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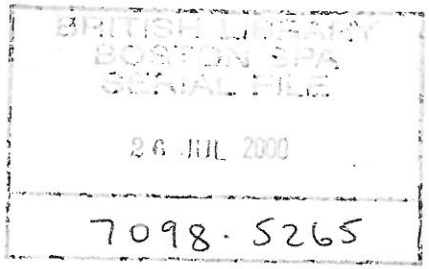
HOMERIC QUESTIONS

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ESSAYS IN PHILOLOGY, ANCIENT HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, INCLUDING THE PAPERS OF A CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY THE NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE AT ATHENS (15 MAY 1993)

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HOMER, HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

SOME REMARKS ON THE DATE OF THE HOMERIC WORLD

JAN PAUL CRIELAARD

The chronological setting of the Homeric world is an issue which during the last decades has almost reached the status of a new Homeric question.[1] It is a discussion in which philology, ancient history and archaeology all play a role. The present volume, which aims to contribute to a multi-disciplinary approach to Homer's epics, seems a proper place to reflect on this matter.

There is general agreement that the Homeric epics are examples of oral poetry and that they were composed and written down - essentially in the form in which we have them - in the second half of the 8th century BC, the *Odyssey* somewhat later than the *Iliad*.[2] Discussion focuses especially on the chronological period or periods which the poems reflect. There is a rather persistent scholarly tradition which assumes that the world of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has close links with the Mycenaean civilization.[3] A series of discoveries in different disciplines from the late 19th century onwards lies at the root of this conviction. Pride of place should be given, of course, to Heinrich Schliemann's epoch-making excavations at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns and elsewhere. His discoveries demonstrated that, long before the Classical era, Greece had experienced a hitherto unknown, but marvellous, prehistoric civilization. Of great influence, too, was Milman Parry's identification of

1 I am grateful to Profs. J.H. Crouwel and C.J. Ruijgh and Drs. J. Driessen and H. van Wees for comments on this paper. They are, of course, not accountable for any remaining mistakes or omissions, nor do they necessarily agree with the views proposed here.
2 Janko 1982, 195-200, 228-31; Kirk 1985, 3-16; West 1988. Cf. Havelock 1982, 166, 179-81: canonical version written down between 700 and 550 BC.
3 See references in Sherratt 1990, 808.

the Homeric epics as examples of oral poetry.[4] He stressed that the epics stood at the end of a centuries-long, oral tradition, which made use of so-called 'formulas' - traditional phrases, lines or combinations of words, which were often of considerable antiquity. This notion, in turn, fostered the conviction that the Homeric poems preserved glimpses of the Mycenaean world. Finally, the decipherment of Linear B in 1952 by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick demonstrated that the tablets using this script recorded an archaic form of Greek, which had resemblances to the archaic language used in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

At first sight it seems legitimate to regard the Mycenaean era as a suitable setting for the epics. The rich tombs and luxurious palaces from the Mycenaean period, which bear witness to a predisposition towards display and conspicuous consumption, seem to constitute an ideal world for the luxury-loving Homeric heroes to have lived in (see fig. 1). However, apart from a number of linguistic elements and particular artefacts which go back to the Late Bronze Age, the general picture presented by the Homeric epics is hard to reconcile with that of the Mycenaean civilization. The complex socio-political and economic organization of the Mycenaean palace system, as can be reconstructed from Linear B documents, is far removed from the relatively simple conditions prevailing in the poems. As Heubeck has stressed, it is not the similarities, but the differences between the Linear B documents and Homer that are most conspicuous.[5] In addition, archaeological research has shown that in many respects the material setting of the Homeric world, including its geography, offers very few and often dubious parallels with the situation in the Late Bronze Age.[6]

One of the reasons for the persistent belief in connections between the epics and the Mycenaean civilization is that the Early Iron Age - the

4 Parry 1971; see also contributions by Ruijgh, de Jong and Bakker in this volume.

5 Heubeck 1984, 7. Finley 1957 is, of course, most clarifying in this respect.

6 For the author's own position in this discussion and a fuller treatment of the topic, see Crielaard 1994. Recently, P. James *et al.* proposed to lower the end of the Bronze Age to ca. 950 BC, which would imply a down-dating of the end of Mycenaean culture to the early 9th c.; the authors suggest that the Homeric problem - "the strange mingling of elements from the Late Bronze Age and Homer's own time" - would become far less baffling, if the length of the intervening period of the Dark Ages were substantially shortened (James *et al.*1991 a, 311ff.; 1991 b, 233). This revision of the traditional chronology has been criticized by, among others, various authors in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 1991, 235ff.



Fig. 1. Early 20th century AD image of the Homeric warrior (after Leaf 1900, 566-8 figs. 1-2).

period between the Mycenaean era and Homer's own time - was long considered to have been too poor and backwards to have been the setting of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Recent archaeological finds, however, have revolutionized the perception of these so-called 'Dark Ages'. Especially places like Knossos in Crete and Lefkandi in Euboea have produced evidence of the existence of large and prosperous communities, which maintained contacts with distant regions like Cyprus and the Levant.[7] Of particular importance is the discovery of a large building at Lefkandi, dating to the early 10th century BC. It is not difficult to picture this building as an aristocratic feasting-hall for banquets, at which Homer's predecessors might have recited their songs. In addition, under this edifice a lavishly furnished grave was found belonging to a warrior and his spouse. A number of features of this grave recall the burials of the great heroes of the Homeric epics.[8]

In sum, there are good reasons to look for a post-Bronze Age setting of the poems. In this paper, I will argue that the Homeric epics reflect a rather late stage in the Early Iron Age. I will put forward a number of arguments to show that important aspects of Homer's own world, i.e. the 8th or even 7th century BC, have left a profound impression in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Before defining some premises of my approach, I will discuss arguments adduced by other authors in support of a date of the Homeric world in the Early Iron Age.

Homer and the Early Iron Age

A relatively late date for the world of the epics was suggested earlier this century by scholars like W. Schadewaldt.[9] More influential was M.I. Finley's argument for a Dark Age date, even though this was based on somewhat gross generalisations. According to the latter, heroic poetry tends to exclude contemporary conditions, which in the case of the Homeric epics meant features belonging to the poet's own, 8th-century society, such as references to Dorians, the Olympic Games, colonization, Greek trade with the Levant and polis organization. Assuming that heroic poetry is generally situated in a setting taken

7 Knossos: see e.g. Coldstream 1984; 1991; 1994. Lefkandi: next note.
8 Popham, Calligas & Sackett 1993, esp. 21-2; see also Blome 1984; 1991; Crielaard & Driessen 1994.
9 Schadewaldt 1944.

from a not too remote past, Finley believed that the world of Odysseus belonged to the 10th and 9th centuries BC.[10] More recently, O.T.P.K. Dickinson has argued for a similar chronological setting, but this time working down from the other end of the time scale. "Swallowing hard", he accepts that many features of the Homeric world, which are traditionally considered to be Mycenaean, fit a Dark Age context as well, or even better.[11]

Reacting against Finley's generalisations, I. Morris has defended the thesis that orally transmitted poems like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can have intimate links with the present. On the basis of comparative ethnographic data, he shows that oral poetry is subject to constant change and argues that the heroic world was continuously 'actualized' in order to make sense to the poet and his audience; the fact that the epics were orally composed implies that the institutions and structures of Homeric society must necessarily be derived from the period when the poems were written down in essentially the form we have them. The date of this 'freezing' of the poems is connected by Morris to the introduction of writing to Greece, in his view around 750 BC.[12]

Largely on the basis of internal evidence, H. van Wees has advocated a similar date. Van Wees' approach has been to make a detailed analysis of various aspects of the heroic world, including realities like the organization of household, community and state, and ideals regarding personal power, status and status rivalry. Incorporating the available epic evidence into a coherent picture, he compares this picture to archaeological and textual evidence, and concludes that good historical counterparts for this image can be found in the 8th and perhaps 7th century BC.[13]

Apart from authors who maintain that the basis of the world portrayed in the poems is formed by either the Mycenaean period or some

10 Finley 1963, 26; 1979, 38, 47-50, 153, 156-8; see also Andrewes 1967, 41-8.
11 Dickinson 1986, esp. 33. A date in the 9th c. is (also) supported by e.g. Andreev 1988, 13-4; Donlan 1989, 28; cf. Donlan & Thomas 1993, 65 (between ca. 850-760 BC).
12 I. Morris 1986.
13 Van Wees 1992, esp. 17, 22-3, 53-8, 158-62, 262-3. In a recent article, Van Wees (1994) elaborates his argument for an early 7th c. date of the epics on the basis of tactics and arms and armour used by Homeric heroes. For other authors supporting a 7th c. date, see Van Wees 1994, 155 nn. 98-9. See also below for W. Burkert's motivation for giving a similar date. M.S. Jensen (1980) attempts to argue that the epics were composed in the 6th century BC under Pesistratus.

stage in the Early Iron Age, there are a number of scholars who have emphasized the presence in the epics of anachronistic details belonging to various periods. As these anachronisms are manifest especially in artefacts and other aspects of the material culture of the epics, it is hardly surprising to find a considerable number of archaeologists among these scholars. Some of them feel it is justified to conclude that the epics display a composite picture, which cannot be assigned to a single historical society.[14]

Similar ideas have been put forward by a number of philologists. C.J. Ruijgh, for instance, advocates the notion that the world of the epics is an amalgam of Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean elements; he prefers a date in the second half of the 9th century for the most recent components of the Homeric world, as well as for Homer's *floruit*.[15] G.S. Kirk, on the other hand, believes that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* incorporate phenomena, often mixed up, from the Late Bronze Age to the period of the composition of the poems in the 8th century.[16] In addition to linguistic criteria, Kirk arrives at this conclusion by comparing *realia* described in the poems to datable archaeological finds. He lists a number of objects and practices which in his view can be assigned to the Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric periods respectively, remarking that "the chief lack is of really convincing indications of a Mycenaean, as distinct from a Submycenaean or Protogeometric, poetical tradition on the one hand, and of post-Homeric additions (...) on the other".[17]

In his recent study titled *Homer and the origin of the Greek alphabet*, B.B. Powell has adopted Kirk's dating criteria and re-examined some of them on the basis of more recently discovered archaeological material.[18] Kirk's dating criteria are also cited by F. Canciani (1984, 33, 90-6), although he takes a more critical stance against some of the archaeological comperanda listed by Kirk. Powell, who, like Kirk, is especially interested in demonstrating the absence of post-Homeric intrusions, comes to a similar conclusion: "11 of the 13 items cited as being datable yield, on close examination, no precise information about Homer's floruit. No object, practice or social reality is necessarily later than 700 BC, an extraordinary fact when we consider how many have assumed, and assume, the poems to be rife with interpolations".[19]

A related approach to the epics being an amalgam of chronologically divergent details is encountered in a recent article by E.S. Sherratt. This starts from the observation that the epics' material culture in many instances display a juxtaposition or superimposition of more than one chronological reflection. This chronological layering is explained by assuming that some of the structural elements of which the epics are made up (speeches, similes, formulaic lines and the like) were, for technical or contextual reasons, less susceptible to regular alteration than others. In Sherratt's opinion, this "stratigraphy" of the texts can be linked to three periods which made the largest contribution to the formation of the epics, and have in common that they were times of sociopolitical change during which competing social groups utilized the epic poems for self-definition. These three periods were the 16th to early 14th centuries (the formative phase of the Mycenaean palace society), the 12th to early 8th centuries (the period after the collapse of the palaces), and the later 8th century (the establishment of the Greek city-state).[20]

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE DATING OF THE HOMERIC WORLD

The way in which archaeology is used introduces certain difficulties in some of the above attempts to date the Homeric world. Many authors have singled out specific artefacts or other aspects of the material culture described in the poems and have looked for datable, archaeological correlates. As Finley rightly remarked, "the weakness of archaeological

14 See e.g. Snodgrass 1971, 388-94; 1974; Coldstream 1977, 18. Whereas Coldstream speaks of "an amalgam of anachronistic details", J. Whitley (1991 b, esp. 344, 364-5) sees Homeric society as "a poetic conflation of a number of diverse, contemporary societies", datable to the 10th or 9th c. BC. See further Pöhlmann 1992: "ein Konglomerat", aiming to depict the heroic world of the Bronze Age. Cf. H.L. Lorimer (1950), who already took a related position, maintaining that the epics have a Bronze Age basis, mixed with intrusions from the material culture of later periods. According to K.A. Raaflaub (1991, 251-2), finally, the epics are a "natural" amalgam, incorporating various elements from the rapidly changing late 9th and 8th centuries.

15 Ruijgh 1985, 146 with n. 8; 1989, 579; see also contribution in the present volume.

16 See Kirk 1975, 849.

17 Kirk 1960 (quote on p. 196-7).

18 Powell 1991, 190ff.

19 Powell 1991, 206. On Powell's date of Homer's *floruit* in the first half of the 8th c. BC, see below, n. 42.

20 Sherratt 1990.

argument in this particular context is that too many of the objects had a continuous existence (as types) from the early Dark Age into the archaic age (and even later)".[21] Besides, to quote Powell's criticism on the dating method employed by Kirk (and, as a matter of fact, by himself), "the earliest attested use of an object or practice in the archaeological record is no guarantee that the object or practice has no earlier history".[22] A further problem, also pointed out by Finley, is the great importance attached to *individual* elements of the material setting, which may have crept into the poems at various occasions and may have been added for various reasons, for instance as a means of deliberate archaization.[23]

Does this mean that archaeology is of no use for dating the world of the epics? Certainly not. The criticism of Finley and Powell is right, but it should be stressed that it only affects *one* method of employing archaeological data. This method focuses on individual artefacts instead of broader patterns; in addition, it relates undated and sometimes undatable artefacts occurring in the texts to archaeological objects, instead of comparing securely dated archaeological evidence to written information. It is not archaeology itself which is an unreliable tool for dating the setting of the epics; rather, the difficulty arises from the category of archaeological data which is employed and the way these data are used in relation to the textual evidence.

In order to evade these methodological flaws, in this article I will employ an archaeological approach which is the reverse of the method outlined above, as it does not start from texts but from archaeology. More specifically, as a starting-point I will take a number of important phenomena which archaeological research has shown to have come into being or become manifest in the 8th century BC. This period is generally thought to have been a time of great changes in a number of fields, for which sometimes the term 'Greek Renaissance' is used. These new, typically 8th-century phenomena include writing, narrative visual art, intensification of overseas contacts, colonization, rise of the polis, expansion of religious activities and hero-cult.[24] Next, the occurrence of each of these phenomena in the Homeric epics will be examined. The aim of this article is to show that information derived from

21 Finley 1979, 157.
22 Powell 1991, 191.
23 Finley 1979, 148ff., esp. 149; see also Van Wees 1992, 15-6.
24 Cf. Coldstream 1977, 20-1.

archaeological sources, when compared with internal evidence in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, supports the notion that Homer's heroic age is modelled on the poet's own, 8th- (or even 7th-) century world as has been argued earlier by Morris, mainly on the basis of external ethnographic data.[25]

Finley was right to stress that for dating the world of the Homeric heroes one should not so much consider individual elements of the material setting of the poems, nor single words, phrases or passages, but rather concentrate on patterns, for instance in behaviour, values, social institutions and attitudes.[26] The above 8th-century phenomena can, I believe, be put under such a heading. Taking to heart Finley's 'methodological rule' that "no argument may legitimately be drawn from a single line or passage or usage",[27] singularly occurring elements of the material culture are best avoided, and prime of place should be given to recurrent patterns in the poems.

Some of the above 8th-century phenomena (such as the art of writing) had existed previously in the Bronze Age, and it would be more proper to speak of a *re*-appearance in the 8th century. Below, such Bronze Age counterparts of these phenomena will also be discussed in relation to the information from the epics, particularly with a view to arguments of die-hard supporters of a Mycenaean background for the poems. Passages containing 8th-century elements will be considered in the broader perspective of their importance for the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* as a whole, especially when earlier authors have tried to explain away these elements as anachronistic 'slips of the tongue'.

Some of the arguments presented in this article have been put forward by other authors, but are used here as part of broader categories of evidence. In other cases, fresh discussion of the material is required, especially when results of recent archaeological research allow re-evaluation of the evidence.

25 I. Morris (1986, 94-104) also discusses internal evidence from the epics supporting the idea that the world in which the heroes live is derived from the conditions in the poet's own time. However, he has chosen to concentrate on showing that Finley's principal arguments against an 8th-c. basis for the world of the epics are invalid, without producing much *positive* internal evidence supporting such a date.
26 Finley 1979, 148ff.; see also Van Wees 1992, 15-6
27 Finley 1979, 149.

WRITING

It is generally agreed that the Greek alphabet derives from a Semitic source, i.e. a Phoenician or, somewhat less likely, Aramaic script. There is controversy, however, on the question of when and where the Greek alphabet was invented. Dates ranging from the 14th to late 8th centuries BC have been suggested.[28] A *terminus ante quem* is provided by short graffiti on pottery fragments from Lefkandi and Naxos (somewhat before ca. 750 BC).[29] The first longer inscriptions are again graffiti, such as those on the famous Dipylon oinochoe (vessel dated to ca. 750-735 BC) and the Nestor cup from the Euboean colony of Pithekoussai (ca. 740-710 BC). With respect to graffiti, it should be noted that it is not certain that the date of the production of the vase coincides with the date it had been inscribed. This is especially true for the Nestor cup: the vase is an early example of a Late Geometric bird kotyle, which was manufactured on the island of Rhodes around 740-730 BC; it was deposited in a grave at Pithekoussai not before 720-710 BC. At some time in between these dates, it was transported to the West, perhaps via Euboea, and was inscribed in the Euboean alphabet.[30]

28 For overviews of the debate: Heubeck 1979, 75-80; Jeffery 1990, 12ff., with 'Supplement', 426-7 by Johnston; see also Amadasi Guzzo 1991; Isserlin 1991, 283-7. In his contribution to the present volume (§ 12), Ruijgh advocates a date of about 1000 BC for the creation of the Greek alphabet; see also Ruijgh 1985, 146 n. 8.

29 Lefkandi: Powell 1991, 15, 123-4; see also Johnston 1983, 63-4. The earliest inscription from this site is dated on the basis of the stratified context: inscription no. 102 was found in a pit in which material from the SPG III period (ca. 850-750) was found, but also a vase dating to an early phase of the Late Geometric period; see comments by M. Popham, the excavator, cited in Powell 1991, 15 n. 34. Hence, a date of around the middle of the 8th c. BC seems reasonable. For the early inscription from Grotta on Naxos: Lambrinoudakis 1981 a, 294 with pl. 201 a. This is a graffito scratched on the inside of a fragment, broken from the lip of a krater, datable to a late phase of the Middle Geometric period, i.e. some time before ca. 750 BC. As Powell (1991, 14 n. 33, 131 n. 30) rightly remarks, "because the complete name was inscribed on the inner surface of the pot, the fabric provides only a *terminus post quem*". See further Marek 1993, 33 n. 36. Note that a graffito consisting of four or five Greek letters inscribed on a clay flask of indigenous type has been found at Osteria dell'Osa in Latium, Italy; on the basis of the local chronology, the tomb in which it was found (482-483) is dated shortly before ca. 770 BC; see Bietti Sestieri 1992, 184-5.

30 Dipylon oinochoe: Powell 1991, 158-63 (with references). Nestor cup: Coldstream 1968, 277, 286; Heubeck 1979, 77-8, 109ff.; Powell 1991, 163-7; Ridgway 1992, 55-7, 149; Buchner & Ridgway 1993, 219 (no. 9), 745-50 (751-9 for bibliography). For the date of deposition of the Nestor cup, see the Protocorinthian globular aryballoi in the same tomb: ca. 715 BC or later (Neeft 1987, 379). Euboea as an intermediate stage between Rhodes and Pithekoussai is suggested by the recent find at Eretria of two fragments of a similar Rhodian kotyle, which, like the Nestor cup, are inscribed with three metrical verses; see Johnston & Andriomenou 1989.

It remains unknown how much time lapsed between the invention of the Greek alphabet and the first attestations of writing. The earliest extant examples of writing in the Greek world show marked divergences between various regional alphabets, as well as between these regional alphabets and the parent Semitic script. This suggests that one must allow time for the development and diffusion of an *Uralphabet*, which was very close to the Semitic, and for the evolution of the various local Greek alphabets from this common model. It is assumed that the evidence belonging to this formative period has been lost, since perishable material, such as leather, wood or papyrus, was used to write on.[31]

A *terminus post quem* for the invention of the Greek alphabet is provided by the development of the Semitic letters which served as a model for the Greek alphabet. Despite recent discoveries in the Near East, Semitic inscriptions most closely resembling early Greek letter forms cannot be pushed back beyond a date of ca. 800 BC or somewhat earlier.[32] Such a *terminus post quem* is further supported by the information we have on the areas or places where the Phoenician or Aramaic script could have been transmitted to the Greeks. Assuming that this was done directly, that is to say not via intermediaries such as Cypriots or Phrygians,[33] it seems plausible that Phoenician or Aramaic script was transmitted to the Greeks in an ambience where Greeks and Easteners lived together or where otherwise close contacts existed, so that a bilingual settlement could develop.[34] As for such an ambience, one may think of either Greeks established in the Levant, Easteners living in the

31 Jeffery 1990, 13-4. A writing tablet is referred to by Homer in *Il.* VI. 169; see further below. Papyrus (*byblinon*) is also mentioned (*Od.* XXI. 391), but for ringing (papyrus rope); see also Dornseiff 1939.

32 Jeffery 1990, 18, with 'Supplement', 426 by Johnston; see also Amadasi Guzzo 1991, 307; Powell 1991, 18-20; James *et al.* 1991 a, 277, 319; Röllig 1992, 96; S. Morris 1992, 159-60; Marek 1993, esp. 30-3, 37.

33 Cyprus: e.g. Johnston 1983, 66-7; overland route: e.g. Röllig 1992; Cilicia: Lemaire 1991.

34 On intermarriage, bilingual offspring and the adaption of the Greek alphabet, see Jeffery 1990, 1-2; Coldstream 1993, 90, 100.

Aegean, or Easteners and Greeks living together in a Levantine or Greek settlement overseas. The first possibility, that of Greeks living in the Levant during the late 9th or early 8th centuries, has recently come under fire (see below); as a consequence, it also becomes doubtful whether the Levant and especially the alleged Greek trading post at Al Mina can still be regarded as the possible place where the Semitic script was adapted.[35] If this process did take place within Greece, then Crete would be a likely location, since there is evidence that from the second half of the 9th century onwards Easterners settled on the island (see below) and the Cretan alphabet is considered to be very close to the Semitic.[36] On the other hand, the earliest Greek inscriptions appear in Euboean or colonial-Euboean contexts which would rather suggest that the Euboeans were responsible for adapting Greek alphabetic writing from the Phoenician or Aramaic model.[37]

Summing up, it is likely that the transmission of Semitic script into the Greek alphabet dates to around 800 BC; this date leaves two to three generations for the alphabet to spread over a number of regions in the Aegean and to develop into local alphabets, the existence of which is first attested in the late 8th century BC.

In the epics, we find one or two references to writing. In book VII of the *Iliad*, nine Achaeans cast lots to determine who is going to fight Hector in single combat (175ff.). Although it is said that the volunteers

35 As advocated e.g. by Coldstream 1977, 301; Jeffery 1990, 12; Marek 1993, 39-40. Note that the evidence of Greek alphabetic writing in Levantine *'emporia'* is scarce and rather late: there is a graffito on a Late Geometric fragment from 7th-c. levels at Al Mina (Boardman 1982), a possible Greek grafitto (ca. 700 BC) from Ras el Bassit (Riis 1991, 206), and a late 7th-c. spindle whorl from Tell Sukas with a Greek woman's name (Perreault 1991, 405). It should be noted that it is uncertain whether the objects were inscribed at home or in the Levant.

36 Jeffery 1990, 9.

37 See e.g. Powell 1991, 60, 66, 156; see also Ruijgh in this volume (§ 12.3). Crete and Euboea have both produced early Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, but these are unlikely to have been significant for the process of passing on literacy. From Tekke near Knossos, there is a bronze bowl with proprietary inscription (ca. 900 BC); the script is too early to have served as a model for the Greek alphabet, see Sznycer 1979; Coldstream 1982, 271f.; Bisi 1991. At Eretria, a bronze blinker from North Syria (late 9th c.) was found in a late 8th-c. context (identical inscription on frontlet from Samos), but it cannot be established when it was brought to Greece; see Kyrieleis & Röllig 1988; Röllig 1992, 95, 97; Marek 1993, 38-9.

inscribe their lots, which may hint at writing (187: they place a *sèma*), they only recognize their own lot, indicating that we should not assume that the candidates inscribed their initials or names on it in alphabetic writing.[38]

A passage with a clearer reference to writing is found in the well-known story about Bellerophon (*Il.* VI. 168-70). Proetus, king of Argos, sent Bellerophon to the king of Lycia with a written message saying that the bearer should be killed. The message was written on a *pinax ptyktos* (169), probably comparable to the diptych of boxwood from the later 14th-century BC shipwreck at Ulu Burun or the ivory writing tablet from the early 7th century found at Marsiliana d'Albegna in northern Etruria.[39] Bellerophon was unaware of the massage he was carrying, perhaps because he could not read the "baneful signs", or, more likely, because the *pinax* was a diptych - as the addition *ptyktos* suggests - which was handed to him folded up and sealed.[40]

A. Heubeck, for one, has argued that the poet of the *Iliad* added the motive of the 'fatal letter' to the already existing story of Bellerophon, possibly under the influence of Oriental sources.[41] Powell goes one step further, suggesting that Homer took over an Eastern story in an Eastern form, which meant that the 'fatal letter' ended up in the epics along with this story. According to Powell, no specific script is meant in the tale of Bellerophon and the use of the word *sèmata* may even indicate Homer's ignorance of writing.[42] Against the latter it may be ar-

38 As Powell (1991, 199-200) says, we should see *sèmata* as semasiographic, not lexigraphic signs. More generally, see Ford 1992, 138ff. Heubeck (1979, 140) draws a parallel with potter's marks; on the use of potter's marks in the Early Iron Age, see Papadopoulos 1994, esp. 486-7.

39 Ulu Burun: Payton 1991; Warnock & Pendleton 1991; Symington 1991. Marsiliana d'Albegna: Heubeck 1979, 143-4. See also 8th c. BC ivory tablet from Nimrud: Wiseman 1955.

40 Heubeck 1979, 142; Burkert 1983, 52.

41 Heubeck 1979, 134; see also Burkert 1983, 52-3. The motive of the 'fatal letter' is found in, among other, the Bible (2 *Samuel* 11). Note that the biblical motive of Potiphar's wife (Genesis XXXIX. 7-20) is also present in the story of Bellerophon (*Il* VI. 160-5). Cf. Bellamy 1989.

42 Powell 1991, 199-200. Elaborating on an earlier theory of H.T. Wade-Gery (1952, 11ff.), Powell tries to demonstrate that the Greek alphabet was fashioned explicitly to record epic song. The author even believes that it was Homer who inspired the invention of the Greek alphabet (Powell 1991, esp. 184-9). From the story of Bellerophon and the passage on lot-casting, Powell concludes that the poet himself was not familiar with lexigraphic writing (p. 200). Assuming that the al-

gued, following Heubeck and Burkert,[43] that Proetus' message to the king of Lycia is a rather complicated and detailed piece of information (hence, the poet says that Proetus' scratches "many" signs) and presupposes a developed form of writing. More important, one of the most dramatic elements in this story is that of the hero carrying his own, written death-sentence. Whether or not the motive was taken over from Eastern tales, this dramatic element in the story can only be appreciated by an audience familiar to writing. If it was indeed derived from an Eastern source, I find it hard to believe that Homer introduced an Eastern motive simply because it was exotic.[44]

In conclusion, the presence of writing in the *Iliad* constitutes a clear indication that our version of the poem was composed after the alphabet had been introduced.

NARRATIVE VISUAL ART

Relatively simple figurines and statuettes in clay and bronze were probably made during much of the Early Iron Age.[45] In vase painting, isolated examples of early experiments in figured drawing date to the 10th and first half of the 9th centuries BC.[46] During the 8th century, figured decoration occurs more frequently, not only painted on vases,

phabet was introduced to record Homer's poetry, Powell regards the date of the invention of the alphabet (ca. 800 BC) as a *terminus post quem* for Homer's *floruit*. Homer's ignorance of writing, Powell argues, at a time when his poems were written down, can only fit the very earliest days of literacy, i.e. ca. 800-750 BC; this period, according to the author, constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of Homer (p. 200, 217-9). In Powell's view, the Nestor cup from Pithekoussai forms another, somewhat later *terminus ante quem* (ca. 735-720) for the composition of the *Iliad*. He remarks that "[a]fter all, the only 'Nestor's Cup' we know about is Homer's 'Nestor's Cup'" (p. 209). Powell thus neglects the possibility that legends may have circulated among the Greeks before they were recorded or incorporated into the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we have them today.

43 Heubeck 1979, 140; Burkert 1983, 51.

44 In addition to this passage mentioning writing, Johnston (1983, 67) suggests that an oblique reference to the burning of *spondai* in *Il.* II. 339-41 could hint at written contracts.

45 See e.g. Morgan 1990, 26 n. 1, 29 n. 8, 30ff. (Olympia); Popham, Calligas & Sackett 1993, 73 (Lefkandi); Blome 1982, 5-7 (Crete).

46 Esp. at Lefkandi and Knossos; see Blome 1982, 9-10, 91ff.; Papadopoulos 1990 (with references); Whitley 1991 a, 47-8; Coldstream 1994.

but also for instance engraved on catch plates of fibulae. These earliest essays were, with few exceptions, limited to single humans, deities, animals, birds, boats, etc.[47] It is only during the second half of the 8th century that we encounter the first true examples of complex, narrative art in Attica and a number of other regions in the Aegean.[48] Popular scenes in vase painting, as wells as in works in metal or clay, include burial ceremonies, battles on land and sea, processions of chariots and warriors, (funerary) games, etc. Late Geometric figurative representations are schematized, but the individual figures and the representations as a whole comprise enough detail to allow the possibility of 'reading' the scenes.[49]

Other early examples of pictorial art include Oriental metalwork with embossed or engraved decoration. The earliest pieces in the Aegean are bronze bowls found in a small number of 9th-century tombs; a somewhat larger set of similar bowls has been found in contexts dating to the second half of the 8th century. The usual decoration on these bowls are files of sphinxes, lions, bulls, etc.; among those from the later 8th century, on the other hand, we find more elaborated scenes like that of a city under siege.[50] Apart from these imports to the Aegean, during the late 9th and 8th centuries immigrant Oriental metalworkers settled in Crete produced bronze shields and other objects decorated with figurative scenes.[51]

In Homer, examples of figurative arts and crafts are not frequently mentioned. This may have something to do with the *Kunstbegriff* of the Homeric heroes: one notes that when precious objects are described, most attention is paid to the cost, complexity and effects of the material used, whereas the design of the artefacts is often hardly commented upon.[52]

47 See e.g. Coldstream 1977, 61, 69-70, 76-8, 80; Blome 1982, 9; Whitley 1991 a, 48.

48 See e.g. Coldstream 1977, 110ff., 141ff., 193ff.; also Canciani 1984, 80.

49 As is demonstrated by Coldstream 1977, 113.

50 Ninth century bowls: Lefkandi: Popham, Touloupa & Sackett 1982, 239; *AR* 31, 1985, 15; 35, 1989, 118; 39, 1993, 40. Attica: Coldstream 1977, 58-60; Markoe 1985, 149, 153. Eighth-century bowls: Markoe 1985, 150-4; cf. Ström 1992, 46-9. The bronze amphora with figurative decoration, found under the early 10th-c. building at Lefkandi, is a Late Bronze Age antique imported from Cyprus, see Popham, Calligas & Sackett 1993, 81-96. For 8th-c., figuratively decorated ivory work from the East, see Sakellarakis 1990.

51 See n. 74.

52 Himmelmann 1969, 15.

Some of the 'works of art' mentioned in the epics seem to be fantastic products of the poet's imagination. At Scheria, home of the Phaeacians, dogs of gold and silver, made by Hephaestus, guard Alcinoos' palace; inside, young men (*kouroi*) of gold, standing on pedestals with torches in their hands, light the feasting hall (*Od.*VII. 91-4, 100-1). Hephaestus himself also possesses golden, female servants, who look like living maidens and are able to think and speak (*Il.* XVIII. 417ff.). Such almost-living sculptures could be dismissed as pure fantasy; on the other hand, it is quite possible that the poet had real sculptures in mind. By mentioning the lifelike qualities of these creations, the poet possibly wished to denote the extraordinary craftsmanship of the divine metalsmith who had made them.[53] After all, in early Greek literature, including the Homeric epics, the qualities of a 'piece of art' are often expressed by praising its lifelike appearance.[54] In this respect we should also remember that the power to imitate life was attributed too to Daedalus, another legendary and highly gifted artist, who shared Hephaestus' reputation for having made statues that could walk and talk.[55] Besides, as S. Morris has pointed out, another aspect of such 'animated' sculpture is found in the early Greek habit of inscribing dedication formulae on votive statuettes which suggest that the statuettes themselves were speaking.[56] In short, we cannot exclude that Homer, by praising its lifelike qualities, bespeaks familiarity with the existence of statuary, in particular statuary with naturalistic features.

The acquaintance with figurative art is also evident from the scene in *Il.* VI. 302-3, which depicts the offering of a *peplos* to the cult statue of Athena in her temple at Troy (on this statue and the first examples of large-size statuary dating to the 7th century, see further below). This act is described as if the offering is being made to a living person (see esp.

53 Mention of Hephaestus as the maker of the 'sculptures' in Alcinoos' palace does not necessarily have to be taken literally. The manufacture of several other objects in the epics is assigned to Hephaestus (*Il.* VIII. 195; *Od.* IV. 616-7 = XV. 115-6). The latter passages mention a silver krater given to Menelaos by the Phoenician king Phaedimus. We may assume that the object is called a creation of Hephaestus in order to praise the artifact's exquisite workmanship (otherwise we have to accept that the Phoenicians did their shopping on the Olympus). Cf. *Od.* VI. 233 for further support of this view.

54 See e.g. *Od.* XIX. 228-31 on Odysseus' brooch; cf. XI. 613-4 on the artist who decorated Heracles' belt. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 581 on the creatures depicted on Pandora's crown made by Hephaestus.

55 See S. Morris 1992, ch. 8.

56 *Ibid.*, 231.

Il. VI. 311) and no distinction is made between the goddess and her image.[57] This passage, I think, shows two things. In the first place, it is another instance of animated, lifelike sculpture. Secondly, it demonstrates that figurative art is not something which slips into the poems occasionally and accidentally; on the contrary, it is embedded firmly enough in the poet's own world to perform a *function* in the heroic society as well.[58]

Apart from the above cases, of which some may seem somewhat obscure, there are a number of other references to figurative art in Homer which more easily can be connected to reality. They include the "flowery" *lebètes* (e.g. *Od.* III. 440), the snake-decoration on Agamemnon's armour (*Il.* XI. 26-7), Heracles' belt decorated with figurative scenes in gold relief (*Od.* XI. 609-14), or Odysseus' golden brooch furnished with plastic animal figures (*Od.* XIX. 226-31). All these objects have archaeological parallels in the poet's contemporary world, i.e. in the late 8th and, above all, 7th centuries.[59] The value of the mention of these objects, however, lies not so much in the fact that they can be compared to datable archaeological finds. Much more important is that they display a recurring pattern, namely that Homer and his audience were familiar with representational art.

For an instance of figurative art which is undeniably narrative in character, we may turn to the Shield of Achilles. Its elaborate decoration takes about 130 lines to describe (*Il.* XVIII. 468-607). The shield depicts the earth, sea and sky, with the earth most elaborately treated (490-606); the themes are arranged in an antithetic way (two cities, five scenes from country life, dance). The shield is probably round in shape (606-7), with the various scenes set out in concentric circles.[60] It is likely that the poet had examples of real metalwork in mind, as is suggested by the technique of highlighting figures by applying different

57 Himmelmann 1969, 17.

58 For ornamental and figurative motives in textile art, see *Il.* III. 125ff.; XIV. 178; XXII. 440-1; see also Himmelmann 1969, 17-8. No chronological information on this form of craft is available, as archaeological evidence is lacking. The earliest find in Greece of clothing (Lefkandi, early 10th c.) shows geometric decoration; see Popham, Calligas & Sackett 1993, 20.

59 *Lebètes*, Agamemnon's armour and Heracles' belt: Canciani 1984, 39-40, 42, 92; see also below (n. 65). Odysseus' brooch: e.g. Lorimer 1950, 511-4; Canciani 1984, 41; Powell 1991, 200-1; cf. Ström 1971, 97ff.

60 Fittschen 1973, 7, 9.

metals, such as silver and gold.[61] In one scene, the figures of Ares and Athena are not only executed in gold, but also rendered larger in size than the surrounding humans (516-9). The enlargement of important figures, especially deities, is a convention regularly found in early figurative art.[62] In addition to this, as N. Himmelmann has rightly observed, there is a difference between the narrative technique followed in the poems themselves and the manner in which the story unfolds on the Shield. Whereas the poems most often present various scenes and characters in a continuous storyline, the shield depicts a juxtaposition of 'snapshots' from human life with the help of anonymous figure types. The latter technique is reminiscent of the often impersonal compositions found on Late Geometric vases.[63] In other words, we have here two fundamentally different narrative techniques, one employed in (oral) poetry, the other in the visual arts.

The conclusion that the poet had examples of real metalwork in mind when depicting the Shield of Achilles, raises the question of to which period his models can be dated. Both the Mycenaean period and the 8th and 7th centuries BC have been suggested. A clue can be found in the technique employed in the Shield's manufacture. In *Il.* XVIII. 564 we are told that Hephaestus uses *kyanos* for the decoration of the shield. *Kyanos* has been identified as *niello* employed in Mycenaean metal inlay,[64] but has also been interpreted as being either *lapis lazuli* or its glass paste imitation, which is the double meaning of *kyanos* in historical times. To start with the latter possibility, blue glass paste used for decoration has Oriental connotations; it is found, for instance, on one of the thrones discovered in 'royal' tomb 79 at Salamis in Cyprus (ca. 700 BC). The identification of Homeric *kyanos* with Oriental glass paste is supported by the fact that the same material is employed to decorate both Agamemnon's corslet and shield (*Il.* XI. 19-40); the corslet is explicitly stated to be of Cypriot origin.[65] Besides, the tools

61 Fittschen 1973, 6.

62 See also Himmelmann 1969, 20-1; Fittschen 1973, 13.

63 Himmelmann 1969, 22. For 'snapshots' in Late Geometric vase-painting, see Snodgrass 1987, 154-5. The pictures on Achilles' Shield contain a considerable amount of information. This is not necessarily unrealistic when we consider the "synoptic" narrative technique found in Geometric and later vase-painting, in which we can say that more than one moment of time appears in the same picture; cf. Snodgrass 1987, 153ff.

64 See e.g. Kirk 1960, 191.

65 Agamemnon's armour is probably a scale corslet, of which some scales were made of glass paste. Corslets of this type, which are decorated in this way, are worn by the bronze warrior figures mounted on the linch pins of a chariot in the above mentioned t. 79 at Salamis, Cyprus; see Canciani 1984, 43; Richardson 1989, 125. Agamemnon's shield is decorated with a Gorgo head and figures of Panic and Terror (*Il.* XI. 32-7). As for the latter personifications, it is hard to picture what model the poet had in mind. Shields with emblems are first attested in the later 8th c., but the gorgoneion cannot yet be traced back to the same period (Canciani 1984, 43-4). For some authors (e.g. Burkert in 'Discussion' in Hägg 1983 c, 82; see also Van Wees 1994, 154 n. 97) the gorgo shield is an argument to date the *Iliad* in the 7th century.

used by Hephaestus (*Il.* XVIII. 476-7) do not evoke associations with Mycenaean inlay techniques, but rather with relief metalwork. We may agree with Fittschen that both the material and technique used in the manufacture of the Shield of Achilles are strongly reminiscent of Cypriot and other Oriental metalwork known from Homer's own time.[66] Oriental and Orientalizing bronze shields with relief decoration occur in the Aegean, and particularly in Crete, in contexts of the 8th and 7th centuries BC.[67] Themes encountered on the Shield of Achilles, such as that of a besieged city (509ff.) or lions attacking a bull (579-86), are commonly found on these actual shields, as well as on other examples of Oriental metalwork, such as the relief and engraved bowls mentioned earlier (figs. 2-3).[68] Other themes, like that of dancers and acrobats (590-606), occur in Late Geometric vase painting (fig. 4). In other words, it is very likely that in his description of the Shield of Achilles the poet was inspired by examples of figurative art from his own time (see fig. 5).[69]

In sum, despite the fact that visual arts are referred to only in a limited number of instances in the Homeric poems, it is hard to imagine that the particular objects were 'described' without specific models in mind. Besides, especially the Shield of Achilles shows clearly that the poet and his audience were accustomed to the concept of rather complex narrative representations, which spectators could 'read' and from which

66 Fittschen 1973, 5-6.

67 See Boardman 1980, 58-60; S. Morris 1992, 152 with references. For terracotta votive shields (ca. 700 BC) from the first Hera temple at Tiryns, decorated with probably epic and mythical scenes, see Lorimer 1950, 170-1.

68 Himmelmann 1969, 21; Fittschen 1973, 7-8; Markoe 1985, 205-6 G4 (bowl with city siege scene from Delphi). Related to this metal work is a late 8th-c. bronze shield-boss from Amathus, Cyprus, decorated with a central spike and concentric bands, one of them depicting groups of fighting lions and bulls, see Barnett 1977.

69 See also Fittschen 1973, 17; Dickinson 1986, 28. *Contra* Canciani 1984, 34-5.



Fig. 2. Bronze shield from the Idaean cave, Crete (after Blome 1982, 20 fig. 7).

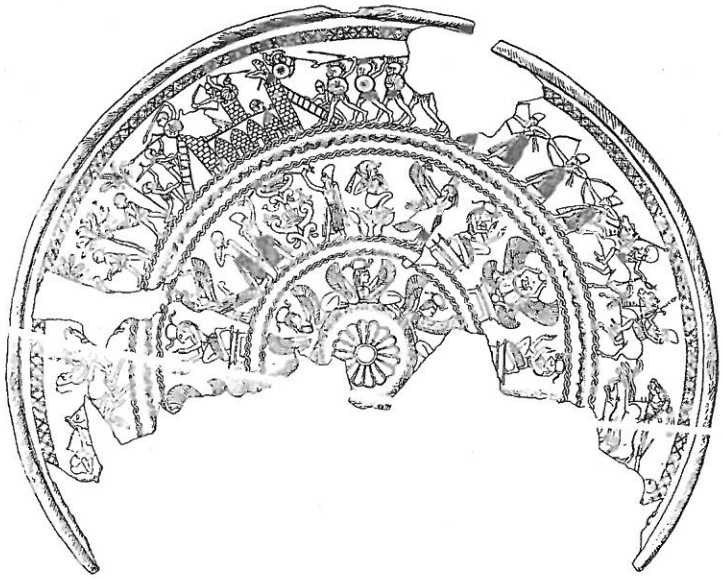


Fig. 3. Phoenician silver bowl from Amathus, Cyprus (after Fittschen 1973, fig. 3).

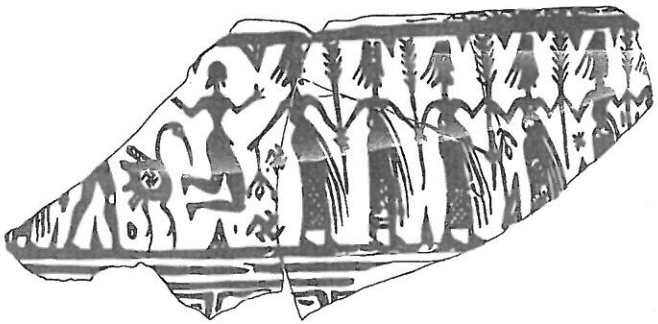


Fig. 4. Late Geometric sherd showing round dance by females and male acrobat, from the Argive Heraion (after Wegner 1968, pl. 6 d).

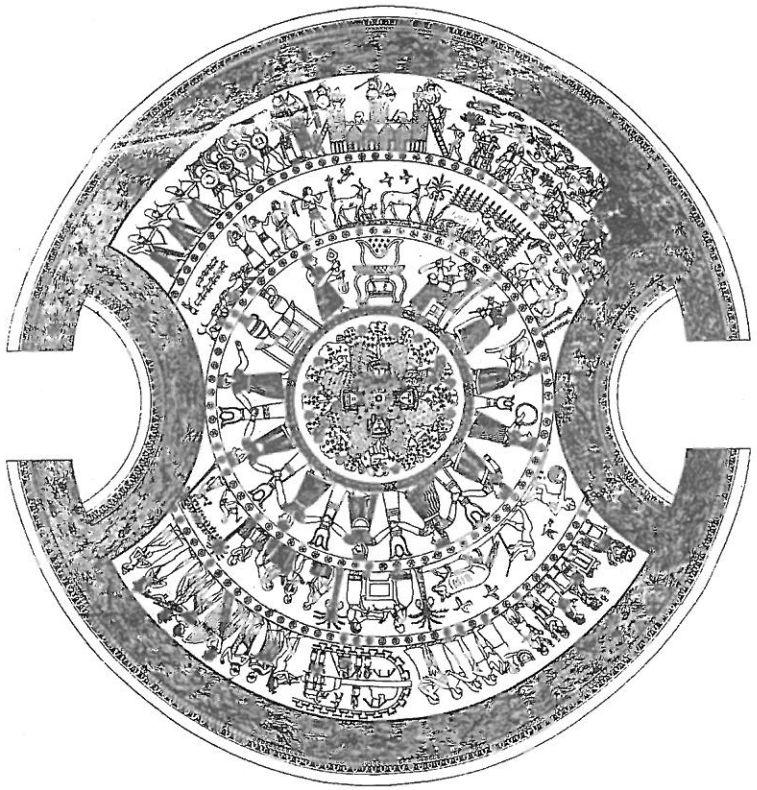


Fig. 5. Late 19th century AD reconstruction of the Shield of Achilles (after A.S. Murray 1880, 43).

a detailed story could be constructed. The important point here is that apparently poet and audience could mentally visualize what such complex figurative art looked like.

INTENSIFICATION OF OVERSEAS CONTACTS

It is true that the establishment of connections between the Aegean and regions along the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Sea was not confined to the 8th century BC. The intensification of Greek contacts with the outside world is a process which took place during most of the 9th to 7th centuries BC and later. Yet, if we look at *regular* interrelationships with these areas, we see that the 8th and early 7th centuries in particular form a decisive stage in their establishment.

A. CONTACTS WITH CYPRUS, THE LEVANTINE COAST, EGYPT AND AFRICA

Incidental contacts with the East continued probably uninterrupted after the Bronze Age, as is clear especially from eastern imports found in the recently excavated cemeteries at Lefkandi and Knossos.[70] The initiatives in these contacts were probably taken by people living in the East. During the 12th to 9th centuries Cypriots in particular were active seafarers, travelling to the Aegean and farther west.[71] After a period of sporadic contacts, in the 9th century BC a true expansion westwards by the Phoenicians took place.[72] Two clear indications marking this expansion are the sanctuary at Kommos on the south coast of Crete, which was frequented by Phoenician visitors during the 9th century and housed a small temple with certain Levantine features in the 8th, and the Phoenician colony at Kition in Cyprus, founded probably

70 See above, nn. 7-8, 37, 50.

71 Coldstream 1985, 47-51; Knapp 1988, 168-70; Ridgway 1992, 27-9 (with references).

72 Niemeyer 1984, 3-29; 1994, 321-38. Note that Negbi's (1992) arguments assigning the Phoenician expansion to the 10th c. or earlier is to a large extent based on dates provided by literary tradition and palaeographic evidence (such as the Nora inscriptions from Sardinia), which are often doubtful (cf. Bunnens 1979, 6-9) or controversial (cf. Boardman 1990, 177; Ridgway 1992, 27). Furthermore, Negbi's case is weakened by her confused treatment of the Knossian Tekke tombs and their chronology (1992, 607-8), as well as by the early date (10th c.) she gives for Phoenician presence at Kommos (p. 609; cf. next note).

around the middle of the 9th century.[73] From ca. 850 BC onwards we also find increasing evidence in the Aegean for both visiting Levantine traders and resident craftsmen.[74] A second phase of Phoenician expansion started in the mid-8th century, when Phoenician merchants began to frequent the 'Far West' and founded establishments in North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia, Malta and western Sicily.[75]

The earliest known Iron Age imports to the eastern Mediterranean are Euboean vases from the last quarter of the 10th century BC, found at Ras el Bassit (North Syria), Tyre (Phoenicia) and Amathus (Cyprus). During the 9th century a steady flow of Euboean and, to a lesser extent, Attic pottery found its way to Tyre, Amathus and Kition. From the last quarter of that century onwards, Greek ceramics are also found at numerous other sites in Cyprus and the Syrian and Palestinian littoral, including Al Mina at the mouth of the River Orontes. During the second half of the 8th century, Greek imports, now representing a wider variety of regional fabrics, are mainly concentrated in North-Syrian coastal sites (Al Mina, Bassit, Tell Sukas).[76]

The question arises as to what extent and from which date the Greeks, in particular Euboeans, played an active role in these contacts.

73 Kommos: Shaw 1982, 188; 1989, esp. 181-3 (with n. 68). The bulk of the Phoenician pottery, mainly amphorae, comes from dumps. The earliest imports are associated with Temple A2, ca. 875-800; this period also seems to mark the peak of the Phoenicians' contacts with Kommos. The first period of use of the Levantine-style triple-pillar shrine (Temple B) dates to c. 800-760 BC. Note that throughout its history the sanctuary was used by the local inhabitants. Kommos is believed to be mentioned (though not in association with Easterners) in *Od.* III. 291-5; cf. Lorimer 1950, 93. Kition: Niemeyer 1994, 339; Reyes 1994, 21.

74 Traders: Coldstream 1982; Niemeyer 1984, 19-20. Immigrant craftsmen are believed to have settled in a number of places: unguent merchants in Cos (after ca. 850 BC) and Knossos (ca. 800), goldsmiths at Knossos and Athens (second half 9th c.), ivory carvers at Athens (8th c.), bronzesmiths in Crete (early 8th c.), unguent merchants in Rhodes (after ca. 750 BC), ivory carvers in Crete (late 8th c.), fayence makers in Rhodes (ca. 700 BC), silver workers in Rhodes (7th c.). See Boardman 1980, 56ff., 62-3, 74-6; Coldstream 1982, 266ff.; Bisi 1987; Jones 1993; further Hölbl 1979, 40, 79, 96, 213; Markoe 1992, 69; Sakellarakis 1992; Coldstream 1993, 99-100. Easterners buried in Crete: Boardman 1980, 57, 60-1 (cf., however, Muscarella 1992, 45 n. 108); Stampolidis 1990. Easterners practicing cult in Greek sanctuaries: Bammer 1985.

75 Niemeyer 1984, 29ff.; 1994, 338ff.; see also Bunnens 1979, 275ff.

76 Coldstream & Bikai 1988, 38-43; Coldstream 1989; Boardman 1990, 171-3; Perreault 1991 (to be updated with *BASOR* 263, 1986, 85-6; *HBA* 13/14, 1986/87, 7-49; *Hesperia* 62, 1993, 95-113).

An answer may be found in the Greek homeland. Ceramic evidence suggests that during the 10th century BC Euboeans established connections with various areas bordering the Aegean, including Macedonia, Asia Minor and Crete. There is no reason to assume that they confined their overseas activities to the Aegean, and V. Desborough has indeed suggested that their ventures to the eastern and western Mediterranean were the result of an increase in trade contacts with regions nearer by.[77] Coldstream assumes that from the late 10th century onwards a sea lane existed from Euboea via Amathus to Tyre, along which both Euboeans and Phoenicians travelled.[78] A more conservative view is that the period when the Euboeans started frequenting the eastern Mediterranean may be dated to the late 9th century, when we see a relatively wide distribution of Greek imports in Cyprus and the Levant.[79] This is not to say that in this period the Greeks settled in Levantine *emporia* like Al Mina, as was generally accepted for a long time;[80] a re-evaluation of the evidence shows that the earliest indications of Greek settlers in the East date only to the late 7th century.[81]

The Eastern imports from the Euboean site of Lefkandi include artefacts of probably Egyptian origin, found in tombs belonging to the late 10th and 9th centuries BC. The excavators do not exclude the possibility that they were the result of direct relations with Egypt, but it is also possible that they were acquired via Cyprus or Phoenicia.[82] The latter possibility is perhaps more likely, the more so as elsewhere in Greece Egyptian objects are generally later (late 8th and 7th centuries), while the earliest Greek (ceramic) exports in Egypt date only to the second half of the 7th century BC.[83]

77 Desborough 1976.

78 Coldstream 1989, 91-2; see also Boardman 1990, 178.

79 A somewhat extreme view on this matter is found in Perreault (1991, 400, 405), who does not believe that the Greeks maintained direct, regular contacts with the Levant before ca. 700 BC.

80 See now Graham 1986; Elayi 1987; cf., however, Boardman 1990; Riis 1991, 208.

81 See Perreault 1991, 395, 405.

82 Popham, Sackett, & Themelis 1980, 249-50; Popham, Sackett & Touloupa 1982, 239, 242-5, 247; see further *AR* 35, 1989, 118-9; 39, 1993, 40 (bronze situlae).

83 Boardman 1980, 112ff.; Perreault 1986, 163; 1991, 402-5. Egyptian objects from the 8th and 7th c. in the western Mediterranean seem to have been distributed by Phoenicians, see Hölbl 1979. Some of the ivory work from the late 8th and 7th centuries found in Greek sanctuaries is thought to be of Egyptian origin, see Sakellarakis 1990, 348, 355.

Finally, we have some hints of an early Greek presence in North Africa, although, it seems, of only a temporary nature. Later Greek sources preserve a dim memory of place names in the Carthage area, such as an island called Euboea, Naxian Islands, and Pithekoussai, which all have a Euboean ring to them. In addition, there is a suggestion in the Old Testament that Carthage once lay in the Ionian (Yawan) sphere.[84]

In the Homeric epics, the Phoenicians are the most conspicuous representatives of the eastern Mediterranean. Homer calls them *Phoinikes* or Sidonians, and their homeland is likewise known as *Phoinikè* or Sidon.[85] As in the archaeological record of the Early Iron Age, in the epics Phoenicians pop up now and again.[86] They come to the fore in various ways: as skilled craftsmen, shrewd traffickers and esteemed *xeinos*-partners.[87] Among the various Phoenician craftsmen, especially silver workers are praised (*Il.* XXIII. 741-3; *Od.* IV. 615-8 = XV. 115-8); in the royal palace at Troy we find Phoenician handmaidens, whom Paris had acquired at Sidon, involved in weaving elaborately wrought garments (*Il.* VI. 289-92; cf. *Od.* XV. 417-8[88]).[89] Phoenician

84 Boardman 1980, 211-2.

85 See Muhly 1970. According to Lorimer (1950, 67), the naming of Sidonians rather than Tyrians is proof of Homer reflecting a Bronze Age tradition. The two names, however, often seem to be interchangeable, see Muhly 1970, 50; also Röllig 1982, 20. Note that the Homeric passages in which the Phoenicians occur are devoid of formulaic characteristics, as Wathelet (1983, 241) has pointed out.

86 Including in Odysseus' false accounts of his voyages and identity; this, however, does not affect the argument.

87 Many authors feel that Homer has a prejudice against Phoenicians. R. Carpenter (1958, 35-6; see also Latacz 1990) even sees a shift from admiration for the Phoenicians in the older *Iliad* to "racial hostility" in the later *Odyssey*; in his view, this was caused by growing commercial and colonial competition between Greeks and Phoenicians in the 7th c. This, however, is not borne out by the evidence, see e.g. *Od.* XIII. 272; XV. 422. See further Crielaard 1992-93, n. 52; Van Wees 1992, 241-2.

88 The Phoenician woman figuring in this passage calls herself daughter of Arybas (425), which is probably a genuine Phoenician name (cf. Röllig 1982, 21), and which bespeaks the poet's intimate knowledge of Phoenicians.

89 Penelope's throne, decorated with silver and ivory, is said to be the work of one Ikmalios (*Od.* XIX. 55-7). It has been suggested that this name is of Eastern origin (cf. Wace & Stubbings 1963, 461), although an Indo-European etymology cannot be excluded (Prof. C.J. Ruijgh, pers. comm.). For possible, Eastern ivory carvers in the Aegean, see above, n. 74.

traders sell silver vases (*Il.* XXIII. 744-5), costume jewellery and other gadgets (*athurmata*; *Od.* XV. 415, 459[90]), as well as slaves (*Od.* XIV. 297; XV. 481-2). They buy many things (*Od.* XV. 455-6), including foodstuffs (446; cf. 405). Their radius of movement is considerable. Phoenicians travel between Egypt and Phoenicia (*Od.* XIV. 290). They make voyages to "Libya" (295), using a sea-route which runs via Crete (300);[91] the same route possibly takes them from Crete via Pylos or Elis (*Od.* XIII. 272-5) to the west. On another occasion we are told that after a stay at Syrie (*Od.* XV. 471-2) they travel to Ithaca (481). Syrie is usually identified with the island of Syros, since, among other things, the passage (403-4) associates it with Ortygia - 'Quail island' - which is normally identified as the island of Delos.[92] Elsewhere we encounter Phoenicians in the northern Aegean (i.e. Lemnos; *Il.* XXIII. 745).

Homeric heroes in turn sail to the eastern Mediterranean. Menelaus' wanderings took him to Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt, and it is said that he visited "Ethiopians, Sidonians, *Eremboi* and Libya" (*Od.* IV. 83-5). During his travels he collected a great fortune (90; see also III. 300-2). In Phoenicia he was hosted by Phaedimus, king of the Sidonians, who gave him a silver krater (*Od.* IV. 617-9 = XV. 116-8). In Egypt, Menelaus and Helen were provided with valuable gifts by Polybos, king of Thebes, and his wife Alcandre (*Od.* IV. 125ff.), as well as by Thon and Polydamna (227-8).[93] With respect to Eastern guest-friends, Menelaus is not the only one with such connections: Agamemnon is *xeinos* of Kinyras, king of Cyprus, who had sent to him as a gift the shield and armour mentioned earlier (*Il.* XI. 15ff.).[94]

90 Of gold and amber, which, for that matter, brings to mind the 'Phoenician' pendant from the Tekke tholos tomb near Knossos, see Coldstream 1977, 101 fig. 32a.

91 On the exact geographical limitations of this passage, see Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, *ad loc.*

92 See Muhly 1970, 41-2 (with references).

93 Helena was given hard drugs by Polydamna, wife of Thon (220ff.). In contrast to the Greek names of Polybos, Alcandre and Polydamna, Thon is probably a genuine Egyptian name, see Burkert 1976, 11. Egypt is further mentioned in *Od.* IV. 351ff., 477, 483, 581.

94 Other references to Cyprus include Aphrodite's temple at Paphos (see below, n. 229); in addition, the epics mention a certain Dmetor, ruler of Cyprus, who has a gift-partner relationship with the Egyptians (*Od.* XVII. 442-3). Cyprus may have been the place of transmission of Oriental elements in the poems, see Richardson 1989. Yet the island does not play a prominent role in Homer. This is the more surprising, considering the fact that Cypriot archaeology has provided a number of remarkable parallels for the high status burial rituals and luxurious material culture encountered in the epics (see also Muhly 1970, 52).

Egyptian Thebes is mentioned twice in the Homeric epics (*Il.* IX. 381-4; *Od.* IV. 126-7). In a well-known article, W. Burkert has convincingly argued that the appearance of Thebes as a wealthy and powerful city in the *Iliad* is neither a reminiscence of the Bronze Age,[95] nor a later interpolation. After the Bronze Age, the city experienced a (second) period of prosperity from 715 to 663 BC. Burkert suggests that Homer's knowledge of Thebes should date to this period or, more probably, after that, when Thebes, having been sacked by the Assyrian king Assurbanipal, became a paradigm of the fall of a once rich and mighty city.[96]

The mention of Menelaus visiting Ethiopians, Sidonians, *Eremboi* and Libya seems to indicate that he sailed back to the Aegean along the African coast. Ethiopians occur a number of times in the epics; they are the furthermost men, dwelling by the streams of Ocean, some of them where the sun rises and others where it sets.[97] Odysseus' herald, Eurybates, who is black-skinned and woolly-haired (*Od.* XIX. 246-7), probably came from these regions. As for the Sidonians mentioned in this passage among African peoples, W. Röllig has suggested that they were Phoenician colonists in Africa or elsewhere in the western Mediterranean basin.[98]

The contacts with the eastern Mediterranean were not just friendly. Twice we hear about pirate raids on Egypt (*Od.* XIV. 247ff.; XVII. 425ff.[99]). In addition, a Phoenician slave woman, living in Eumaeus'

95 A thesis defended by e.g. Kirk 1960, 191.

96 Burkert 1976. The author even accepts the year of Thebes' fall as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the epics (p. 18ff.). Besides, he believes that contrary to the mentioning of Thebes in the *Iliad*, the references to Thebes and Egypt in *Od.* IV are mainly fantasy elements (p. 11-3).

97 See Snowden 1970, 101-3, with n. 2 for passages referring to Ethiopians. For references to pygmies, see *Il.* III. 6.

98 Röllig 1982, 21. The *Eremboi* could be either Arabians (cf. Strabo I. 2. 34) or "Abendländler" (cf. Röllig 1982, 21).

99 Note that from *Od.* XIV. 253-4, 257 it appears that under favourable circumstances it takes only five days to sail from Crete to Egypt. Cf. Coldstream 1989, 95 n. 62 on sea routes, winds and currents. In the light of the currents and winds prevailing in summer, Menelaus' return trip following the African coast makes good sense.

father's palace, had been captured by Taphians, apparently in a raid on the Sidon area (*Od.* XV. 426-7).[100]

From the above passages we may conclude that the interrelationships between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, which archaeological and other evidence suggest flourished during the 9th and especially 8th centuries BC, are paralleled by the data in the Homeric poems. What is more, in many respects the information from both sources corresponds in strikingly detail. One example is the archaeological evidence of Cretan sites being ports of call for Phoenicians on their way to the West, which is paralleled by a similar sea-route going via Crete taken by Homer's Phoenicians. Another example is the Phoenician presence in the Cyclades and the northern Aegean, known from later written sources,[101] which is matched by Homer's mentioning of Phoenicians in the same areas. In this context, it is highly interesting that we are told in the *Odyssey* that the Phoenicians remain a whole year on the island of Syrie (XV. 455). Archaeological evidence from the Aegean as well as the Tyrrhenian basin suggests that, unlike the colonial conquests of the Greeks, the Phoenician expansion to the West should generally be characterized as the mere 'presence' of Phoenicians among local communities.[102] This form of 'colonization' seems to be reflected in the Homeric reference to Phoenicians staying an entire year in Syrie.

The variety of contacts the Homeric Greeks maintained with the East, ranging from gift-giving to piracy, are paralleled by archaeological data and information from contemporary written sources. On the basis of the distribution of Geometric kraters, Coldstream has suggested that in the 8th century, gift exchange took place between ruling families in the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant.[103] As for piracy, in the Assyrian records we hear about Yamani (i.e. the Yawan or Ionians of the Bible) who carried out raids on Phoenicia in the 730s and also caused difficulties in Cilicia, southern Palestine and Egypt (in 711 BC). If these Yamani or Ionians are indeed Greeks (and not Cypriots, which is another option), then we have evidence of Greek freebooters carrying out raids on various places on the Levantine coast.[104]

100 On these and other freebooting expeditions, see also Van Wees 1992, 207ff.
101 See references in S. Morris 1992, 131-5.
102 Niemeyer 1990; see also Crielaard 1992-93.
103 Coldstream 1983; see also Perreault 1991, 399; Crielaard 1993.
104 Burkert 1976, 17; Boardman 1980, 45-6; Braun 1982, 14-5; Perreault 1991, 402, 405. I have not seen P.R. Helm, *'Greeks' in the Neo-Assyrian Levant and 'Assyria' in Early Greek Writers*, PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980.

For yet another parallel between Greek-Phoenician relationships in Homer and archaeology we may refer to one of Odysseus' accounts, telling that, after a stay of one year in Phoenicia, he joined a Phoenician merchant on a trade expedition to Libya (*Od.* XIV. 290ff.). Although this belongs to one of Odysseus' fictional stories, it seems to suggest that Homer and his audience were acquainted with joint ventures between Greeks and Phoenicians. Consonant with this is archaeological evidence, especially from the second half of the 8th century, indicating that the rivalry between Greeks and Phoenicians in their westwards expansion was less fierce than is often presumed by modern scholars. Apparently, Easterners were living among the Euboean colonists at Pithekoussai,[105] while Euboean (colonial) pottery has come to light in the earliest levels at Carthage, as well as in other Phoenician establishments, such as Huelva in Spain and Sulcis in Sardinia; friendly relationships may also be apparent in mutual influences on ceramics.[106] The possible presence of Euboeans on islands close to the Phoenician colonies on the coast of North Africa can be viewed in this perspective, too.[107] In short, it seems that some kind of cooperation existed between Phoenicians and Greeks in the West.

B. CONTACTS WITH ITALY AND SICILY

The first evidence of Greek contacts with the Tyrrhenian basin and the island of Sicily dates to the earlier 8th century. As in the East, in this part of the Mediterranean the Euboeans seem to have been in the forefront, along with the Corinthians. Euboean Middle Geometric II pottery, more or less contemporary with the earliest material from Pithekoussai, the oldest Greek establishment in the West (ca. 775-750 BC, see below), has come to light at native sites on the coast of southern Etruria and Campania.[108] Corinthian contacts with the West expanded

105 Either Aramaeans or Phoenicians, see references in Boardman 1990, 182.
106 Niemeyer 1994, 346; also Ridgway 1992, 140.
107 See above, n. 84.
108 Ridgway 1992, 129-34. Sant' Imbenia in Sardinia and Veii in Etruria have produced a Euboean type of vessel (the so-called 'pendant semicircle skyphos'), which in the East evidences earlier contacts and may pre-date the above MG II pottery. The chronology of this vase type, however, is disputed. A late date for the examples from Sardinia and Veii is advocated by R. Kearsley (see Ridgway 1992, 29, 135, 147, with references), but her chronology has been criticized by M.

after ca. 800 BC as well, as can be concluded from exported pottery found in (present-day) Ithaca, Epirus and in the regions of Otranto (Apulia) and Metapontum (Basilicata) in southern Italy (second quarter of the 8th century).[109] Evidence for pre-colonial contacts with Sicily is rather rare and consists also of Euboean MG II pottery, as well as a pendant semicircle skyphos, found in the indigenous necropolis of Villasmundo; the date of the latter vase, like its counterparts in the north, is the subject of discussion.[110] After these incidental contacts, Greek links with Sicily became substantial only after the foundation of a number of colonies, of which Naxos (734 BC) was the earliest.

Several passages from the *Odyssey* show that the poet and his characters are familiar with the West. Ithaca seems to maintain regular contacts with southern Italy and Sicily, which comes as no surprise considering its geographical position. Having returned home and been confronted by his old father, Odysseus presents himself as Eperitus from Alybas (*Od.* XXIV. 303ff.). Alybas should be located somewhere in southern Italy, since Eperitus/Odysseus pretends to have lost track when he was on his way to Sicania (i.e. Sicily; 306).[111] More important, he claims to have hosted Odysseus five years before, at which occasion they agreed to pay regular visits and exchange fine gifts (308-13). Earlier, Penelope's suitors had suggested that it would be better to throw Odysseus (disguised as a beggar) onto a ship and send him to the Sicels to be sold as a slave for a good price (XX. 383),[112] which seems another hint at the existence of regular traffic between Ithaca and Sicily. Sicily is not only a place where the inhabitants of Ithaca sell slaves: they also buy them there, as is apparent from the fact that Laertes owns a female servant of Sicel origin (*Od.* XXIV. 210, 365, 388). In short, these passages underscore the fact that the poet and

Popham & I. Lemos, *Gnomon*, 64, 1992, 152-5, esp. 154.

109 Boardman 1980, 180; Morgan 1990, 120-2, with references. Despite the sceptical reactions to the MG II date of some of the earlier finds from Incoronata and Otranto, there now seems to be material from the first half of the 8th c. BC (Dr. C.W. Neeft, pers. comm.).

110 Ridgway 1992, 29, 147, with references. Dated to ca. 780-760 BC by the excavator, to ca. 750-700 or even 720-700 BC by Kearsley.

111 Scholiasts identified Alybas with Metapontum, see Biraschi 1982, 32 n. 29. The question, whether or not this identification is correct, does not affect the argument, since it is clear that for the poet Alybas was situated somewhere between Ithaca and Sicily.

112 Epirus is a comparable destination, see *Od.* XVIII. 84, 115; XXI. 308.

his audience were familiar with the idea that frequent contacts existed between, on the one hand, Sicily and southern Italy and, on the other, the Greek world, or at least, its western regions.

Another possible, though disputed, reference to southern Italy is found in the first book of the *Odyssey*. Athena disguises herself as Mentes, leader of the Taphians, who live not far from Ithaca, probably on islands off the coast of Acarnania. Mentes is Odysseus' guest-friend and puts in at Ithaca on a voyage to Temesa in search of bronze, carrying iron in exchange (I. 184). Temesa is often identified as Tamassos in Cyprus, especially on account of the commodity sought, but Temesa on the toe of Italy is a likely candidate in that its people are described as 'foreign', that is, non-Greek speakers.[113] In favour of the latter possibility is Strabo's report that in his time abandoned mines could still be seen in Calabrian Temesa.[114] An argument against the former identification is the fact that Cypriot copper ores are notably rich in iron,[115] so that it is hardly likely that Mentes would have brought iron in exchange for copper to an island where both metals are found in abundance.[116] All in all, the location of Homeric Temese in Calabria seems preferable.[117] What is more, the implication of this passage is that Athena's choice to appear in the guise of Mentes on a business trip to Italy "suggests that such men, and such trips, were commonplace enough not to attract undue attention".[118]

C. CONTACTS WITH THE BLACK SEA REGION

The earliest presence of Greeks in the Black Sea region should probably be dated to a period later than the Greek expansion to the East and West.[119] Eighth-century dates are suggested by Eusebius for the first,

113 Snodgrass 1989, 30.

114 Strabo VI. 1. 5.

115 See e.g. Snodgrass 1982 b, 293.

116 Radiocarbon dating of wood remains from mine galleries near Tamassos in Cyprus have produced a date for copper mining activities in this area of 685 ± 110 BC; see Buchholz 1977, 301.

117 See also Biraschi (1982) and Pugliese Carratelli (1982), who discuss the literary evidence regarding Temesa, Taphians, etc.

118 Ridgway 1992, 140.

119 Boardman 1980, 238ff. To die-hard supporters of a Bronze Age setting of the epics it may be pointed out that up to the present, unambiguous archaeological indications (viz. true imports) for direct contacts with the Black Sea littoral in the

primarily Milesian colonies in the Propontis (Cyzicus, Astacus, Parium) and on the south coast of the Black Sea (Sinope, Trapezus).[120] On the other hand, controlled excavations along the Black Sea coasts have so far failed to produce Greek material dating prior to the second half of the 7th century BC.[121] Eighth-century finds said to come from Berezan and Istros have been put forward in support of these foundation dates, but this evidence is highly dubious.[122] Pottery from a settlement inland from Cyzicus, identified as ancient Daskyleion, goes back to the first half of the 7th century or somewhat earlier, but one may wonder whether this was a wholly Greek colony;[123] the early East Greek imports may even have reached the site via the inland Lydians. All in all, there is no firm evidence to suggest that Greek penetration or colonization of the Pontus should be dated much before ca. 700 BC.

In Homer, the Catalogue of Trojan Allies (*Il.* II. 851-7) mentions a number of indigenous peoples, settlements and other locations, which can be situated on the southern shore of the Black Sea. This passage is sometimes considered an interpolation, but R. Drews has argued, rather convincingly, that the arguments and evidence produced in support of this are ill-founded and invalid.[124] The "mare-milkers", mentioned in *Il.* XIII. 4-6 in association with Thracians and Mysians, are also thought to portray knowledge of the Pontic regions and some of its nomadic people.[125] Finally, in *Od.* XI. 14-9 even the land of the Cimmerians, where eternal darkness prevails, is referred to, which could indicate Arctic nights and suggests a location in the extreme north ("on the shores of the river Ocean", as the poet puts it). This information fits the historical Cimmerians, who indeed seem to have lived in these northerly regions before they were displaced from their homes by

Mycenaean period are still lacking, in spite of Hiller's (1991) recent, rather optimistic review of the evidence.

120 Coldstream 1968, 377. Foundation dates in the 8th century for Trapezous and Sinope are defended by e.g. Graham 1958, 33-4; Drews 1976, 22-4.

121 Boardman 1980, 238ff.; Tsetskhladze 1994.

122 Boardman 1991 (also Coldstream 1968, 377, with nn. 7-8); *contra* Graham 1990, 52-4.

123 Boardman 1980, 242 (*contra* Graham 1958, 32; 1971, 41-2). For recent finds at this site, see *AJA* 98, 1994, 263.

124 Drews 1976, 20-1.

125 Cf. Graham 1958, 36. Curious evidence for contacts with the Black Sea region has been put forward by Wade-Gery (1952, 2 n. 4), who saw influences from these countries in references to riding astride (*Od.* V. 371) and in "shamanistic elements" in Homeric religion (*Od.* XX. 351-7).

the Scythians and started invading Asia Minor in the early 7th century BC.[126]

It may seem surprising that the epics display some acquaintance with the Black Sea region, but it should be pointed out that references to the area are also found in other early poetry. Hesiod's *Theogony* (337-45), presumably written between 730 and 700[127] or perhaps somewhat later, mentions the River Istros (Danube), the River Phasis in Colchis, as well as some smaller streams in the same area. In the fragments attributed to the Corinthian poet Eumelus we hear about Colchis, Sinope and Borysthenes (the Dnieper river), although one should note that it is disputed which of the fragments said to be composed by this late 8th century BC poet are genuine.[128]

To recapitulate this section, from the 9th century BC onwards or earlier the Aegean became part of an expanding world. This process started with an intensification of contacts with Cyprus and the Levantine coast in the 9th century, followed by frequent and direct relations with central Italy in the earlier 8th century and with Sicily especially in the later part of that century; connections with Egypt and the Black Sea region started in the late 8th or, more probably, 7th century BC. The relations with the latter regions mark the (tentative) culmination in the process of proliferation and intensification of external contacts. Comparing this situation to the world of the epics, we may say that the orbit of the Homeric heroes was similarly wide. We encounter Phoenicians travelling to the Aegean and farther west, Greeks visiting Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt and North Africa (and perhaps even the western Mediterranean) and Greeks participating in Phoenician trading expeditions to the West; furthermore, there are regular contacts between the western Greek islands and Italy and Sicily, and there exists detailed knowledge (presumably on the part of the eastern Greeks in Ionia) of places and peoples in the Black Sea region. If we want to establish the historical period in which such a variety of contacts could have existed we cannot accept a date prior to the late 8th century BC.

126 Cf. Boardman 1980, 65, 91.

127 West 1966, 40-8; cf. Janko 1982, 4-63. Note, however, that the very lines referring to the Black Sea region constitute one of the grounds for his dating of the *Theogony*.

128 Graham 1958, 34-6; Drews 1976, 19-20, 24; Janko 1982, 231-3. Besides, Herodotus (IV. 13-16) speaks about a certain Aristeas of Proconnesus, who wrote a poem titled *Tale of the Arimaspians*, based on his travels to the northern shores of the Black Sea, possibly in the early 7th c.; see Boardman 1980, 240.

COLONIZATION

Greek contacts with the central Mediterranean in the 8th century resulted in the founding of colonies in southern Italy and Sicily. The oldest Greek establishment overseas was Pithekoussai, dating to the second quarter of the 8th century.[129] It is not entirely clear, however, whether its foundation followed the same pattern as most of the later colonies. Neither a foundation date, oikist (founder) or other elements of a foundation legend are known, and it has been suggested that Pithekoussai started as a trading post which later evolved into a full-blown colony.[130] For colonies as official establishments which were founded and internally organized by an oikist we have to wait until the 730s and later.[131]

In the opening lines of the sixth book of the *Odyssey*, we hear about the foundation history of Scheria. In their homeland Hyperia, the Phaeacians had been under constant attack by the Cyclopes. Thereupon, Alkinoos' father, Nausithoos, guided the Phaeacians to Scheria. Here, we are told, he drew a wall around the new settlement, built temples and houses, divided the land among the settlers (*Od.* VI. 9-10), and, we may add, set aside space for an agora (cf. VI. 266-7; VII. 44).

Unlike some of the fairy-tale-like elements in the description of the Phaeacians, this reference to the foundation of Scheria is far from unreal. Nausithoos' tasks are the same as those performed by the oikist in the colonial expeditions to the West in the historical period; consequently, this passage has often been interpreted as a reflection of 8th- and 7th-century reality. Finley, on the other hand, criticized this view by pointing out that these verses could equally mirror the Ionian migrations of about 1000 BC.[132] To this one may object that it is questionable whether the Ionian migrations should be regarded as organized colonial expeditions conducted by an official founder, who was also responsible for the layout of the new town. It is true that, like

129 Ridgway 1992, 40-1, 87. The archaeological evidence suggests that Pithekoussai was a flourishing settlement of considerable size already ca. 750 BC; some time should be granted to accomplish this. Pithekoussai is sometimes believed to appear in the *Iliad* (II. 783) as Arimi; cf. Ridgway 1992, 36.

130 *Ibid.*, 108.

131 Boardman 1980, 168ff. On oikists and foundation legends, see Leschhorn 1984; Malkin 1987.

132 Finley 1979, 156. For a survey of Greek settlements in Asia Minor, see Boardman 1980, 26ff.

the western colonies, many of the Ionian cities claimed to have been founded by oikists, who were generally either Neleids from Pylos or Athenian Kodridai. P. Carlier, however, has shown that there are good reasons to assume that these foundation stories were fabrications of a later date serving Athenian and 'Panionian' propagandist purposes.[133] Besides, we can deduce from Homer's descriptions that Scheria is a new foundation which was planned and executed in one go according to certain ordering principles, such as provisions for protection, division between religious, civic and private space, organization of subsistence, and division of property, which most probably means a regular layout of town and country. Such a picture does not concur with the Greek settlements on and off the coast of Asia Minor, which were founded in an early period, when community life was less organized and settlements tended to grow 'organically', i.e. in an unstructured way. This point is best illustrated with the help of Old Smyrna, one of the few Greek sites in Asia Minor of which the early history is clear. Excavations suggest that in the 8th century the Ionians had taken over the earlier Aeolic town, which in turn had developed out of an Anatolian predecessor of the Late Bronze Age. Although from a point somewhere in the second half of the 9th century BC a series of fortification walls were constructed, the 8th-century dwellings were much less sophisticated than these walls, being a chaotic jumble of hut-like, curvilinear structures, nearly all detached. Only thanks to its destruction in the early 7th century BC could a radical restructuring of the town be carried out, following a more tightly knit, rectilinear plan.[134]

For examples of settlements which were designed according to principles of systematic planning and which were laid out this way *ab origine*, we must turn to the West. For instance, in the colony of Cumae in Campania (founded between ca. 730 and 710) residential quarters were probably separated from the harbour and the acropolis. Naxos, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea in Sicily (established in the 730s and 720s)

133 Carlier 1984, 432ff. See also comments by I. Morris 1986, 97-8 on Finley's remarks.

134 Coldstream 1977, 261-2, 303-4; Kolb 1984, 69, 98-9. The earliest fortification walls at Smyrna are traditionally dated to ca. 850 BC, but in more recent literature (see e.g. O. Murray 1993, 64) a date around 800 BC is preferred for these first walls, as well as for the first signs of community organization in this town. The 7th-c. promontory site of Oikonomos on Paros is a rare example of a central Aegean settlement laid out in a regular plan (including an isthmus with two anchorages, an enceinte, and ?temple), see Schilardi 1983, 180-2.

even had a regular town-plan, probably going back to their foundation. Excavations at Megara Hyblaea clearly show that the original layout contained rectangular residential plots and a division between cultic and civic space by means of demarcation of an agora and plots where shrines were built.[135]

Another argument to regard Nausithoos' colony not as a reflection of the Ionian migrations of the 10th century, but of the later colonization of the 8th century, is the mention of Euboeans in this context. As we have seen earlier, there is ample archaeological evidence to show that the Euboeans were among the most active Greek seafarers, who were the first to establish colonies in the West. According to the Homeric poems, the Euboeans are apparently also the only Greeks with whom the Phaeacians maintain contacts (*Od.* VII. 321). Apart from that, the Phaeacians seem in more than one respect to be the mythical counterparts of the Euboeans.[136]

In conclusion, the foundation history of Scheria finds a historical parallel in the foundation legends of the Greek colonies in the West which were established in the final decades of the 8th century and later. The resemblance is especially clear with respect to the importance attached to the colony's founder, who structures the socio-political, economic and religious life of the new foundation. In addition, the description of Scheria supposes a settlement laid out according to certain ordering principles for which the colonial foundations in Italy and Sicily provide the best models. All in all, Scheria seems to mirror a western Greek foundation of the later 8th or the 7th century.[137]

In this context, we may also refer to *Od.* IX. 116ff., which gives a detailed description of 'Goat Island', as it were from the perspective of a colonial prospector.[138] Special reference is made to the potential of this desert island for agriculture, animal husbandry and viticulture (122-4, 130-5); there are wells (133) and a sandy bay is praised as an ideal harbour (136-9).[139] It is implied that the island is there to be colonized, if only the Cyclopes who were living nearby had reached a sufficiently high level of civilization and social organization to build ships and settle

135 See Fusaro 1982, 15ff.; Kolb 1984, 100-7.
136 See contribution by Ruijgh elsewhere in this volume.
137 *Contra* Powell 1991, 219-20, who feels that the *Odyssey* reflects an earlier stage of Greek presence in the West, datable closer to 800-775 than 750 BC.
138 I am grateful to Hans van Wees for this reference.
139 Cf. Xenophon's description (*Anabasis* VI. 4) of Calpe's potential to house a colony.

on the island (125ff.). All in all, this passage can be regarded as testifying to a colonizing habit.

There is one final point which deserves emphasis. It is true that Scheria is the only 'colonial' foundation mentioned in the epics; however, this does not mean that this reference to colonization can be explained away as a unique element in the poems which has incidentally slipped in, for instance as a later intrusion. It should be stressed that Scheria is not referred to only obliquely; on the contrary, the very nature of this settlement plays a vital role in the plot of the *Odyssey*. Scheria is not some fairy-tale country which forms an exotic setting for just another of Odysseus' adventures. It is a fictitious, Greek city which is situated between two worlds, and it is in this respect that Scheria is essential to the plot, since it permits Odysseus' return to the 'real' world, the one to which the hero is seeking to return.[140] It should be emphasized that Scheria, its physical features, its oikist and its inhabitants are described in detail in order to evoke the image of a well-founded, stable community. It is a symbol of civilization and communal organization: the Phaeacians are experienced in sports, dance and oral poetry; they are fabulous seafarers and respect the laws of hospitality; their city possesses walls, agorai and temples. In short, they are opposed in almost every respect to uncivilized creatures, like for instance the Cyclopes,[141] whom Odysseus encountered during most of his wanderings. It is from this perspective, too, that Scheria is a colonial foundation: it is an outpost of civilization in an otherwise wild and empty world.

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE POLIS

The term 'polis' is notoriously difficult to define. A wide spectrum of descriptions has been given, frequently drawing upon Plato's and Aristotle's ideas about the polis. In many modern definitions the polis is identified with a state, a community, a territory, or a combination of these elements.[142] Here, the polis will be conceived as a local community, which formed an autonomous state and occupied a certain territory. It often included a nuclear settlement, which acted as its socio-

140 See Segal 1962.
141 See, e.g. *Od.* IX. 106-15, 124-9, 275-6. Cf. Scully 1990, 110-1.
142 Sakellariou 1989, 27ff., 495 gives an extensive survey.

political and religious centre; despite this, settlement and territory were politically united. Authority and landownership were, at least formally, located in the citizen community as a whole, but the type of constitution and the part of the polis community performing governmental functions could vary.

Although there is discussion over the exact period when the polis developed, consensus exists that the late 8th and 7th centuries BC were crucial for its formation.[143] Whether or not it is correct to date the origin of the polis to this period, or indeed whether it is possible to pinpoint the rise of the polis in any one specific period, it is difficult to overlook a number of archaeological phenomena which occur simultaneously in different areas in the Greek world during the later 8th and 7th centuries. These archaeological phenomena include fortifications, 'urbanization', temple building, and the creation of public buildings and public space. They have in common that they display a degree of centralisation and a tendency towards self-definition of the community, including the demarcation of the community's territory.[144]

A.M. Snodgrass considers a number of 8th-century religious novelties as the most significant manifestations of the polis. He emphasizes that the citizens of a Greek polis constituted a community of cult, with a patron deity presiding over each polis. A necessary element in this official cult was a central city sanctuary, often sited in the heart of the polis, for example on an acropolis or beside the civic centre (see e.g. at Eretria, Corinth, Athens, Smyrna, Syracuse, etc.).[145] In addition to these urban sanctuaries, many poleis established a major cult place in the rural hinterland (see e.g. the Heraia near Argos and at Perachora). In his analysis of the polis sanctuary, F. de Polignac has argued that both types of sanctuaries helped define the key areas in the social and political structure of the polis, namely the centre and the boundaries. The placement of extra-urban sanctuaries in liminal positions demarcated the territory of the polis, not only culturally (at the meeting of tilled, 'civilized' land and the 'wild' mountains), but also in political terms,

143 See Sakellariou 1989, 335-43, esp. 338-40.

144 I. Morris (1987, 7) calls these "oblique manifestations of the polis ... in that they are not unique to the polis, and so provide at the very most necessary but not sufficient conditions for its identification" (cf. p. 189ff., under the heading "complementary patterns"). He attaches greater importance to the transformation of the social structures in the mid-8th c. in the context of the emerging polis, as evidenced by burials.

145 Snodgrass 1980 a, 33, 56.

since boundaries separated states and were thus prime points of definition of state membership.[146]

The growing importance of polis sanctuaries, Snodgrass shows, is marked, first, by a steep rise in votive offerings from the beginning of the 8th century BC, roughly coinciding with a falling off in the 'private' deposition of grave goods during the same century, and, secondly, by the construction of temples for the polis' patron god during the later 8th and early 7th centuries.[147] Hero cult and cult of the dead focusing on Bronze Age tombs could perform a similar function. Such cults were probably linked to settled landholding and demarcation of the polis territory.[148]

Still in the 8th century a number of monumental temples were erected for patron deities protecting the polis (e.g. at Samos and Eretria). The construction of a substantial and durable cult building was a natural consequence of the polis adopting responsibility for the cult of its patron god, and the erection of monumental temples is a further indication of the emerging state. In these impressive architectural projects, we can see not only the self-assertion but also incipient rivalry of the developing poleis (so-called 'peer polity interaction').[149]

Similar motives seem to have stimulated the construction of defensive walls. According to Snodgrass, there are two distinct phases in the development of defensive constructions in Archaic Greece. In the first phase, which covers the second half of the 9th and early 8th centuries, fortified sites are almost all found in the Cyclades and on the west coast of Asia Minor and its offshore islands (e.g. at Smyrna, Iasos in Caria, Zagora on Andros). These were probably independent expedients governed by local considerations, that is to say, protection against pirates and hostile indigenous inhabitants. During the second phase, which began in the late 8th/early 7th century, especially mainland cities started to build circuit walls designed to protect one Greek community from another, and as such these fortifications can be considered physical manifestations of the polis (e.g. at Eretria, Gortyn, etc.).[150]

146 De Polignac 1984, ch. 2; see now also 1994; further I. Morris 1987, 192; Morgan 1990, 7.

147 Snodgrass 1980 a, 33, 52-4; see also below, n. 239.

148 See below, nn. 274-7.

149 Snodgrass 1980 a, 58-60; Coldstream 1985, 68.

150 Snodgrass 1986 a; see also I. Morris 1987, 192. Add *Praktika* 1989, 274-5, with n. 25; *AR* 40, 1994, 69 (fortified Geometric settlement at Minoa, Amorgos); *AJA* 98, 1994, 315 (fortification wall at Asine). Like free-standing temples (see be-

Another phenomenon connected to the developing polis in the 8th century BC is the growing importance of inter-state sanctuaries, like those at Olympia, Delphi and Delos. Located outside the control of any single major power, they were neutral meeting places, which functioned as centres of communication (see, for example, the oracle at Delphi), as well as competition (through athletic games, *theoriai*, donations of votive offerings, etc.). In this capacity, these sanctuaries provided further opportunities for the self-definition of the polis; in addition, they fostered the establishment of formal relations between communities and reinforced ideas and values central to the polis organization.[151]

In sum, the emergent polis was accompanied in the 8th and 7th centuries by the construction of communal monuments, like temples (both urban and extra-urban), city walls, as well the layout of central space for public gatherings (e.g. at Dreros or Megara Hyblaea), and, in some cases, the restructuring of the town plan (see the above example of Old Smyrna), a process sometimes described as 'urbanization'. These corporate enterprises accompanying the emergent polis functioned, internally, to increase the cohesion of the polis community, and, externally, to define the polis and its territory in spatial, social and political terms.

Almost without exception these early manifestations of the polis are encountered in the Homeric epics. In the following section we will discuss in more detail 8th-century developments in the realm of religious activities and their possible reflections in Homer. In anticipation, here we may already summarize some of the conclusions, as far as they concern communal aspects of Homeric religion and community-based religious practices, which can be considered as manifestations of the polis. In both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, communities are placed under the protection of a patron deity. In Troy, Athena is the patron goddess of the city and her (free-standing) temple is located on the city's acropolis. Votive offerings are donated on behalf of the community; she is evoked by her epithet "the rescuer of the polis" (*erusiptolis*, *Il.* VI. 305). Poseidon is the civic deity of the Phaeacians, whose *temenos* is near the agora, the civic centre of Scheria.

The cult of Poseidon at Scheria had been installed by Nausithoos,

low), fortified (refuge) settlements in Crete from the post-palatial period and Early Iron Age belong to a tradition independent from developments on the Greek mainland; see Hayden 1988; Nowicki 1992; 1994, 267-8.

151 Snodgrass 1980 a, 55-6, 60; 1986 b, 54-5; I. Morris 1987, 192; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990; Morgan 1990; 1993; de Polignac 1994, 11-2.

the city's founder. This shows that it is taken for granted that, when a polis is founded, temples are built, which clearly testifies to the acceptance of the idea that the polis forms a community of cult.[152] The latter conception of the polis also comes to the fore in *Od.* III. 5-8, where we are told that, while making sacrifices on the beach to Poseidon, the Pylians are sitting in nine groups of 500 men, each group providing one bull for sacrifice. These nine groups correspond to the nine cities in Nestor's kingdom (*Il.* II. 591-5). As C. Sourvinou-Inwood has pointed out, the organization of communal sacrifices following subdivisions of the polity (nine cities, in the case of Pylos) is another characteristic of religious practices of the polis.[153]

In addition to the cult of polis deities, both poems mention the renowned, historical inter-state sanctuaries (and votive offerings and games); besides, they contain references to hero-cults which perform a function in the community's politics.[154]

The Homeric city unmistakably displays a degree of 'urbanization', in the sense that it contains public facilities, which involve a considerable amount of communal organization, and imply an active community life. The public facilities include walls, gates, streets, a meeting place (agora), shrines, communal wells and wash-basins, etc. In a Homeric town, streets are "broad", sometimes even "well-constructed", which might suggest that they were paved. The agora, which is called "holy", is the confined civic space, where the assembly meets and court sessions are conducted; when the agora is mentioned (at Ithaca, Scheria, and in one of the cities described on the Shield of Achilles), it is architecturally defined by benches of worked stone.[155]

In Finley's view, the walls, sanctuaries, temples and agorai mentioned in Homer cannot be considered manifestations of the polis organization; he points out that this is an example of confusing objects and institutions.[156] Walls, temples, etc., however, are not isolated objects which have come into being autonomous from societal developments. They are material expressions of a community's pursuit of self-definition as a political and religious unity. In that sense they are indissolubly related to socio-political and religious institutions and to conceptions of

152 Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 5.

153 Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 3-4.

154 For references, see below.

155 See Van Wees 1992, 28-31, with n. 12. Scully 1990, 18, 101-2, on the "holy" agora on the Shield of Achilles (*Il.* XVIII. 504).

156 See Finley 1979, 155.

what a polis community should be. This is the way these features should be approached, as is also demonstrated in an illuminating way in S. Scully's recent study of the polis in the Homeric epics. Scully concludes that the three material manifestations of the emerging polis singled out by Snodgrass - circuit wall, urbanized clusters and polis cult - correspond to three, mutually supporting features of the Homeric city: its wall, its sanctity, and its people, which in their sum compose a visual image of enclosing wall, divine presence, and stable community of humankind. The importance of these elements, Scully shows, becomes clear especially from the epithets for Troy. A passage in which this triad is also clearly manifest is that relating to the founding of Scheria by Nausithoos, who is said to have erected a wall around the polis, built houses, and constructed temples.[157]

As far as city walls are concerned, the three portraits of Scheria sketched in books VI and VII of the *Odyssey* underline the city wall's integral place in the urban definition of the Homeric settlement (*Od.* VI. 9-10: walls, houses, temples; 262-7: wall, harbours, temple, agora; VII. 43-5: harbours, agorai, walls).[158] Considered from this perspective, the walls of Scheria belong to the second phase in Snodgrass' two-stage development of Greek fortifications, since they are one of a set of architectural features defining the polis' centre.

More generally, in the epics, city walls perform a symbolic role similar to the one which de Polignac has reconstructed for the extra-urban polis sanctuaries. They are communal monuments which have a religious significance; at the same time, they demarcate the division between nature and culture. As Scully shows, in Homer we find the idea that, "[b]y separating himself in the walled polis from nature's randomness, man of the polis occupies for the first time a space that can be called exclusively human. [...] The spirit of enclosure and the conferring of a human identity define the sacral essence of the Homeric polis and are the reasons Zeus initiates its creation". Hence, the creation of the polis, as an act of civilization, is sacred and inspired by divine power. Even more than a political community, the polis is a religious one, separated as it is from nature, the place of shelter guarding those

157 Scully 1990, 5, 54, 113.

158 Scully 1990, 45-7; also de Polignac 1984, 64-5. Note that the same elements (houses, agora, walls) also occur in the description of the two cities on the Shield of Achilles (*Il.* XVIII. 490ff.).

within.[159] As Scully puts it, "[n]ot only a physical boundary, the city wall is also a spiritual barrier, preserving the divinely sanctioned enclosed order from a profane world encircling the city".[160]

Scully points out that the city wall is the most important feature that contributes to the definition of the Homeric polis. Not accidentally, almost without exception scenes centring around Troy and Trojans culminate at the wall or gate. The narrative, however, does not concentrate on their military significance, but on their symbolic value: the wall is the line of demarcation separating polis from non-polis.[161]

Scully rightly stresses that the vision of the *Iliad* in particular is deeply rooted in a city culture; the city is a model for the construction of the *Iliad*, as well as its essential theme. It is not the individual *oikos* (household), but the collective polis that is the social nucleus around which life in the Homeric poems acquires meaning. The author arrives at the appealing conclusion that in Homer the visual image of the city and its community is seen in the context of a contemporary city or polis, i.e. the city enclosure of the entire city population, city temples for common cult, and wall as absolute visual boundary. The Homeric vision of the polis has been deeply influenced, not by conditions prevailing in the Mycenaean period, but by contemporary realities, in particular the Ionic cities of his own day.[162]

To recapitulate, in the material record of the 8th and 7th centuries BC new elements can be observed, best characterized as structural transformations in cult activity and spatial organization; these can be regarded as expressions of the polis in the sense that they were corporate enterprises which strengthened the cohesion of the polis community and helped to define the polis and its territory. In Homer these features also play important roles and help to create a visual image of the city. This city seems to come close to the ones of the poet's own days.

We have looked especially at the material manifestations of the polis community, since the method followed here is the examination of "objective dating criteria" as produced by the archaeological record. This is not the place for an extensive discussion of the meaning of the term 'polis' in Homer,[163] nor of the political organization of the

159 Scully 1990, 25-6 (quote on p. 25).

160 *Ibid.*, 50.

161 *Ibid.*, 41-5, ch. 3.

162 *Ibid.*, ch. 6.

163 For this, see e.g. Sakellariou 1989, 155ff.; Scully 1990, 9ff.; Van Wees 1992, 271-2.

Homeric state.[164] It may suffice to refer to some aspects of the epics which support the above conclusion concerning reflections in Homer of the emerging polis of the 8th and 7th centuries. In the first place, there are passages in Homer in which the word 'polis' connotes a political, more than topographical, definition of state, encompassing both city and countryside. This points at a conception of the polis not unlike that of the Classical period.[165] With regard to its political organization, the Homeric polis recognizes a central political and juridical authority. As in the 8th and 7th centuries, the Homeric polis is governed by a hereditary élite whose socio-political, economic and ideological power base is similar to that of the aristocracies in Archaic Greece.[166] In this respect, it should be remarked that aristocratic constitution and polis organization are not incompatible, as Aristotle also noted.[167] From the perspective that the Homeric polis has much in common with the historical poleis of the 8th and 7th centuries, it is also reassuring that Homeric ideas concerning the polis are similar to those expressed by other early authors. For instance, the notion that the well-being of the community as a whole is intimately related to the righteous behaviour of its *basileis* occurs in both Homer and Hesiod (as does the conception that their "crooked judgements" will evoke the wrath of Zeus).[168] In addition, in literature from the Archaic and Classical periods it is a commonplace that men rather than walls were the true bulwark of the polis. Such a belief, Scully has shown, was deeply rooted in Homer as well. This is clear, for example, when the poet compares both Achaean and Trojan heroes with city fortifications. More important, men wage war to acquire individual glory (*timè*), but they also fight for their city, its inhabitants and their country.[169]

164 For recent studies on this subject, see Sakellariou 1989, 349-92; Gschnitzer 1991; Van Wees 1992.

165 See *Il.* XVII. 144 and, e.g. Aristotle, *Pol.* 1252 b 29, with Scully 1990, 9 and 174 n. 12; Van Wees 1992, 271; see further Sakellariou 1989, 205, 387-8.

166 See esp. Van Wees 1992, 157-62.

167 Cf. Sakellariou 1989, 182-3, 276. Note that Homeric *basileis* are granted a *temenos* by the people (*Il.* VI. 194), indicating that the territory of the state did not belong to the king, but to the community, see Sakellariou 1989, 64; cf., however, Finley 1957, 151.

168 If the *basileis* uphold justice, both the *polis* community and the *territory* (sic) which forms its catchment area flourish: *Od* XIX. 109ff.; *W & D* 225ff. They suffer from "crooked judges": *Il.* XVI. 384ff.; *W & D*, 239ff. See also I. Morris 1986, 123-4; Van Wees 1992, 34-5, 56-7.

169 Scully 1990, 58-60, 106-10; see also contribution by Singor in this volume.

To return to the political organization of the Homeric polis, it is true that the *basileis* take political decisions, but there is a distinction between public and private affairs. In the ideology of government, the decisions of the *basileis* are supposed to express the will of the people, endowing the latter with a sort of passive sovereignty. It seems that a city is conceived of as a political unit of which the entire male population forms a part.[170] In short, Homeric society is more than an aggregate of autonomous *oikoi*, as Finley believed.[171] An authority and a level of integration above that of the individual household was recognized in the epics. In Homer the polis is a collective body, a community of people, "a city of mortal men".

EXPANSION OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

An important characteristic of the second half of the 8th century BC is the expansion of religious activities. Although there can be no doubt that many aspects of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion survived in the cults of important gods,[172] the 8th century BC is marked by a number of new religious phenomena. The most important of these are the introduction of altars, an increase in the number of sanctuaries, the appearance of monumental, free-standing temple architecture, the rise of interregional sanctuaries and oracular cults, and a steep growth in votive offerings dedicated in sanctuaries.[173] In the following sections, we will consider each of these aspects separately and examine their attestations in Homer.

A. ALTARS

Burnt (animal) sacrifice was probably rather uncommon during the Late Bronze Age.[174] Rather exceptional are the altars in the temple at Ayia

170 Van Wees 1992, 33, 36.

171 See esp. I. Morris 1986, 100-4 and Scully 1990, ch. 7, for criticism of Finley's view that the polis organization is absent from Homer.

172 Nilsson 1950; Dietrich 1983.

173 Coldstream 1977, 317-40.

174 According to B. Bergquist (1988), burnt animal sacrifice is generally accepted for the Bronze Age, but there is no corroborating Minoan-Mycenaean evidence from either written sources, iconography or built structures to assume any *burning* of the victim; she sees ash deposits attested in a number of sanctuary sites as remains

Irini on Kea and in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas on the summit of Kynortion near Epidaurus, both dating to the Late Bronze Age (and both re-used in historical times). In this connection one may also mention a probably 11th-century pithos found at Asine, containing waste from burnt sacrifices and possibly set up in a sacrificial area.[175] In large parts of the Greek world, however, altars for burnt sacrifices were introduced in the second half of the 8th century at the earliest; only in the second half of the following century did built stone altars appear with any frequency.[176] Among the few exceptions are possibly altars I and II at the Heraion on Samos. They should be dated to the period before

of sacrificial meals. In her view, blood sacrifice was the most important aspect of animal sacrifice. This seems a bit too strong: cf. Burkert 1985, 50-1 (Mycenae); see further next note. Also in Linear B documents there are possible references to burnt offerings (e.g. PY Ua 1413; Ruijgh, pers. comm.). Note that in this section, we restrict our discussion to 'sacrificial' altars for burnt (animal) sacrifices, to the exclusion of structures like offering benches, etc., which are known from the Bronze Age and sometimes also labelled as altars.

175 For the altar in the Late Bronze Age temple at Ayia Irini, see Caskey 1981, 127. For the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, see Lambrinoudakis 1981 b; also *AR* 29, 1983, 28; 31, 1985, 21; 35, 1989, 27-8; cf. Rolley 1983, 112; Bergquist 1988. Upon the open-air altar of Mycenaean date rested a second altar representing a revival of cult in the late 7th c. BC. It has been suggested that this is a sort of peak sanctuary, with also other features pointing to a strong Minoan influence; cf., however, Hägg 1985, 207, 210; S. Morris 1992, 109-10 with nn. 42, 44 for allegedly Levantine influences on the sanctuaries at Epidaurus and Ayia Irini. For Asine, see Wells 1983, 34. For the round altar/*bothros* belonging to the anta building constructed in either LH IIIC or ca. 750 BC inside the Great Megaron on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns, see Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 37-8; 1988, 113-4. Ash deposits in some Minoan peak sanctuaries, such as Iuktas and Petsofa, perhaps originate in the lighting of great bonfires. A very large stone construction on Iuktas, containing small votives, has been associated with these ashes and interpreted as an altar (see Karetsou 1981, 138-41, 145-6 (Iuktas), 146 n. 24 (Petsofa). However, it is questionable whether it was used for animal sacrifice. The excavators of the Minoan mountain sanctuary at Syme also reject the possibility that here ash deposits point to burnt sacrifices (Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 326-7; also Bergquist 1988). See further Nowicki 1994, 252, for a pithos containing burnt material from an open-air sanctuary at Dark Age Kasellopoulo, Crete.

176 Coldstream 1977, 317ff.; Rupp 1983. For other (including more recently discovered) 8th-c. altars, see e.g. Schilardi 1988, 45 (Koukounaries on Paros); Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 13 (Eretria); Schäfer *et al.* 1992, 182, 352-3 (sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas at Amnisos, Crete); Hägg 1983 b, 191, 193 (Miletus). The altar of Apollo Archegetes outside Sicilian Naxos is one of the few examples which can be exactly dated (ca. 734 or slightly later, Thuc. VI. 3; for its location, see Pelagatti 1981, 303).

II at the Heraion on Samos. They should be dated to the period before the monumental hekatompedon I was built with which altar III is associated. The first altar was dated by the excavators to the 10th century, but later a 9th-century date was preferred.[177] With the recent downdating of the first hekatompedon from ca. 750 BC to a date well into the 7th century,[178] it is not impossible that the first altars should be given a lower date, too. Finally, it is important to note that in many sanctuaries altars preceded the construction of a temple or shrine.[179]

The epics are littered with altars. Some of them are found in association with temples, like, for example, the ones of Apollo at Chryse (*Il.* I. 440) and on Delos (*Od.* VI. 161-2). Since in Homer temples do not occur in very large numbers, as will appear from the following section, altars not mentioned in connection with roofed sanctuaries probably have to be regarded as altar-*temenè*; hence the latter seem the most common type of cult place in the epics.[180]. Altars dedicated to Zeus are especially numerous (e.g. at Troy: *Il.* IV. 48; cf. XXIV. 69; at Gargaros on Mount Ida: *Il.* VIII. 48 (cf. XXII. 170-1); apart from these, there is mention of the altars of the Nymphs (at Ithaca: *Od.* XVII. 210-1), Poseidon (at Scheria: *Od.* XIII. 187), probably Artemis (at Aulis: *Il.* II. 305-6), the river god Spercheios (in Phtia: *Il.* XXIII. 148) or, simply, 'the gods' (at Mycenae: *Od.* III. 273; on the 'agora' in the Achaean camp: *Il.* XI. 808; see also VIII. 249-50).[181]

The fact that in Homer altar-*temenè* are the most common type of cult-place concurs with the situation during the 8th and early 7th centuries, when many sanctuaries were still without a temple.

B. SANCTUARIES AND TEMPLES

During the Mycenaean period, cult seems to have taken place mainly in rooms of houses and palaces, as well as in open-air enclosures, within caves, on mountain peaks, etc.[182] This contrasts sharply with the situ-

177 Coldstream 1977, 317; Rupp 1983, 102-4 (see also remarks by Felsch in *Discussion* following Rupp 1983).

178 See below, n. 190.

179 Coldstream 1977, 321. Kommos forms an exceptional case, as the first altar belonging to temple B, Phase 2 (ca. 700 BC) post-dates the earliest temples; see Shaw 1982, 190; 1984, 282; Rupp 1983, 104.

180 Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 4.

181 See also Vermeule 1974, 105ff.

182 See various contributions in Hägg & Marinatos 1981; more recently, Wright

ation during the historical period, when we have independent and free-standing public buildings dedicated to cult, which were installed on sacred territory, set apart from the space occupied by man. The earliest indications for the development of formal sanctuaries date to the 9th century BC, although in this period their number was still limited and religious architecture (built altars, shrines or temples) rare; dedication of votives was not widespread, but ritual dining seems to have been an important part of religious practices.[183] It has been suggested that during much of the 10th to early 8th centuries cult often took place in the open air or in the domestic sphere; cult of communal character was performed by the leaders of the community. The archaeological evidence from this period shows that at a number of sites the ruler's dwelling served certain cult purposes. There are indications that especially in the 8th century these chieftain's dwellings were replaced by or transformed into sacred buildings, presumably when the ruler lost some of his duties, notably control of the community's religious affairs.[184] In particular during the second half of the 8th century, we see a tendency towards clearer separation and distinction of religious space, as well as formalization of religious activity. Around the turn of

1994. Exceptional in this respect too is the Late Bronze Age temple at Ayia Irini, Kea; see above, n. 175. For a small cult building in the *Unterburg* at Tiryns, see Kilian 1981. In many respects these "citadel cult centres" are of secondary importance, see Wright, *ibid.*, 61-2. Apart from these, in the Mycenaean period there were rural shrines, but not much information is available on their spatial features, *ibid.*, 63-71. At Kalapodi in Phokis, cult was possibly practised from LH IIIC to the end of the Middle Protogeometric period (10th c.). In the second half of the 9th this rural or even rustic sanctuary was probably re-founded; see Felsch *et al.* 1987, 3-5.

183 De Polignac 1994, 7-8, 10. Greek sanctuaries of this period seem to have been cult places of rather informal nature, in both architectural and ritual respect. This may be illustrated with the help of the Poseidon sanctuary at Isthmia. During the Early Iron Age (11th-8th c. BC) this was a small, roadside sanctuary, where ritual dining took place, without investment being made in building. Only during the 7th c., when the sanctuary gained importance, religious space became more formalized by the construction of a temple and altar; see Gebhard & Hemans 1992, 13-6, 19-21; Morgan 1994, 109-28.

184 Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 37, 43-4, 46-7; 1988. For ruler's dwellings also performing cult functions, see e.g. Nichoria, Unit IV-1 (10th-9th c.; with altar-like structure inside); Zagora on Andros (9th-8th c.; H 19, with hearth inside); Emporio on Chios (late 8th-7th c.: "Megaron Hall", with altar outside). See further I. Morris 1987, 189.

the century all over the Aegean cult places were manifest, most often in the shape of shrines or temples.[185]

The earliest examples of buildings constructed for specifically religious purposes in the Aegean have come to light in Crete. Small temples or shrines from the 12th to 10th centuries have been found, for instance, at Karphi, Kavousi, and at Kommos.[186] They belong to a native tradition, independent from that on the Greek mainland.[187] The great majority of early temples elsewhere in the Greek world date to the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Eighth-century examples include the temples at Mycenae, Asine, Koukounaries on Paros, and perhaps Perachora, Galataki and Tegea.[188] Recent excavations at Ephesus have revealed a *peripteros* dating to the second half of the 8th century, which may have been preceded by a structure dating to the Protogeometric period.[189]

Near the end of the 8th century the first monumental temples appear, such as the *hekatompedon* at Eretria (preceded by structures, probably of religious character, of a date earlier that century), the large building under the later temple of Artemis Propylaia at Eleusis, and two large

185 Coldstream 1977, 321-7; Mazarakis Ainian 1985.

186 Karphi: Rutkowski 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 6-7. The structure erected in room no. 1 could be an altar (Rutkowski 1987, 259-60; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 7), but also an offering bench (Gesell 1985, 45). Kavousi: Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 16. Kommos: see above, n. 73; further Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 15, 22, 31; 1988, 116-7.

187 Gesell 1985, 47, 57ff.; cf. Coldstream 1985, 69; Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 43-4. The idea of Mazarakis Ainian that during the Early Iron Age ruler's dwellings performed cult functions is not entirely convincing in the case of Crete (cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 106). In an abstract of a paper in *AJA* 92, 1988, 279-80, E. Samuelsson has argued that 'hearth temples' in Crete are in fact dining-rooms, unrelated to Greek temples proper.

188 Coldstream 1977, 322, 327. Koukounaries: Schilardi 1988; Tegea: *AR* 39, 1993, 20-1; 40, 1994, 18. For Perachora and Galataki, see also Morgan 1994, 129, 136-7. For a possibly 8th-c. temple at Yria, Naxos, *AR* 39, 1993, 66. A 10th-c. origin has been suggested for the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia near Piraeus, though only a small number of 10th- and 8th-c. sherds have been found, see Palaiokrassa 1989, 13-4.

189 Bammer 1990, esp. 141-2, 148; 1993, 141-2, 155-61. Pottery from the site suggests continuous occupation from the Mycenaean period onwards; it is not clear, however, whether this also indicates that its cult function goes back to the Late Bronze Age. A similar situation exists for the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros, Asia Minor, see *AR* 36, 1990, 99-100 (10th- to 8th-c. material in mixed deposits below earliest occupation levels from 7th c.).

temples at Kalapodi.[190] In the (later) pan-Hellenic sanctuaries at Delphi, Olympia and Delos, the first architecture on a monumental scale appears, somewhat surprisingly, only in the 7th century.[191] The large Protogeometric building at Toumba, Lefkandi (10th century), is sometimes considered as the earliest example of a Greek monumental temple. Powell, as a matter of fact, regards this building as an example of religious architecture of pre-8th-century date, in support of his argument to date Homer's *floruit* around 800 BC.[192] However, despite the building's peristasis and its huge dimensions, it has failed to produce firm evidence for cult; on the contrary, the scant number of artefacts found *in situ* indicate that the edifice had a domestic function.[193]

It is true that in Homer libations, sacrifices and other ritual are not limited to discrete areas for religious purposes.[194] Cult activity sometimes even takes place in the open air, for example on the beach; spatially rather ill-defined sacred places such as the sacred grove (*alsos*) are often mentioned.[195] From this, de Polignac has concluded that in the epics sacred space is not sharply defined.[196] C. Sourvinou-Inwood, on the other hand, has pointed out that sacrifices on the beach take place on altars, which probably stood on marked-off sacred ground; the same holds true for sacred groves.[197]

190 Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 18-20, 24, 39. The first hekatompedon at the Heraion on Samos, which was long considered to have functioned as a model for its counterpart at Eretria, was recently down-dated from ca. 750 BC to the 7th c.; see Mallwitz 1981, 624-33. Eleusis: Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 39. Kalapodi: *ibid.*, 39-41; Felsch *et al.* 1987, 11.

191 Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 33, 38; Morgan 1993, 21, 30.

192 Powell 1991, 195.

193 Crielaard & Driessen 1994.

194 See e.g. altars for Zeus in palace courts (*Il.* XI. 772-4; *Od.* XXII. 334-6); for other altars, see above. For sacrifices at meals and other occasions, see e.g. *Od.* III. 418ff.; see further Wace & Stubbings 1962, 446.

195 See e.g. *Od.* III. 5-6, 43-4: sacrifice and ritual meal, both in honour of Poseidon and both taking place on the beach. Sacred groves: *Il.* II. 506 (Poseidon); II. 750, VIII. 48 (Zeus); XXIII. 148 (river god Spercheios); *Od.* VI. 291ff., 321-2 (Athena); VIII. 362-3 (Aphrodite); IX. 200-1, XX. 276-9 (Apollo). See further *Il.* II. 696: probably *temenos* of Demeter at Pyrasos in Thessaly; *Od.* X. 508-10: sacred grove of Persephone on the fringes of the world; *Il.* VIII. 203-4; cf. XX. 404: sanctuaries of Poseidon at Aigai and Helike.

196 De Polignac 1984, 27-8.

197 Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 2-5. A number of the above sacred groves are explicitly stated to include altars, see e.g. *Il.* VIII. 48; XXIII. 148; *Od.* VIII. 362-3; XX. 276-9; further II. 506 (tempel and sacred grove of Poseidon at Onchestos).

More important, religious activities in the epics very often *do* take place in temples and sanctuaries.[198] We find roofed, sacred enclosures of Apollo at Chryse (*Il.* I. 39) and at Delphi (*Il.* IX. 404-5), of Athena at Athens (*Il.* II. 549), of Athena and Apollo at Troy (Athena: *Il.* VI. 88, 269, 279, 297-303; Apollo: *Il.* V. 446; VII. 83, i.e. at "holy Pergamon", the citadel of Troy[199]), as well as a group of temples at Scheria (*Od.* VI. 9-10, 266), of which one, we may assume, was dedicated to Poseidon, the patron god of the Phaeacians. In addition, in *Od.* XII. 346-7 Odysseus' companions promise to erect a temple for Helios, presumably at Ithaca. These are free-standing structures, as is suggested by the fact that they are sometimes located on the acropolis, delimited from other structures, it seems (*Il.* V. 446; VI. 88, 297). The temple door is to be opened with a key, which is kept by the priest or priestess (*Il.* VI. 89, 298). Stone thresholds are mentioned (*Il.* IX. 404; *Od.* VIII. 80), as is a large *adyton* (inner shrine or sacrosanct room, *Il.* V. 448), which suggests a two-room building.

As just mentioned, at Troy Athena's temple is located in the city's citadel. The protection of the goddess is invoked when the city and its inhabitants are in danger (*Il.* VI. 94-6, 275-7, 309-10). Athena is the patron goddess of Troy (305) and her cult is administered by a priestess, on behalf of, and for the welfare of the entire polis (298-300). This situation is strongly reminiscent of so-called 'central polis cults' found in the historical period; as at Troy, in many of the historical poleis Athena Polias was the main civic deity.[200] In addition, it is significant that Athena's priestess at Troy, Theano, is not linked by blood to the royal Trojan family; she is the daughter of the Thracian king Kisseus and wife of Antenor, who is an important counsellor of the Trojans but not a royal. Theano's family affiliation shows again that the polis' principal cult, rather than being restricted to the king's domain, is communal in nature.[201]

A more ambiguous example is Athena's temple at Athens. In *Od.* VII. 80-1 it is mentioned that Athena goes to the strong house of Erechtheus; in *Il.* II. 546-51 we are told that there was a temple of Athena on the Acropolis where Erechtheus lived.[202] The name

198 Certainly more often than de Polignac (1984, 28 n. 14) suggests.

199 Cf. Scully 1990, 7-8.

200 See Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 307-8.

201 As pointed out by Scully 1990, 22-3.

202 For discussion of these passages, see also Hadzisteliou Price 1979, 224-6 (with references).

Erechtheus has a Bronze Age ring to it, and the cohabitation of Athena and Erechtheus on the Acropolis has led some scholars to evoke a picture of Erechtheus being a Mycenaean priest-king administrating a palace-shrine.[203] It is not necessary, however, to make this connection. The juxtaposition of Athena and Erechtheus can be transferred to an 8th-century situation. Lorimer already related the above passages to the discovery of an early (8th century) Hera temple in the citadel of Tiryns and to the literary testimony that at Thebes the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros was located in the house of Kadmos and his descendants (Paus. IX. 16. 5-7). From this, Lorimer has concluded that in the post-Bronze Age, the site of the Mycenaean palace continued to house the royal cult of ancient times.[204] More recently, a somewhat different explanation has been given by J.C. Wright, which does not require the assumption of continuity of an alleged Bronze Age cult place. In his study of the Argive Heraion, he argues that the earliest temple and its pseudo-Cyclopic terrace wall were both constructed in the late 8th century on the site of a Mycenanean settlement. Like the installation of Hera sanctuaries in the citadels of Tiryns and Mycenae and the rise of cults at Bronze Age tombs (see below), the location of the Argive Heraion probably stems from a desire to link 8th-century cult places to remains from the Mycenaean past; according to Wright, the literary information on Athena's temple at Athens (and the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros at Thebes) should be viewed in the same light.[205] In other words, the connection in the *Iliad* between Athena's temple and the legendary king Erechtheus does not so much reflect the continuity of a Bronze Age cult at this site, but is rather to be interpreted as an attempt to upgrade the status of a cult place by associating it with a figure from the Bronze Age past. Seen from this perspective, the mentioning of Athens' patron goddess in association with the strong house of

203 See e.g. Webster 1958, 107ff., 143; Kirk 1985, 205.
204 Lorimer 1950, 435-7.
205 Wright 1982, 198; see also Snodgrass 1982 a, 114; Antonaccio 1994 b, 88-9, 92. Wright (*ibid.*, 186-92) dates the terrace wall of the Argive Heraion to the 8th c. Recently, C.M. Antonaccio (1992, 95-6; see also Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 42) has suggested a date in the later 7th c. for both temple and terrace wall. Antonaccio also points out that it cannot be excluded that the pseudo-Cyclopean wall was originally covered by a limestone facing, which would argue against the hypothesis of deliberate imitation of Mycenacan masonry. Cf., however, de Polignac 1994, 13 n. 31.

Erechtheus is just another example of the 'obsession' with the Mycenaean past so typical of the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

As we have seen above, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* some of the cults are administered by 'professional' priests (i.e. individuals appointed to perform cultic tasks), but their number is not very large.[206] Religious ritual is often also performed by non-specialists. In general, every Homeric *basileus* is celebrant and priest for his folk, and every head of a household for its members, but at places of special sanctity, or when the well-being of the entire community is involved (see above), it is the priests who conduct the rites.[207] In short, in the epics we have a situation of rather limited religious specialization, which is not incompatible with the archaeological picture sketched earlier for the 8th century BC: temples are not at all common before the later part of that century, while during the preceding period community cults, including ritual dinners, seem to have centred in and around the ruler's dwelling.[208]

C. THE RISE OF INTER-REGIONAL SANCTUARIES

From the Archaic period onwards a number of pan-Hellenic sanctuaries existed, notably those at Olympia, Delphi and Delos; they were not related to one particular state, but served various poleis from all over the Greek world. As pointed out before, in addition to their religious function, these sanctuaries were neutral meeting places where poleis and their individual members could both communicate and compete.[209] Although it would be wrong to push the date of these characteristics back to the 8th century BC, it is clear that it was in this period that these sanctuaries began to play a role on a supra-local and even supra-regional level.[210]

206 Apart from Theano at Troy, priests (*iereis*) are mentioned e.g. in *Il.* I. 11, 23, 370: Chryses, priest of Apollo; V. 9-10: Dares, priest of Hephaestus; XVI. 604: Laogonos, priest of Zeus; *Od.* IX. 197-8: Maron, priest of Apollo. See also *Il.* V. 76-8: Hypsenor, *arètèr* of Skamandros; *Il.* IX. 575, *Od.* XXI. 145: unspecified priests. As for their social and economic position, priests seem to be high-ranking figures; they hardly seem subject to specific social rules; see Vermeule 1974, 113. On seers: *ibid.*, 114ff.
207 Wace & Stubbings 1962, 447.
208 See also Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 118.
209 See above, n. 151.
210 Morgan 1993, 18-9, 34, 36-7.

At Delphi, Delos and Olympia, traces of Mycenaean occupation have been discovered. At Delphi there had been a Late Bronze Age settlement, which possibly included a cult place, but there is no evidence that this was of more than local importance; nor are there clues for religious continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.[211] At Delos continuous occupation is not unlikely, but continuity of cult is not in evidence.[212] At Olympia, a tumulus from the Early Bronze Age was possibly identified in the Iron Age as the tomb of Pelops, but neither here nor anywhere else at the site is there evidence of continuity of cult from Bronze to Iron Ages.[213] Besides, the myths connected with Pelops are located above all in the Argolid and the Isthmus region. If these myths contain a historical kernel belonging to the Mycenaean period, they may be taken as an indication that the cult of Pelops, with whom the Olympic games were associated (see e.g. Pindar, *Ol.* X. 24ff., 44ff.), was transferred to Olympia only at a later stage.[214] In sum, despite traces of Bronze Age occupation, it seems that at Delphi, Delos and Olympia cult was newly installed during the Iron Age.[215] The archaeological evidence indicates that at Olympia cult started in the 10th century BC;[216] at Delphi and Delos it began, probably on a much smaller scale, at the end of the 9th. Only in the second half of the 8th century do these sanctuaries (and possibly the

211 Hermann 1987, 160-1; Müller 1992, 475-88; Farnoux 1994, 113. De Polignac 1994, 8-10 deals with this topic in a more general way. Recent excavations at Delphi have produced stratigraphic evidence of continuous occupation during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Luce 1993, 626-31); the finds, including a 10th/9th-c. oven, suggest that the Early Iron Age occupation was of domestic character. The first indications for the existence of a shrine, initially probably only of local importance, date to the late 9th or early 8th c.; see Morgan 1990, 106.

212 Farnoux 1993; 1994, 113-7; see also report in *BCH* 116, 1992, 729-32. Gallet de Santerre (1975) argued for continuity of cult.

213 Kyrieleis 1992, 22-4; also Coldstream 1977, 330-1; Antonaccio 1994 a, 399.

214 Kyrieleis 1992, 24. For the mythological links between Pelops and the northwest Peloponnese, see Herrmann 1980, 61-2. Herrmann (62ff.), however, strongly supports a Mycenaean origin of the cult of Pelops at Olympia, accompanied by athletic games.

215 Rolley (1983) and de Polignac (1984, 37-9) have suggested that the rediscovery of earlier Bronze Age remains may have motivated the choice of these sites.

216 Note, however, that the earliest material from Olympia does not come from stratified contexts and was not accompanied by datable pottery; see Coldstream 1977, 331; Kyrieleis 1992, 20.

Delphic oracle, too) seem to have achieved broader, supra-regional importance.[217]

In the epics, Delphi, Delos and Dodona are hinted at in their capacity as inter-state sanctuaries. Homer refers to Delphi as 'Pytho' (as does Hesiod, *Theog.* 498-500), once as the place of the Pythian oracle, which is clearly of supra-local importance (*Od.* VIII. 79-81), and once with reference to expensive dedications (*Il.* IX. 404-5); in addition, Pytho is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* II. 519; see further *Od.* XI. 581). As for Delos, during his stay with the Phaeacians, Odysseus compares Nausicaa to a palm he once saw on the island beside the altar of Apollo (*Od.* VI. 162-7), which most probably refers to Leto's palm tree. As H.T. Wade-Gery has suggested, the poet's audience would recognize such a reference from having attended the Delian festival.[218] Of great importance, too, is the fact that it is not the poet but the hero who claims to have seen the tree.[219] This means that, in the eyes of the poet, even Greeks living as far away as Ithaca visited the sanctuary of Apollo, which clearly testifies to the pan-Hellenic character of the sanctuary. The third inter-state sanctuary mentioned in the epics is Dodona. Like Delphi, it appears in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* II. 750); elsewhere we are told about the oracle at the site, which has a wide reputation, at least in the western part of Greece (*Od.* XIV. 327-8 = XIX. 296-7; see also *Il.* XVI. 233-5: prophet-priests?).[220]

A more oblique reference to an inter-state sanctuary is found in *Il.* XX. 403-5, where bull sacrifices to Poseidon Helikonios are mentioned. As Wade-Gery has pointed out, this simile probably contains a reference to the pan-Ionian festival at Mykale.[221]

Homer does not explicitly mention Olympia, but he does refer to "divine Elis".[222] What is more, "divine Elis" is the setting of chariot-

217 Rolley 1983; Morgan 1993, 26-8.

218 Wade-Gery 1952, 2-3.

219 *Idem.*

220 The history of Dodona before ca. 750 BC is somewhat obscure, due to the lack of datable votives; see Coldstream 1977, 185.

221 Wade-Gery 1952, 3. Unfortunately, the beginnings of cult at this site cannot be dated by archaeology, see Jeffery 1976, 208-9. Besides, Wade-Gery (*idem*) has suggested that only through the panegyris of Artemis at Ephesus Homer's audience could have been familiar with the description of the birds flocking in the Cayster valley (*Il.* II. 459-66).

222 Note that only very few islands and territories are described by epithets like *hieros*, *zatheos*, *gatheos*, or *dios*, see Scully 1990, 21, 136-40.

races in which participants from various states compete (*Il.* XI. 697-701). Contrary to other examples in the epics, the chariot races in this passage are not explicitly stated to be part of funerary games.[223] The fact that they are associated with Augeias of Elis (700), whose name is connected with the local myths of Olympia, makes it hard to believe that the poet was not familiar with the Olympics or a forerunner of these games.[224] The mentioning of a tripod as the prize for the winner (699) and the fact that Neleus had sent a specialist charioteer to Elis (701), are also in accordance with the practices known from the Games in the historical period.

The traditional date of the foundation of the Olympics is 776 BC. Some authors, however, have argued that games were held at Olympia as early as the 10th century, whereas others have stressed that even the alleged date of 776 BC is much too high; still others have pointed out that until the 7th century the games at Olympia had a very local colour.[225] The earliest chariot races, according to Pausanias (V.8.7-8), were four-horse races, which were initiated at the Olympic Games in 680 BC.[226] Referring to terracotta chariot-figures dating to the earliest phases of the sanctuary, some scholars have objected that two-horse races were held at a much earlier stage.[227] C. Morgan, however, has

223 E.g. *Il.* XXIII. 262ff. (for Patroclus); 629ff. (for Amarynceus). See also *Il.* XXII. 162-3 and *Od.* XIII. 81-3 where no context is given.

224 See also Laser 1987, 27.

225 Herrmann (1972, 76-8; 1980, 73) and Decker (1992, 132) have interpreted the tripods from the 9th and early 8th c. as prizes dedicated by victors at earlier games. Morgan (1993, 20ff.), however, has argued that the votives from the early period at Olympia are typically aristocratic objects dedicated by petty chiefs from the western Peloponnese, who used Olympia as a meeting place. She (*ibid.*, 25-6) thinks that the beginning of the Games in the last quarter of the 8th c. is more likely. I. Morris (1986, 100) too emphasizes the initially local character of the games.

226 See also Crouwel 1993, 41, 105. A. Mallwitz (1988) believes that only with the introduction of these races in 680 BC the games became fully institutionalized.

227 Wiesner (1968, 98) and Herrmann (1972, 176 n. 7) have suggested that already during the 8th c. two-horse chariot races were held at Olympia. They think that these were replaced in ca. 680 by four-horse races, which had become more popular since the late 8th c., as is indicated by representations on Attic Late Geometric pottery; see also Herrmann 1973, 173-4; Rolley 1983, 111. Herrmann (1972, 45, 65; 1973, 175ff.) and Decker (1992, 130-1) believe that the historical Olympic Games were preceded by "*Urspiele*" during the Mycenaean period and that chariot races formed the kernel of these games. It should be remarked, however, that a Mycenaean predecessor of the Olympics is merely a hypothesis, which is based on a second hypothesis, namely that (funerary) games already existed in the Late Bronze Age. Evidence for Late Bronze Age (funerary) games is heavily dependent on the correct interpretation of a very small number of scenes on Mycenaean pottery and the Tanagra larnaces (see Spyropoulos 1970; Decker 1982/83; 1992, esp. 130; Rystedt 1986; Laser 1987, 30, 35, 43-4). Even if this testimony is interpreted correctly, the existence of (funerary) games cannot be equated to regularly organized games with a cultic connotation. Besides, it is hard to understand why four-horse chariot races were introduced at Olympia at a rather late stage (ca. 680) if they had such a long tradition and formed the kernel of the games in Mycenaean times. Cf. explanation by Decker 1992, 131-2, which I do not find entirely convincing.

rightly pointed out that horse figurines and chariot models, as well as related objects like horse trappings, were relatively common votives even at sanctuaries where no races took place; such dedications probably should be considered as typically aristocratic votive offerings, which, for that reason, cannot be used as evidence of early races.[228] Apart from that, Pausanias (V.8.10) says that two-horse chariot races were introduced at Olympia only in 408 BC. The race mentioned in our passage in the *Iliad* was one between four-horse chariot teams (*Il.* XI. 698). This means that, if we are correct in considering this passage as a reference to the Olympics, and if the tradition concerning the date of the introduction of the races is reliable, the mention of four-horse races in *Il.* XI. 699-701 should be dated to the period after ca. 680 BC.

Two other sanctuaries mentioned by Homer should be discussed here, which, although situated on the fringes of the Greek world, clearly enjoy a wide reputation and may hence be regarded as sacred places of supra-local importance. In *Od.* VIII. 362-3 we hear about Aphrodite's sanctuary at Paphos in Cyprus, where incense is burning at her altar.[229] The cave of Eileithya, close to the harbour of Amnisos, is mentioned by Odysseus in one of his fictional stories, in which he claims to have visited Knossos in Crete (*Od.* XIX. 188-90). Sp. Marinatos has located this cave and found evidence for cult activity, which continued into Geometric times.[230]

228 Morgan 1993, 22-3. The author suggests that the Olympic festival originated as an agricultural celebration.

229 At the sanctuary, located near the modern village of Kouklia, cult was probably practiced continuously from the 13th c. BC to the 4th c. AD (Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 102). No traces have survived of the altar which must once have stood in the *temenos* of the Late Bronze Age sanctuary (p. 91). The Archaic and Classical periods are only known through votives, among which incense altars are fairly common, whereas architectural remains have not been preserved (p. 182).

230 See Schäfer *et al.* 1992, 80-1, 84. In *Od.* XIX. 189, Amnisos is called *limènes chalepoi*, which is sometimes held to indicate that Amnisos was a town; uncertainly whether the place meets this qualification after the Bronze Age, this passage has

Finally, in *Od.* III. 165-79 there is a possible reference to another sanctuary of supra-regional importance, which thus far has not received much scholarly attention. In this passage, we are told how the Greek heroes Nestor, Diomedes and Menelaos on their way home from Troy sailed from Tenedos to Lesbos, whence they crossed the open sea to Euboea. This route was approved of by a sign from heaven and when the heroes landed at night at Geraistos in southern Euboea, they sacrificed many bulls as a thanks-offering to Poseidon. The mentioning of sacrifices to Poseidon at Geraistos seems an implicit reference to the Poseidon sanctuary which, according to later written sources, existed at this site.[231]

In the historical period, the Poseidon temple at Geraistos enjoyed a wide reputation; in addition, a festival and probably games were held there in honour of the god.[232] Like the Poseidon sanctuaries at Kalaureia on Poros (Troezenia) and Tainaron (Laconia), this was an asylum sanctuary. Its location is typical for a sanctuary with a regional or supra-regional function: it was situated on the periphery of the territory of Karystos, one of the important Euboean poleis, without being connected to any specific settlement. Furthermore, according to various ancient authors, the place was an important port of call on a sea-route between Asia Minor and the Greek mainland; this is hardly surprising since it was one of the few safe harbours along the east coast of Euboea.

Although ancient writers refer to the sanctuary's long history, it is not easy to establish a precise date for its origins. Archaeology is not of much help, since the sanctuary's exact location is unknown, although it is likely that it should be situated in the area of modern Kastri. A kind of *terminus ante quem* may be deduced from the literary testimony. The

been regarded as a reference to the Minoan period. This is, however, not necessary, since in other places in Homer too *limèn* can designate a natural harbour or landing place without man-made harbour facilities or settlement. From written sources we know that Amnisos functioned as a landing place in historical times. Besides, it is told (*Od.* XIX. 189-90) that after landing Odysseus immediately went to the city. Although the name of this city is not explicitly referred to, it is clear that Knossos is meant. This circumstance suggests that there is no other city in the area but Knossos and argues against the idea that Amnisos was conceived as a harbour town; see Schäfer *et al.* 1992, 80-1.

231 In the following discussion I refer for ancient and modern literature on the Poseidon sanctuaries at Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron to an illuminating recent article by R.W.M. Schumacher (1993).

232 Strabo X.1.7; Pindar, *Ol.* 13. 112; Schol.Pind., *Ol.* 13. 159b.

sanctuary at Geraistos was closely linked in location and function to the other Poseidon sanctuaries at Kalaureia and Tainaron. The ancient tradition suggests that the latter two were founded from Geraistos, which led M.P. Nilsson to assume that the cult and cult practices were spread in the 8th century by Euboean seafarers sailing to the West.[233] However this may be, the Geraistos sanctuary was apparently at least as old as the other two. Excavations at Kalaureia produced a pottery shard from the 9th century,[234] but it remains unclear whether the site already performed a cult function at this time. The oldest offerings are said to be no earlier than the 8th century BC. In addition to its cult function, Kalaureia was also the seat of the Kalaureian Amphictyony.[235] This league of seven cities must have been founded before the close of the 7th century, when Nauplia - one of its members - lost her independence to Argos, and before the "ancient hostility" started between two other members, Aegina and Athens, a quarrel commonly dated to the late 8th or early 7th century.[236] A clue to the dating of the sanctuary at Tainaron may be provided by a reference in Plutarch that the Pythia ordered the murderer of the poet Archilochus (*floruit* ca. 680-40) to go to Tainaron to reconcile himself to the soul of the poet; this suggests that the reputation of the sanctuary goes back to at least the 7th century. In addition, the sanctuary seem to have been of special importance for Laconian helots, a circumstance which probably indicates that the origin of the cult went back to the period before the conquest of Laconia and Messenia by the Spartans, i.e. before the later part of the 8th century BC. This, in combination with the possibility that the Poseidon sanctuary at Tainaron was probably founded from Geraistos, may be taken as an indication that an 8th-century date for the Geraistos sanctuary is not too far off the mark. If correct, the origins of the sanctuary go back to

233 Nilsson 1906, 67-9.

234 Coldstream 1968, 313.

235 Note that also at Homeric Scheria the sanctuary of Poseidon plays a role in politics, since this is the place where the assemblies of the Phaiacians are held (*Od.* VI. 266; VII. 44) and where athletic games take place (VIII. 110).

236 Coldstream 1968, 313 (referring to Hdt. V. 82-8). The league included Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiai, Nauplia and Orchomenos (Strabo VIII. 374). Coldstream (1968, 342-3) has suggested that the uniformity of the Atticizing pottery from the regions neighbouring Attica during the Early Geometric II period (ca. 875-850 BC) may be linked to the Amphictyony; however, it seems hazardous to take this step from pots to politics.

the same period as those of the other sanctuaries of supra-regional or pan-Hellenic importance.

Apart from Geraistos' functioning as an asylum - a reputation which the peripheral sanctuary may have gained at a later stage - all other characteristics of the historical sanctuary are, by implication, present in Homer. Geraistos apparently lies on one of two sea-routes frequently used for crossing the Aegean.[237] The sacrifices by Menelaus and his companions are made in a sort of no-man's-land: no city is mentioned as existing in the neighbourhood, nor are the Greek heroes received by a local ruler, as is very often the case when Homer's characters travel.[238] In short, this passage seems to indicate that Homer and his audience were familiar with a peripheral place dedicated to Poseidon, located on one of the crossroads of the Aegean. This need not surprise us, since the historical, inter-state sanctuary of Poseidon at Geraistos may go back to the (earlier) 8th century.

D. VOTIVE OFFERINGS AND CULT STATUES

During the 8th century, especially after ca. 750 BC, we see a qualitative and quantitative increase in dedications in various types of sanctuaries. Not only was a greater proportion of personal wealth invested by individuals representing a wide range of social groups, there was also a switch of conspicuous consumption (or rather: waste) from tomb to sanctuary.[239]

Although in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* gifts to the gods most frequently comprise (animal) sacrifices,[240] on a number of occasions ex voto's are mentioned. The Greeks, we are told, bring many "gifts" to Poseidon at Helike and Aigai (*Il.* VIII. 203-4). The temples of Athena at Athens (*Il.* II. 549) and of Apollo at Delphi (IX. 405) are both called "rich", which is most probably a reference to the expensive dedications in these temples. Odysseus' men promise, on their safe return home, not only to

237 On the sea-routes, see Malkin & Fichman 1987. The fact that Homer's heroes (and possibly his audience) were familiar with two routes to sail from Asia Minor to the Peloponnese is apparent from the discussion by Nestor, Diomedes and Menelaos, mentioned in *Od.* III. 169-72.

238 Note that this is also consistent with the fact that Geraistos is not mentioned among the Euboean towns in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* II. 536-9).

239 Coldstream 1977, 333, 338-9; Morgan 1993, 19.

240 Vermeule 1974, 99-100 gives a list of deities and the sacrifices they receive in the epics.

erect a temple for Helios, as was mentioned earlier, but also to decorate this temple with many costly objects (*agalmata*; *Od.* XII. 345-7). In *Od.* III. 273-4 it is related that Aegisthus offered, apart from animals, gold and fine textiles to the gods. From *Il.* VII. 82-3 and X. 570-1 it is clear that Homer is acquainted with the practice of dedicating the vanquished's weapons in a god's temple. This custom is also known from the archaeological record; as a matter of fact, the discovery of non-Greek weapons in especially inter-state sanctuaries suggests that this practice goes back to the earliest history of these sanctuaries.[241] Finally, the suggestion of some of the Trojans to dedicate the wooden horse to the gods (called *agalma theon*[242]; *Od.* VIII. 509) can be considered another testimony to the fact that both Homer's characters and his audience were accustomed to offer votives to the gods.

A combination of votive offerings and a cult statue is found in the passage in the *Iliad* referred to earlier, in which the women of Troy place a robe on a seated statue of Athena in her temple in the city's citadel (VI. 301-3).[243] The performance of such a ritual presupposes a statue of a size to receive on its lap a large robe, which suggests that the poet had a large-scale sculpture in mind.[244] It is generally acknowledged that the Greeks did not start to produce metal statues of some size before ca. 700 and in stone not even before the middle of the 7th century BC.[245] In this connection, Lorimer has pointed out, however, that the seated statue of Athena need not be post-Geometric. She argued from combined literary and archaeological sources that the temple of Athena at Lindos in Rhodes housed a seated cult statue of the goddess

241 See references in Crielaard 1992-93, n. 24.

242 Vermeule 1974, 121; Canciani 1984, 37, 84.

243 The mentioning of women of the town offering a robe to a statue of Athena, which stands in her temple on the city's acropolis, has often been connected to the ceremonial of the Panathenaia at Athens and is hence regarded as a 6th-c., Athenian interpolation (see e.g. Lorimer 1950, 443ff.). However, ceremonial dressing of cult statues had a long history and was not confined to Athens, as is shown by relief amphoras from the first quarter of the 7th c., found at Thebes and Tenos (Themelis 1976, pl. 10-1); a fragment of a similar vase, now at Boston, even shows a procession of women carrying a piece of cloth, probably a dress (see Hampe 1936, pl. 37).

244 Such is also suggested by the fact noted earlier (n. 57) that, for the poet, statue and goddess are one.

245 See e.g. three figures, probably deities, in sphyrelaton technique from Dreros, Crete, ca. 700 or later; Coldstream 1977, 284; Canciani 1984, 86-7.

in 689 BC, possibly going back to the 8th century.[246] Powell adds to this that seated statues of gods were also known in the Mycenaean period and in Sybmycenaean Cyprus; hence, he concludes that the reference in the *Iliad* to a large cult statue cannot be used as a criterion for dating.[247] Against this suggestion, however, one may object that the Mycenaean and Submycenaean figurines are rather tiny - much too small to be offered a robe, as Homer's Trojan women do. Apart from that, it is questionable whether these figurines functioned as cult statues. In his article on the possible survival of Mycenaean cult images in later times, S. Hiller has suggested too that representations of seated deities as well as goddesses with upraised arms from both the Bronze and Iron Age were cult statues.[248] Yet there is no evidence that these were anything other than simply images of goddesses. More generally, it is doubtful whether *large-scale*, anthropomorphic cult statues were venerated in Minoan and Mycenaean religion.[249] It has been suggested that large cult images of wood or ivory existed,[250] but there is hardly any firm evidence.[251] The best candidates to have performed such a function are the terracotta figures from Mycenae, Tiryns, Phylakopi on Melos or Ayia Irini on Kea.[252] However, apart from the fact that the

246 Lorimer 1950, 443-4; see also Canciani 1984, 35-6.

247 Powell 1991, 206; cf. Kirk 1960, 196.

248 Hiller 1983. See now also Wright 1994, 69 ill. 3.10 (Tsoungiza at Nemea); Karageorghis 1993, 13ff., 53-4, 73 (Cyprus).

249 On Minoan Crete, see e.g. Marinatos & Hägg 1983; Gesell 1985, 61-2. The scene on the front of the famous LM II-III sarcophagus from Ayia Triada (referred to by, among others, Kirk 1960, 196 in connection with the above cited offering of a robe to Athena) depicts a number of figures bringing gifts to an armless recipient in front of a building, which could possibly be interpreted as worshippers offering votives in a shrine to a (less than life-size) draped statue of a god or a hero. C.R. Long (1974, 46, 50, 80ff.), however, has argued rather convincingly that the scene represents the spirit of the deceased watching his funeral in front of his tomb.

250 E.g. by Hiller 1983.

251 See e.g. Hägg 1983 a. It has been suggested that a terracotta pair of human feet, found at Archanes-*Anemospilia*, Crete (see J.A. & E. Sakellaraki 1979, 368, with pl. 180 b; cf. Caskey 1981, 134 for examples from Kea), belongs to a life-size, wooden *xoanon*; Marinatos & Hägg (1983, 190-2), however, have raised strong objections against this interpretation. Note that the ivory statuette of a male god or worshipper, recently discovered in a LM I B destruction level at Palaikastro, Crete, measures no more than ca. 50 cm.; its precize context is not clear, but it is associated with Building 5, probably an important complex of some 21 architectural units. See MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1991, 141; Musgrave 1992.

252 See Taylor 1969; 1970; French in: Renfrew 1985, 209ff; Caskey 1986. See

figures are still of moderate dimensions,[253] it is not entirely clear whether they represent deities and whether they were the object of cult activity.[254]

To return to our original point, if the Athena statue at Lindos was indeed a large-scale sculpture, the earliest examples of such cult statuary may go back to the 8th century BC; on the other hand, the archaeological evidence suggests that only in the 7th century BC did large-scale sculpture become more common.[255] Hence, we may say that monumental cult statues, free-standing temples, altars and pan-Hellenic sanctuaries were all new developments during the later 8th and 7th centuries, which can be considered parallel expressions of a process of intensification of religious activities. The seated statue of Athena mentioned in the *Iliad* clearly belongs to this chronological 'horizon'.

To summarize this section on cult, from especially the second half of the 8th century onwards the archaeological record shows that religious space was more sharply defined and cult activity given a greater material dimension (emergence of new sanctuaries, increase in votive offerings, the construction of altars), quickly followed by a tendency to monumentality (construction of temples, more expensive dedications); in addition, a greater role was presumably accredited to specialist priests. In Homer, we see a reflection of the beginning of this development: altar-*temenè* are the most important cult-places; at the same time, on several occasions temples are mentioned, some of which are of supra-regional importance. Cult is performed by *basileis*, but sometimes also by priests. Apart from sacrifices, it is not uncommon to designate expensive objects or booty as gifts to the gods.

further French 1981; also Wright 1994, 69-70 (figure from LH III A:2 dump found at Tsoungiza), 75-6.

253 Most of the tallest figures at Mycenae, for instance, are around 60 cm. high, see Taylor 1969, pls. 12 and 13.

254 Moore 1988. In a discussion during the 1980 symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, E.B. French stated that she was convinced that the large plain figures from Mycenae had been clothed and that on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (above, n. 249) there is such a figure with a cloak around its shoulders; see Hägg & Marinatos 1981, 125.

255 H. Jucker (1982) discusses an ex-voto depicting a sitting goddess with a *peplos* placed on her knees (ca. 640/30), from the Metapontum area in South Italy. He also refers to a Late Geometric IIb bowl (also mentioned by Lorimer 1950, 445 n. 3) from Athens and a Sub-Geometric pyxis from Magna Graecia, both showing representations of women offering objects to a seated figure, probably a goddess (see esp. p. 77-9).

HERO CULT AND TOMB CULT

Hero cult can be described as the offering of gifts or the making of sacrifices, preferably repeated over a period of time, at places associated with epic heroes or other figures from the past. More in particular, hero cult could include the worship of named, epic heroes at Bronze Age sites (not necessarily tombs) or other places associated with epic figures. For examples we may refer to the Agamemnoneion, located near a Bronze Age bridge south of Mycenae, or the shrine of Menelaus and Helen, close to the remains of a Mycenaean mansion at Therapne, near Sparta. Another type of hero cult focused on the worship of anonymous heroes and took place in or over Bronze Age tombs (hence, some scholars prefer the term tomb cult). Examples of this type of cult are the Geometric offerings found in the Mycenaean chamber tombs at Prosymna close to the Argive Heraion. A third form of hero cult comprises cult activity at the burial sites of more recent dead, who have been heroized, such as outstanding warriors and founders of cities. The warrior who was buried during the late 8th century in tomb 6 near the West Gate of Eretria is a good example of this form of veneration: after his death his tomb became the subject of cult and a triangular monument was erected; later, a series of buildings with a political and cult function was constructed close to it.[256] It should be added that the distinction between the above types of cult is not always sharp. Sometimes we can see one type of cult shading off into another, for example ancestor cult developing into hero cult;[257] in other instances worship combines different types of cult, as in the case of cults of famous figures, who could receive worship as both ancestors (family) and heroes (community).[258]

The earliest evidence for the above forms of hero cult dates to the later 8th and 7th centuries BC.[259] Indications of hero cult prior to the

256 De Polignac 1984, chs. 3-4; Snodgrass 1988, 19-20, 24-5; Whitley 1994, 220-2; Antonaccio 1994 a, 402, 404; 1994 b, 90-2, 103-4; see also Bérard 1970, 56ff.

257 For an example of cult of the dead in the 8th c., see Hägg 1983 b. For tomb cult (esp. in the Archaic period), see Whitley 1994. The cemetery near the Mitropolis of Naxos offers a case where we can follow a development from ancestor cult to cult of the dead and hero cult through the Iron Age; see Lambrinoudakis 1988. On terminology, see also I. Morris 1988, 753; 1991, 150.

258 Antonaccio 1994 a, 401.

259 Coldstream 1976; 1977, 346-8; de Polignac 1984, 127-32; Hägg 1987; I. Morris 1988, 755.

8th century are rare and, without exception, ambiguous.[260] It has been argued, for instance by Nilsson, that hero cults existed in Mycenaean times and that there was continuity of hero cult down to the historical period.[261] Although during the Late Bronze Age the existence of a hero-belief cannot *a priori* be excluded, there is no archaeological evidence for hero cult. To the contrary, the cult of the dead and hero cult seem to have been alien to Mycenaean attitudes towards death. In the Late Bronze Age, as G.E. Mylonas has pointed out, after the decomposition of the corpse, bones and funerary goods were not treated with respect by the survivors, and the tomb probably lost importance for the dead; rites held in honour of dead ancestors have not been attested in the archaeological record.[262] Neither are there indications of hero cult in Linear B tablets. It is true that names known from the epics also occur in these documents,[263] but there is no proof that these persons were heroized figures, or that they received worship. As far as the *ti-ri-si-ro-e* ("thrice-*heros*") tablets from Pylos is concerned, it is has been suggested that this was an ancestral figure related to the later, Attic *tri(to)patores*, but this is not very plausible.[264]

Hero cult can be seen in the broader perspective of a more general interest in the heroic past during the second half of the 8th century in

260 I. Morris 1988, 753; see also Hadzisteliou Price 1973, 131; 1979; de Polignac 1984, 128ff.

261 Nilsson 1950, 536-8. More recently this thesis has been defended by Andronikos 1968, 126-8; for criticism, see e.g. Coldstream 1976, 8-9 n. 5.

262 Mylonas 1966, 133-5, 178-81; cf., however, Antonaccio 1994 b, 90-1. One of the very few examples of cult of the dead in Mycenaean times is a LH IIIC calf offering in a tholos tomb from the LH I-II period at Kazarma.

263 See Driessen 1992, 36.

264 PY Tn 316.5; PY Fr 1204. The 'gifts' given to this figure (one gold cup only and olive oil resp.), as well as the etymological associations of the name are thought to indicate a demi-god. See also Ventris & Chadwick 1973, 287-9, esp. remarks on p. 289. For comments, see Hadzisteliou Price 1973, 131. Besides, in Linear B documents from Knossos, offerings of oil are twice destined for *da-da-re-jo*. Most recent arguments support a reading as *Daidaleion*, implying an actual personal name, i.e. a shrine to Daedalus; it is sometimes even identified with the *choros* which, according to *Il.* XVIII. 592, Daedalus built at Knossos for Ariadne. However, without corroboration of internal evidence from the tablets, a connection with later traditions on Daedalus is questionable. *Da-da-re-jo* "remains a place-name and, from its context alone, may be a sanctuary, but one whose ritual identity may not necessarily be embodied in its name", see S. Morris 1992, 75-7, with references; quote from p. 76.

Greece. Other manifestations of this interest are the heroic scenes on Late Geometric vases (a number of which, according to some authors, show links with the epics), or the burials in 'epic' or 'heroic' style, such as the cremations by the West Gate of Eretria, the 'royal' tombs at Salamis on Cyprus, and some of the tombs at Eleutherna.[265] Other examples are the above-mentioned installation of cults in the Bronze Age citadels at Mycenae (of Athena) and Tiryns (of Hera) and the construction of a pseudo-Cyclopean terrace wall at the Argive Heraion, possibly consciously imitating Mycenaean architecture.[266] A parallel interest in the Bronze Age past is manifest in 8th-century Crete, where sanctuaries and/or cults were established on or near the remains of palaces or other monumental buildings, such as at Knossos, Phaistos, Tylissos and Amnisos.[267]

It has been suggested that the veneration of heroes at Bronze Age tombs was stimulated by the diffusion of Homer's epics, which is dated to the same period as the rise of hero cults.[268] This would imply that, by using hero cult as a criterium for dating Homer, we would enter into a circular argument. However, as Snodgrass has emphasized, it is unlikely that the 8th-century Greeks would have associated Mycenaean tombs with the fundamentally different form of burial as is described in the epics (i.e. multiple, inhumation burials in tholoi and chamber tombs in the Mycenaean period *vs* single, cremation burials under tumuli in Homer). Besides, it is clear from votive inscriptions, such as "I am the hero's" on a shard found above Grave Circle A at Mycenae, that the Mycenaean dead sometimes must have been figures of great obscurity, even to their worshippers.[269]

265 Coldstream 1977, 349-56. On 'heroic' or even 'Homeric' representations in Geometric art, see further Snodgrass 1980 b; 1987, 132-69; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, esp. 186-8. For 'heroic' burial ritual at Eleutherna, see contribution by N. Stampolidis elsewhere in this volume.

266 See above, nn. 205, 211 (de Polignac).

267 Prent 1992. The first temple (A) at Kommos of the late 10th c. (see above, nn. 73, 186), which was built on the remains of a Minoan harbour town, is perhaps an earlier attestation of this phenomenon. It is not impossible that at Knossos too cult started already in the Protogeometric period. Note that in the period of the mid-9th to mid-8th century, the reuse of Minoan tombs and the imitation of LM III tombs and larnaces at Knossos also point to an interest in the Bronze Age past, see Coldstream 1991, 296-7; 1994, 115.

268 See e.g. Coldstream 1976, 14-5; 1977, 346-52; Wright 1982, 193-7.

269 Snodgrass 1982 a, 114-6; 1987, 160-1; 1988, 22-3; see also de Polignac 1984, 130-1.

There is another reason to assume that hero cult functioned independently from the circulation of the Homeric epics. In Homer, the term *heros* is used for living persons, often warriors and kings; when a *heros* is dead, he is hardly ever worshipped. In later literature *heros* denotes a figure who has become heroized and is venerated, but only after his death. Both Homer and Hesiod are familiar with the idea of figures being worshipped after death, but for those they use the words *hemitheoi* or *daimones*.[270] In Hesiod, we find an explicit distinction between men belonging to the Silver race, honoured by mortals, and the race of the godlike heroes placed in time around the Trojan war, who are not mentioned as receiving honours after their death. Here we have an indication that the worship of transfigured dead from a heroic past (known, for instance, as *hemitheoi*) already existed, independent from Homer. This suggests that only in the epics was the idea of the 'living hero' introduced. Thereafter, early beliefs and practices were presumably coupled with other names and terms for the heroized dead. For this reason it is likely, as Snodgrass has pointed out, that 8th-century Greeks did not connect tombs and other remains from the Mycenaean period with the heroes of the Trojan war, but rather with these *hemitheoi* or beings belonging to the Silver race.[271]

In this connection, it may be pointed out that recent excavations have casted doubt on the assumption that, like hero cults, 8th-century, 'heroic' burials were influenced by the spread of the Homeric epics.[272] It is true that in theory influence by the poems is possible for the warrior cremations at Eretria and the 'royal' tombs at Salamis, which are more or less contemporary with the time in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* became canonized. Recent excavations at Lefkandi, however, have demonstrated that funerary customs paralleling those of Homeric heroes, like Patroclus, Achilles and Hector, were known already in the

270 E.g Homer: *Il.* XII. 23; Hesiod: *Theog.*, 100; *W. & D.*, 159.

271 Snodgrass 1988, 20-6; also Hadzisteliou Price 1973, 132ff.; I. Morris 1988, 754-5; Antonaccio 1994 a. For a slightly different explanation, see Van Wees 1992, 7-8. It may not even be excluded that some cult places were associated only at a relatively late date with Homeric heroes. De Polignac (1984, 130-1; cf. comments by Snodgrass 1988, 24-5) has suggested that at some of these places initially rather "ill-defined" deities were venerated. As I. Morris (1988, 753) points out, the earliest clear evidence for cult of Homeric figures is a 7th-century bronze vase dedicated to Helena from the Menelaion near Sparta.

272 See e.g. Coldstream 1976, 15; cf. Whitley 1994, 228ff.

early 10th century BC.[273] This discovery makes it likely that 'heroic' burials known from archaeology and those described in the epic tradition both stem from the same concept of high-status burial. It is even possible, as the discoveries at Lefkandi suggest, that existing practices served as an example for the poems, rather than vice versa.

To return to hero cults, several explanations for the custom of placing offerings in Mycenaean tombs have been given as alternatives to the older theory of influence by the epics. According to Snodgrass, cult at tombs was performed by individual free landowners 'colonizing' fallow land in order to establish their claims to the soil.[274] J. Whitley, on the other hand, pointing at local and regional differences in hero cult, argued that, for example, the Argives used hero cult to underline the territorial integrity of their polis, whereas in the Attic countryside it was the older communities which in this manner wished to establish claims on autochthony in reaction to the emergent polis.[275] I. Morris, finally, argued that hero cult could function on differing levels, even within one community: the cult could unite the polis community as a whole, but it could also act as a proclamation of the superiority of the noble families tracing their pedigree back to the hero.[276] Although proposing different explanations for the development of hero cults, all three authors make a connection with the rise of the polis[277] and seem to agree that in one way or another the establishment of relations with the ancient dead was open to political manipulation by various social, political or ethnic groups.

In the epics, a number of aspects connected to hero and tomb cult are clearly present. First of all, parallel to the 8th- and 7th-century fascination for Bronze Age relics, Homer displays an archaeological interest in the remains of people from the past, more specifically in what can be perceived as megalithic or 'Cyclopean' structures, including funerary architecture (*Il.* XXI. 405; XXIII. 331-2). Besides, Homeric heroes are well aware of the fact that a burial monument erected over their graves can act as a vehicle to preserve their glory among future generations (*Il.* VII. 86-90; *Od.* I. 239-40; XI. 75-6; XIV. 369-70; XXIV. 80-4). Burial mounds attributed to specific persons are mentioned a number of

273 See above, n. 8.
274 Snodgrass 1982 a, 116-8; see also 1980 a, 38-40.
275 Whitley 1988. On the Argolid, see also Antonaccio 1992, 102-5.
276 I. Morris 1988, 757-8; also 1987, 193-4.
277 See in this respect also Bérard 1982; de Polignac 1984, ch. 4.

times (*Il.* II. 604: Aipytos; 793: Aisyetos; 811-4: Myrine; XI. 371: Ilos).[278] On the other hand, Homeric heroes are also acquainted with the notion that tombs, especially those belonging to ancestors, help to transmit glory from ancestor to descendant and legitimize their privileged position. Diomedes, for one, refers to the tomb of his father Tydeus, ("whom now the heaped earth covers over in Thebes"; *Il.* XIV. 111ff.), in order to underline his special qualities and claim an inherited, privileged position among the Achaeans.

Cult of the dead and hero-ritual is probably reflected by Odysseus' offering of sacrifices to "all dead", and in particular to Teiresias. The ceremony, centring around a trench, is meant to evoke the soul of the prophet in order to receive information on Odysseus' homecoming. After his safe return to Ithaca, the hero has to make burnt offerings and sacrifices to Teiresias anew (*Od.* X. 516ff.; repeated in XI. 25ff.). As Th. Hadzisteliou Price has pointed out, although Teiresias is not actually called a hero, these are sacrifices proper, long after his death. The oracular hero Teiresias, later worshipped in Boeotia, remains powerful after death, while the rest of the dead are mere 'shadows'. As the author remarks, Odysseus offering sacrifice for *nekyomanteia* is an element hinting at a hero-cult of Teiresias or at the notion of the superhuman power of *some* dead.[279] The already-cited passages in *Od.* VII. 80-1 and *Il.* II. 546-51 could refer to a common cult for Athena and Erechtheus on the Athenian acropolis; in this connection, Erechtheus is venerated as a local or autochthonous hero.[280]

A clear indication of Homer's acquaintance with ancestor and hero cult, as well as with the function these cults perform in public life, is found in a number of references in the *Iliad* to Ilos and the *sèma* constructed in his honour. Ilos was the *eponymos* of Ilion and one of a family of eponymous heroes (being the son of Tros and great-grandson of Dardanos); in addition, he was Priamos' grandfather and hence founder of the ruling branch of Troy's royal family (*Il.* XX. 215ff., esp. 232). His *sèma* is a large, man-made mound (*Il.* XI. 371; XXIV. 349), located in the middle of the plain on the way to the city (*Il.* XI.

278 Aipytos was an Arcadian hero; his grave was situated near Mt Kyllene (*Il.* II. 604). Aisyetos was the father of Alcathoos (cf. *Il.* XII. 93), one of the noblest Trojans and married to Hippodameia, Anchises' eldest daughter (*Il.* XIII. 427-33; 463-4). Myrine may also have belonged to the royal house of Troy, although, according to later sources (e.g. Strabo XII.8.6), she was an Amazone. For Ilos, see below.
279 Hadzisteliou Price 1973, 134-5.
280 Hadzisteliou Price 1973, 136-7; see also Whitley 1994, 221 (with n. 40).

166-9; XXIV. 349-50).[281] It is not only a monument to Ilion's eponymous hero and the founder of the royal house, but also performs a function in Trojan politics, since in *Il.* X. 414-7 Hector holds a council of war at the mound of divine Ilos. On another occasion, Aisyetos' tomb in front of Priam's palace seems to be the place where the Trojans congregate (*Il.* II. 786-95). As Hadzisteliou Price has pointed out, in Homer councils are held, for instance, close to the palace of the king, or in the *temenos* of Poseidon, near the harbour, as in Scheria (*Od.* VI. 266; VII. 44-5). The fact that the Trojans hold a council of war at the tomb of Ilos shows that the hero's tomb is regarded with the same respect as the king's palace or the god's *temenos*. As to its political significance, Ilos' tomb is reminiscent of the grave of the local *oikistes* Akademos of Athens, or of the hero-*phylax* near the West Gate at Eretria. The latter in particular constitutes a close parallel to the tombs of Ilos and Aisyetos, since the Eretrian warrior was probably not only venerated as a hero protecting the city, but was also the founder of a dynasty which for two or three generations buried its dead around his grave.[282] In a similar vein, de Polignac has characterized Ilos as a 'founding hero'; his tomb is of similar importance as the graves of mythical or historical founders of cities in Greece and the Greek colonies, who were venerated in the 8th century and later. Like Ilos' tomb in the *Iliad*, they had a political function, protecting the polis community as a whole and cementing the dominant position of the warrior aristocracies in particular.[283]

To conclude, during the later 8th century, in a number of areas in Greece hero and tomb cults developed. This development is related to a more general interest in the (physical remains from the) past, while in some places it seems also connected to the rise of the polis. In the epics, a similar interest in the past can be observed. In addition, the poet is acquainted with monuments to important dead from the past, ancestor

281 Cf. Scully 1990, 11ff., who sketches the landscape outside the Trojan city-walls in which burial mounds perform very significant roles.

282 Hadzisteliou Price 1973, 138-9. The author gives a number of other references (p. 139-40) to Greek cities where a combination of meeting-place and graves of heroes was found. See further Bérard 1982, 92-4, 98-9. According to B. Qviller (1981, 143; referring to a thesis by F. Bohringer), the gathering of the Trojan war leaders at the tomb of Ilos creates a new solidarity under the aegis of the founding hero of the city, whose tomb symbolizes the Trojan sovereignty over the territory; in his view this passage reflects the formation process of the polis.

283 De Polignac 1984, 132-4; also Bérard 1982, 94-6, 101-2.

and hero cult, specific practices related to these cults, and, very importantly, these cults' potential for political manipulation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The general conclusion of this paper should be that the new phenomena, which are manifest in the archaeological record of the 8th century and which together constitute the so-called Greek 'Renaissance', are without exception attested in the epics.

Not all of the 8th-century novelties are reflected to the same extent, but this is hardly surprising. Script, for one, is mentioned only once or twice. The exclusion of writing from the world of heroes could be an example of deliberate archaization. Another reason may be that during the 8th and 7th centuries BC the recently adopted art of writing had spread only among a limited section of society and did not yet play a role in daily life.[284] The fact that the Greek world was still mainly unlettered explains why writing had only a weak reflection in the Homeric poems. Likewise, the rarity of figurative art in the epics corresponds to the situation in the poet's own time. On the other hand, the whole range of new developments in the religious sphere (from altars to interstate sanctuaries) is represented in the epics. It is reassuring that the numerous passages in Homer dealing with cult and religious activity - a domain which, after all, takes an important place in the daily life of Homeric heroes - constitute a consistent picture. This picture, which, in very broad terms, is characterized by a still-limited degree of professionalization and formalization of religion, concurs with that offered by archaeology for the second half of the 8th and early 7th centuries. The same is true for a number of (related) manifestations of the polis organization. This seems only natural, since religion and socio-political organization affected life much more deeply than, for instance, writing. Hence, we may say that the various degrees in which the 8th-century novelties are represented in the poems are a proper reflection of the situation in that period.

Many of the above 8th-century phenomena are in fact processes which continue into the following century. In this sense, these phenomena constitute only a *terminus post quem*. This allows us to arrive at a more precise date for the setting of the poems. Writ-

284 Finley 1979, 36; see also Havelock 1986.

ing and colonization belong, more generally, to the later 8th century or after. On the other hand, the variety of regions with which Homer's characters maintain contacts, including Egypt, North Africa and the Black Sea littoral, is best paralleled by the situation in the 7th century. The examples of visual art we have from the poems fit a date in the 7th century, too. Finally, specific aspects of the religious sphere, like the large number of altar-*temenè* but few temples, as well as the rare occurrence of cult statues, point to a late 8th- or rather 7th-century date. All in all, a date of the Homeric world in the early 7th century seems possible. If this is correct, a date of Homer's *floruit* somewhere in the 7th century BC is also plausible.[285]

Our conclusion must be that the setting of the Homeric epics has intimate links with the contemporary world of the poet. On the other hand, there are a number of components in the epics which originate in earlier periods, such as traces of the Mycenaean dialect present in Homeric formulas or the mentioning of Mycenaean artefacts (such as Meriones' boar's tusk plated helmet or Nestor's dove cup). These Mycenaean elements can be considered anachronistic survivals, which had probably been cherished by generations of poets to act as distancing effects. 'Epic distance' was created by a range of narrative devices such as fantasy elements and 'falsity of scale', but also through archaization by means of reference to specific archaic objects, and, more conspicuously, the use of archaic language.[286] Archaization is probably also the reason why *some* elements of the poet's contemporary world are excluded from the poems. For example, as Finley already remarked, "no Ionia and no Dorians to speak of" figure in the epics.[287] This is certainly correct, although it is also clear that the poet had no wish to make the exclusion of contemporary elements watertight. If we stick to Finley's examples, we see that on several occasions

285 This would place Homer later than Hesiod (cf. West 1966, 40-8), unless Hesiod's *floruit* has to be down-dated too. Usual arguments put forward for Hesiod's date are his reference to Delphi (*Theog.* 498-500), his knowledge of Black Sea geography (*Theog.* 337-45) and his performance during the funerary games of Amphidamas of Chalkis (*W & D*, 653-9). As mentioned earlier, Delphi and the Black Sea littoral are mentioned by Homer too. Amphidamas is often connected to the Lelantine war, the date of which, however, is not corroborated by solid dating evidence.

286 On these terms, see Redfield 1975, 36-7; Finley 1979, 157; I. Morris 1986, 89ff.

287 Finley 1979, 48.

allusions to Dorians have crept into the poems.[288] The Ionian settlements in Asia Minor are less explicitly referred to, but, as M.L. West has put it, "the *Iliad* shows a knowledge of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to the Cayster, that strongly suggests that its author lived somewhere between those limits".[289] Besides, a number of passages in the epics seem to reflect the historical and political situation in this part of the Greek world during the poet's own lifetime; these contemporary, historical reflections include, as Heubeck has pointed out,[290] references to the Aeneid dynasty at Troy (*Il.* XX. 302-8), the pedigree of the Lycian kings (VI. 150-211) and the clashes between Rhodians and Lycians (V. 628ff.).

The two means by which archaization was accomplished - language and specific elements of the material setting - have in common that to some extent they were artificial and chronologically composite creations. This qualification, however, cannot be extended to the socio-political and economic setting of the poems. These aspects of the world in which the Homeric heroes live, constitute a coherent picture. This picture can stand the test of detailed, internal analysis and of comparison with external, anthropological documentation, whether it concerns the system of gift-giving, rules for distribution of booty, habits regarding various forms of dinner parties or the social institution of the bride price.[291] The parallel existence of, on the one hand, a coherent socio-political and economic setting and, on the other, a material culture in which non-contemporary artefacts occur, is indissolubly connected to the Homeric epics being oral poetry. Since the world of the heroes had to make sense to poet and public, the stories were contextualized during every oral performance. The social setting of the nar-

288 In *Od.* XIX. 177, Dorians are mentioned among the inhabitants of Crete, who are "divided in three". In the *Catalogue of Ships*, the Rhodians are not explicitly stated to be Dorians, but not only are they led by the Heraclid Tlepolemos (*Il.* II. 653, 658-60; cf. 666), they are also said to be likewise "ordered in triple division" (655) and to "have settled in triple division by tribes" (668). Note that other leaders of Dodecanesian islands are Heraclids too (679).

289 West 1988, 165.

290 Heubeck 1986, 59-60.

291 Gift-giving: Finley 1979, 64-70, 98-102, 120-3; see also p. 175, for a reaction to Snodgrass 1974, 124. Marriage and devolution of property: I. Morris 1986, 105-15; also Qviller 1981, 114 (both reacting against Snodgrass *ibid.*, 115-21). Distribution of booty: Van Wees 1992, 299-310. Different forms of dinner parties: Van Wees *ibid.*, 45-7; contribution in this volume.

rative could easily be updated, especially as long as the material world (as well as the epic language) gave opportunities for archaization.

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HOMER AND THE CREMATION BURIALS OF ELEUTHERNA

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In September-October 1990, in the area LL of the necropolis of *Orthi Petra* at ancient Eleutherna,[1] we found that cultivation and the construction of a modern retaining wall (removed in 1986) had destroyed an extensive and richly furnished cremation burial (L 90) on the west. Nevertheless, to the east, although modern cultivation had affected the upper levels, had left undisturbed the lower ones, in which two successive cremations were found: the upper pyre A (LL 90) and the lower pyre B (LL 90/91).

After removing the earth mound over Pyre A, which was partially disturbed, the first blackened earth was clearly visible, and also the manner in which the pyre had been built: in the upper stratum vertical and horizontal timbers in layers formed a kind of grid of tree trunks and branches (fig. 1) and among them were the bones of the dead person together with the funerary gifts. The total length of the structure was approximately 2.20 m. and the width 1.60 m. A row of disintegrated mud bricks seemed to surround the cremation on the east, west, north and south.

The chronological evidence from the funerary gifts and especially the vases, including examples of Rhodian spaghetti ware, dates this particular cremation burial to around 670 B.C.

The remains of the pyre also revealed that the wooden structure rested on a floor of large, oval river pebbles, which was surrounded by two rows of small field stones and a wide band of smaller pebbles (see fig. 1, bottom left).

As we were cleaning the west and south sides in order to see the stratigraphy and to find out exactly what lay between the pebble base of Pyre A, we came across the first lumbar vertebrae of a human skeleton at a depth of 0.40 m. below the pebble layer (fig. 2). Although the ex-

[1] For publications on the site and the finds until today, see most recently Stampolidis 1993; 1994, where a complete bibliography can be found.