

## Homer, Mycenae and Troy: Problems and Aspects<sup>1</sup>

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In 1795, Friedrich August Wolf initiated a discussion concerning the unity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*. For nearly one hundred years, this discussion was confined to purely philological arguments and was eventually viewed as unsolvable on this level. The philologists split into Analysts, whose goal was to reveal the genesis of the two epics, and Unitarians who examined the composition of both epics with the intention of proving their artistic unity.<sup>2</sup>

Homeric research later received new encouragement from outside the discipline of philology. Through Schliemann's excavations in Troy (started 1870), Mycenae (1876), and Tiryns (1884/85), the vital background of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* seemed to have been uncovered. In 1900, Evans discovered the so-called palace of Minos at Knossos, soon followed by other residences in Phaestos and Hagia Triada. It then became obvious that Mycenaean culture with its arts and crafts was to a large extent dependent upon Minoan culture. However, the huge Mycenaean megaron built into the Minoan palace of Hagia Triada proved that the Mycenaeans had taken over power in Crete during the last phase of Minoan culture. The picture emerging of the Cretan-Mycenaean culture was at first indiscriminately adopted to form an image of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.<sup>3</sup>

Then in 1928, Milman Parry's thesis gave research a new direction by turning attention toward conventional aspects within the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the meantime, oral poetry research demonstrated that there are numerous elementary parallels between the Serbocroatian Guslar epic and the Homeric epics, which can be explained by the needs of improvisation. This was achieved by close observation of the

text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as well as the comparison of oral epic poetry of modern times.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, in their final versions the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* exhibit qualities that raise them far above the level of the Serbocroatian epic, despite the common techniques of Oral Poetry. Nevertheless, both epics are heirs to a tradition that is as tempting as it is problematic to trace back.

As a result of Evans' excavations, two systems of a syllabic script, Linear A and B, are known from Knossos. Linear B was also found in Pylos, Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes and Orchomenos. Michael Ventris succeeded in deciphering Linear B in 1952, proving that the language of the Mycenaeans was indeed Greek. Of course, the preserved texts were used exclusively for administration and the exchange of goods between the Mycenaean palaces, which limits their literary evaluation.<sup>5</sup>

The whole field of Homeric reality is displayed in the *Archaeologia Homerica*. An important contribution in this series is Heinrich Drerup's monograph, *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit*. Another important contribution is Alfred Heubeck's *Schrift*. He demonstrates that pre-alphabetic writing systems of the Aegean, including Linear B, disappeared during the attacks of seafaring people around 1200 B.C., apart from remnants in Cyprus. Following this, Heubeck deals with the Greek alphabetic script, which was created by the Greeks after more than four centuries without writing, and was based on the model of the Phoenician alphabet.<sup>6</sup>

Beginning in the 1960s, a new consensus on Homeric philology was formed: Albin Lesky was one of its pioneers, and Joachin Latacz gave an excellent summary by adding valuable aspects for the future.

1. This paper is a summary of "Homer, Mykene und Troia. Probleme und Aspekte", *Studia Troica* 2, 1992, 187-200. Translated into English by Brigitte Otto, Erlangen.  
2. Heubeck 1988.

3. Nilsson 1933.  
4. Latacz 1979.  
5. Heubeck 1966.  
6. Drerup 1969; Heubeck 1979.

Today, we again assume a single poet of the *Iliad*, who in full possession of the knowledge and the techniques of oral poetry, makes the step from Heroic song to literature during the late Geometric Age (around 730 B.C.). In order to preserve it, he entrusted his most beautiful poem to the alphabet script, which has been known since approximately 800 B.C. Even before 700 B.C., the poet of the *Odyssey* does the same: he follows the principles of composition of the *Iliad*, but modifies them. The new versions of both epics are identical (apart from some later additions) with our present text versions.<sup>7</sup> With this conception, the historical background of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which was a reasonable aim of Homeric analysis, was completely relegated to the world of the literary prehistory, oral poetry.

But there still remains a controversy about one central problem. It is obvious that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* want to portray the Heroic world of the Mycenaean era. This leads immediately to the question as to whether a mythic tradition handed down in verse and prose from the Mycenaean era could have existed at the end of the 8th century following the so-called “Dark Ages”. Thomas Webster was an exponent of continuity. He reconstructs Mycenaean epics and finds their remnants in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Alfred Heubeck, on the contrary, always denied such a tradition.<sup>8</sup>

This question can only be answered by trying to separate Mycenaean and Geometric elements in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Moreover, since the excavations at Lefkandi (Euboea) it has been possible to associate certain customs shown in the *Iliad* with the “Dark Ages”.

### Mycenaean elements in Homer

Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* attempt to demonstrate the conditions of the Mycenaean era. The use of metal reflects this: in addition to precious metals we find nonferrous metals, and bronze is used for knives, swords, lances and arrow-heads. To this picture, how-

ever, is superimposed a series of proofs for the presence of iron.<sup>9</sup> These citations are marked with *σίδηρος* (iron) at the verse ending in all four cases, obviously as a substitute for *χαλκός* (bronze), which is one syllable shorter and can also be found in formulas at the verse ending. It appears as if the anachronistic iron has come into the poem for metric reasons.

For Homeric weapons there are numerous Mycenaean connections. Thus we know the formula *φάσγανον ἀργυρόηλον* (“the silver-studded sword”),<sup>10</sup> which competes with the synonymous but shorter formula *ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον*.<sup>11</sup> The “silver-studded sword”, namely bronze blades with metallic intarsia and decoration nails, was often found in the older shaft graves in Mycenae. *Φάσγανον*, *ἄργυρος* and *ξίφος* are referred to in Linear B. Later, *φάσγανον* (sword) became unusual. Therefore the two formulas, together with the indicated object, are regarded as being Mycenaean.<sup>12</sup>

Part of the Mycenaean armour is bronze greaves, which continue to exist in the formula *ἐὺκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ* (“the well greaved Achaeans”),<sup>13</sup> and the bronze corselet, of which one specimen was found in Dendra. But mainly it is Ajax’s tower shield,<sup>14</sup> which can be demonstrated in the form of a fire-screen on Mycenaean seals or in the form of the cipher eight. Anachronistically competing with it is the circular shield,<sup>15</sup> which already appears on the late Mycenaean warrior-vase and becomes standard in the Geometric Age. Well-known as an ancient inheritance is a form of the helmet made from the halves of boar-teeth sewn upon a felt cap, which is described in the *Iliad*.<sup>16</sup> A multitude of originals are known from Mycenaean graves, in round plastic presentations and in fresco-paintings.

A relic of the Mycenaean Age is also the chariot, which we know from Mycenaean frescoes and tombs. In the *Iliad*, however, it is used in a rather mysterious way.<sup>17</sup> Old Nestor, who claims to have fought with chariot squadrons in his youth, knows that chariots were never brought into action alone, but were used in close formation like cavalry.<sup>18</sup> Apart from this,

7. Lesky 1968, 687-846; Latacz 1989.

8. Webster 1958; Heubeck 1988, 213-228.

9. *σίδηρος*: IV.123, 485; XVIII.34; XXIII.30, 834, 850; 16.294; 19.13; 19.587; 21 *passim*; *σιδήρεος*: XXII.357; cp. XXIV.205; 12.280; 19.494. Roman numerals denote books of the *Iliad*, Arabic numerals books of the *Odyssey*.

10. XIV.405; XXIII.807.

11. II.45; III.334, 361; VII.303; XIII.610; XVI.135; XIX.372;

8.406, 416; 10.261; 11.97.

12. Lesky 1968, 715.

13. E.g. I.17.

14. VII.219; XI.485; XVII.128.

15. V.453, 797; XII.426; XIII.715; XIV.428.

16. X.261-270.

17. Latacz 1977, 215-223.

18. IV.297-309.

the poet of the *Iliad* divides the descriptions of the battles into a series of mass combat scenes, such as were known only in the Geometric Age, interspersed with exemplary examples of single combat.

From the private sphere, only a few remnants of Mycenaean utensils are found: Athena's singular golden lamp stands next to the conventional torch lights. But R. Pfeiffer's proof that Athena's golden oil lamp is closely connected with the myth of the Mycenaean goddess of the Acropolis turns Athena's χρύσεος λύχνος into a Mycenaean reminiscence.<sup>19</sup>

We are left with a splendid specimen, the Nestor-cup with doves sitting on the handles. This type of cup is well-known from one of the older shaft graves in Mycenae: a delicate small golden cup, about 15 cm high, as well as earthenware of the same type. In the *Iliad*, this changed into a huge vessel which, when filled, could be lifted by nobody but Nestor.<sup>20</sup> As in the case with other recollections, the identification is doubted. But a lack of conformity in detail is quite understandable: if the description of an object was to survive as an epic formula, then it is quite natural that it was influenced by modifications during the oral tradition. This may be how a Mycenaean cup turned into the Homeric tankard.

### Buildings in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*

In our context the descriptions of the buildings of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have not yet been sufficiently explored; they are more important in the *Odyssey*, which is understandable given the subject matter. Comparing these descriptions, formula verses are encountered that pass on traditional ideas. These lead to the typical elements of the Homeric house. Finally it may be asked if the resulting picture is rather of Mycenaean origin or should be deduced from Geometric architecture.

The description of Ilion remains strangely vague. Apart from the numerous mentions of the town wall and its towers, it is not until Hector's visit to the city in book VI that more details are revealed. Athena is

the city-goddess and has a νηός (temple).<sup>21</sup> A formula describes a treasure vault in the basement of Priam's palace: αὐτὴ δ' ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσεται ("she descended into the vaulted basement"). This formula verse is similarly found in the *Odyssey*. Consequently, the palaces of Ulysses and Menelaus have also a basement.<sup>22</sup>

In Phoenix's long narration of in the eleventh song of the *Iliad*, we are told what belongs to a suitable palace. Phoenix describes the palace of his father Amyntor and of Meleagros: a court surrounded by walls, together with a porch, a vestibule and a main hall.<sup>23</sup> The sleeping place for guests is the hall or the vestibule,<sup>24</sup> but the master of the house sleeps inside the house, as is the case at Achilles' hut and Calypso's grotto.<sup>25</sup> However, with a slight variation the formula can also indicate the special sleeping quarters of the master of the house in a palace: Καθεῦθε μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῦ ("he slept in a corner of the high chamber").<sup>26</sup>

Another formula shows us that the mansion in the *Iliad* had an upper floor reserved for the women. In the second song of the *Iliad*, Astyoche meets Ares ὑπερώιον εἰσαναβάσα ("mounting to the upper floor") for the Hieros Gamos and in book XVI of the *Iliad* Hermes εἰς ὑπερῶν' ἀναβάς also visits Polymele on the upper floor for the holy wedding.<sup>27</sup> This formula occurs eight times in the *Odyssey*, always regarding Penelope, whose chamber is on the upper floor.<sup>28</sup> This formula competes with another one which is restricted to the *Odyssey* and Penelope: κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσεται οἴο δόμοιο ("she went up the high stairs to her chamber");<sup>29</sup> κλίμαξ (stairs) occurs a third time at the palace of Circe, which is also described as two storeyed. Instead of descending the stairs, Elpenor jumps drunkenly from the roof and breaks his neck.<sup>30</sup> Thus it is obvious that upper floor, basement and the separate sleeping place for the master of the house are usual for the Homeric palace.

The palaces in Troy, Pylos, Sparta, and Aiaia are consequently complex buildings surrounding a megaron and consisting of basement, first floor and upper floor with adjoining rooms. All of these houses

19. 19.34; Heubeck 1988, 127, 173.

20. XI.632-635; Heubeck 1988, 171-173.

21. VI.279, 297. A temple of Apollo is mentioned in V.446, 512; VII.83.

22. VI.288; XXIV.191; 15.99, cf. 2.337.

23. IX.471-477, 573-589.

24. IX.660; XXIV.673; XXIV.644; 3.399; 4.297; 7.336.

25. IX.663; XXIV.675; 5.226.

26. 3.402; 4.304; 7.346.

27. II.514; XVI.184.

28. 1.362; 2.358; 4.751, 760; 17.49; 19.602; 21.356; 23.364.

29. 1.330; 21.5.

30. 10.558.

are standing inside an enclosed court. As discussed previously, there are Mycenaean analogies for these houses. In Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos, the main megaron is surrounded by adjoining rooms, which - especially in Pylos - are made accessible by corridors. In Pylos, staircases lead to the upper floor in four places. The palace in Mycenae is single storeyed, but the House of the Sphinxes and the House of the Oil-merchant have a basement, and the House of the Columns has an upper floor and is partly provided with a cellar.<sup>31</sup> This basically corresponds with the fictional Homeric houses and their often documented two storeys (Ithaca, Aiaia, Orchomenos, Ephyra), and their basements (Ithaca, Troy, Sparta). As can easily be studied in Drerup's monograph, Geometric buildings do not show such a construction.<sup>32</sup>

### The "Dark Ages" and Homer

After the invasion of seafaring tribes in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Mycenaean fortresses, with the exception of the Acropolis of Athens, are destroyed and the government of the palaces, together with its literate bureaucracy, is broken. But life continued: Klaus Kilian's excavations prove that notable construction activity commenced in Tiryns, especially on the lower part of the fortress, and in Mycenae during the phase LH III C, indicating continuation of occupancy.

After 1100 B.C., the Dorians streamed from the north into the destroyed and deserted Mycenaean region, thus confining the remaining Mycenaean population to the centre of the peninsula, to Arcadia. In the same period, Aelians from Thessalia and Ionians from Attica poured into Asia Minor under the pressure of the Dorians and settled upon the coast and outlying islands, with Smyrna-Izmir representing the border between Ionians and Aeolians, who settled further north.

In the meantime, it can be asked whether the early Iron Age also left traces in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Informative in this respect is the Euboean village of Lefkandi, situated between Chalkis and Eretria. It has been excavated since 1964, and consists of an antique settlement with necropolises dating to 2000 B.C.<sup>33</sup> The

most interesting structure in Lefkandi is a monumental apsidal building measuring 45 x 10 m and located at the edge of a cemetery dating from 1000 to 950 B.C. A grave with two compartments was found in the centre of the long interior. One part contained the skeletons of four horses and the other a double-burial consisting of a woman and the cremated remains of a man. The woman's hands and feet were crossed and bound and placed next to her head was iron knife with ivory handle, two golden hair spirals, one golden medallion with a chain of faience pearls, two golden breast plates, a pectoral, and several garment needles, all indicating the dead woman had a high rank. A bronze-urn found next to the woman contained the ashes of a man wrapped in linen, as well as a whetstone, an iron sword, and a spear-tip. The urn is an import from Cyprus.

This discovery prompts an interpretation according to the description of the burial of Patroclus in the twenty-third song of the *Iliad*. Achilles cremates Patroclus with four horses before sacrificing twelve Trojan boys. The bones of Patroclus are preserved to be later buried together with Achilles' bones. On this occasion a golden urn is referred to (*χρύσεος ἀμφιφορέυς*).<sup>34</sup> The aftermath of it can be concluded from Hector's burial described in the twenty-fourth song of the *Iliad*. His ashes were wrapped in linen (*πορφύρεοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν*) and preserved in a golden coffin (*χρυσείην ἐξ λάρνακα*).<sup>35</sup> Consequently, the royal grave of Lefkandi gives us an opportunity to see customs of the earliest Protogeometric era reflected by Patroclus' and Hector's burial.

### The Geometric Age

Cremation in the style of the *Iliad* is a phenomenon that started in the submycenaean/protogeometric era and continues in the Geometric Age. Similarly dated are anachronisms such as the previously mentioned use of iron instead of bronze, which may have already influenced the epic tradition around 1000 B.C. The same applies to the techniques of inlaid metal work, which is important for the shield of Achilles as is described in the eighteenth song of the

31. Blegen and Rawson 1966, fig. 417; Mylonas 1957, fig. 21; Wace 1964, 91-97, fig. 32-34.

32. Drerup affords only one doubtful example for an upper floor (Drerup 1969, 56). Nevertheless, he believes in the identity of the Homeric and Geometric house (Drerup

1969, 128-133).

33. Blome 1984, 9-21.

34. XXIII.161-257; 24.65-84.

35. XXIV.785-800.



*Iliad*, and the armour of Agamemnon described in book XI. After the discovery of inlaid dagger-blades in Mycenae, it was believed that Achilles' shield reflected Mycenaean handcraft; however, Agamemnon's armour, which is described in quite a similar way, is a present from King Kinyras (a Semitic word) of Cyprus, and the Gorgon as shield sign points clearly towards the Orient.<sup>36</sup>

Another anachronism refers to the Dorians and their division into three phyles consisting of Hylleans, Dymanes, and Pamphylians. It was repeatedly assumed that they were a confederation from the times of the invasion of the seafaring tribes: Hylleans were supposed to be Illyrians, Dymanes to be Dorians from northern Greece, and Pamphylians were regarded as the remaining Greeks of the Peloponnese.<sup>37</sup> The Dorians, thus divided into three groups, happen to appear surprisingly in Crete: in the nineteenth song of the *Odyssey* (19.177), Ulysses does not only tell of the Achaians, Eteocretans, Cydonians and Pelasgians as inhabitants of Crete, but also of the *Δωριέες τριχά(F)ικες*, the threefold living Dorians. This is, of course, an anachronism because Dorians do not exist during the Bronze Age, the time during which the poem is set. But the poet of the *Iliad* also knows about the three tribes of the Dorians: in the catalogue of ships during the second song of the *Iliad*, in the inserted piece on the Dodecanese, the Rhodians are said to be divided into three cities - Lindos, Ialysos, Kameiros: *τριχά κοσμηθέντες*. Later we will find that this means: *τριχά δέ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν* ("but they lived divided into three tribes").<sup>38</sup> Clearly the settling of the Dorians into three phyles (tribes) on Rhodes is described herewith. Both anachronisms are only likely in a time where the order of the phyles has become a matter of course, which suggests the Geometric Age.

A clear hint at the Geometric Age is also given in all descriptions of combat, which prove knowledge of the hand-to-hand fighting of the phalanxes, especially with the formulaic verse *ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ*: "Shield thrust against shield, helmet against helmet, warrior against warrior".<sup>39</sup>

Parts of the later sections of the *Iliad* attempt to give a place of honour to the family of the Aeneades

in the Troad and the Glaucides in Caria. This means the whole so-called Aeneis (the twentieth song of the *Iliad*) and the Glaucus-Diomedes episode in the sixth song of the *Iliad*: here, finally, we see the poet at work and his wish to honour his noble patrons.<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, the Glaucus-Diomedes episode in itself contains one further anachronism: the mention of writing in a context referring to oriental influences. The king of Tiryns, Proitus, has a wife, Anteia, who wants to seduce Bellerophon. The latter resists temptation, whereupon Anteia accuses him of an act of indecency before Proitus. The parallel to this can be seen in Genesis 39. Then Proitus sends Bellerophon to Lycia with a sealed diptychon, a writing-tablet with the order to kill Bellerophon. This is the motive of the Uriah letter, which we will find again in Samuel II, 11. The description of the letter (*πόρεν δ' ὃ γὰρ σήματα λυγρά/γράφας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῶ θυμοφθόρα πολλά* "he gave him many signs on the way, dangerous and fatal to life, which he had written on a folded tablet") proves without any doubt the knowledge of writing.<sup>41</sup> The motive of the Uriah letter and the phenomenon of writing were so inseparably combined that the author had no means of preventing an anachronism: although describing an age without writing, the poet had to make Proitus literate. He did this during an era where the Greeks had themselves learned to write for the second time, this time using the Phoenician alphabet.

## Outlook

It is clear that Homeric philology was repeatedly stimulated by outside research during the last hundred years. The archaeological excavations of Manfred Korfmann in Beşik Bay, 9 km southwest of Troy,<sup>42</sup> and in Troy itself and the immediate surrounding of the acropolis also promise to shed new light on Homeric studies.

In Beşik Bay, Dörpfeld had already searched for the harbour of the Greeks next to the Homeric Troy, while Schliemann wanted to localize the Homeric harbour in the Dardanelles, near the mouth of the Scamander. Jassi-Tepe hill is situated in the north of

36. XVIII.468 ff.; XI.15 ff., Burkert 1984, 19-29, 82-84.

37. Lehmann 1985, 64-66.

38. II.655, 668.

39. XIII.131; XVI.215, dazu Latacz 1977, 63-65, 238-241.

40. Heubeck 1984, 39-62.

41. VI.168 f.; Heubeck 1979, 128-140.

42. Korfmann 1984, 165-195; Korfmann 1985, 157-194; Korfmann 1986, 303-330; Korfmann 1988, 391-404; Korfmann 1989, 473-481.

Beşik Bay, directly on the coast, and it was here that Korfmann found a Hellenistic surrounding wall of the third century B.C. Underneath it were found the remains of a well-made polygonal wall of the sixth century B.C., together with ceramics in the oriental style. Korfmann identifies this layer with one of the Achilleion settlements founded by Lesbos. Herodotus reports of its fight with the Athenians, who had a foothold in Sigeion, 6 km further north. The next layer dates to the third millennium B.C., the time of Troy I. It contains rich findings in seven phases and remnants of buildings that complete the picture of Troy I.

A modest settlement was found at the foot of Jassi-Tepe belonging to the thirteenth century B.C., the time of Troy VI. A graveyard is part of this settlement, which Manfred Korfmann also dates to the thirteenth century B.C. based on the grave goods. The types of burial are numerous: interment stands next to cremation; next to the earthen vats (pithoi) used as sarcophagi stand stone cases, stone circles, and a grave house. The graves are partly robbed, but there are still a considerable number of grave goods preserved.

Sondages showed that in the thirteenth century B.C. the graveyard was situated close to the coast and that in one place stairs led upwards from the sea. Today, the coastal line has moved further west as a consequence of alluvial deposits. This encouraged Korfmann to undertake a further investigation, with the result being that Beşik Bay must have been the harbour of Troy I. Schliemann's alternative, the region of the mouth of the Scamander in the Dardanelles, had to be excluded because of the lack of fresh water and the swamps around the mouth of the Scamander that reached far into the country.

Likewise, there is a nautical argument against Schliemann's choice: the entrance into the Dardanelles was always difficult because of the constant east-west current and the prevailing direction of the wind coming from the north-east. An investigation carried out by Jehuda Neumann confirmed that during the months of April until June, before the beginning of the Etesiae, one had to account for an occasional back wind when entering into the Dardanelles. Therefore Beşik Bay was the last possible anchorage

ground before the Dardanelles that offered the opportunity to fetch fresh water; even today, these wells provide fresh water to those waiting for a favourable wind for the passage to the Dardanelles.<sup>43</sup>

There is no doubt that Troy, as the ruler of Beşik Bay, could profit from such a situation, unconcerned with whether merchant ships were anchoring in Beşik Bay to wait for fair winds or whether the ships were unloaded so that their freight could be transported by land, leaving aside Troy and avoiding the narrow pass of the Dardanelles during the summer months, or finally also whether part of the difficult Dardanelles passage had to be taken by towing. During the Bronze Age, Troy must have had a key role in commerce between the Aegean and the Black Sea, and Carpenter compared its position with the one of Corinth lying between two seas.<sup>44</sup> As a result, Troy became rich and Schliemann's spectacular gold findings in Troy II from the time of 2300 to 2100 B.C. are now better understood. At the same time, such a city was always a profitable target for plunderers and conquerors. The impressive fortifications, especially of Troy II and Troy VI, thus make good sense. Manfred Korfmann succeeded in demonstrating the importance of Troy's position in the traffic network from the Aegean to the Black Sea, and consequently its important trade relations during the Bronze Age.

Work was completed in Beşik Bay in 1985/6, and since 1987 the excavations in and around Troy have been resumed. The main aim of the work in the acropolis is the preservation of the fortress ruins. But the cleaning of the Schliemann trench and the removal of two earth cones nearby also produced important new material. More important for Homeric philology are the excavations outside the acropolis in the area of the Roman and Hellenistic Troy (Novum Ilium/Ilion), together with the investigations of the ground in the valleys of the Scamander and the Simoeis.<sup>45</sup>

Until now, Novum Ilium was known by a small theatre and an odeon in the south of the acropolis. Five test excavations extending nearly 360 meters to the south were opened. They have revealed parts of a lower Roman/Hellenistic town with a regular road network corresponding with the orientation of the theatre and the odeon, as well as the enclosing wall of the Athena temple on the acropolis. While conducting

43. Neumann 1986, 345-363.

44. Carpenter 1984, 1-10.

45. Korfmann 1991, 1-34.

probings of this area, debris from a settlement and ceramics from the time of Troy VI were found at a depth of 1.5 to 2 meters.

This proves that Troy had a large lower town during the time of the furthest extension of the acropolis around 1300 B.C. This lower town contains a cemetery in the south-west that dates to the same time and which was previously excavated in 1934. Moreover, 400 meters south of the Acropolis, Troy VI ruins were found on a mountain ridge leading to this graveyard. Wilhelm Dörpfeld's collaborator, Alfred Götze, had already noticed them in 1894. It is assumed that the centre of the lower town around 1300 B.C. was situated upon this mountain ridge, although its size cannot yet be estimated.

The identification of Beşik Bay at the west coast of the Troas, together with the harbour of Troy and the discovery of a large lower town of around 1300 B.C. in the south-west of the acropolis of Troy, led to a considerable change in the historical topography of the Troas. In addition to this, İlhan Kayan proved by deep drillings (up to 20 meters) that the hill of the acropolis of Troy had originally been situated in the

immediate vicinity of the sea. Over the years, alluvial depositions by the Scamander and the Simois have shifted the mouth of the Scamander further and further north. The analysis of the drillings makes it possible to fix the coastal line in the north at the time of Troy I, Troy II and Troy VI.<sup>46</sup>

For Homeric philology, the significance of these results is considerable. It will soon be possible to judge the poetic topography of the *Iliad* better than previously possible. It will be easier to differentiate the Mycenaean elements in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. And finally it will be possible to reveal the historical core of the *Iliad*. Until now it can only be stated that both epics represent a conglomerate of Geometric, Protogeometric and Mycenaean elements, a conglomerate where the older layers were preserved by the tough tradition of oral poetry from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Consequently, it may be decided after the assimilation of the latest results from the Troas-research whether the *Iliad* contains recollections of a warlike conflict around Bronze Age Troy or not.

46. Kayan 1991.

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