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SYNOPSIS OF VOLUME II, CHAPTER XXVII

THE RECESSION OF MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION

BY

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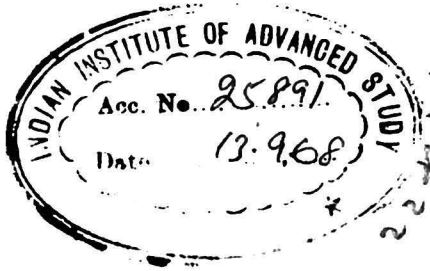

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE RECESSION OF MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION

I. DISTURBANCES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

THE expansion of Mycenaean civilization had been bound up with a vigorous trading activity in the eastern Mediterranean, and for the archaeologist the recession of that trade is one of the most obvious symptoms of the Mycenaean decline. But this generalization will not get us far in the reconstruction of the history of the period. Cultural and political history are not the same thing; and in the L.H. IIIb phase, when pottery of Mycenaean style found its widest distribution in the east Mediterranean lands, the political decline of the Mycenaean world may already have begun. We have already noted[1] that at this time the Mycenaean potters of Cyprus were showing a greater independence of the style of mainland Greece, and that their wares seem to have captured most of the eastern market, for nearly all the Mycenaean pottery of L.H. IIIb style that turns up in Syrian and Palestinian sites shows Cypriot peculiarities. Cities such as Alalakh (Tell Atchana) and Ugarit (Ras Shamra) continued to import Mycenaean-style pottery[2] until their destruction in the early twelfth century,[3] but that pottery came in the main from Cyprus. At the least this must imply that direct trade from the Aegean was now less frequent, and it is difficult to see why. Either, one would suppose, something had undermined the commercial vitality of Greece at home, or else the political conditions in the east Mediterranean had become less favourable to trade. It may be partly that Mycenaean traders in Cyprus were better placed, and had therefore become rivals to their homeland; on these lines we might explain the curious situation at Tell Abu Hawam near Haifa, where, quite exceptionally, the Mycenaean imports at this time do include pots which must have come from mainland Greece.[4] Perhaps there was here an attempt to by-pass Cyprus in the route to the east, though it is difficult to believe

[1] *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXII(*a*), sect. 5.
[2] §1, 8, 71ff., 87; §1, 10, 162. [3] See below, p. 5.
[4] Cf. *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXII(*a*), sect. 5, p. 19, with refs.

that Mycenaean shipping could have reached that far without using some intermediate port of call after leaving the Aegean. In Egypt too it seems likely that a majority of the L.H. III b pottery imports were of Cypriot origin;[1] but in any case the quantity of Mycenaean pottery reaching Egypt was comparatively small after the brief Amarna period. Mycenaean merchants from whatever quarter probably met with little encouragement there.

Though archaeology fails to explain the recession of Mycenaean intercourse with the east, one can in this period glean at least some hints of what was going on from the historical records of the Egyptians and the Hittites. It is clear that conditions were becoming less and less favourable to peaceful commerce. In the fifth year of Merneptah (1236–1223 B.C.) Egypt met and successfully repelled an attack by the people of Libya, who were supported by a number of allies from overseas, named as Ekwesh, Teresh, Lukka, Sherden, and Sheklesh, 'northerners coming from all lands'.[2] In the debate which has long continued over the identity of these peoples it has often been held that the *Ekwesh* 'of the countries of the sea' are Ἀχαιϝοί, Achaeans, or Mycenaean Greeks; but some of the relevant records seem to indicate that the Ekwesh warriors were circumcised, which is something not otherwise known of Achaeans.[3] If the Ekwesh really were Mycenaeans, we still have no evidence of where they came from, whether from Greece itself, or from, say, Rhodes or some other Mycenaean principality. They need be no more than a band of mercenaries or adventurers. Whether they included Achaeans or not, this wide coalition of presumably maritime allies who assisted the King of Libya is indicative of seriously disturbed conditions in the eastern half of the Mediterranean; and though Merneptah was at this time successful in repelling them the disturbances were to recur in the reign of Ramesses III (1198–1166 B.C.). This time Egypt had to face not only the Libyans, assisted from without as before, but also, a few years later, a combined land and sea invasion by a number of different peoples including Peleset, Tjekker, Sheklesh, Denyen, and Weshesh.[4] Again their identifications are not all clear; but it is agreed that the Peleset are the Philistines, later to settle in Palestine,[5] and the name Denyen may perhaps be equivalent to Δαναοί. If so, it appears that Mycenaean Greeks were again involved; and even apart from the name

[1] § 1, 8, 100 f.
[2] § 1, 1, vol. III, sect. 569 ff.
[3] § 1, 6, 21, n. 1, with review in *C.R.* II (1961), 9 f.
[4] § 1, 1, vol. IV, sect. 35–135, esp. 59 ff.; § II, 3, 80 ff.; § 1, 2, 237 f.
[5] See *C.A.H.* II², XXXVI (*A*), sect. 1 (*b*), 12 f.

there is evidence that some of the marauders were of maritime origin and that they had been operating against the Hittite land of Arzawa and against Alashiya (probably Cyprus) before they joined the other forces in Syria. Thence the allies made their way south, destroying many cities (including Alalakh, Ugarit, and Tell Abu Hawam, already mentioned) before they were defeated, in 1191 B.C., on the borders of Egypt.

Such far-reaching operations through territories formerly controlled by the Hittites obviously imply an advanced decay of the Hittite power; and we can in fact trace darkly in the Hittite records something of the way events had been turning in the preceding half-century. Millawanda (Miletus), which had in the early thirteenth century been at least nominally under the control of Ahhiyawa, appears in the records later in the century as a vassal of the Hittites.[1] Archaeology shows that the city was destroyed some time in the L.H. IIIb period, and rebuilt with massive fortifications;[2] and there can be little doubt that it was fortified with Hittite approval, against Ahhiyawa. Mycenaean–Hittite relations had deteriorated from friendliness and respect to open hostility, and in the text of a treaty made between the Hittite Tudkhaliyash IV (1250–1220) and the King of Amurru (in northern Syria) the name of the King of Ahhiyawa is found deliberately deleted (though still legible) from a list of kings reckoned of equal rank to the Hittite emperor. The same text, if correctly restored, shows it was Hittite policy to prevent ships of Ahhiyawa trafficking with Syria.[3] Though the Hittites were thus unwilling to recognize the power of Ahhiyawa, and though their hostility must have contributed to the decline of Mycenaean trade eastwards, it is clear that they were not having it all their own way. For another fragmentary text, probably of the same reign, mentions the King of Ahhiyawa as campaigning in person with both chariotry and infantry in Asia Minor;[4] and it was also during the reign of Tudkhaliyash IV that there began the hostilities referred to in a long text of the succeeding king, Arnuwandash IV (1220–1190), which details the acts of a former Hittite vassal named Madduwattash.[5] This Madduwattash first appears as seeking Hittite protection from the attacks of a 'man of Ahhiyā' named Attarshiyash. (The name has, notoriously, been equated with

[1] § 1, 7, 198–240; § 1, 4, 50; § 1, 5, 2 f. (no. 3).
[2] § 1, 10, 187, corrected in § 1, 9(*b*).
[3] § 1, 7, 320–7; § 1, 5, 8 (no. 17); § 1, 8, 110; § 1, 4, 50f.
[4] § 1, 7, 314–19; § 1, 5, 7 (no. 16); § 1, 4, 51.
[5] § 1, 7, 329–49; § 1, 5, 9 (no. 19); § 1, 3; § 1, 6, 97 ff.

Atreus; but the phonetic equation is uncertain, and in any case Attarshiyash is not referred to as the *King* of Ahhiyawa.) Later, Madduwattash throws off all pretence of allegiance to the Hittite empire, seizing for his own the land of Arzawa, formerly a vassal-state of the Hittites, through which they had dominated all the south-west of Asia Minor. Moreover we find him actually in league with Attarshiyash, engaged in raids on Alashiya (most probably to be identified with Cyprus, or a city of Cyprus) which the Hittite emperor claims as his own territory. Such activity by Attarshiyash suggests that he too was endeavouring to profit by the folding up of Hittite power in the south-west.

But this was not the only area of Asia Minor where the recession of the Hittite control was tempting local powers to aggrandisement. Another text[1] tells of rebellion and hostilities against the empire, in the reign of Tudkhaliyash IV, by a league of states headed by the land of Assuwa, which must be located somewhere between Miletus and the Troad. (The name may indeed be the original of *Asia*, which in Roman times was applied to the province in just that area.) As many as twenty-two places are listed as taking part in the rebellion, from Lukka in the south to Taruisa and Wilusa in the north, the names of which have been tentatively identified with the Greek Τροία and Ϝίλιος, though there are some philological difficulties.

In any case these documents are of importance when we consider the story, preserved on the Greek side, of the great Trojan War which marks the beginning of the end of the second heroic age. Here in these undoubtedly historical Hittite texts we find a setting in which that war could well have taken place. Earlier, any major activity in the lands east of the Aegean would have provoked a powerful reaction by the Hittites, as indeed happened in the Miletus area. In the regions between Miletus and Troy there is extremely little evidence of Mycenaean trade, and if this is not due to accidental limitations of archaeological knowledge it may have been the power of Assuwa, backed by the Hittites, that blocked Mycenaean entry. In Troy, however, the Mycenaeans had at least found commercial opportunities, though never any possibility of settlement. Now, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, the changing situation in the hinterland might prompt a more active Mycenaean approach. The Hittite Empire was crumbling; the states to the west which had been a buffer between Mycenaeans and Hittites were asserting themselves; and it was almost inevitable that the Greeks should become involved against

[1] § 1, 6, 102 ff.; cf. § 1, 5, 32 ff.

them, whether as competitors for their territory, now left clear of Hittite influence, and for new trading opportunities, or merely to forestall the dangers that might beset them with fully independent neighbours in western Asia Minor. The Hittite records of the aggrandisement of Madduwattash and the rebellion of Assuwa and its allies show that even now the south-west and west offered no easy field for any Mycenaean aggression. But in the north-west the Troad, where they already had trading access, may have seemed a more practicable approach. Even so they would have to reckon with the other powers of western Asia Minor as allies of Troy.

II. THE TROJAN WAR

For later Greeks the Trojan War was the best remembered event of the Mycenaean age: it is the central fact of history behind the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*;[1] and it was constantly present to the Greek mind as a turning-point of the heroic age. The two greatest Greek historians both refer to it in the opening chapters of their work: Herodotus recalls it[2] as an earlier conflict of east and west, analogous to that of the Persian Wars; Thucydides speaks of it[3] as the first united foreign enterprise of the Greeks. That it was a united Greek enterprise is a point of some importance. The fame and glory of it were a joint inheritance of all the Greeks, just as the Homeric epics were. But we should be wrong to suggest that it was the Homeric epic that made it so, or that the epic was the sole source of knowledge of the war. It is true that a considered reading of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* will give one the outline—that Agamemnon mustered a force of men and ships from all Greece to sail against Troy to avenge the abduction of Helen, wife of his brother Menelaus of Sparta, and that Troy was eventually sacked after a long-drawn-out siege. But Homer does not actually recount these events; rather they are alluded to as though known already, and so no doubt they were. For Homer's poems are nowadays recognized as not the beginnings but the climax of a tradition of epic, in which earlier poems may indeed have been more concerned with the annals of history. But Homer's purpose was to tell a tale of human experience of universal application; and his narratives have the Trojan War for their backcloth because the period of that war and its aftermath was the most momentous in the then remembered past of the Greeks, and was universally recognized as such. Indeed the fact that the

[1] On the Homeric poems as history see *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXXIX(*b*).

[2] Hdt. I, 3. [3] Thuc. I, 3.

Trojan War was accepted as historical by all the ancient Greek world, and that no writer in all that nation of sceptics ever questioned its historicity, is the most compelling evidence that it really did take place.

But though the *Iliad* does not pretend itself to be history, there is incorporated within it what may almost be described as a Mycenaean historical document, the *Catalogue of Ships*[1] in Book II. This list of the contingents (with their leaders and their places of origin) that composed the force attacking Troy represents a political geography quite unlike that of historical Greece.[2] It is not simply that the post-Mycenaean Dorian occupation of Greece is ignored. The cities are grouped in kingdoms with centres such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylus, which are known to have been the focal points of the Mycenaean civilization though unimportant in historical times. Thebes, on the other hand, prominent in early Mycenaean times, is not mentioned; and this too is appropriate, since, as we have seen, the power of Thebes was in eclipse after L.H. IIIa.[3] This correspondence of the *Catalogue* with the Mycenaean reality extends to more detail. Of nearly 170 places named, over 90 can be pretty certainly identified; and of these a good half can be shown to have been occupied in Mycenaean times, while none of them is known to have been founded later than the Dorian invasion. Further corroboration of the *Catalogue*'s Mycenaean date is to be seen in its inclusion of at least forty places whose very location was no longer identifiable by the classical Greeks.[4]

In view of the good case that can on such grounds as these be made for the authenticity of the *Catalogue*, it will be worth while noting both its general content and, in particular, a few points which, though unexpected and not always corroborated by archaeology, may none the less be historically sound. While Agamemnon, the commander-in-chief, is elsewhere in the *Iliad* (II, 108) spoken of as ruler of 'many islands and of all Argos' (whether *Argos* means the city, the Argolid, or some larger area of Greece), the *Catalogue* defines more narrowly his personal kingdom. This, with its capital at Mycenae, includes only the northern end of Argolis, together with Corinthia and the country between Arcadia and the Corinthian Gulf.[5] The rest of the Argive plain, including the great fortress of Tiryns, is under Diomede, who also rules the Argolic Acte and Aegina.[6] This division of Argolis may seem like

[1] Further discussed in *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXXIX(*b*), sect. 5.
[2] § II, 1; § II, 2; § II, 7, ch. IV.
[3] *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXII(*a*), sect. 2.
[4] § II, 7, 121f.
[5] *Iliad*, II, 569–80.
[6] *Iliad*, II, 559–67.

a recurrence of the situation which according to tradition obtained before Perseus first fortified Mycenae;[1] but there is no suggestion that Diomede is anything but the willing and loyal vassal of Agamemnon, and even on the archaeological evidence alone it would be more plausible to see the ruler of the great fortress of Tiryns as subordinate to the King of Mycenae. Of the rest of the Peloponnese, Sparta is the kingdom of Agamemnon's twin Menelaus, which suggests a particularly close degree of political co-operation. Nestor's kingdom of Pylus in the south-west seems in somewhat freer association; it had never come under direct Pelopid rule, and its longer traditions and greater independence are reflected in the picture of Nestor's great age and the respect he is always shown in the story. The Pylus area is at present the only part of Mycenaean Greece apart from Crete for which we have (in the Linear B tablets) some contemporary record of place-names with which to compare the *Catalogue* entries. But while the *Catalogue* presumably lists the towns of most importance, there is no clear indication that any of the tablets does the same; no conclusions, therefore, can be drawn from the fact that only a few of the eight towns which the *Catalogue* mentions along with Pylus can be traced on the tablets.[2]

Arcadia and Elis complete the list of the Peloponnesian contingents. The Arcadian warriors, transported (since they were no seafarers) in sixty ships provided by Agamemnon, seem perhaps more numerous than present archaeological knowledge of the area would lead us to expect. The chief interest of the entry for Elis is that the territory is defined rather by names of physical features than by names of towns, which suggests a sparser population; and similarly the fact that they had four leaders implies that they had a looser political organization. Their collective name is *Epeioi*, and others of this name came from the western islands of Dulichium (which cannot be certainly identified) and the Echinades, the kingdom of Meges. From further west still came the *Kephallenes*, under Odysseus, who ruled the islands of Ithaca, Same (almost certainly equivalent to Cephallenia), and Zacynthos. Here again the use of the tribal name suggests a less developed stage of civilization; and archaeology shows that these islands had come late into the sphere of Mycenaean culture.[3] Mycenaean remains there do not antedate the thirteenth century B.C., and there are no major settlements.. The Aetolians, with forty ships from five towns, represent a rather different situation; the fame of the

[1] *C.A.H.* II², ch. XIV, sect. 8.

[2] § II, 8, 141 ff.

[3] § II, 9, ch. XIII (iii).

earlier heroes Tydeus and Meleager and the legend of the siege of Calydon[1] imply that Aetolia had once been an important Mycenaean centre, but to judge from the *Catalogue* it had much declined. It is indeed on the fringe of the Mycenaean world, so far as material remains yet tell; and the *Catalogue* equally has nothing to say of the areas to the north-west of it, either the islands of Leucas and Corcyra or the mainland areas of Acarnania, Thesprotia and Epirus. These were peopled, if by Greeks, by rougher, un-Mycenaean Greeks, whose hour had not yet come.

The peoples of central Greece are given by their tribal names, Phokeeis, Lokroi and Abantes from Euboea, which again is probably indicative of a less advanced political organization than in the Peloponnese.[2] The same probably holds good for Boeotia; for the power of Thebes, which might have led a well-knit state, is a thing of the past, as we have seen, and the Boiotoi are probably newcomers to the Boeotian plain.[3] No less than thirty towns are listed, but their leadership is divided among five commanders. Why the Boeotians should have been given pride of place in the list is now no longer clear; possibly the *Catalogue* was originally composed in Boeotia.[4] Further north also we can recognize a diversity of political development. The people of Achilles, from Pelasgic Argos (probably the Spercheus Valley), from Hellas and from Phthia, go under the names of *Myrmidones* and *Hellenes* and *Achaioi*. *Hellenes* here is still a tribal name, like *Myrmidones*, and like *Hellas* has only a narrow local connotation, though we cannot clearly define it. *Phthia* is still more obscure; nor is it clear in what particular sense this contingent especially are called Achaeans. Only three towns are mentioned, though the contingent comprised fifty ships; but there is nothing incongruous in somewhat undeveloped hill-country producing some of the toughest fighting men in the army. The rich plain of Thessaly is represented in the *Catalogue* by eight small kingdoms with some twenty-five towns between them. This implies a degree of civilization for Thessaly which is only now becoming archaeologically apparent.

Coming south again we are in the area of fullest Mycenaean culture. Finds in Attica have shown that it was as prosperous and populous in L.H. IIIb as any part of Greece; in the *Catalogue* it has fifty ships, yet only the one city, Athens, is mentioned, and the people are named after it, Ἀθηναῖοι. Have we not here further evidence that the political union of Attica was achieved

[1] Cf. *C.A.H.* II², ch. XIV, sect. 7.
[2] § II, 4, 65 f.
[3] See Thuc. I, 12.
[4] § II, 7, 152.

before the Trojan War?[1] Some ancient critics held that the next *Catalogue* entry, referring to Salamis, had been tampered with in the interests of Athenian propaganda; but even so Salamis appears as an independent unit, contributing a dozen ships under the great Ajax.[2]

Crete in the *Catalogue* still bears the epithet ἑκατόμπολις, 'isle of a hundred cities', which might better have fitted the Minoan than the L.H. III situation; but only seven cities are named, contributing a force of eighty ships under Idomeneus, the grandson of Minos. There is here nothing dissonant with what we might expect from the archaeological record. Rhodes is represented by nine ships under Tlepolemus, Syme by three under Nireus and the other islands of the southern Sporades by thirty, led by Pheidippus and Antiphus. Tlepolemus as the *Catalogue* reminds us was a son, and Pheidippus and Antiphus were grandsons, of Heracles—a genealogy which probably reflects the already long-standing traditions of these islands, settled by Mycenaeans as early as L.H. II.[3]

The Cyclades and the northern Sporades find no mention in the list. This is unexpected, since we know that these islands shared the Mycenaean way of life. Probably the simplest explanation is that they did in fact remain neutral in the war. Lesbos and Lemnos in the north-east Aegean were non-Greek, and Lesbos is mentioned elsewhere in Homer[4] as having been conquered by the Achaeans—perhaps as a strategic prelude to the siege of Troy? Excavation has shown that Thermi in Lesbos was actually destroyed at a date which on the evidence of imported Mycenaean pottery must be near that of the fall of Troy.[5]

Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, is throughout the epic recognized as the commander-in-chief of the whole Greek host; but there is no special emphasis on his overall kingship in the *Catalogue*, and we are left on the whole with a picture of a temporary union, for the purposes of the war, of a number of diverse and independent kingdoms, rather than of a close-knit Mycenaean Empire. Possibly the ties of political unity were already loosening; or perhaps they had never existed to the degree we tend to imply in talking of 'empire'. Our consideration of the Hittite documents has shown that Mycenaean princes may well have engaged in hostilities abroad without reference to a suzerain in mainland Greece; and even in peace we may suppose that Bronze Age

[1] § II, 7, 145 and notes. Cf. *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXII(*a*), sect. 1 *ad fin.*
[2] Strabo, 394.
[3] Cf. *C.A.H.* II², ch. XIV, sect. 9 *ad fin.*
[4] *Iliad*, IX, 129f.
[5] § II, 6, 72, 213.

communications would necessitate a fair degree of decentralization in government, and a corresponding independence of local princes. For the Trojan War, however, there is no reason to doubt that the Greeks showed a united front.

The list of Trojan allies[1] in *Iliad* II is but sketchy compared with the Greek catalogue; and this strengthens our belief in its Mycenaean date. It covers western Asia Minor from the Propontis and the Troad down to Miletus and Lycia, but without detail. It includes only such knowledge of these lands as would have been available in Mycenaean times, and has not been elaborated during the later history of the epic, when Asia Minor was quite familiar to Greeks. It is significant in this connexion that the one coastal city south of the Troad which is named is Miletus, the chief city of the Carians, who are characterized as of foreign speech (*βαρβαρόφωνοι*). This is precisely the area which archaeology and the Hittite texts show to have been long familiar to the Mycenaeans, and perhaps even, for a time, under Mycenaean rule.[2] Now, however, it is ranged on the enemy side. Furthermore, the Trojan *Catalogue*, like the Greek, mentions some places which were not identifiable by the later Greeks, a sure sign that such references go back to a time before the Ionians settled in Asia Minor.[3]

This Homeric account of the allies of Troy naturally invites comparison with the Assuwan alliance in western Asia Minor which rebelled against the Hittite emperor Tudkhaliyash IV.[4] A certain difference between them is that the Homeric *Catalogue* includes allies of Troy on the European side of the Hellespont—Thracians, Cicones and Paeonians—who are not mentioned in the Assuwan league. On the Asiatic side the difficulty of identification of the names in the Hittite document hampers the inquiry; but we can be fairly sure that *Lukka* and *Karkisha* are the same as the Lycians and Carians of the epic. The Assuwan league was defeated, according to the Hittite records, but it nevertheless seems that Hittites did not thereafter intervene in western Asia Minor, and the same or another grouping of states may have recovered and even enlarged itself to meet the Mycenaean aggression. In the present state of knowledge, however, we are reduced to conjecture.

From Troy itself[5] there is good archaeological evidence that the

[1] Cf. §II, 7, 137 ff.
[2] See sect. 1 above and *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXII (*a*), sect. 5.
[3] §II, 7, 140 ff.
[4] §II, 5, 34–7.
[5] See *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXI.

city known as Troy VII a was in fact destroyed by an enemy, after a siege, at a date when L.H. III b pottery was still being used; and there can be no reasonable doubt that this was the event which has echoed through the world's literature ever since. It is the only archaeologically recognizable sack of Troy at all near the period assigned by tradition. But when we inquire more closely after the date of this event,[1] there are difficulties on both sides. Tradition was not unanimous as to an 'absolute' date, though it was agreed[2] that Troy fell from sixty to eighty years (or two generations) before the Return of the Heraclidae, the dynasty ousted from the Peloponnese by the Pelopids. The Return itself was dated through the Spartan royal pedigrees which could be traced back to it. By such rough calculation various dates were arrived at, with the mean at 1203 B.C., in our terminology.[3] Archaeology, in turn, cannot yet date L.H. III b pottery with sufficient precision for us to do any better than place the fall of Troy '*c.* 1200 B.C.'. Nor can we place it with any real precision in relation to Hittite chronology, though this has been attempted.[4] It is probably safe to assume that it was later than the texts of the reign of Tudkhaliyash IV referring to the Assuwan alliance, but how much later is by no means certain. There are difficulties, too, in establishing the chronological relation of the sack of Troy to events in Greece itself, attested by archaeology, which must now be considered.

III. DISTURBANCES WITHIN GREECE: INVASION AND EMIGRATION

The general evidence of the history of Mycenaean settlements, as observed by the archaeologist, shows clearly enough the expansion that took place in the L.H. III b phase. Whereas L.H. III a is represented at some ninety sites, L.H. III b is represented at 143. These figures disregard sites known to have been occupied in L.H. III, but without any preciser indication of the date; yet even so they must imply a great increase in population and prosperity. It is, however, clear that the phase characterized by the archaeologist as L.H. III b embraces also the beginnings of decline; for the subsequent III c phase is represented only at sixty-four sites—a recession even more striking than the preceding expansion.[5] It might be tempting to deduce from this some single overwhelming

[1] Cf. *C.A.H.* I², ch. VI, sect. 3, pp. 75 f., and bibliography thereto.
[2] Cf. Strabo 582, 3; Thuc. I, 12, 3.
[3] §II, 3, ch. IV.
[4] §II, 5, 30–6.
[5] §III, 1, 148–50.

catastrophe of invasion and destruction that brought Mycenaean Greece to its knees; but this would be rash. For the evidence does not tell us that the sites that did not survive into L.H. IIIc all disappeared at the same time, nor do we even know that they all perished by sword and pillage.

Some signs of such perils can, however, be traced. The walls of Mycenae appear to have been strengthened and extended within this period,[1] and special care was taken to ensure a water-supply in time of siege. Similar precautions were taken at Tiryns and at Athens.[2] At the Isthmus of Corinth[3] a new fortification was set up, apparently to check invasion from the north. This recalls the tradition of the first and unsuccessful attempt of the Heraclidae[4] to regain their kingdom, when their leader Hyllus was slain in single combat at the Isthmus, and an agreement reached that they should not return for two generations. According to one account,[5] however, they did pass the Isthmus at this earlier attempt, and captured all the cities of the Peloponnese, but had to withdraw again after one year on account of a plague that broke out. This abortive attack occurred before the Trojan War; Pausanias is specific about this, rejecting a view he had held earlier in his work.[6] The archaeologist can only say that the fortification of the Isthmus and the sack of Troy both fell within L.H. IIIb; further precision should some day be obtained from a better knowledge of the pottery styles on which our dates are based.

Also within the L.H. IIIb period occurred the destruction or partial destruction of a number of Mycenaean sites, including some of the most important.[7] South of Corinth the small but prosperous settlement of Zygouries[8] came to a violent end. At Mycenae itself a number of houses outside the citadel were burned, never to be rebuilt.[9] Even within the walls there was some damage,[10] but the citadel continued to be inhabited thereafter. Tiryns too seems to have been attacked; there is considerable evidence of destruction by fire;[11] but here again the citadel did survive. In Laconia, the settlement at the Menelaion[12] was destroyed; in Messenia, the great palace of Nestor at Pylus.[13] Neither was rebuilt. Blegen, the excavator of both Pylus and

[1] §III, 16, 1959, 93ff.; §III, 15, 206.
[2] §III, 19; §III, 8, 355; §III, 6, 422–5.
[3] §III, 9; §III, 7, 299 (plan).
[4] Cf. *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXXVI(*B*), p. 26.
[5] Apollod. II, 8, 2.
[6] Paus. VIII, 5, and I, 41.
[7] §III, 1, 149.
[8] §III, 5.
[9] §III, 21; §III, 10.
[10] §III, 12.
[11] §III, 19; §III, 1, 35f.
[12] §III, 22, 72.
[13] §III, 4, vol. 64, 159.

Troy, can assure us that Pylus was destroyed after Troy,[1] but we do not know just how long after. The sequence of the events at the other sites is less certain. But sites in central Greece tell a similar tale. The huge island fortress of Gla in Boeotia did not outlive L.H. IIIb, but little detail is yet available for this site;[2] its previous history is virtually unknown, but it is possible that its whole existence was short. If so, the very construction of so great a fortification (enclosing ten times the area of Tiryns or Troy) is a symptom of the dangers that now beset Mycenaean Greece. Crisa in Phocis is another site that seems to have come to a violent end at this time.[3] Further north, the final destruction of the palace at Iolcus[4] is obviously another serious disaster for Mycenaean civilization about which the evidence of further excavation will be particularly welcome; it is believed to have occurred at the very end of L.H. IIIb.

What archaeology at present fails to tell us is the order of sequence of these events, and whether they occurred after the Trojan War or not. The traditional history would lead us to expect that they did; for otherwise it would have been a sadly weakened and depopulated Greece that put up the expedition against Troy. Could it indeed have launched its thousand ships? It seems improbable. As events of the post-war period they raise no such question, but rather accord with the traditional picture, in which the nominal success of the taking of Troy is followed by no occupation of the foreign territory, no resultant access of prosperity at home. Honour had been satisfied; and if we believe tradition alone, that was the sole purpose of the expedition. But the historian, however willing to *cherchez la femme*, looks for profounder and more substantial interpretations, which at present elude us. The tradition of the Trojan War implies a powerful Greece. The fact of the destruction of sites—and even though the sites are at present few, they are widespread—implies that the Mycenaean glory was departed. We should be perverse not to recognize the strong probability that the destructions are to be linked with the Dorian invasion, of which clear and irrefutable accounts have come down to us.[5]

The Dorian invasion and the final breakup of Mycenaean Greece are discussed in volume II, chapter XXXVI (rev. ed.); but the

[1] §III, 4, vol. 61, 133.
[2] §III, 16, 1957, 29; 1960, 37f.; §III, 1, 122f.
[3] §III, 13; §III, 1, 130f.
[4] §III, 16, 1956, 49; 1960, 57; §III, 1, 143.
[5] Discussed in *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXXVI(*B*).

Greeks had traditions of events more immediately following upon the Trojan War which also deserve the historian's attention. The heroes had sacked Troy; they shared out the loot and the captives and pointed their ships homeward; but a hard coming they had of it. From Homer onwards the period of the 'homecomings', the *Nostoi*, is a tale of shipwreck and wandering off course, of enforced settlement in distant lands, of return to broken homes and family strife, of consequent emigration to build life afresh in new lands. The story of the *Odyssey* is typical in the picture of difficulties encountered, though not in the hero's ultimate attainment of home and happiness (and even Odysseus, we may recall, was destined to further wandering).[1] Other homeward journeys of heroes presented in the course of the poem have a special interest, in that they are there as background to the main tale, and are therefore presumably intended as a picture of the typical post-war situation. Menelaus, before he reached Sparta, had visited Cyprus, Phoinike (Syria or Palestine) and Egypt; in Egypt he had stayed a considerable time, and accumulated valuable possessions which he brought home with him.[2] Odysseus himself puts over a story of similar wanderings, on occasions when he is at pains to conceal his identity. He claims that after taking part in the Trojan War he had travelled to Egypt, Phoinike, and Libya; and more particularly he states in one place that his visit to Egypt was in company with roving pirates—*ἅμα λῃϊστῆρσι πολυπλάγκτοισι* —who got into considerable trouble with the Egyptian forces.[3] These adventures are fiction, even within the framework of the story; but the story demands that they be plausible, the kind of adventures which were typical of the period; and as such both they and Menelaus's wanderings invite comparison with the land and sea raids in the first decade of the twelfth century which we have already noted in the records of Ramesses III. It is not fanciful to see here the poetic record, from the other side, of the same events.

There were current in historical Greece many more such stories, some of them crystallized in the epic *Nostoi* (of which we have now but fragmentary knowledge), others remembered as part of the traditional history of individual cities. What survives today is in late authors, but it is clear that they depended on much older sources. The general picture is of Greek heroes emigrating, either direct from Troy, or after a brief return home, to almost every part of the Mediterranean: Apollodorus, for example, mentions

[1] *Od.* XI, 128.
[2] *Od.* IV, 81ff., 128ff.
[3] *Od.* XVII, 425ff.

Asia Minor, Libya, Italy and Sicily, and even the islands near Iberia.[1] The individual instances which may be collected from the literature are almost innumerable, and a selection must suffice here for illustration.

Teucer, for example, was banished from his home in Salamis and went to found a new Salamis in Cyprus.[2] Agapenor, the Arcadian leader, forced off course on his way from Troy, founded or re-founded Paphus, with its famous temple of Aphrodite.[3] Pheidippus, again, the leader of the Coans, was reputed to have found his way to Cyprus and settled there.[4] For such settlements there is at least some archaeological corroboration. Enkomi, the Bronze Age predecessor of the Cypriot Salamis, had been destroyed at the end of L.H. IIIb, and the people who rebuilt it used L.H. IIIc pottery of a style which is clearly not developed from local antecedents, but from mainland Greek wares.[5] The history of Paphus is less well known at present; but some connexion of the cult there with Arcadia is attested by the fact that in Greece itself the *Paphian* Aphrodite was worshipped only at Tegea.[6]

Equally remarkable is the story of the colonization of Pamphylia and Cilicia by Greeks who left Troy under the leadership of Amphilochus, accompanied by the prophet Calchas. This is mentioned by Herodotus,[7] and Strabo in his several references to it cites Callinus and Hesiod as sources, and indicates that it was known to Sophocles. The migrants apparently proceeded by a coastal route, for Clarus near Colophon is the scene of a picturesque incident between Calchas and another seer, Mopsus, who replaces him and eventually assists in the founding of Mallus in Cilicia. Subsequently, Amphilochus revisited his native Argos, and on returning to Mallus was hostilely received by Mopsus; but despite the tradition that the two killed each other in single combat the names of both were closely associated with the local oracle in later times. The particular interest of this tradition lies in the fact that Mopsus may plausibly be identified with one Mukshush whom late Hittite kings of this area in the eighth century B.C. claimed as the first of their line.[8] Finds of pottery show that Cilicia had for some time before this (perhaps from L.H. IIIa)

[1] Apollod. epitome, VI, 15.
[2] Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* IV, 75. [3] Lycophron, 479ff.; Strabo, 683.
[4] Schol. on Lycophron, 911. Further examples in §III, 11.
[5] Cf. *C.A.H.* II[2], ch. XXXVI(*A*), sect. 1(*a*).
[6] Paus. VIII, 5, 2.
[7] Hdt. VII, 91; Strabo, 642, 668, 675–6; Paus. VII, 2, 1.
[8] §III, 2.

been in touch with the Mycenaeans, and the pottery evidence continues into the L.H. IIIc period;[1] but without further excavation of settlements we are not yet able to corroborate by this means the story of the settlement of Amphilochus. For Pamphylia (where some of the migrants made their new home) there is as yet even less archaeological evidence; philological data suggest that Greek settlements there were established at least as early as in Cyprus,[2] but this is not precise enough for our purposes. Certainly the traditions must not be lightly dismissed as unhistorical, especially if we observe how far the tale of this migration through Asia Minor, and of the settlements in Cyprus, seems to echo what the Egyptian records have to say of the movement of peoples in just these areas in the reign of Ramesses III.[3]

For regions to the west of Greece, tradition presents us with a similar picture.[4] The Pylians who sailed away from Troy with Nestor are credited with the foundation of Metapontum on the Gulf of Taranto, and even of Pisa in distant Etruria;[5] Crimisa is said to have been founded by Philoctetes, and the same hero is later associated with the foundation of the more famous colonies of Croton and Sybaris in the same area;[6] Diomede settled in the region of Apulia called Daunia.[7] Most remarkable of all, perhaps, the Rhodians are said to have founded colonies as far off as Spain and the Balearic Islands, besides others on the Italian coasts—at Parthenope in Campania, at Elpia in Daunia (this in conjunction with the Coans), and in the vicinities of Siris and Sybaris on the Gulf of Taranto.[8]

The coasts of southern Italy and Sicily were not of course unknown to the Mycenaeans before this date: pottery and other evidence proves at least trading contact in these parts from L.H. II onwards; and settlement there in the disturbed twelfth century would conform to the same pattern as the migrations to the eastern Mediterranean, which nowhere seem to have opened up wholly new lands or routes. Archaeological support for the traditions is not impressive in either quantity or detail, but it is not wholly wanting. As in the east, there is a falling-off in the pottery evidence at the end of L.H. IIIb. In Sicily no IIIc imports have been discovered, though there are suggestions of IIIc influence in local wares: in the Aeolian Islands it is only at Lipari that IIIc

[1] §I, 8, 88f.; §III, 17, 134.
[2] §III, 14.
[3] See sect. 1 above.
[4] §III, 3, ch. IX.
[5] Strabo, 264, 222.
[6] Strabo, 254.
[7] Strabo, 283 f.
[8] Strabo, 654, 264; cf. §III, 3, 61 f. and 348.

wares appear.[1] But at Scoglio del Tonno, by Taranto, the Mycenaean pottery sequence runs right through into L.H. IIIc; and in Apulia there are local wares which show marked signs of IIIc influence.[2] There is at present no trace of Mycenaeans in Campania or Etruria; but there is nothing unreasonable in the tradition, especially if we recall that Mycenaean sherds of earlier date have been found as far north as Ischia.[3] That Pylus should colonize in the central Mediterranean is likely enough, since it lies on the coasting route up through the Ionian Sea, and there is a further reminder that this was a natural course for shipping in the identification of features in the IIIc pottery from Scoglio del Tonno which derive from Cephallenia.[4] Cephallenia itself seems to have had a fresh access of population in L.H. IIIc;[5] but this movement did not extend northwards to Leucas or Corcyra, which still remained strangely isolated from Mycenaean culture. The superficially improbable tradition of colonization from far-off Rhodes is on examination of the archaeological evidence perhaps the most plausible. Rhodes had been a flourishing corner of the Mycenaean world from L.H. II onwards, and seems not to have suffered as mainland Greece did from the troubles of the IIIb period, but with some others of the Aegean islands continued to enjoy comparative prosperity in IIIc.[6] Moreover, it is clear that Rhodes was a chief participant in the activities of the Mycenaean trading station at Scoglio del Tonno.[7] It would be natural, therefore, that the Rhodians should be foremost in any colonizing that went on in the Gulf of Taranto after the Trojan War. That they went so far as Spain or the Balearics there is as yet no proof; but we shall do well to restrain ourselves from the felicity of incredulity.

The flight from mainland Greece that is represented by all these eastward and westward migrations is not easily explained; and as so often in history, causes and effects seem inextricably tangled. Clearly, conditions at home must have been unsatisfactory, and it is easy to blame the Dorian invasion; but why was Mycenaean Greece unable to resist invasion? Possibly resources had been squandered in the Trojan campaign. But why was the war undertaken? There seems to have been good warning of dangers at home before it began; it was not a moment for aggres-

[1] §III, 18, 74 and 47.
[2] §III, 18, 128ff. and 138ff.
[3] §III, 18, 7f.
[4] §III, 18, 132.
[5] Cf. *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXXVI(*A*), sect. 1(*a*), p. 4.
[6] Cf. *C.A.H.* II², ch. XXXVI(*A*), sect. 1(*a*), *ad fin.*
[7] §III, 18, 128ff.

sion in the opposite direction. Perhaps the weakening of the Hittite Empire and the consequent difficulties in east Mediterranean trade had a graver effect on the Mycenaean economy than we can now discern, and the Trojan campaign was a desperate attempt to gain a new opening. Perhaps Greece had burned up her home resources—almost literally, for the consumption of timber in Mycenaean times for building as well as for fuel in the metal and pottery industries must have been enormous. It is not impossible that the first disastrous steps in deforestation, with the inevitable impoverishment that it brings, were taken in Mycenaean times. When the Dorian pirates hove in sight the Mycenaean ship had fought its last fight and was already sinking. There was nothing to do but to take to the boats and row manfully out of reach.

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See also *C.A.H.* 1^2, ch. VI, sect. 3.

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