset. These respective views are well summarized by B. Graziosi and S. Reece. A recent article by Reece notes that among younger scholars in the United States, the evolutionary model has almost achieved the status of orthodoxy. Ongoing evolution of the basic texts would arguably explain the surge in popularity of Homeric scenes in vase painting in the late 6th century B.C., the differences between our inherited texts and certain quotations attributed to Homer by classical authors, the various textual versions circulating and available to Hellenistic Alexandrian editors (some of which—the “wild papyri”—disappear after the Alexandrian commentaries), and the late linguistic forms (“Atticisms”) in the texts. The 2005 Reece paper cited, however, may be an indication of the beginning of a modest shift in the tide of opinion. Following on the work of R. Janko as well as M.L. West, B. Powell and the late C.J. Ruijgh, Reece sets forth the case for an early written text based on oral dictation. The argument rests on four pillars: 1) the unity of the narratives—of plot, time and characterization, and of devices such as flashback and anticipation, hence the architectural unity of each epic as a whole (which impressed Aristotle as well); 2) the inconsistencies and inconcinnities at various levels changed their places of settlement, mixed up and confused their traditions, too. The historical aspect of Greek mythology and especially the mythical chronology are products of the systematizing of the myths by poets of cyclical epics and still more the product of rationalization and historicification by the logographers (M. F. NILSSON, The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology [1932] 4).


18 REECE (supra n. 16) 45. Raphael Sealey, John Miles Foley, Gregory Nagy, Richard Seaford, Erwin Cook, Thérèse de Vet, Steven Lowenstam and Robert Lamberton, among others, hold this general position.

19 B. GRAZIOSI, Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic (2002).

20 I am indebted to E. Cook for calling the disappearance of the “wild papyri” after the Alexandrian commentaries to my attention, and for much other wise counsel as well. The lack of any reference to Megara, and especially to the claim made in the time of Solon around 600 B.C. of Homeric support for a Megaran claim to Salamis (O. T. P. DICKINSON, “The Catalogue of Ships and All That,” in MELETEMA 210), absent from our version, gives support to the belief in significant ongoing Athenian editing into the 6th century B.C. References to Delphi as a shrine of great wealth and to sites in Thrace colonized during the 7th century may also support the case for ongoing changes or a 7th century B.C. composition (M. DICKIE, “The Geography of Homer’s World,” in O. ANDERSEN and M. DICKIE [eds], Homer’s World: Fiction, Tradition, Reality [1985] 29-56), but the oracle may have been wealthy before the beginning of major construction at Delphi and Greek mariners and traders may have known the names of sites prior to the arrival of Greek colonists.

21 Aristotle, Poetics 1448a1450b.
embedded in the narratives, at least some of which would presumably have been corrected by editors or redactors had they felt free to do so;\textsuperscript{22} 3) the absence of multiple versions of the essential stories of the \textit{Iliad} and \textit{Odyssey}, but rather one version of each, with the same characters, story and sequence of episodes,\textsuperscript{29} delivered in a generally uniform meter, dialect, diction and style;\textsuperscript{4} 4) the fixations in time of the essential epic \textit{Kunstsprache}, or art-language, notwithstanding the substitution of Attic forms for Ionic/Aeolic epic forms where no change in meaning or meter was at issue. Reece posits that Mycenaean and Aeolic epic traditions precede the Ionic and concludes (following Janko) that the poems become fixed in Ionia in the 8\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. as a result of oral dictation and transcription at a specific time and place.

Janko is in fact more specific, however, distinguishing between the problems of relative and absolute dates of Homer, on the one hand, and the prehistory of the tradition on the other. In his \textit{Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns}, Janko indicates why he believes that the Homeric epics must have reached fixed form by the 8\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., with Hesiod (given the estimated rate of change of forms) following in the early 7\textsuperscript{th},\textsuperscript{25} if Janko's formula for the rate of formulaic change is accurate, placing the fixation of the Homeric texts in the 6\textsuperscript{th} century would move Hesiod in the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., an impossibility). In Janko's view, the Peisistratid recension in Athens in the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. established the requirement that the epics be recited as a whole rather than in sections favored by performers and the permanent order of the chapters ("Books") of the \textit{Iliad} and \textit{Odyssey}. The prehistory of the epic tradition is a separate question.\textsuperscript{26} Janko posits that the earliest stratum is Mycenaean, indeed early Mycenaean, followed by Aeolic (including Lesbian, or Eastern Aeolic), East Ionic (with a very few Eubocean, \textit{i.e.}, West Ionic elements), and finally a superficial veneer of Attic. The Mycenaean of the Linear B tablets is related to East Greek, close to the dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus in historical times, and less close to the dialects of Attica and Ionia. Aeolic was initially cognate with Dorian and Northwest Greek, and a dialect whose basic traits arose north of the Corinthian Gulf. (The Aeolic interlude is consistent with the evidence of Mycenaean presence and of Bronze to Iron Age continuity in southern Thessaly and East Locris, discussed below at pp. 24-26) As the \textit{Kunstsprache} of the poems develops, the older elements are retained only where they are not metrically the same as the equivalent current phrase and the older version is required to maintain the hexameter, according to Janko.

Of course, the \textit{Iliad} and \textit{Odyssey} may have woven together preexisting tales of raids at various times, or reinterpreted conflicting versions of an expedition.\textsuperscript{27} The description of the composition of the Greek forces, particularly in the Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 of the \textit{Iliad} is considered by some as a late insertion, possibly 7\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., notwithstanding the fact that places apparently no longer in existence are named, perhaps motivated by a desire to foster or reflect a developing Panhellenic identity.\textsuperscript{28} In general the dialect of the Catalogue does not

\textsuperscript{22} The poet Horace famously noted his annoyance when the good Homer dozed, but quickly added that once a speech is uttered it cannot be brought back (\textit{Ars Poetica} 359, 390 quoted in Reece \textit{supra} n. 16) 57). R. Janko speaks of "too many uncorrected blunders, like the dead man who is carried off groaning at [ll. 13.423]" (Janko \textit{supra} n. 16) 37).


\textsuperscript{24} Reece \textit{supra} n. 16) 71.

\textsuperscript{25} R. Janko, Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Tradition (1982); see also Morris \textit{supra} n. 3) 81-138.


\textsuperscript{27} Other great national epics combine events and individuals of different eras; for example, the \textit{Nibelungenlied} combines heroes who lived a century apart.

\textsuperscript{28} M. Finkelberg, "Homer as a Foundation Text," in M. Finkelberg and G.G. Strohma (eds), \textit{Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literature and Religious Canons in the Ancient World} (2003) 79-85. However, in this regard it is worth noting that, as Thucydides observed, Homer never uses the term Hellenes to refer to all Greeks (G.S. Kirk, \textit{The Iliad: A Commentary}, Vol. 1 [1985] 202), although he refers to Hellas.
differ statistically from the rest of the Iliad, as Janko notes, which would suggest instead an 8th century origin at the latest. 29

In any case, there is no denying the hold of the story of the Trojan War on Western thought, the profound questions about the nature of historical memory that the epics pose, or the interest generated by recent archaeological and textual discoveries. 30 Of course it has long been recognized that the Homeric epics, in their origins in the oral tradition and later redaction, reflect various chronological strata in every aspect, including dialect, nomenclature, social structure and objects described, such as items of dress and military equipment. 31 Opinions divide sharply on the relative contribution of the Pre-palatial, Palatial, Post-palatial, Protogeometric, Geometric, Orientalizing and Archaic periods to the Homeric epics, 32 while some regard “attempts to relate mythical material to specific periods of the Bronze Age a total waste of time.” 33 This paper, while acknowledging that the poetic imagination cannot be confined within the bounds of historical time, examines how discoveries philological, textual and archaeological in recent years impact the ongoing debate.

II. The State of the Debate on the Period of the Trojan War

Ancient historians and records gave various dates for the Trojan War. Herodotus said around 1250 B.C., the 3rd century B.C. Parian Marble tablet 1209 B.C., and Eratosthenes 1183 B.C. Their sources are only partly known. Of course they had available the various Greek king lists, and Eratosthenes is said to have used a list of Egyptian pharaohs. Thucydides says that Melian commissioners informed the Athenians that Melos had been inhabited for 700 years before 416 B.C. 34 The king lists (omitting their divine, semidivine and mythical components) and other genealogical compilations all seem to give out in the mid-10th century, which caused A.R. Burn to place the Trojan War around 1010 B.C. 35 Thucydides, seen as the most rational and professional of ancient historians, says that the Trojan War occurred sixty years before the Boeotians were driven out of Arne in Thessaly by the Thessalians and eighty years before the return of the Heraclids/descent of the Dorian into the Peloponnese, 36 but does not reveal the source of such putative precise knowledge of events far in the past. I.S. Lemos has noted the consistency of ancient historical traditions placing the Ionian migration 140 years after the sack of Troy. 37 The Aeolian migration was uniformly said to precede the Ionian, and the Dorian
to follow. A Trojan war around 1000 B.C., the date of the burning and possible destruction horizon at Troy at the end of Troy VIIb, would seem too late to fit this schema, although perhaps an element of uncertainty may exist regarding a difference in date between the beginning of the migration and its completion in bulk.\(^{38}\) (Of course the account of Thucydides contradicts the Homeric narrative, which places the Boeotians settled in Boeotia at the time of the Trojan War, and the Dorians already in Argos and Sparta.)

The *Iliad* speaks of two attacks on Troy, the first a matter of a raid by six ships led by Heracles,\(^{39}\) and of a sack of Pylos by Heracles in the years before the Trojan War, in which eleven of the twelve sons of Neleus were killed.\(^{40}\) S. Hiller would identify the two attacks on Troy recounted in the *Iliad* with the destructions of Troy VII and Troy VIIa,\(^{41}\) about a century apart (whereas the *Iliad* places Heracles in the generation before the Trojan expedition). Others have questioned whether any of the destruction levels at Troy can be interpreted convincingly as caused by warfare.\(^{42}\) T. Bryce proposed that a series of raids over the course of 100 years had been conflated into a ten-year struggle.\(^{43}\) The late Manfred Korfmann, the excavator and foremost explicator of Troy, came to believe on the basis of correspondences with the Hittite texts and his archaeological investigations, which disclosed evidence of burning, some skeletons and heaps of slingstones, that the war of which Homer spoke came at the end of Troy VIIa around 1200-1180 B.C., but also noted that the remains of Troy in the 8\(^{th}\) century would have still closely matched the descriptions in the *Iliad*.\(^{44}\)

One line of argument offers support for placing the origin of the Homeric epics either before or after the age of the Mycenaean palaces (c. 1400-1200 B.C.). The epics know nothing of palatial bureaucracy and its officials, use of writing for administration, palatial cultic or burial practices, specialization of palace industries, terms for specialized workers of the Linear B tablets, production for export (e.g., of perfumed oil, wine or textiles) or of other aspects of the Mycenaean Palatial period of the 14\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) centuries B.C. Descriptions of shrines, including that of Delphi as a wealthy shrine, appear to fit later periods.\(^{45}\) Suggestions that the descriptions of buildings and other aspects of life in the epics are compatible with the Mycenaean palaces and palatial life seem unconvincing.\(^{46}\) Consider the standard of value employed in the epics, where value is measured in numbers of oxen, e.g., gold armor 100 oxen, bronze armor nine, a serving maid twenty.\(^{47}\) Such a standard seems possible for Greece in the Early Iron Age, given the very large number of small figurines of cattle at the sanctuary at Olympia, the great increase in pastoralism in Early Iron Age Messenia which added significant amounts of cattle (and deer) to the diet in Nichoria, and the report by Pausanias of a local tradition that the First Messenian

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38 M. Korfmann believed the evidence indicated a destruction level. M. Basedow sees instead an indication of ritual burning at a shrine, an interpretation generally regarded by the Troy excavation team as less likely, given the extent of the fire destruction (KORFMANN [supra n. 2, 2000]; KORFMANN [supra n. 2, 2001] 26-27; M. BASEDOW, this volume: E. PERNICKA, personal communication).

39 II. 5:640-642.

40 II. 11:689-693.


42 See, e.g., M. BASEDOW (supra n. 38).


45 II. 9:405-407; Od. 8:80.

46 See, e.g., COOK, review of SHEAR (supra n. 3) 666-667; I.M. SHEAR, *Tales of Heroes: The Origins of the Homeric Texts* (2000), Cf. Od. 17:294-300, which describes how Odyssey's dog Argos lay neglected in dung collected before the gates of Odysseus' palace in Ithaca; see also DICKINSON (supra n. 3) 28. The palace of Alkinoos of the Phaiakes described in the *Odyssey* resembles more an Assyrian palace of the 8\(^{th}-5\(^{th}\) centuries B.C. than any Mycenaean palace or Early Iron Age structure in Greece (E. COOK, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," in C. WITT (ed.), *Worlds in Collision* [forthcoming]).

47 Glaukus' golden armor is worth 100 oxen, while Diomedes' bronze armor is worth only nine (II. 6:254-256) and Telemachos' maid Eurykleia was bought by Laertes for twenty oxen (Od. 1.429-431).
War between Spartans and Messenians began over a dispute about a herd of cattle.\textsuperscript{48} It is impossible, however, to imagine the palatial administration reflected in the Linear B tablets operating on such a standard.\textsuperscript{49}

One further argument favors an origin for certain aspects of the poems in periods prior to Mycenaean palatial civilization. Evolving knowledge of Linear B has led to the widespread belief that both the hexameter of the epics and the roots or origins of a number of word forms employed predate the Greek of the Linear B tablets of the Palatial period.\textsuperscript{50} Latacz, following P. Wathelet, Ruigjgh, and Janko, has argued strongly that the original forms of some words or phrases employed in the epics must go back to the 16th-15th century B.C. "according to indisputable linguistic laws."\textsuperscript{51} Others, however, have been far more skeptical, both with regard to the word forms and hexameter verse itself.\textsuperscript{52} As to hexameter, Janko believes that hexameter is best explained as a conflation of two Aeolic line forms, and that it develops from Indo-European prototypes rather than Minoan (see below), but accepts that a number of half-liness in Homer may derive from Early Mycenaean phrasing used in earlier meters out of which hexameter develops.\textsuperscript{53} The recent trend of philological debate has tended toward acceptance of the proposition that pre-Linear B forms can be discerned beneath certain otherwise inexplicable usages in Homer.

In addition, art historians have proposed that the scenes represented in the Theran wall paintings as well as depictions of sieges of walled cities on precious metal and stone vessels and on seals of the early Mycenaean period illustrate scenes similar to those of the epics.\textsuperscript{54} Some caution may be appropriate in this regard, however, for there would surely have been sieges of walled cities in many periods, and bards to sing of them. Some of the items of military equipment—the tower shield, helmets with horse-tail crest, long thrusting spears of approximately four meters in length, the boars' tusk helmet, and silver-studded swords—described in the epics seem especially to match depictions from early in the Palatial period.\textsuperscript{55}


\textsuperscript{49} The Pylos archive contains one reference to gold as a raw material (PY Jo 4:38). K. VOUTSA, "Mycenaean Craftsmen in the Palace Archives: Problems in Interpretation," in A. MICHAILIDOU (ed.), Manufacture and Measurement: Counting, Measuring and Recording Craft Items in Early Aegean Societies (2001) 155. T.G. Palaima notes that whatever the standard(s) employed by the palatial bureaucracies, a beef-eating elite warrior class could still have thought in terms of cattle value (personal communication).


\textsuperscript{51} P. WATHELET, "La coupe syllabique et les liquides voyelles dans la tradition formulairee de l'épopee grecque," in Y. LEBRUM (ed.), Linguistic Research in Belgium (1966) 145-173; RUIGJGH (supra n. 26, 1985) 154-158; JANKO (supra n. 16) 9-12; LATACZ (supra n. 11) 261.


\textsuperscript{53} See supra n. 59 and R. JANKO, personal communication of 8 November 2006, for which I am most grateful.


The description in the _Iliad_ of the tower shield of the Greater Ajax, the ruler of Salamis, appears in particular to match depictions from the Shaft Grave period, and some of the phrases used to describe Ajax are said to be notably "early" in linguistic terms. The recent discovery by Y. Lobos of what appears to be a Mycenaean palace at Kanakia on Salamis, described below, has focused interest on the description of Ajax in the _Iliad_. On present evidence, there appears a discrepancy between the interpretation of the Homeric description of Ajax as belonging to a period prior to the Mycenaean palaces and the finds to date at the site of Kanakia, where the earliest material is IIIA2-IIIB transitional. Excavation is continuing and earlier material may still be found. The number of Bronze Age depictions of weapons is small in any event and hence its chronologically limited range may be fortuitous, while fixing Homeric phrases chronologically through linguistic analysis is subject to the various uncertainties described below. Linguistic aspects of descriptions apart, knowledge of the objects themselves could easily have come from later finds. Evidence of boars' tusks was found in a Knossian Subminoan burial and a boars' tusk helmet was visible on a plaque on Delos in the 8th century. Certain sanctuaries, such as Kato Syme in Crete and Kalapodi in Phocis, appear to receive offerings without recognizable chronological interruption from the Bronze Age through the Iron Age, and around Knossos some reuse of Bronze Age tombs, larnakes and heirlooms is seen. Certain Late Helladic IIIC burials in particular are rich in _keimelia_, heirlooms from earlier periods, as are major Protogeometric burials such as that of Toumba at Lefkandi.

The sudden accession to great wealth indicated by the finds from the Shaft Graves has seemed to some the likely result of Mycenaean military prowess in this period. A vase of Mycenaean LH IIA (c. 1525-1450 B.C.) shape and decoration, but made of local (or at least Anatolian) clay was excavated at Troy, while a Hittite silver stag-shaped vessel was found in Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae. The great defensive wall of Troy VI is erected in this period. By the reign of Tudhaliya II c. 1400 B.C., a man of Ahhiyawa(\(\text{\textregistered}\)), Attarsiya, is reported to command an infantry detachment plus 100 chariots on the Anatolian coast. (The identification of Ahhiyawa as a Mycenaean kingdom is discussed below.) A thrusting sword of Mycenaean type, dedicated by Tudhaliya to the Storm God as thanks for a victory, comes from the same horizon, as does...
a Hittite bowl incised with a scene of a warrior wearing what may be Mycenaean dress.\textsuperscript{65} LH IIIA\textsubscript{2} (c. 1380-1310 B.C.)\textsuperscript{66} is the great period of Mycenaean impact and expansion on the coast of Anatolia and in the Dodecanese.\textsuperscript{67}

The linguistic argument for pre-Linear B aspects of the poems requires convincing evidence, since it assumes the origins of phrases 700 or more years earlier, a period which includes the transition from pre-Mycenaean palace to palatial to dispersed post-palatial societies and the dislocation and movement of peoples, plus the acquisition and subsequent loss of bureaucratic literacy. Various hypotheses, not necessarily conflicting, may help to explain the existence and/or persistence of the ancient forms. First, the poet(s) of the epics may not have been troubled by the occasional necessity of altering word forms in contemporary use to fit the meter, since the result was to produce a Kunstsprache which created heroic distance. Isolated communities no doubt existed in which old forms persisted and could be deliberately imitated. Moreover, pre-Linear B usages could have been in use by much of the populace or in outlying areas concurrently with palatial Linear B, perhaps in Boeotia in particular. Older forms of speech may have persisted among the populations of East Locris, Phocis or Phthiotis, the homes of some of the major protagonists in the \textit{Iliad}. Little is known directly about the Aeolic spoken in these areas before the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. and nothing about the Thessalian dialect spoken in Phthiotis. (Greek tradition remembers Pelasgians in particular as an ancient non-Greek-speaking people; it seems possible that they spoke an older form of Indo-European.) Accordingly it is appropriate to consider the possibility that pre-Linear B forms were in use, or had been more recently in use, in remote areas and accessible to later bards, and that bands of warriors such as those from Arcadia or Thessaly may have had their own bards.

Language isolates such as Basque are well known, and there are numerous others. In Malula in the barren Qalamun Mountains of Syria, the populace, both Muslim and Christian, speak not the Arabic that has been in use all around them for over 1000 years, but Aramaic, spoken in the Qalamun mountain villages for nearly 3000 years. The language continues to be spoken even though its written form has not survived.\textsuperscript{68} There are villages in the Aspromonte Mountains of southern Italy where some do not speak Italian but only an archaic form of the Greek language, perhaps in continuous use since the colonization of Magna Graecia, but strengthened by new arrivals in the Byzantine era. One traveler reported that in all of Calabria in the late 13\textsuperscript{th} century nothing but Greek was spoken.\textsuperscript{69} Y. Sakellarakis reports that in the mountain villages near his excavations at Zominthos in Crete, where many of the inhabitants have never visited the coast, the shepherds sometimes exclaim "By Zas!", a term they cannot explain, let alone recognize as evolving from "By Zeus."\textsuperscript{70}


\textsuperscript{69} G. HULL, \textit{Polyglot Italy: Languages, Dialects, Peoples} (1989). In parts of the Outer Banks, the islands off the coasts of North and South Carolina in the U.S., the thee/thou distinction is maintained today although generally abandoned over 300 years ago in England.

\textsuperscript{70} Y. SAKELLARAKIS, personal communication.
The position of Crete with respect to early linguistic forms merits separate attention. Homer speaks of the several languages and peoples of Crete, and indeed Crete would have been a likely area to retain old usages, for its Mycenaean population, arriving in force initially at the end of LM IB/beginning of LM II, may then have become isolated from mainland developments, while at the same time coming into regular contact with Minoan speakers. In the Praisos region of eastern Crete, texts in Eteo-Cretan, a non-Greek language as yet undeciphered, were still being inscribed in the 4th-3rd century B.C. A number of the words in the epics which appear to reflect pre-Linear B Mycenaean forms occur in Homer's description of Crete and its chieftains, Idomeneus and Meriones. The formula in which Meriones is compared to the pre-Greek deity of war Enuállos, later syncretized with Ares, is regarded as one of the oldest in the Iliad. T.G. Palaima has raised the question of whether the hexameter of the poems is native to any form or dialect of Greek, or whether, together with much else in Mycenaean artistic and symbolic life, it was adopted from Minoan, along with the script and various words lacking known Indo-European roots. Hexameter could conceivably have been adapted from Minoan verse at the same time as the Linear B script evolved out of Minoan Linear A (and/or Cretan hieroglyphic). We should note, however, Horrocks' argument that earlier forms of Indo-European are embedded in the epics. For example, Janko notes "that the 'tmesis' of those adverbs which were to become prepositions, a device basic to formular composition and modification and paralleled in Vedic, is outmoded in Mycenaean, where tmesis is rare; this implies that bards inherited from before that time one vital way in which the epic diction maintains its flexibility." When a story celebrating an expedition against Troy was first sung in hexameter remains a critical unresolved question challenging linguistic analysis of the date of the origin of the Trojan War saga. It is accordingly important to distinguish between the use of older forms in phrases to fit the hexameter and the origins of the various tales themselves which are incorporated into the Homeric epics.

Of course a 16th-15th century B.C. horizon for the origin of the epics is inconsistent with later Greek traditions about the movements of peoples within Greece in the three generations following the Trojan War, including the arrival and subsequent history of the Dorians in the Peloponnese. Accordingly, acceptance on linguistic grounds of the proposition that the hexameter of the Iliad and Odyssey predates the Mycenaean Palatial period and the Greek of the Linear B tablets is often accompanied by the proposition that oral poets passed down through the generations various type scenes or story patterns composed in hexameter involving battles which were subsequently incorporated into an epic describing a siege of Troy.

III. A Trojan War in Late Helladic IIIB, c. 1300-1200 B.C.—New Perspectives on the Hittite Texts

We turn next to the case for placing the Trojan War or wars remembered in the Iliad (however vaguely or inaccurately) in the full Palatial period of LH IIIB. The argument has been strengthened significantly by recent discoveries and reevaluations. First, study of Hittite and Luwian texts and inscriptions, some in the form of rock carvings, by F. Starke, S. Heinhold-Krahmer and especially D. Hawkins has clarified the Late Bronze Age geography of western Anatolia. There now seems little doubt that the Wilusa of the Hittite texts is located in the northwest of Anatolia, and it further appears likely that its capital and major site was at Troy.

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71 Od. 19.175.
72 WEST (supra n. 50) 156-159; REECE (supra n. 16) 43-89; RUIJGH (supra n. 26, 1985) 143-190.
73 RUIJGH (supra n. 26, 1985) 166; RUIJGH (supra n. 26, 1995) 91; A. MEILLET, Les origines indo-européennes des mères grecs (1923) 31-42; T.G. PALAIMA, personal communication.
Accordingly, the possible derivation Wilusa/Wilios, and later Ilion, gains in plausibility, although still conjectural.\textsuperscript{75} It is even more likely that the Lazpa, Apasa and Millawanda/Milawata known to the Hittites are the Greek Lesbos, Ephesus and Miletus.\textsuperscript{76}

The Hittite texts speak of a land of Ahhiyawa and its ruler, in one instance described as a great king, whose location/capital is not stated but who controls a territory on the Anatolian coast and adjacent islands. On the basis of recent excavations of Mycenaean LH IIIA2-IIIB material, such a zone seems to extend from Miletus to Bodrum and from Santos to Rhodes. At Miletus, the excavations of Wolf and Barbara Niemeier have disclosed a major Mycenaean settlement succeeding an earlier Minoan site, which continues under Mycenaean occupation and control until the middle of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., when it appears to come briefly under the control of the Hittites, before reverting perhaps to the Mycenaean sphere.\textsuperscript{77} An alternative interpretation of the archaeological evidence, set forth in detail by P.A. Mountjoy, S. Sherratt, and others, would ascribe the Mycenaean characteristics in this area to acculturation of a local population or to a mixed population with a major native Anatolian component. This interpretation, however, does not appear to give adequate weight to the overwhelmingly Mycenaean character of Miletus at least,\textsuperscript{78} and of the tomb types and their contents at M"ug"ebi. Just as a local population may acquire a Mycenaean lifestyle, so may Mycenaean Greeks acquire certain aspects of the style of what Mountjoy has termed the Anatolian interface, with intermarriage often a key element in such exchanges. More Late Bronze Age coastal sites may await discovery beneath the later classical sites, for in general the water table intrudes in the Geometric period, with alluvial fill beneath.\textsuperscript{79} Changes in the shoreline such as those documented at Liman Tepe may also have led to the disappearance of coastal sites.\textsuperscript{80}

No major palatial structure or administrative center has been discovered to date in this area, however, leading most scholars (including the author) to believe that in the 13\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., the state of Ahhiyawa included and was usually under the control of a power whose center lay in mainland Greece. Hawkins summarizes the position as follows:

The web of interlocking locations arising from ... the recognition of the Karabel inscription as the work of a king of Mira ... cannot but bear on the vexed question of the land of Ahhiyawa. Now it may be argued more strongly than ever both that there remains no place for this country on the Anatolian mainland, and that Ahhiyawa lying 'across the sea' impinges mainly on the Anatolian west coast, above all at Milawanda-Miletos. This therefore remits the problem of the character and extent of the land of Ahhiyawa under its sometime Great King to the field of Aegean or perhaps mainland Greek archaeology.\textsuperscript{81}


\textsuperscript{79} W.-D. NIEMEIER, personal communication. Only the creative employment of oil dredging equipment to remove water permitted the excavation of Bronze Age strata at Miletus.


Here again, an example may illuminate the question. A Hittite text states that a high-ranking Hittite official related by marriage to the royal family, has shared a chariot with Tawagalawa, the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa. There is no evidence of such capability in Rhodes or on the Anatolian Coast, whereas the Linear B tablets speak of eighty chariots at Knossos (KN Sii[2] 4490) and fifty axles at Pylos (PY Vn 10). Wall-painting fragments from the LH IIIB destruction debris of the megaron at Mycenae and Pylos show scenes of chariots, horses and battles, and at Mycenae, include what appears to be a depiction of a besieged city. Similar battle scenes appear in wall-painting fragments from Orchomenos. At Pylos, the depictions include ships.

Other recent research has also strengthened the case for significant contacts between Mycenaean Greece of the Palatial period and the Hittite Anatolian realm including the Hittite vassal state with its capital at Wilusa in the Troad. At Troy in particular significant amounts of LH IIIA2 and IIIB pottery have been found, both imported and locally made. Locally-made versions of LH IIIA2 and IIIB pottery, perhaps made by itinerant Mycenaean potters, and pottery of Trojan type, sometimes of clay chemically identified as coming from the Troad, appear at many coastal sites including Miletus.

The nature of the interaction appears to extend beyond trade contact and stylistic emulation to the realm of burial practice and rites. The cemetery of Beşik Tepe on the coast near Troy, with pottery of LH IIIA and B, contains a mixture of inhumations and cremations in kraters accompanied by weapons. A few of the burials were covered by two stone-built structures. Mycenaean and Mycenaean-influenced pottery makes up nearly one-third of all fine wares from the site. Similar funerary arrangements exist at Bakla Tepe and Panaztepe, again with stone-built burial structures. All of the sites show evidence of rites continuing at the structures after the initial burials. M. Basedow holds that "what these coastal cemeteries have in common with the long Mycenaean tradition—collective burial, weapons in graves, rites continued after initial burial, elite graves—is, however, striking," adding that "the expression of elite status in the West Anatolian coastal cemeteries, particularly the breaking of distinctly Mycenaean kylikes and the overwhelming amounts of Mycenaean pottery found in graves as opposed to settlements, may represent a very direct case of emulation indeed."

Fragments of wall paintings of Mycenaean technique have been discovered in Büyükkale at Hattusa. A cogent case has been made for significant Hittite influence on Mycenaean building techniques, hydraulic systems and citadel construction, for example in the corbeled passageways and postern gate at Tiryns. Moreover, a generation of scholarship has explored

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83 Simply the care and feeding of horses involves considerable expense.
84 VOUTSA (supra n. 49) 152.
85 Aegean Painting 123-125.
86 J. DAVIS, personal communication, for which I am most grateful.
87 MOUNTJOY (supra n. 78) 37.
89 M. BASEDOW, "Cemetery and Ideology in the West Anatolian Coastal Region," in Mauerschau 469.
90 BASEDOW (supra n. 89) 472.
91 BASEDOW (supra n. 89) 472-473.
92 W.-D. NIEMEIER, "Millawanda/Miletus—Ahhiyawan Foothold in Western Asia Minor," paper presented at the Workshop Mycenaeans and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age: The Ahhiyawa Question, Concordia University, Montreal, 4-5 January 2006.
and established the debt of Greek religion, myth and aspects of prosody, such as framing formulae, to Hittite-Hurrian, Sumerian-Akkadian and Ugaritic narrative poetry. One example may suffice: at Hittite Talpa, a foundation legend referred to the marriage of thirty brothers to their thirty sisters, while a myth that may have a Bronze Age origin regarding the establishment of the Danaoi in the Argolid recounts the marriage of fifty daughters of Danaos to the fifty sons of his twin, Aegyptos. At least some of the Eastern influence seems to reflect contacts during the Bronze Age.

At least twenty Hittite texts from Hattusa refer to correspondence with rulers of Ahhiyawa. One Hittite text advises seeking aid from the gods of Lazpa (Lesbos) and Ahhiyawa for the Hittite ruler Mursili II (c. 1321-1295), who has lost the power of speech. The list of Greek borrowings, or loan words (e.g., "depas"), from Hittite-Luwian continues to expand.

One case of reverse borrowing may exist, for the name of the Wilusan ruler Alaksandu appears to have a non-Luwian origin, and the temptation to connect the name to the Alexandros of the Iliad is difficult to resist. We know of Alaksandu from the text of a treaty between Wilusa and the Hittite ruler Muwatalli II, who ruled c. 1295-1272 B.C. (Alaksandu could of course have outlived Muwatalli II.)

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97 T. BRYCE, "Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans—An Anatolian Viewpoint," OJA 8 (1989) 297-310; BRYCE (supra n. 96). Post-Bronze Age contacts with the East, perhaps particularly via Euhoean voyagers and various contacts with Phoenicians, no doubt added significantly to knowledge of Near Eastern narratives. Aphrodite and Apollo, who appear in Homer but not among the deities mentioned in the Linear B tablets, may be Early Iron Age imports from the East.

98 MORRIS (supra n. 65) 428. A similar etymological connection appears to exist between the Tawagalawa of the famous letter discussed below and the Greek Eteoklēnes (later Eteokles), with the initial Luwian consonant dropped in the Greek version (H.C. GÜTERBOCK, "Wer war Tawagalawa?" Oriantica 59 [1990] 158; cited with approval in LATER (supra n. 11) 117). While D.I. Page was skeptical, calling the equation of Tawagalawa with
Most significant for Trojan War scholarship, however, are the texts referring to strife, including one which refers to a dispute between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa over islands lying off Wilusa. In the Tawagalawa letter (most of which is missing) the Hittite ruler Hattusili III, c. 1267-1237 B.C., complains to the ruler of Ahhiyawa (whom he addresses as "my brother") that one Piyamaradu is ravaging the lands of Hatti's vassals and escaping across the sea to Ahhiyawa. After attacking Wilusa and Lazpa and taking captives, Piyamaradu settled at Millawanda, then under the control of Ahhiyawa, according to the complaint of the Hittite ruler. Places with names similar to names of sites along the Anatolian coast, including particularly Millawanda, also appear in the Pylos tablets in the descriptions of craftspeople, mostly women, some of them slaves. Most importantly, the Tawagalawa letter refers specifically to a raid on Wilusa from Ahhiyawa-controlled territory and concludes that it would not be good to have a war over these disputes.

A recent discovery adds significant new information. In 2003, Professor Frank Starke of Tübingen presented a revised reading of a long-known text from Hattusa (KUB XXV1.91), interpreting it as a letter from the ruler of Ahhiyawa. Paleographic evidence indicates that the letter or record of a letter was written in the 13th century B.C. and further evidence suggests that the message was received by the sender of the Tawagalawa letter, Hattusili III (c. 1267-1237 B.C.). The communication deals with a dispute over islands off the coast of Wilusa, perhaps including Lemnos, Imbros and/or Samothrace. With respect to Lemnos in particular, Hiller has noted the ties between the Lemnian and Pylian royal houses in historical genealogy, the fact that the name of the Homeric Lemnian king e-u-nawo (Eunawos) is found in Knossos Linear B tablets As 1520, B 799 and Dv 206, and the appearance of "Lemnian" slave women of Tubingen presented a revised reading of a long-known text from Hattusa (KUB XXV1.91), interpreting it as a letter from the ruler of Ahhiyawa. The name Eteokles goes back to Eteokles, i.e., 'True Glory' in Greek and the same name as Tawagalawa, with misdivision causing the loss of the initial E- and subsequent loss of the digammas in later Greek (personal communication of 6 November 2006).

Whether the island of Lesbos is also a candidate merits separate consideration. On the one hand, the texts cited indicate that Lazpa was clearly a part of the Hittite Empire when the letters were written. In the Iliad, Achilles refers to Lesbos as the farthest outpost of Priam's living alongside Ahhiyawan Mycenaeans in the Anatolian interface, where bilingualism would naturally arise through interbreeding.

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103 F. STARK, Troy press conferences held 9 and 11 August 2003. The text could also constitute a record of an oral presentation by a messenger or ambassador of Ahhiyawa.

104 LATAcz (supra n. 11) 248. The assertion by F. Starke and J. Latacz that linguistic features of the text indicate that the sender spoke Mycenaean Greek rather than Hittite as his mother tongue has been firmly rejected by C. Melchert and others (STARK [supra n. 105]); LATAcz [supra n. 11] 243: C. MELCHERT, "Mycenaean and Hittite Diplomatic Correspondence: Fact and Fiction," paper presented at the Workshop Mycenaean and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age: The Ahhiyawa Question, Concordia University, Montreal 4-5 January 2006). Luwian, a variant of Hittite, would presumably have been the language of non-Greeks living alongside Ahhiyawan Mycenaeans in the Anatolian interface, where bilingualism would naturally arise through interbreeding.

105 S. HILLEN, "R.I -MINJA: Mykenische-kleinasiatische Beziehungen und die Linear B-Texte," ZervAnt 25 (1975) 400-401, 403 and n. 96. See the discussion in PALAIMA (supra n. 75).
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kingdom. N. Spencer summarizes the results of his archaeological explorations of Lesbos as indicating that Lesbos was "very much an extension of the Anatolian cultural tradition both before, and even after, the arrival of the Aiolian Greeks." On the other hand, R. Janko reports that "in the Museum at Mytilene I saw good Anatolian wares from the east coast (Thermi), but good LH IIIB from the Gulf of Kallone; the Anatolian disappears in LH IIIC, whereas Apotheaka is an entirely Helladic settlement, with LH IIIC tombs (pers. comm., Ephor of Lesvos). The conquest of Lesbos by the Greeks was, I suspect, the most lasting result of the Trojan War" (but cf. below).

The ruler of Ahhiyawa refers to a prior letter in which the Hittite king had claimed the islands as his and rejects the Hittite claim on the grounds that an ancestor of the king of Ahhiyawa received the islands from the king of Assuwa, a predecessor state (prior to the end of the 15th century B.C.) to Wilusa and other states along the Anatolian coast. Latacz's interpretation of the text as referring to a dynastic marriage between the royal families of Assuwa and Ahhiyawa has been accepted by C. Melchert. One aspect of this message from the ruler of Ahhiyawa has aroused great controversy. The ruler names his 15th century B.C. (or earlier) ancestor, one Kagamuna. Starké, seconded by Latacz, believes that the name represents a Hittite rendering of Kadmos, and this view has been adopted by L. Godart and A. Sacconi. The suggestion has been dismissed as impossible, however, by most specialists in the Hittite, Luwian and/or Greek languages.

One further Hittite text merits mention in connection with the chronology of a putative Mycenaean expedition against Troy. A draft of a treaty between Tudhaliya IV (c. 1237-1228 B.C.) and his vassal, the king of Amurru (in what is now Lebanon and Syria), bans traffic between Ahhiyawa and Assyria, with which Hatti was then at war, through the ports of Amurru. Mycenaean exports to the East do in fact drop markedly after this point, if the paucity of imported LH IIIB2 pottery is any indication. In the treaty draft, Tudhaliya IV lists the king equal to him in rank, the rulers of Egypt, Kassite Babylonia, Assyria and Ahhiyawa, but Ahhiyawa is crossed out. (It should be noted that the draft text has many changes and corrections; accordingly, it would be unsafe to assume that a dramatic event had occurred between drafts of the treaty. Of course the corrected reference could even have resulted from a scribal error, but in that case it is relevant that the scribe at least thought the reference plausible.) In any event, references elsewhere to the king of Ahhiyawa as "brother" suggest that the ruler of Ahhiyawa controlled a polity significant to the Hittites at the time these texts were composed. O. Dickinson observes that Egyptian pharaohs addressed rulers of far smaller states as "brother" when the pharaoh wanted something.

Hittites and Assyrians were at war, but the text of the Amurru treaty draft as it survives bans Assyrian traffic only with Ahhiyawa. Was this because Ahhiyawa was a potential source of swords, shields or mercenaries for Assyria, or because the Hittites were retaliating for an

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107 N. SPENCER, "Early Lesbos Between East and West: A 'Grey Area' of Aegean Archaeology," BSA 90 (1995) 272. Lesbos lies only 18 km. off the coast of Anatolia. Alkaios and Sappho both mention Lydians as dabbling in the factional fighting at Lesbos in their day.
108 R. JANKO, personal communication of 6 November 2006.
109 LATACZ (supra n. 11) 244; MECHERT (supra n. 104).
110 STARKE (supra n. 108); LATACZ (supra n. 11) 243-244; GODART and SACCONI (supra n. 102) 545.
111 See, e.g., papers and comments by PALAIMA (supra n. 1/); MECHERT (supra n. 104).
112 Plato, Crat. 414d.
113 MECHERT (supra n. 104). R. JANKO observes that if Kagamuna is to be equated with a Greek name, a better equation, if still highly conjectural, is Agamemnon (I), adding that "for the disturbance to the initial syllable in the Anatolian transcription compare Tawagalawa/Etewoklewes" (personal communication of 6 November 2006). C. Melchert, however, regards this suggestion as even less plausible than the Kadmos proposal (personal communication of 9 January 2007).
114 BRYCE (supra n. 43) 543-544.
115 DICKINSON (supra n. 82).
Ahhiyawan attack or attacks on Hittite vassals along the coast including Wilusa, or for some other reason? The cause of the deletion of the king of Ahhiyawa from the list of great kings is similarly a matter of conjecture. Millawanda, and perhaps all other Anatolian coastal cities as well, are captured by the Hittites by the mid-19th century B.C. Alternatively or perhaps relatedly, grave problems in the Ahhiyawan homeland may have led to the deletion. At the end of LH IIIB1, around 1240 B.C., the Argolid suffers a great earthquake. At Mycenae, every building, both inside and outside the citadel, is destroyed, although most are rebuilt. At the major Mycenaean citadels, walls are extended and water supplies are secured. In Crete, coastal sites begin to be abandoned in favor of inland defensive settlements. On this line of argument, a date before c. 1240 B.C. rather than later may seem more appropriate to a massive military expedition, or at least one based on might rather than need (for example, need for grain).

It is important to note, however, that the Linear B tablets from the destruction of Pylos a short time later show that the palace in the final days was able to command significant military resources, including ships for at least 600 rowers, some summoned from Zakynthos, at least twelve shipwrights and probably more, unless those mentioned in three other tablets overlap the twelve mentioned on PY Vn 865. Pylos employed 500-600 women workers in the clothing industry, many of them probably foreign captives. Tablets originally appear to have listed around 400 bronzesmiths (the broken surviving portions list 270) distributed over many locations, but only a small amount of copper is assigned to each bronzesmith, raising the possibility of a copper shortage at that moment. The Point Iria shipwreck at the end of LH IIIB shows that exchange links still existed between Cyprus and the Argolid around 1200 B.C.

Midea, the third Mycenaean citadel in the Argolid and rich in legend, remains to be considered. The excavators concluded that the citadel was destroyed in the final phase of LH IIIB2 by a major earthquake. UIC occupation is attested; on the Lower Terrace a Post-palatial structure is built over a large IIIA structure which included a megaron, and a painted plaster floor was found with IIIA pottery. A few IIIA Granary Style sherds were reported from the earlier excavations by A. Persson. Further, a few scattered examples of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery have been found in the current excavations of G. Walberg, but the next significant phase of occupation comes in the Archaic period. Homer, however, never refers to Midea, notwithstanding its central role in the labors of Heracles. Moreover, the Mycenaean foundation myth speaks of Perseus, the founder of the first ruling dynasty, as the builder of the walls of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea. Homer displays familiarity with myths about Mycenae mainly to the extent that they involve Thebes, and says nothing of the return of the Heraclidae

116 NIEMEIER (supra n. 77) 107.
122 WALBERG (supra n. 121) 17.
and the Dori ans, although his reference in the Catalogue of Ships to Dorian Argos and Sparta as the major centers of the Argolid, appropriate to Archaic rather than Mycenaean Greece, 123 may reflect the desire of the Dori ans to be included and/or the desire of the author to create a Panhellenic epic. 124 Of course Thucydides as well as various legends place the arrival of the Dorians in the Peloponnese after the Trojan War, as noted above. Succeeding passages in the \textit{Iliad} present conflicting accounts of political organization. In Book 2 of the \textit{Iliad} Agamemnon is described as ruler of all Argos and many islands; 125 but later in Book 2 Diomedes is said to rule Argos and Tiryns of the huge walls, along with other sites in the Argolid. 126 A Trojan war around either the end of IIIB or during the IIIC Middle revival could perhaps fit the tradition, recorded and accepted by Thucydides, that eighty years separated the Trojan War from the return of the Heracleidae and the descent of the Dori ans, if the period between about 1120 and 1070 B.C. is regarded as a time of disruption in certain areas, which may be connected in some degree to the descent. 127

\section*{IV. The End of the Palatial Period}

At the end of LH IIIB\textsubscript{2}/beginning of IIIC, the Mycenaean palatal system comes to a fairly abrupt end, bringing with it the loss of palatial bureaucratic literacy. In the Argolid at least, another major earthquake can be identified. Destru ctions in Boeotia included Thebes, Orchomenos, and the massive citadel of the Kopais basin at Gla. The great drainage system of the Kopais, on which a vast amount of labor was expended, 128 was also destroyed, perhaps causing food shortages. Further north the site of Dimini near Volos, the ancient Iolkos, where recent excavations have revealed a large Mycenaean settlement, is abandoned together with its harbor at Pefkakia Magoula on the Gulf of Pagasae. 129 In Messen ia, the palace of Pylos is destroyed, and the depopulation of much of Messenia and Laconia quickly follows. A chronological progression of destruction from north to south has been suggested on the basis

\begin{itemize}
  \item Homer does, however, recount stories of Diomedes and Tydeus and mentions that Mycenae, Sparta and Argos share Hera as their particular divinity (W. BURKERT, \textit{Kleine Schriften I. Homericum} [2001] 179-173). In \textit{Iliad} 23.471, Idomeneus refers to Diomedes as Aetolian, but ruling among the Argives. B. EDER ("The World of Telemaechus: Western Greece 1200-700 BC," in \textit{Ancient Greece} [supra n. 33] 560) has concluded that the Aetolian movement into the Peloponnese occurred in the mid-11\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. If the rule of Diomedes resulted from this movement, then a post-mid-11\textsuperscript{th} century setting would be indicated, but of course an Aetolian Diomedes could have arrived earlier and married into the ruling dynasty at Tiryns or Mycenae (cf. FINKELBERG [supra n. 28] 80-81).
  \item DICKINSON (supra n. 20) 210.
  \item \textit{H.} 2.108.
  \item \textit{H.} 2.555-567.
  \item While many scholars have accepted as axiomatic that the "descent" refers to the arrival of the Dori ans from the North and in particular the vicinity of Doris, C. Dousmas has proposed that the descent refers to mountaineers descending to the valleys and occupying former Mycenaean sites. He notes, \textit{inter alia}, that the ancients in general had no concept of North as being "up" on a map; that J. Chadwick and others have argued on linguistic grounds that Dori ans were always present—now perhaps a minority view; and that according to legend Codrus, the last king of Athens, in order to penetrate the Dorian camp disguised himself as a woodsman (C. DOUMAS, "Ἡ κάθεδρος τῶν Δαρεων: Μία νέα πρόταση ερμηνείας," \textit{Παραδοσιακά του Ε' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σποτών} [Αργος-Ναύπλιον 6-10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1992], Vol. 1 [1997] 184-185). On this schema, Mycenaean would have driven the former occupants of coastal and lowland areas to the hills, and to be driven out in turn and forced to retreat to places such as inland hilly Arcadia and to Cyprus, where the dialects in historical times were similar to each other and close to the Mycenaean of the Linear B tablets.
  \item MAGGIDIS (supra n. 99).
  \item V. ADRYMIS-SISMANI, "Volos," "Dimini," \textit{ArchDelt} B 55 (1988) 407-409, 411-414; J. WHITLEY, "Dimini," "Volos," AP 51 (2005) 50-61. The \textit{Iliad} describes Iolkos as "strong-founded" (\textit{H.} 2.7.12). The Palatial period IIIA and IIIB site of Dimini, today about 4 km. from the coast, occupies over 10 hectares and contains substantial megaroid houses on both sides of a wide street. On the hill adjoining the settlement there are Mycenaean tholos tombs, including one large well-built tomb with a relieving triangle dated to LH IIIB\textsubscript{2}, at the end of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. The nearby site of Kastro goes on, however, and appears to flourish in IIIC (A. BATZIOTOU-EUSTATHIOU, "Ἡ Υπερολικεία τῆς ΙΛΙΣ στὸ Κάστρο τοῦ Βάλτου," in N. KYPARISSI-APOSTOLIKA and M. PAPAKONSTANTINOU (eds), \textit{The Periphery of the Mycenaean World. 2nd International Interdisciplinary Colloquium, 26-30 September, Lamia} [2005] 257)."
\end{itemize}
of the pottery found in the destruction horizons—Boeotia a little before the Argolid, followed by Pylos—but recent scholarship is skeptical. The prospect that the stylistic changes in the pottery of IIIC Early originate in Cyprus or Crete add a further dimension of uncertainty with respect to the time of arrival and adoption of IIIC shapes and motifs elsewhere. Mountjoy suggests that IIIC fashions seem to occur in the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface on the mainland. In addition to questions concerning the description and context of pots and potsherds, the uncertainty as to how much time elapses before a potter or potters in one location adopt small changes in shapes or decorative motifs from pottery produced elsewhere or before an itinerant potter arrives must also be considered, along with the uncertain length of time between the arrival or creation of a pot and its deposition in the layer from which it was eventually excavated. Attempts to relate the destructions in Greece chronologically to the Troy VIIa destruction which Korfmann thought the likely horizon of the Trojan War also suffer from this difficulty.

In Homer, the island of Salamis is identified as the home of the Greater Ajax. Until recently, no significant Mycenaean site was known on the island. The discovery by Lolos of the site of Kanakia, on a commanding hillside with several massive stone buildings of many rooms, some still awaiting excavation, and its evidence of foreign contacts, for example, in the form of a bronze scale-plate from a military corselet stamped with the name of Ramses II (1279-1213 B.C.) and a fragment of a copper oxide ingot whose metal source has been identified as Apliki in Cyprus, is still another significant recent development. Kanakia is also abandoned at the beginning of IIIC Early. All entrances, including entrances to storerooms, are blocked and there is one metal hoard, suggesting that perhaps Kanakia's inhabitants hoped to return, expecting a raid or a temporary occupation which instead proved permanent, or that its inhabitants did not realize how far they would be going. Ancient traditions assert that refugees from the island of Salamis founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus.

Attacks from the North and/or from Sea Peoples, internal strife within and between states, repeated and widespread earthquakes, plague, climate change resulting in crop failure, economic distress caused by incessant building programs (perhaps accompanied by the alienation of the populace), and collapse of foreign trade have all been proposed as potential causes of the end of Mycenaean palatial civilization, individually and in combination and perhaps differing in different areas. In Crete, coastal sites are abandoned and people move to defensible positions inland, whereas in the Argolid, Laconia and East Locris the number of inland sites decreases rapidly, while some coastal sites continue, and Tiryns expands. In Cyprus, some coastal sites are abandoned, others continue, and two new defensible coastal sites, Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos, are occupied around 1200 B.C. but shortly...
abandoned.\textsuperscript{135} By this time, but beginning toward the end of LH IIIB, the full panoply of northern military equipment, from the Naue II type sword to spearheads, shields, helmet types and perhaps Northern greaves, appears in Greece, along with handmade burnished pottery similar to that known in the North and in Italy.\textsuperscript{136} The Italian peninsula and Anatolia also receive northern arrivals and impulses at this time.\textsuperscript{137} If this is the chronological horizon of a Trojan war, then it is possible to imagine various reasons for warfare between Wilusa and Ahhiyawa at this time, from the structural—for example, the need to replace lost sources of grain supply—to the personal, even if strategically irrational, resulting in reciprocal raids.

History, of course, provides examples of major expeditions or offensives mounted in times of great stress (and even on the brink of collapse), from the Sicilian Expedition of the Peloponnesian War to the German Ardennes Offensive near the end of World War II. Moreover, very little time need separate an expedition against Troy from the destruction of Pylos, for example. Thucydides recounts that the return of the Greeks from Troy took many years, during which civil wars occurred in most cities, causing the movement of people to new places.\textsuperscript{138} Indeed, in some respects the Trojan saga and its aftermath of the travels of its heroes to Cilicia, Cyprus, Libya and Italy seems to fit best in the world of the Sea Peoples at the end of LH IIIB/beginning of IIIC.\textsuperscript{139} In this hypothesis, Odysseus’ Cretan lies might reflect the Sea Peoples’ defeat in Egypt and their years of wandering in Egypt and Canaan (Phoenicia), particularly if one allows poetic license in the form of exaggeration for the numbers reported in the Catalogue of Ships.\textsuperscript{140} Cross-cultural studies of epic poetry composed by bards suggest that periods of displacement and movement of peoples frequently produce epic poetry recalling better times. In this respect, it is perhaps relevant that genealogies in Homer run backward for a generation or two, but never forward to a future dynasty.

V. The Late Helladic IIIC Post-Palatial Period, c. 1200-1100 B.C. – New Sites in North-Central Greece in Relation to the Epics

A period about a half-century after the destructions which mark the end of the full Mycenaean Palatial period has indeed been proposed as the appropriate setting for a Trojan expedition such as that described in Homer. S. Deger-Jalkotzy suggests that it is IIIC Middle in particular which provides a suitable milieu.


\textsuperscript{138} Thuc. 1.12.

\textsuperscript{139} VERMEULE (supra n. 136) 278.

\textsuperscript{140} II. 2.493-760. E. COOK notes that the reference to Egypt may reflect mercenary voyages of the 7th century B.C. in the reign of Psamtik (supra n. 23) 169 and personal communication, for which I am most grateful.)
The famed Warrior Vase from Mycenae of IIIC Middle date, with its line of warriors marching off, provides a vivid picture of these times. The 2006 excavation season at Kalapodi uncovered fragments from three LH IIIC kraters showing warriors, one of them depicting a siege of a city or fortress with a man climbing up a ladder to the top of a wall. Recent excavations at Lefkandi have produced IIIC sherds depicting warriors as well, including two sherds of warriors on ships; the original excavations produced sherds depicting chariots as well as warriors, one of whom appears to be armed with a Naue II type sword. Other IIIC sherds from the Argolid and Achaia depict chariots. Of course this and all other depictions may refer to past rather than current events, or for that matter to mythical accounts. It should be noted also that warrior tombs are the exception in IIIC, not the rule. At Perati, for example, only two tombs out of 219 were warrior burials. Deger-Jalkotzy believes that the display of weapons in a burial was the exclusive prerogative of rulers.

The excavations of recent years have provided a much fuller picture of Mycenae and Tiryns in the LH IIIC period. At Mycenae, evidence of IIIC occupation has been found especially in the eastern and western sectors of the citadel, including at the House of Columns, the Cult Center, the South House, and the Granary. Particularly important are the findings from the excavation of the so-called Hellenistic Tower. Beneath the Hellenistic floor are several floors found within three clear strata, all containing pottery sherds of IIIC style, and even a large fragment of a fresco. Near Mycenae at Khania, E. Palaiologou has excavated a tumulus that contained urns with cremated remains (as in the burial of Patroclus in the Iliad) and finds dating to IIIC Middle and Late.

At Tiryns, the current excavations of J. Maran have disclosed much additional information about the IIIC settlement of the 12th century B.C. The Lower Town of Tiryns increases substantially in size in IIIC, perhaps particularly during IIIC Middle, extending over a minimum of twenty-five hectares. The settlement is well organized, with passageways separating buildings

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143 W. D. NIEMEIER, personal communication of 21 August 2006, for which I am most grateful.
145 S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, “Late Mycenaean Warrior Tombs,” in Ancient Greece (supra n. 33) 152.
146 S. IAKOVIDIS, “Late Helladic III C at Mycenae,” in LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms (supra n. 123) 117-123.
constructed around courtyards. Deger-Jalkotzy has suggested that such structures constitute *oikoi* such as those described in Homer, a conclusion Maran finds attractive. Tiryns' ties to the palatial past are indicated by the large number of heirlooms, some going back to the Shaft Grave period, found in the Tiryns Treasure. Maran, after a recent reexamination of the evidence concerning its discovery in the light of further research in the area, concludes that the treasure was probably either the possession of a single family or a dedication. He adds as a speculation that "through tales linked to these special objects reminiscences of the Palatial period were integrated into the cultural memory of the so-called Dark Age, and that in this way the emerging epic traditions glorifying the past were enhanced." IIIC also fits the latter of the two descriptions of rule in the northeast Peloponnese in Homer, in which Diomedes is given rule of Tiryns, independent of Mycenae, for in IIIC Tiryns is the sole former palatial site which seems to grow in population, whereas it seems unlikely that Tiryns was not a part of a Mycenaean kingdom in LH IIIA and B. Indeed, Homer earlier in the same book of the *Iliad* describes Agamemnon as the ruler of all Argos and many islands, perhaps another indication that the *Iliad* combines elements of different periods.

In addition to the depictions of warfare noted above, warrior burials exist in IIIC. They occur in particular in Achaea, which M. Finkelberg believes was the gathering place during IIIC of the Aeolic speakers who later founded colonies in the Aegean islands and Anatolia. Janko and others, however, believe the Aeolic speakers went directly from Phocis, East Locris, the Northern Euborean Gulf and southeastern Thessaly to the East. (The Late Helladic IIIC pottery *kophne* in this area is discussed below.) In later Achaean legend as summarized by Polybius (himself an Achaean), Tisamenos, the son of Orestes and the last pre-Dorian ruler of Laconia, who had been expelled from Sparta upon the return of the Heraclidae, succeeded in occupying Achaea with his followers. Homer, of course, refers to the Greek forces collectively as Achaean (and also as Argives and Danais). In contrast to the heirlooms and foreign exotica present in the Achaean IIIC warrior tombs and reminiscent of the grander past, the military equipment buried is up-to-date and of the Northern and Italic type. T.J. Papadopoulos has observed that LH IIIC Achaean pottery and other artifacts are present not only in the eastern Aegean and in the north of Greece, but also in the West in Italy, perhaps indicative of wide-ranging maritime activities.

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149 MARAN (supra n. 135) 129-130.
151 MARAN (supra n. 135) 129-131.
152 MARAN (supra n. 135) 141-142. H.W. Catling, on the other hand, interprets the Tiryns Treasure as a metalworker’s hoard, noting among other factors that as to the Type II swords, one is hiltless and the other unfinished and that one of the three tripod legs from the putative cauldron does not match the other two (H.W. Catling, personal communication of 20 November 2006, for which I am most grateful, citing also H. MATTHÄUS, *Die Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* [1980] pls. 11, 12, nos. 83, 84). Catling suggests the owner of the deposit was interested in the value of the raw materials—copper, bronze, gold, ivory, amber—and was indifferent to the objects’ erstwhile function.
153 II. 2.559-567. See also supra n. 123.
155 II. 2.108.
157 Polyb. 2.4.1; see FINKELBERG (supra n. 28) 82. Founders of Aeolian colonies in Asia Minor claimed to be descendants of Orestes' son Penthesilea.
158 DEGER-JALKOTZY (supra n. 147).
Naxos, Perati, Rhodes and Kos also flourish in IIIC Middle, and Xeropolis at Lefkandi shows signs of wealth and wide trade contacts. The ancient sanctuary of Ayia Irini on Kea comes back into use in LH IIIC Late. Rhodes and Kos provide contingents in the Iliad, whereas the Homeric epics know nothing of the earlier, long-lived Mycenaean settlement at Miletus (Millawanda) or any of the other Mycenaean IIIIB sites on the Anatolian coast. The Iliad refers instead to Carians speaking a barbaric language in these places. At Bademgediği Tepe, south of Izmir, a few kilometers inland from the Mediterranean, excavations in 2001 revealed over 800 Mycenaean sherds, none of them obviously earlier than IIIC, but representing all IIIC phases. Bademgediği Tepe is believed to be the ancient Puranda mentioned in the Hittite texts as a city of Arzawa, but may have fallen out of Hittite control after the reign of Mursili II. Homer, and indeed Greek tradition in toto, is silent on the Hittites and the people of Arzawa, Mira and the Seha River Land, the poleis alongside which the Mycenaeans of the Anatolian interface lived. The Cyclades are absent from the Iliad; in this respect, the Iliad could be a reflection of the low point in the islands' fortune at the end of IIIC, instead of the IIIC Middle period. Cyprus, which experiences a number of destructions and abandonments of various sites around the middle of the 13th century B.C., nevertheless plays a prominent role in the trade with Greece at the end of the Palatial period in LH IIIB (as shown by finds from Tiryns and the Point frisa shipwreck, for example), is present in IIIC Middle exchanges as indicated by the finds at Perati and Lefkandi, and is again prominent in Mediterranean exchange and trade in the later 11th and 10th centuries, but is mentioned in passing only once in the Iliad and three times in the Odyssey. Cyprus and its trade connections seem to suffer a brief setback at the end of Late Cypriot IIIA, perhaps early in the 11th century B.C.

It is with regard to the LH IIIC period in particular that recent archaeological discoveries in north-central Greece, particularly in East and West Locris and Phocis, have shed much new light. The excavation by F. Dakoronia of Pyrgos Livanates in East Locris, in all likelihood the site of Kynos, the home of the Lesser Ajax in the Iliad, has disclosed a major LH IIIC site with an extensive building complex, stout walls, substantial kilns, evidence of metallurgy and significant grain-storage capability. Only a small part of this large site has been excavated to date. The pottery produced at the site includes vessels with striking depictions of ships, warriors and sea battles. The ships depicted appear to include both wide-bodied merchantmen and narrow warships. A terracotta ship model recovered in the excavation may originally have contained fifty oars, matching the description of ships in Homer. The site sits on top of a defensible hillside near the ancient shoreline of the Euboean Gulf, overlooking a fine harbor. Dakoronia believes that the citadel of Kynos guards a still larger settlement nearby at Palaikastro, located at the junction of major roadways. (Whether Kynos was a site of significance prior to LH IIIC is yet to be determined. Because of the importance of consolidating and preserving the architectural remains of this period, there has been little opportunity to investigate earlier


161 II. 2.867.


163 II. 11.21; Od. 4.83, 8.363, 17.442-449. There is a possible fourth reference in Od. 1.184, if the Temese of the text is the Temese of Cyprus. I am grateful to E. Cook for calling the reference to Temese to my attention. For the mid-13th century horizon, see M. IACOVOU, “From the Mycenaean qa-si-re-u to the Cypriote pa-si-le-wo-se: The Basileis in the Kingdom of Cyprus,” in Ancient Greece (supra n. 53) 926.


165 F. DAKORONIA, “Mycenaean East Locris: Warships and Sea Battles Depicted on Kraters and Other Discoveries,” paper presented at the New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium, Institute of Fine Arts, New York, 6 March 1997; II. 2.719-729. A depiction of a similar oared galley appears on an angular alabastron of LH IIIC Late (around 1100 B.C.?) found in a reused LH IIIA tholos tomb at Tragana near the palace of Pylos (EDER [supra n. 123]).
strata, but the site has produced some sherds of LH IIIB and perhaps IIIA2. The site of Mitrou on the Euboean Gulf is also rich in IIIC as well as Protogeometric material, but with no evidence to date of occupation in the palatial IIIB period. IIIB as well as earlier material is reported, however, from the low hill of Glyfa on the coast opposite Chalcis. The location suggests that the site may be the Aulis of the Iliad, the gathering place of the Greek fleet.167

Phocis has also produced many rich cemeteries of IIIC Middle. Chamber tombs of archetypal form appear, complete with burial chamber, dromos and entrance. The tombs of northeast Phocis have yielded weapons and gold.168 At Amphikleia-Ayioi Anargyroi on the lower slope of Mt. Parnassos in what is now the district of Phthiotis, eleven IIIC to Submycenaean chamber tombs have been excavated.169 At Koufia Rachi in what is now the nome of Karditsa, cleaning of the tholos of a Mycenaean chamber tomb has yielded IIIC-B painted pottery and precocities outside the tomb, including gold and glass beads, rock crystal, three sealstones and a gold ring bearing a representation of two griffins.170 Prior to the discoveries of recent years, O. Dickinson questioned whether the Mycenaean elements known from this area indicated a true Mycenaean presence, or rather the adoption of certain features of Mycenaean life by a local population. Dakoronia, however, has stated her belief that on the basis of the results obtained from her excavations, “[the] inhabitants were Mycenaeans, reacted as Mycenaeans, and felt like Mycenaeans, for they showed the same tastes, habits and way of life.”171 B.A. Feuer believes the same to be true of Thessaly, while noting the persistence of certain local Thessalian burial traditions.172 Deger-Jalkotzy has observed that Phocis, parts of Locris and particularly the North Euboean Gulf seem to flourish when the Mycenaean palaces and especially Thebes are weak or gone.173 The sites in the Euboean Gulf and the surrounding area extending as far as Kalapodi reveal a pottery house in LH IIIA. Some areas of Phocis do not appear to suffer IIC destructions,174 and the sanctuary at Kalapodi receives offerings of all periods, suggesting the possibility of continuous transmission of memories in this area. Kalapodi controls the pass of Hyampolis between the Corinthian Gulf and Thessaly on the main route into Phocis. The shrine may have served as a meeting place or even a regional center.175 It is only in recent years

165 F. DAKORONIA, personal communication. I most warmly thank Dr. Fanouria Dakoronia for leading me on a tour of her sites and finds in museum storerooms in Phocis and East Locris.


171 DAKORONIA (supra n. 168) 944.


174 LAFACZ (supra n. 11) 276-277. The Thebes Linear B tablets indicate a strong Theban palatial interest in Euboea in the preceding IIIB period, including the possibility that certain Euboean sites may be under Theban control.175 D. BLACKMAN and A. VLACHOPPOULOS, “Thebes: Foulies de la Grece centrale,” in 3rd Crossroads symposium (2006) 82 [TH Eq 214.18], 83 [TH Eq 254-255.7], 85 [TH Eq 197.2], 88 [TH Eq 227.2], 89 [TH Eq 231.2]; or at least participating in Theban festivals (PALAIMA [supra n. 14]).

that the development of north-central Greece has brought in its wake increased construction of buildings and highways, leading to fortuitous archaeological discoveries of significance. The area may have more surprises in store.

The recent discoveries in Phocis, Locris, Phthiotis and Iolkos may address what had previously seemed a problem for proponents of the historicity of a Bronze Age Trojan expedition, namely the paucity of Bronze Age sites in an area which is home to such major protagonists of the Iliad as Achilles himself, Patroclus, Lesser Ajax, Philoctetes and Protesilaus. (Of course for those who regard the entire tale, or at least the existence of its main actors, as a grand fiction, the answer to the problem is clear: the poet locates his heroes in distant realms rather than in Athens, Argos, Thebes or Euboea because their names would have been unfamiliar in those local traditions). To conclude the discussion of the LH IIIC period, we may note that the island of Chios, the home of the Homeridae and by some accounts of Homer, provides evidence of Mycenaean presence in LH IIIC Middle and Late. A complete range of IIIC fine ware, but also cooking ware, is present, as well as a number of clay figurines of probable psi-type and bovines. Whether the intriguing finds from Emporio on Chios indicate the existence of a IIIC Middle to Late Mycenaean colony is uncertain, however. 176

VI. The Protogeometric Period and Its Epics

We turn finally to the possibility that a battle, raid or skirmish involving Greeks at Troy in the course of the initial Greek colonization of the Anatolian coast in the Protogeometric period may be reflected in the Homeric epics. Troy itself provides sufficient possible destruction horizons to accommodate all views. One such horizon occurs at the end of Troy VIIb, dated by the excavator to c. 1000-950 B.C. on the basis of pottery and radiocarbon evidence. (The extent of the damage at this time has been disputed, as noted above. Korfmann, the excavator, saw evidence of a general destruction, while Basedow proposes that burning occurred in one area, perhaps of a ritual nature, whereas B. Rose concludes that there is no burnt level in Troy VIIb, but only later in late Geometric/very early Archaic. 177) Buchalteramik or Knobbed Ware is already much in evidence in Troy VII, indicating the arrival of people from the northeast. 178
In the epics the Trojans have European allies, the Paiones, Kikones and Threikes, reaching across Macedonia and Thrace. In the _Iliad_ Tros, Ilos, Priam and Aeneas are all descendents of Dardanos. West suggests that Knobbled Ware was produced by an Illyrian immigrant people known as the Dardanoi. The _Iliad_ also has the Phrygians already in Bithynia and the Sangarios River region.

In Greece the Protogeometric picture varies greatly according to region. Southern Greece in general shows evidence of a considerable break at the end of II1C around 1100-1050 B.C., with a more or less complete abandonment of Mycenaean cemetery sites in Aetolia, Kephallenia, Achaia, Elis and Laconia, as well as abandonment of settlement/fortification sites such as Teichos Dymaion. The Achaean trading network is disrupted, and in its place there appear elements of Balkan material culture in Epirus and Aetolia. B. Eder accordingly suggests that "if any period should be considered as a setting for the ... migrations of the Aetolians into the western Peloponnesse" recorded in myth, it should be this.

In central Greece, Thessaly, coastal Macedonia and Euboea, however, the situation is quite different, with indications of significant continuity at various locations including the shrine at Kalapodi and the cemetery of Elateia, where individual tombs contain pottery of all periods from LH IIIA1 to Middle-Late Geometric. Burials with keimelia, such as the Lefkandi Toumba burial described below or a burial on Naxos where a LH IIIC hydria was placed over covering slabs of a Late Protogeometric cist grave, may signal an intent to link these Protogeometric burials to Mycenaean ancestors, either in general or in particular.

The "Chieftain" or "Big Man" societies of the Protogeometric period have seemed to many to provide the most appropriate background for the Homeric epics. The VIIb 5 burnt level at Troy placed at 1000-950 B.C. on radiocarbon evidence and the great Toumba burial at Lefkandi on the island of Euboea of 1000-950 B.C. on traditional dating (but perhaps somewhat earlier if the Assiros stratigraphy and radiocarbon dating is accepted) are perhaps the most significant chronological markers. The Toumba warrior cremation burial, in a Cypriot bronze urn made perhaps 200 years earlier, accompanied by valuable and exotic grave goods, has seemed to many to contain echoes of the burial of Patroclus in Book 23 of the _Iliad_ and be generally appropriate for a Homeric leader. The male cremation was accompanied by the inhumation burial of a female; a second shaft contained the skeletons of four horses, and the whole was enclosed in an apsidal house 50 m long, ten times the size of any known...
contemporary house, which was then covered by a giant tumulus. In the rich Toumba cemetery only this burial contained valuable heirlooms or keimelia. The ability to give and receive such gifts has been seen as a critical aspect of many Chieftain or Big Man societies (e.g., Hallstatt). The Iliad and Odyssey provide many examples of such gift-giving—for example, the boars’ tusk helmet which Autolykos gives to Kytherian Amphidamas, who gives it to Molos, who gives it to his son Meriones, who in turn presents it to Odysseus, or the gold-and-silver mixing bowl Phaidimos gives to Menelaos, who gives it to Telemachos. That the burials may reflect a trading/exchange/guest privilege relationship between the Lefkandi chieftain and a Phoenician, Syrian or Cypriot counterpart (or even a union celebrating such a relationship) is of course possible, if unprovable. J. Papadopoulos suggests that the Toumba burial may even be that of a Phoenician. The potential implication of such exchanges or unions with respect to the Greek acquisition of the Phoenician alphabet is evident.

I. Morris concludes that

the male burial at Lefkandi Toumba is the earliest known example of a ritual package which was to define heroic status for more than a millennium. By archaizing and orientalizing, huriers connected heroes to broader and more glorious lost worlds. Singers of tales and huriers of great men worked out a shared symbolic language. A great mound was part of the hero’s due (II. 16.457, 671-675; 23.44-47; Od. 1.239-240; 14.366-371; 24.188-190), and a source of renewed honor for his descendants (II. 7.79-86; 23.245-255; Od. 3.811; 14.366-371; 24.93-95). The hero must be cremated and buried in a metal urn.

Of course it is impossible to know if the Homeric epics describe such witnessed burials or whether the burial copied the rites described in already extant epic poetry. Surely the warrior buried in the Toumba burial would have expected to hear that the Mycenaean heroes at Troy were buried in a grand manner with rites similar to his, even if the poet was basically describing 11th-10th century B.C. elite warrior custom.

Warrior burials are not limited, of course, to north-central Greece or to the Protogeometric period. They appear on Crete from the Subminoan period at the Knossos North Cemetery to the Geometric-Archaic at Eleutherna and in Early Iron Age cemeteries on Cyprus (Skales cemetery and perhaps Tomb 40 at Kaloriziki, where the chamber had been heavily looted but a
small bronze spearhead remained). The existence in 14th to 13th century B.C. contexts of elite burials in special stone-built structures with weapons and large amounts of Mycenaean pottery (but in pottery kraters rather than metal urns) in mixed cremation and inhumation cemeteries at the Besik Tepe cemetery of Troy and at Panaztepe and Bakla Tepe on the Anatolian coast was noted above.

It is also important to recall how atypical such burials are in Protogeometric Greece. Burials in general seem poor indeed. In the 11th and early 10th centuries the rite of elaborate cremation burial may have been reserved for a warrior elite. Moreover, I. Morris among others has stressed that in general bronze and gold disappear from the archaeological record in Greece in the 10th century B.C., and that Greece appears to turn inward. In this respect, the 11th and early 10th centuries B.C. appear a more appropriate setting for an expedition against Troy involving most areas of the Greek world than a time later in the Protogeometric. In Homer, weapons are made of bronze (except for the arrows in II. 4.123 and a sword or knife in II. 18.4, as A. Michalidou has kindly reminded me). Iron is in use for other purposes such as agricultural and craftsmen's tools. Weapons exclusively of bronze would be out of place in any period after the early to mid-11th century. Iron swords and daggers made for use (rather than for display, as in early examples with ivory handles and/or silver rivets) do not become frequent until the end of the 11th century, around the time of the Toumba burial. Of course the poet may have deliberately introduced an archaizing heroic element in his descriptions of warfare.

Both Homer and Hesiod seem to have known that there was a time when weapons of bronze were used.) If allowance is gained for a substantial amount of poetic license with respect to the size of the Greek fleet and force, then the period of the establishment of the first Early Iron Age Greek settlements on the coast of Asia Minor seems an appropriate period for a series of skirmishes in the Troad. Northeast Greek ambitions in the area of the Troad seem likely, and in particular as regards the island of Lesbos. Janko notes that if anyone had the obvious motive for glorifying a panhellenic military expedition in the Troad, it was the Aeolians, and that epic diction may point in the same direction.

The general correspondence between the milieu of Early Iron Age Greece and that of the epics has already been noted.

VII. Considerations Regarding the Role of Euboea

The role of Euboea, and particularly its maritime trading and colonizing, requires special consideration. The strait separating Euboea from the mainland, sheltered from most storms, provides a natural north-south trade route and intersects an east and west route as well. Access...
to trade routes was critical to the prosperity of most Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age societies. E. Hatzaki has noted that from Mount Dirfis on Euboea to a late March day at sunset, it is possible to see Mount Olympus, Chios, and even the Turkish coast. Already in LH IIIC forty-eight out of a total of sixty-five known imports to Greece from Asia Minor come from sites in the area of the Euboean Gulf. Euboean contacts with the Anatolian coast and the Aegean islands increase in the 11th century B.C. R. Catling holds that the example of Euboean pottery affects pottery production at Troy in Early and Middle Protogeometric periods and that a Euboean-centered pottery 'koina' extends inland and to south Thessaly, where strong links exist with Iolkos and the Gulf of Pagasae from the mid-11th to the 9th century B.C. The earliest Iron Age pottery at Chios has Euboean characteristics; S. Hood has suggested a possible Euboean colonization of Chios. Euboean contacts are evident as well in the north Aegean, a region rich in metals and settings of myth. H.W. Catling quotes I. Vokotopoulou’s note that the Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery at the fortified site of Kalandra on Vigla, on the western and most fertile prong of the Chalcidice, has affinities with Lefkandi, suggesting a possible Euboean source for the founding of the settlement. West, Lemos and other scholars believe that Euboea was the most prosperous and progressive region in Greece in the 10th, 9th and 8th centuries B.C. Lefkandi-Xeropolis provides evidence of continuity of occupation through all phases of LH IIIC and on into the Protogeometric period.

West, A.C. Cassio and others have noted the likely importance of Euboeans in the transmission of the epics, but put the period of Euboean influence on the epic language later in the 8th century B.C. around the time of the abandonment of Lefkandi, when the Euboean poleis of Eretria and Chalcis were prosperous. West argues that it is in Euboea where the Central and West Ionic forms in the epics would most easily have been added to the Aeolic, and that the Thessalian elements of the narrative would have been most easily accessible. He further suggests that there existed an 11th century B.C. Thessalian Iliad in the Aeolic dialect, out of which an 8th century partly Ionic Iliad developed through an accretion of additional subplots, episodes and characters. He adds that the comparative wealth of Euboea, stemming from its maritime ventures and early colonizing, would surely have attracted bards (Hesiod recounts

206 E. LEMOS (supra n. 186) 212-217; WEST (supra n. 50) 151-172; Recent discoveries of apparent Euboean Protogeometric sherds by C. Doumet-Serhal at Sidon and the recent analysis by J. Coldstream of the material from Tel-Rehov in Israel have been seen as strengthening the case for a prominent Euboean role (C. DOUMET-SERHAL, “Sidon—British Museum Excavations 1998-2003,” Archaeology and History in Lebanon 18 [2003] 2-19; COLDSTREAM (supra n. 196) 373; J.N. COLDSTREAM and A. MAZAR, “Greek Pottery from Tel Rehov and Iron Age Chronology,” IEJ 53 (2003) 29-48; COOK (supra n. 46). The resumption of excavations at Lefkandi by I.S. Lemos, the excavations begun at Kasos in southern Euboea by J. Wickens, and the excavations at Mitrou across the strait, plus the continuing excavations of F. Dakoronia in neighboring East Locris and Phocis and those of V. Adryanis-Sismani in the Volos area will shed further light on this question.
207 LEMOS (supra n. 186) 146.
209 An 11th century B.C. Thessalian Aeolic origin for the Iliad was already a feature of 19th century Homeric scholarship. See R.C. JEBB, Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey (1894) 168 and P. CAUER, Grundfragen der Homerkritik (1896; 1909), cited in R. DREWS, “Argos and Argives in the Iliad,” CP 74 (1979) 112, who is of the same view. Drews further argues that even in LH IIIB at the end of the Palatial period life in Thessaly would have been more primitive than in southern Greece, and scribal literacy perhaps limited or nonexistent. The current excavations of V. Adryanis-Sismani at Dimini (Iolkos) indicate more complexity at least in southern Thessaly than was apparent when Drews wrote.
210 WEST (supra n. 50) 165-167.
how he competed along with other poets for prizes for poetry at funeral games offered by the sons of the king of Chalkis on Euboea.\footnote{211}

In the \textit{Iliad} the Greek fleet assembles at the narrowest point of the Euripus between Aulis and Chalkis in Euboea and the Catalogue of Ships begins its account in Boeotia. (The \textit{Odyssey} imagines Euboea as the farthest horizon of the Phaiakes.\footnote{212} The names of twenty-nine cities or towns in Boeotia and seven in Euboea are listed in the Catalogue, compared to only one—Athens—in Attica. Of course many regard the Catalogue as a 7th century B.C. insertion (if not part of an epic composed essentially in the 7th century).\footnote{213} That it is impossible in general to match the sites listed in the Catalogue with known Bronze Age sites has been shown by O. Dickinson.\footnote{214} The twin origins of the Catalogue in myth and contemporary importance in the Geometric period are considered in detail by E. Visser.\footnote{215} Euboea's eastern trading ventures rendered it a likely potential gathering point for the reflections of Eastern myths in the epics.\footnote{216} No one from Euboea plays a prominent role in the \textit{Iliad} or \textit{Odyssey}, however, perhaps suggesting that the personae of the tales became fixed at a time prior to the florescence of Euboea in the Early Iron Age. Janko and others of course posit an earlier fixing of the epic \textit{Kunstsprache}, as noted above.

With regard to the putative role of Euboea, together with East Locris and Phocis across the strait, in the creation and dissemination of the epics, a final observation is in order. J.P. Crielaard argues that this area and central Greece in general display a higher degree of continuity from the Bronze Age through the Early Iron Age than other areas of Greece.\footnote{217} In the past two years the ongoing excavations at Mitrou have provided additional evidence for occupation in LH III C and the Early Iron Age.\footnote{218} Recent evidence for continuity from Elateia and Kalapodi is noted above. However, excavations and reanalyses of past finds also indicate a greater degree of continuity of occupation than previously supposed at Knossos, Thebes, Athens, and Pylos. Knossos was more or less continuously inhabited throughout the Bronze Age and through the Geometric period, although there are notable lacunae in many areas of the site in LM IIIB.\footnote{219} At Thebes, the cemetery at Tachi (ancient Potniai) has yielded burials from all periods from LH IIIA to late Geometric.\footnote{220} At Athens, a long chain of burials may be traced on the south slope of Philopappos Hill and on the north bank of the Ilissos River. Chamber tombs which begin in LH IIIA continue into IIIC Middle and there are Submycenaean and Early Iron Age burials also.\footnote{221} At Pylos, investigations in the past year by J. Davis provided evidence of pottery of all Early Iron Age phases at or near the palace, opening the possibility that occupation of the ridge of Ano Englianos, together with knowledge of the prior presence of a palatial building, continued into the 8th century B.C.\footnote{222} Ongoing work at Pylos will shed further light in this regard. I. Morris contends, however, that the emergence of the Chieftain society exemplified by the rites and rituals suggested by the Toumba burial on Lefkandi signals a change in societal structure, notwithstanding deliberate reference to the heroic past and whatever the continuity of occupation. At many sites, moreover, the use of a burial ground with a Bronze Age origin stops and a new cemetery at another location is begun near the start of the Proto-Dorian period, sometimes with new burial practices.

\footnote{211} Hesiod, \textit{Works and Days} 655-660.\\
\footnote{212} \textit{Od.} 7.321-326.\\
\footnote{213} WEST (supra n. 50) 168 vs. G.I. HUXLEY, "Numbers in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships," \textit{GRBS} 7 (1966) 318.\\
\footnote{214} DICKINSON (supra n. 20) 207-210.\\
\footnote{215} E. VISSER, \textit{Homers Katalog der Schiffe} (1997).\\
\footnote{216} The excavations at Lefkandi have produced the earliest known depiction of a centaur, with an indication of a branch and a possible wound on a leg, dated to c. 900-825 B.C. (LEMOS [supra n. 186] 98). Similar figures exist in Attica (ANTONACCI [supra n. 192] 17 and n. 55).\\
\footnote{217} CRIELAARD (supra n. 186) 284.\\
\footnote{218} ZAHOU and VAN DE MOORTEL quoted in WHITLEY (supra n. 167) 58.\\
\footnote{219} COLDSTREAM (supra n. 60) 581-582.\\
\footnote{220} V. ARAVANTINOS, personal communication.\\
\footnote{221} J. LEMOS, "Athens and Lefkandi: A Tale of Two Sites," in \textit{Ancient Greece} (supra n. 35) 507.\\
\footnote{222} J. DAVIS, personal communication, for which I am most grateful. By the first century B.C., the location of Homeric Pylos was in dispute (Strabo. 8.3.7: "There is a Pylos before Pylos, and there is yet another Pylos").
VIII. Concluding Comments

Of course the fact that pottery of each Late Bronze and Early Iron Age stylistic phase is present at a site is no guarantee of continuity of occupation, let alone that those responsible for the deposits constituted an ongoing community of myth and memory. Population replacement is seldom total, however, and even remnants of conquered populations taken into slavery may cling to memories and songs over generations. Perhaps more significantly, oral traditions may acquire particular importance as a result of a diaspora. Shrine sites where pottery and other deposits of all periods are represented in quantity, such as Kato Syme in Crete or Kalapodi, may present the strongest case for continuity. In general with regard to the possibility of continuous oral transmission of Homeric passages over many centuries, it is prudent both to acknowledge the extent of the disruptions to society at the end of the full Palatial period and again at the end of IIIC or Subminoan/Submycenaean, as well as the disruption caused by the various migrations (for people do not leave their homelands without good reason), but also to reorganize the possible avenues and venues for elements of continuity amid change, as noted above.

This paper seeks to apply new evidence (including in particular new information from Hittite texts and recent archaeological excavations in coastal Asia Minor and north-central Greece) to enduring Homeric questions. To some, of course, any discussion of possible elements of historicity in the Homeric epics provides an example of the credulous in pursuit of the tenuous, futilely attempting to circumscribe chronologically the imagination of the poet. Indeed, it is even possible that a Mycenaean-led Greek coalition attacked Troy during the Bronze Age but that bards of the 9th-8th century B.C. with no inherited knowledge of the event, inspired by the still visible and grandly evocative walls of Mycenaean and Troy (and informed by Bronze Age heirlooms), independently created majestic epics about a Trojan war and the return of heroes, set in a milieu comprehensible to the audiences of their day. Let us then yield to temptation and close our male-centered discussion with a comment on the role of Helen. Rationalist historians have envisioned a putative Trojan war as a struggle over trade routes to the Black Sea or as a raid of the Sea Peoples, rather than an effort to recapture an errant wife. Near Eastern texts at the end of the Bronze Age suggest that the Homeric version cannot be totally dismissed, however. J. Sasson observes that:

The second millennium before Christ seems to have been a period when a veritable epidemic of run-away wives plagued the various civilizations. Powerful, sea-oriented kingdoms relied on their navies to retrieve the errant spouses. RS 18.06 points out how "Ammišammu H, King of Ugarit, prepared ships and troops in order to capture and punish the sinful wife." 224

To a Bronze Age or Early Iron Age audience, the story of Helen and the great expedition to reclaim her may not have seemed strange at all.

Malcolm H. Wiener
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ABBREVIATIONS

*Aegean Painting*  

*Ages of Homer*  

*EIKON*  

*Mauerschau*  

*MELETEMÁTA*  

*Minowan Thalassocracy*  

*New Companion to Homer*  

*POLITEIA*  

*TEXNH*  