

# PRIAM'S TROY AND THE DATE OF ITS FALL

(PLATE 66)

TO the ancient Greeks the Trojan War was an actual historic event. Thoukydides declares that it was the first expedition undertaken in common by the Greeks: “*πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς.*”<sup>1</sup> Even in antiquity its greatness seems to have been under suspicion because of the obscurity to which Mycenae had fallen in historic times and the comparatively small area of its citadel as well as that of Ilion. This becomes clear from the efforts of Thoukydides to explain the known facts. “*καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν,*” he stated, “*ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς ἂν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίῃ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἳ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασιν καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται . . .)*” Yet Thoukydides himself warns that the Trojan War was not such a tremendously large expedition as the Epic tradition led the ancients and leads us to believe. In an effort to account for the length of the war and to rationalize matters he added: “*πεποίθηκε γὰρ (Ὁμηρος) χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτῆτου πεντήκοντα, δηλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας· ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους πέρι ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη . . . Πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας δ’ οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ, φαίνονται ἐλθόντες, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ πεμπόμενοι.*” And he explains the reasons of limiting the number of the expeditionary force: “*αἴτιον δ’ ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ ἀχρηματία. Τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορία τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν.*” To logistics also he attributes the great length of the war: “*φαίνονται δ’ οὐδ’ ἐνταῦθα (in Troy that is) πάση τῇ δυνάμει χρῆσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ ληστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία. Ἦν καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντείχον βία, τοῖς αἰεὶ ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες.*”<sup>2</sup> Thus Thoukydides tried to explain the traditional length of the war and answer the criticism that Mycenae was too small to have undertaken the leadership of such an expedition. We have to bear these statements in mind when we think of the Trojan War. However, there is no doubt that to Thoukydides as well as to the other learned people of the ancient world the Trojan War was an actuality and not an event conjured up by the imagination of the Epic poets.

The years when the expedition was prepared and the war was fought with the

<sup>1</sup> I, 3, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thoukydides, I, 10, 1-5 and 11, 1-2.

ultimate result the destruction of the city of Priam apparently formed a subject of great interest on which there was no unanimity among the writers of the ancient world. The Fall of Troy was placed within a long span of years the uppermost limit of which was 1334 and the lowest 1129.<sup>3</sup> It is widely conceded that we cannot base conclusions which can remain unchallenged on the writings of ancient authors. The questions which intrigued the ancient historiographers continue to interest the scholars of our times who have apparently reached results similar to those of their ancient colleagues.

The excavations of Schliemann, of Dörpfeld, and of Professor Blegen at the site of Hissarlik have provided answers to some of the questions raised in antiquity. In spite of a few disbelievers, the majority of scholars accept the site of Hissarlik as the central point of the Troy celebrated in Epic poetry. For a long time it was maintained that the settlement known as Troy VI was the city of Priam; its imposing fortification walls and its destruction lent support to the identification. The excavations directed by Professor Blegen, however, proved that the destruction of Troy VIh was due to an earthquake and projected Troy VIIa as the city of Priam. That settlement was violently destroyed by a fierce fire, and in its "fire-scarred" ruins were found "scattered remnants of bones" indicating that "its destruction was accompanied by violence." The destruction by earthquake of Troy VIh is based on such solid archaeological grounds that scholars have accepted the evidence without objection, but the identification of Troy VIIa as the city of Priam is challenged by some.

No sooner had Professor Blegen's excavations been terminated than Professor Fritz Schachermeyer projected the ingenious theory that the Greeks, taking advantage of the destruction wrought by the earthquake, managed to capture and destroy the city of Priam which was equated with the last phase of Settlement VI; that the earthquake, sent by Poseidon, was presumably the Trojan Horse of the legend; that furthermore Troy VIIa, built by survivors of the Trojan War, was destroyed by an incursion of barbarians from the northwest.<sup>4</sup> Endorsing Professor Schachermeyer's equations, Dr. Carl Nylander in a recent article declared that only Troy VIh could be conceived as the city of Priam.<sup>5</sup> Troy VIIa, he maintained, was "a poor pathetic village in the ruins of the great Troy VI." He found support in Professor Page's characterization of Troy VIIa as an "abject uncomfortable Troy (within the walls

<sup>3</sup> Douris, 1334; Life of Homer, 1270; Herodotos, *ca.* 1240; Kleitarchos, 1234; Dikaiarchos, 1212; Parian Marble, 1209; Thrasyllus, 1193; Timaios, 1193; Eratosthenes, 1184/3 and his followers Apollodoros, Kastor, Diodoros, Apollonios, Eusebios; Sosibios, 1171; Phanias, *ca.* 1129, and Ephoros, *ca.* 1135. Cf. Sir E. J. Forsdyke, *Greece Before Homer. Ancient Chronology and Mythology*, 1957. G. E. Mylonas, "Οι χρόνοι της άλωσης της Τροίας και της καθόδου τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν," *Ἐπετηρίς*, School of Philosophy, the University of Athens, 1959-1960, pp. 408-466 (referred to as Mylonas, "The Fall of Troy").

<sup>4</sup> F. Schachermeyer, *Poseidon*, 1950, pp. 189 ff.; *Minoica*, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> "The Fall of Troy," *Antiquity*, XXXVII, 1963, pp. 1-11.

of Troy VI), degraded and altogether pitiable. A network of unworthy lodgings spreads to the right and left and climbs inward over the foundations of the great houses of yesterday . . . gloomy little bungalows, thin-walled, party-walled, one-roomed, barely furnished, backed on (but not bonded with) the fortification wall itself; an offence to the eye, and injury to the pride.”<sup>6</sup> Let us see how these statements measure up against the evidence as revealed by excavations.

Before we do that, perhaps it will be advisable to recall Thoudydides’ comments quoted above and try to discover the tangible evidence which makes possible the determination of the extent and importance of the Trojan War and of the size and character of the Troy of Priam. Epic poetry has helped our imagination to picture the events around Troy, and the immense wealth and might of that city is to be found only in the lines of the *Iliad* from which all subsequent assertions are derived. In reality we cannot even be sure of the cause which brought about the war, and to date a number of ingenious suggestions of great diversity have been championed by eminent scholars. There are, however, certain definite facts about Troy VI and VIIa established by the excavations which have not been challenged.

One of these facts is that immediately following the destruction of Troy VIh by earthquake the “fortification wall was again restored to serviceable condition, while the East and South Gates, patched and readjusted, were still used as the main entrances into the citadel.”<sup>7</sup> This indicates that the area of Troy VIIa was exactly the same as that of Troy VIh and that if Troy VIIa, because of its size, can be called “puny,” then Troy VIh should also be considered “puny.”

The earthquake, of course, did not destroy either the political system or the line of leadership in the settlement. The king, therefore, and the leaders would have had their palaces and houses, which before the earthquake were within the citadel, built over the areas they once occupied in the same citadel. These, as the excavators tell us, “presumably stood on the upper ringed terrace in the central part of the site, whence they were removed without leaving a trace when the top of the hill was shaved off in Hellenistic and Roman times.”<sup>8</sup> Thus we cannot know how the better houses of Troy VIIa looked, or how they were built; consequently we cannot have a complete picture of the nature of Troy VIIa. Since they had been built, however, by the same masons and technicians who were at work in Troy VIh when that settlement was destroyed, we could assume that the new houses of the leaders were built in the same style and by using the same technique evident in the large dwellings of the earlier site. The very fact that the passage of the South Gate was paved with massive stones and that the drainage of the area was provided for by a new stone drain may indicate that the builders of Troy VIIa worked in as monumental a style as their

<sup>6</sup> D. Page, “The Historical Sack of Troy,” *Antiquity*, XXXIII, 1959, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> C. W. Blegen, *et al.*, *Troy*, IV, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

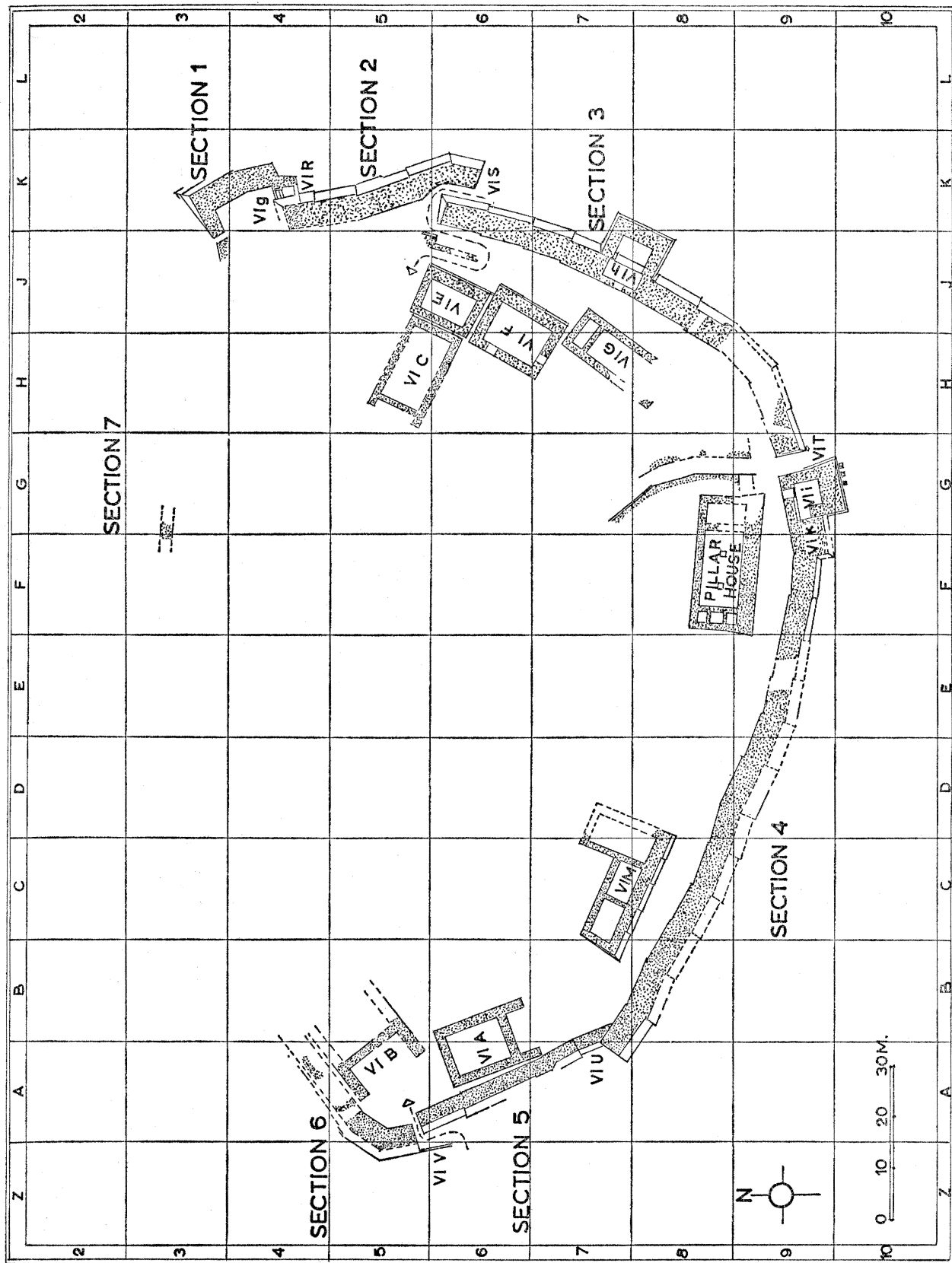


FIG. 1. Plan of Troy VI (late phase). From C. W. Blegen *et al.*, *Troy*, III, 2, fig. 477.  
(Copied by Miss Evo Athanassiades)

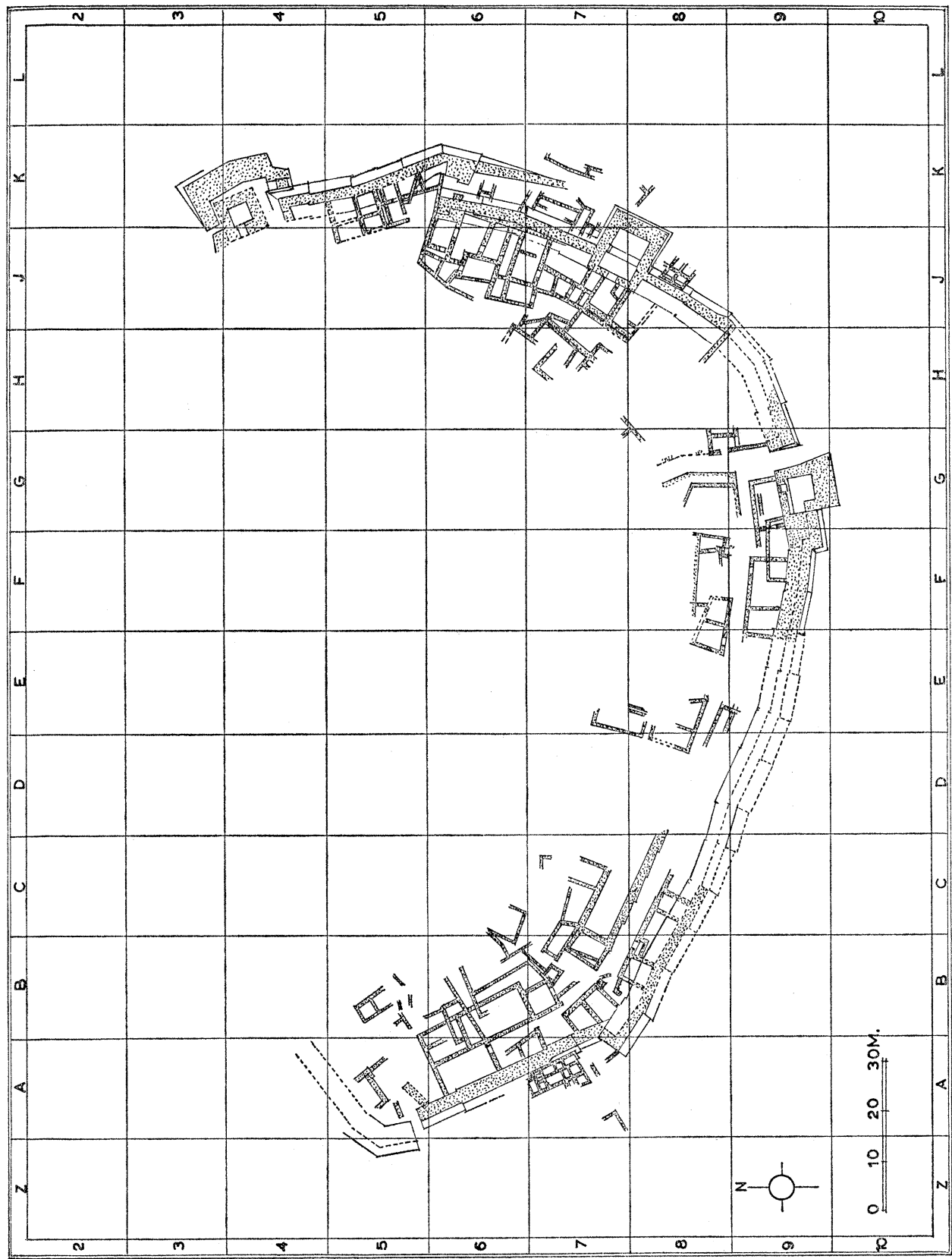


FIG. 2. Plan of Troy VIIa. From C. W. Blegen *et al.*, *Troy*, IV, 2, fig. 321.  
(Copied by Miss Evo Athanassiades)

predecessors when they engaged in important public works, and that the palace and the houses of the leaders would have been built again in a substantial way.

The remains of the houses which have been preserved, however, belong for the most part to simple structures "of no great size, consisting generally of only one or two rooms." Furthermore, we find that in their construction the builders, perhaps the same or the immediate descendants of those active in Troy VIh, are now using new unprecedented elements such as party walls—"an innovation for which no real antecedents exist"—walls built, with a few exceptions, of "rough unworked stones of moderate size, among which appear here and there large angular blocks, carefully dressed, and often bearing the well-cut offset so familiar in the structures of Troy VI." Again in these small and closely packed houses, we find regularly capacious pithoi sunk to their rims beneath the floors. These innovations are not the only characteristic features of these houses.

If we examine the plan of Troy VIh (Fig. 1) we find a broad, empty passage between the fortification wall and the first terrace of the settlement. It corresponds to similar passages found in Mycenaean citadels. The late Professor Wace explained that this passage "was no doubt to prevent treachery and secret communication from without or from within the fortress. Rahab's help to the spies escaping from Jericho and St. Paul's escape from Damascus are illustrations of the danger."<sup>9</sup> It is natural to assume that in the reconstruction of their citadel the builders of Troy VIIa, following the ancestral custom, left free the passage along the walls. If we now turn to the plan of Troy VIIa (Fig. 2), we find that precisely in that passage many of the houses uncovered were built "backed on (but not bonded with) the fortification wall itself," as Professor Page wrote. This fact, the small size of the houses unearthed, their party walls (without previous antecedents), and the sinking of the pithoi in the floors prove that space within the walls was at a premium, that houses were built wherever free space existed, that the builders exercised great ingenuity in developing means which would save space, that they used the minimum of rooms to fill the elementary needs of a family for which the dwelling was being built. The excavators pointed out that "the sinking of storage vessels so deeply beneath the floor" must have resulted from some special circumstances which "impelled the inhabitants to huddle together in closely crowded and perhaps hastily built quarters inside the fortification walls."<sup>10</sup>

Now it is a proved fact that after a destructive earthquake people have a tendency to disperse rather than to collect in closed areas. This has been too often illustrated, unfortunately, in Greece and other lands in our days. Strong "circumstance" must have forced the people to huddle together. We cannot maintain that immediately

<sup>9</sup> A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae*, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Blegen, *Troy*, IV, p. 7. Cf. also *Troy and the Trojans*, 1963, p. 152.

after the earthquake they had what we call today a population explosion which forced the construction of the type of buildings uncovered. Even if the population increased, we would expect them to disperse in the countryside. The facts as revealed by excavation can only be explained as due to an impending or current enemy action. Under pressure of such action people would have flocked into a fortified area and would have occupied every available space. A striking example of a similar situation we find in Athens centuries later. During the Peloponnesian War, under pressure of the Lakadaimonian armies, the people of Attica flocked to fortified Athens. There, they established themselves hurriedly in whatever space they found. As Thoukydides reports: “ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μὲν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρήμα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστόν ἦν τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς ‘τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον,’ ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωκλήθη.”<sup>11</sup>

Could that enemy action be attributed to the invading barbarians who are assumed to have destroyed Troy VIIa? In this connection we have to bear in mind the unprecedented capacious pithoi below the floors of the houses of that settlement and their implications. In at least three cases, we find two or three superposed floor levels.<sup>12</sup> These seem to indicate the use of the houses for some time, and in turn the persistence of the “circumstance” which forced the building of these structures. We must also recall that the destruction of Troy VIIa was followed immediately by the construction of Troy VIIb-1. In the ruins of the latter were not found elements of an intrusive culture. If we were to believe that Troy VIIa was destroyed by barbarian invaders, then we would have to assume that these barbarians formed part of the large wave of northern people who, we are told, overran Greece and Asia Minor, destroyed the Hittite Empire, and went on even to Mesopotamia. That such a movement of people did occur seems most probable; that all the destruction and devastation to be found in these lands in the last period of the Bronze Age is attributable to them is yet to be proved. But in the case of Troy VIIa, we are asked to visualize these barbarians, following a route from west to east across Macedonia and Thrace, crossing from Europe to Asia at the straits of Hellespont, not those of Bosphoros, and thus reaching the northwest corner of Asia Minor. We have then to imagine that they attacked Priam’s domain, that they engaged in a long siege of his citadel, that finally they managed to capture and destroy it, and then we have to believe that they went away. This, I think, is hard to believe and more difficult to prove. If the barbarians had settled in the Troad, one could understand the siege and capture of Troy. The lack of any traces of their existence at the site indicates that they did not settle there. In

<sup>11</sup> Thoukydides, II, 17, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Houses 731, VII C, and 722, *Troy*, IV, p. 8.

the movements of peoples, strong points, capable of retarding the advance, are usually by-passed so that areas can be reached in which the people can settle. Insistence upon the leveling of an isolated citadel is understandable only if the invaders proposed to establish themselves in the land it controls, otherwise a siege is out of pattern.

It is possible to maintain, however, that the invaders from the northwest went to the Troad through the Hellespont in successive waves over a period of time, and that these successive waves of hostile people impelled the inhabitants "to huddle together in closely crowded" quarters within the walls. It remains difficult to understand in that case why they continued to cross into Asia Minor by the Hellespont and not by Bosphoros;<sup>13</sup> why some of these invaders did not settle in the conquered territory after the hardship of a siege and the trouble of storming a well fortified citadel; why the Trojans did not take measures to block the passage of the Hellespont which was so near to them and which could have been so easily defended against a foe that came overland. Furthermore, we would expect that the Trojans would use the sea to keep contact with friends and allies in the islands of the Aegean from whom they could obtain help. The diminished number of imported Mycenaean pots indicates a reduction instead of an increase of overseas contacts; such contacts would have been possible in the periods between the assumed successive invasions. One could invoke the mysterious "Peoples of the Sea" of the Egyptian inscriptions to account for the inability of the Trojans to receive help from overseas. But Desborough's recent study has proved that the assumed chaotic conditions in the Aegean caused by the "Peoples of the Sea" are a myth not substantiated by facts; the Aegean was safe and in peace not only in LH III B but even in LH III C times; "the sea protected . . . the coastal sites" and "remained a free highway."<sup>14</sup>

The remains can be adequately explained if Troy VIIa is accepted as the city of Priam destroyed by the Achaeans. The people of that site could have learned of the imminent invasion of their land from the sailors and merchants engaged in commercial exchanges between Troy and sites in the Greek area. The imported Mycenaean pottery found in Troy VI and VIIa proves the intercourse. The news would precipitate the influx of the people in the country to the citadel. Free areas within would be occupied by them. Hasty structures would be put up to accommodate the increased population. As little space as possible could be used for these structures and in them provision would be made for the storing of supplies. The legends have it that the siege was a

<sup>13</sup> Professor Page has recently pointed out that "Troy is a *terminus*, and is geographically so placed as to be exceptionally difficult of access (a) by land from Europe (nobody in his senses would make the detour down the harsh Gallipoli peninsula in order to cross to Asia at the actual straits of the Dardanelles), and (b) by sea from European waters" (*History and the Homeric Iliad*, p. 94 footnote 144). Its locality excludes the hypothesis of successive waves of invaders following the same convenient route into Asia Minor.

<sup>14</sup> V. R. d' A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*, 1964, pp. 228-229. About the assumed chaos in the Aegean cf. E. T. Vermeule, *Archaeology*, XIII, 1960, p. 67.



long one, and the remains indicate that the pressure existed for some time. The legends state that the city was taken and was destroyed. After its destruction the host of the Achaeans left and at the destroyed site the survivors who escaped the catastrophe remained. These, as the excavations proved, built their homes again on the site, Troy VIIb-1 as we call it now, and carried on the ancestral material culture. Their village was destroyed by barbarian invaders; that fact is indicated by the relics of their material culture which were found in the remnants of the village which followed, Troy VIIb-2.

It seems to us that the remains of Troy VIIa can be explained fully only if we take them to belong to the city of Priam. But it is pointed out that "the finds of Troy VIIa are extremely scanty" and this was attributed to a "steep decline in the fortunes of the once so rich and mighty city," presumably Troy VI. One wonders what finds were made in Troy VIh which proved that the city was "so rich."<sup>15</sup> Of course, the lack of gold and silver could be attributed to the thorough looting of the site; however, to a similar looting could be attributed the lack of objects from Troy VIIa. The argument seems to have been based on the difference in quantity of the Mycenaean pottery found in the two settlements. Indeed, the difference is substantial. I believe, however, that the difference is in favor of Troy VIIa. People do not import pottery from the territory of their enemy, even from any other territory, while their citadel is under siege. War activities naturally reduced the importation of Mycenaean pottery, and the fact that local imitations increased in numbers proves that the people of Troy VIIa tried to produce themselves what they could no longer import because of war conditions.

May we be permitted to draw an analogy from later centuries and events to illustrate the fact that the surviving ruins of Troy VIIa cannot give us an adequate and correct picture of the appearance of that city. We have already noted the people seeking asylum within the walls of Athens during the Peloponnesian War. Let us now suppose that in later years all the public and the important private buildings of the city of Perikles, including the temples, etc. on the Akropolis, were completely removed by destruction and the leveling activities of later generations; that what remained from that city were the structures the refugees built when the enemy was controlling the land; that all written records, such as Plutarch's *Perikles*, Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*, etc. were destroyed and no longer existed. What would have been the resulting picture of Periklean Athens, based on the poor shelters of the war refugees? How near to the known Periklean Athens would that picture have been? This, of course, is an exaggeration, but it helps to dramatize the unfairness

<sup>15</sup> In the final publication there are reported from the late phase of Troy VI a single bronze arrowhead (*Troy*, III, figure 297, No. 35-480) and six objects probably of ivory but possibly of horn or bone (figure 304, Nos. 34-401, 35-508, 35-506 and 35-507). Not a particle of gold or silver was found.

of the estimate made, based only on a few remnants of shelters most probably built by people who flocked within the walls under pressure of enemy action.

What of Troy VIh? Is there any evidence to indicate that it could not have been the city of Priam? I think there is. As far as I know, no one as yet has challenged Professor Blegen's conclusion that Troy VIh was destroyed by earthquake "at a time when Mycenaean pottery of Late Helladic III A was being displaced by the fabrics of the succeeding stage III B."<sup>16</sup> In terms of years he originally placed the destruction about 1275 (?). Now that he has raised the date of the fall of Troy VIIa from *ca.* 1240 to the decade of 1270 or 1260, he would naturally raise the end of Troy VIh by the same decades; this he places around 1300.<sup>17</sup> If Troy VIh is accepted as the city of Priam we would have to place its fall at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. Leaving dates aside, since they depend upon the chronology of pottery which is not as yet established with a degree of unanimity, can we maintain that the Troy of Priam (the suggested Troy VIh) "came to its end by enemy action at a time when pottery of LH III A was being displaced by fabrics of the succeeding stage III B"?

If for a moment we turn to Mycenae, the Capital City of Agamemnon, of the reputed leader of the expedition, we ought to find some corroborative evidence. What happened at Mycenae after the Fall of Troy? The legends are filled with details. Agamemnon was murdered on his return; shortly afterwards Klytemnestra and Aigisthos were killed. Certainly these events were followed by internal struggle and upheaval. But these are myths, the critics will say. So are Priam and his domain, Troy and its wealth, the expedition and its heroes. As yet I have not seen a single contemporary inscription or document mentioning these events.<sup>18</sup> We find all these legends in the same Epic poetry. Certainly we can throw out the Mycenaean legends, but then we have to do the same for the rest of them. I do not think that even the most severe critics would advocate such a general rejection of legends, since more and more evidence is being unearthed indicating that they have in them a kernel, however tiny, of truth; traditions certainly are definite pointers which should be taken into account.

The kernel in the legends of Mycenae seems to indicate that the city had a turbulent existence after the Fall of Troy. Such turbulent times are reported to have prevailed not only at Mycenae but in many parts of Greece. We may recall Thoudydides' statement: "Ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε καὶ κατακίζετο,

<sup>16</sup> Blegen, *Troy*, III, p. 18 and IV, pp. 9, 12.

<sup>17</sup> *X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* VII, 1955, pp. 128-129.

<sup>18</sup> On a Hittite document of the reign of Tuthalijas IV (*ca.* 1250-1220) we have the name of a city called Truisa which may be equated with Troia (D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, p. 106). If that equation is correct, then the only written contemporary source would indicate that Troy was still unconquered and flourishing after the middle of the thirteenth century B.C., long after Troy VIh was destroyed by earthquake.

ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξήθηται. Ἡ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία γενομένη πολλά ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐγίνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις ἐκτιζον.”<sup>19</sup> In these turbulent times certainly the undertaking of monumental works was impossible. But such were carried out in the course of the thirteenth century B.C.

The latest excavations at Mycenae have proved that the Lion Gate and the West Cyclopean Wall are later additions to an older citadel to which the North Cyclopean Wall belongs. Wace in clearing the staircase behind the Lion Gate discovered a number of layers of fill the first of which, his Stratum I, belonged to the floor of the staircase. He took that stratum and the staircase to be contemporary or a little later than the Wall. In that layer he found some pottery, but illustrated only very few sherds. One of these belongs to what he called later “the incipient close style.”<sup>20</sup> This sherd has to be placed in the later years of the ceramic phase LH III B. In 1961 in three different areas in the foundations of the West Cyclopean Wall, built at the same time with the Lion Gate, we found a good many sherds. These definitely date the Wall. The painted sherds from the foundations are illustrated in Plate 66. It is evident that all belong to LH III B, and though one example may possibly belong to an early phase of LH III B, the majority if not the total belong to advanced years, to the middle of that ceramic phase. With the sherds were found two stems of figurines; they are of the hollow variety which is taken to be a rather late variety.<sup>21</sup> These sherds prove that the Cyclopean Wall was constructed about the middle of the ceramic phase known as LH III B. To the same years belongs the Lion Gate. Since the Treasury of Atreus was proved by Wace to be contemporary with the Lion Gate,<sup>22</sup> that monument too belongs to the same years. The so-called tomb of Klytemnestra is generally accepted as being later in years than the Treasury of Atreus. Further, I could add a number of important monumental structures at Mycenae dating at or after the construction of the Lion Gate.<sup>23</sup> If we take Troy VIh to be the city of Priam destroyed by Agamemnon and his Achaeans, then we shall have to accept that all these monuments at Mycenae were constructed after the Fall of Troy; because, leaving years aside, Troy VIh was destroyed “at a time when Mycenaean pottery of Late Helladic III A was being displaced by fabrics of the succeeding stage III B,” while the Mycenaean monuments enumerated were built at a time when Mycenaean pottery of Late Helladic III B, middle and later phases, were being produced. Is this pos-

<sup>19</sup> Thoukydides, I, 12.

<sup>20</sup> A. J. B. Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, pp. 20, fig. 7, a, b; “The Last Days of Mycenae,” *The Aegean and the Near East*, p. 130.

<sup>21</sup> A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Chronology*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>22</sup> Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, pp. 13, 352-353, 391; *Mycenae*, pp. 119-131. Mrs. Elizabeth Wace French has recently stated that the sherd found under the threshold of the Treasury of Atreus belongs to late Late Helladic III B times, *B.S.A.*, LVIII, 1963, p. 46.

<sup>23</sup> *Infra*, pp. 36-38.

sible? Certainly not. We cannot even imagine that these monumental structures could have been built during the turbulent times that followed the Fall of Troy and the return of Agamemnon. We believe that the evidence now available at Mycenae proves that Troy VIIh could not have been the Troy of Priam.

There is another possible source of information. Recently Professor Page maintained that "in the conflict between rival forces, Achaeans and the League of Assuwa, over the territory at long last vacated by the Hittites" we find the historical background of the Trojan War.<sup>24</sup> The territory was vacated in the closing years of the reign of Tuthalijas IV (*ca.* 1250-*ca.* 1220 B.C.) or in that of his successor Arnuwandas IV (*ca.* 1220-*ca.* 1190 B.C.). On the basis of the date for the Fall of Troy given in the final publication of the site, Professor Page concluded that "it appears at present that the Achaeans attacked Troy soon after the defeat of Assuwa by Tuthalijas, perhaps within a decade (either way) of 1230 B.C."<sup>25</sup> If Troy VIIh is equated with the City of Priam then Professor Page's conclusions are ruled out completely. Yet, the Hittite documents he mentions definitely corroborate his conclusions. We may note that among the allied cities which formed the League of Assuwa, the northernmost (perhaps) city of the League is *Truwa* which could be equated with Troy. As Professor Page cautiously states, "to say that the equation is possible is by no means the same as to say that it is correct; it means only that Philology cannot disprove it, or even disapprove it." The evidence glimpsed from the Hittite documents is in agreement with the equation of Troy VIIa with the Troy of Priam and against the identification of Troy VIIh as that city.

More corroborating information can be obtained from another legendary center of Greece, from Thebes. The excavations conducted by the late Professor Keramopoulos brought to light the charred remains of its Mycenaean palace, the Palace of Kadmos as he called it. Its final destruction occurred towards the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>26</sup> According to the legends preserved in epic poetry, that destruction occurred before the Fall of Troy, since some of the Epigonoι, who captured and destroyed Thebes, fought with Agamemnon against Priam.<sup>27</sup> That would have been impossible

<sup>24</sup> Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff., especially pp. 109-110.

<sup>25</sup> However, he admits that we are not certain that Troy fell "in the reign of Tuthalijas or rather in that of Arnuwandas." I would rather favor the reign of Arnuwandas, since in the annals of that King we find a fragmentary, unfortunately, document in which are named the kings of *Assuwa* and *Ahhijawa* at the same time. "It is obvious," states Page (*op. cit.*, p. 108), "that the activity of *Assuwa* is the principal theme, and that the Achaeans are somehow involved." (See especially his note 37 on pp. 116-117 for bibliography.)

<sup>26</sup> A. Keramopoulos, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1909, pp. 57 ff., 105 ff., pl. 3; 1910, pp. 209 ff.; *Δελτίον*, III, 1917, p. 339, fig. 193. Cf. G. E. Mylonas, "The Luvian Invasions of Greece," *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 302-303 for a brief summary of the question of the date of the remains. In 1964 some tablets, more unworked semi-precious stones, cylinders, foundations, and pottery were found in the area of the palace. All the pottery found belongs to LH III B times.

<sup>27</sup> *Iliad*, IV, 376-379, 405-409.

if Troy VI was the city of Priam since the destruction of Troy VIh antedates that of Thebes by nearly half a century. Again one might say that only legends speak of the destruction of Thebes by the Epigonoï, but the same legends tell us of the campaign against Troy. And then it may be significant that we find no Theban contingent in the expeditionary force which followed Agamemnon to the Troad nor Theban princes of the house of Kadmos among his warlords. Perhaps Thebes could not send a contingent, though other Boeotian sites did, because she was lying in smoldering ruins.

It seems to us that all possible evidence is against the identification of Troy VIh as the city of Priam; that all possible evidence favors Troy VIIa for the title. Granted that Troy VIIa is the city of Priam, the next question to face is that of the date of its Fall. We have already seen that the dates suggested by ancient authors diverge widely and are not to be trusted. We have to depend on evidence found in the excavated ruins of Hissarlik. Unfortunately that evidence, too, at least to date, is not very definite and yields to varied interpretations. This is because it depends on Mycenaean sherds whose exact date remains uncertain even in the place of their production. I regret exceedingly that I do not find myself in agreement with the date proposed by Professor Blegen and his fellow-excavators. Here are the reasons for my disagreement.

In the final publication of the excavations conducted under the auspices of the University of Cincinnati it is stated that Troy VIIa, that is, Priam's Troy, lasted from 1275 (?) B.C. to about 1240 B.C.; its end came "at a time when the style III B had not yet given way to III C."<sup>28</sup> In his article on Troy included in the revised edition of Volume I and II of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Professor Blegen concludes that "the fall of Troy and the end of settlement VIIa should be placed about 1250 B.C., coinciding with the estimate of Herodotus. In any event, the expedition against Troy must surely have been carried out about the middle of the ceramic phase III B." In his latest statement, published in his lecture in memory of Louise Taft Semple, he expresses the view that Troy VIIa, "the Homeric Troy, if there ever was one . . . was sacked and burned before the middle stage of the ceramic style III B," that "it came to its end by enemy action in the decade around 1270 or 1260."<sup>29</sup> This variety of dates advanced within the last ten years, during which no new evidence related to LH III pottery has been found at Troy or elsewhere, seems to me to indicate that the absolute chronology of the Fall of Troy cannot be established with a degree of certainty and finality on the basis of the evidence unearthed on the Hill of Hissarlik.

The excavators of Troy VIIa have based their chronological conclusions on two factors; on the Mycenaean pottery and its local imitations found in that city and on the estimated life-span of Troy VIIa. Finally, it appears that the revisions were made

<sup>28</sup> Blegen, *et al.*, *Troy*, IV, pp. 9, 12, cf. *Troy*, III, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Blegen, "The Mycenaean Age," pp. 14, 15, 27-28; *Troy and the Trojans*, pp. 160, 163.

to bring the fall of Troy VIIa in line with the destruction of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. All these factors are subject to varied interpretations.

The Mycenaean sherds found in Troy VIIa which are latest in date, according to the final publication, belong to a time "when the style III B had not yet given way to III C." This conclusion would suggest that Troy VIIa was destroyed before the end of the ceramic phase III B. The latest published sherds which belonged to imported pots bear out this conclusion. In my study of the date of the Fall of Troy, published in the *Yearbook of the University of Athens*, I pointed out that some of the sherds published belonged to the closing years of the LH III B period.<sup>30</sup> Besides the imported pots were found a good many local imitations of Mycenaean ware (the proportion is 60 imported to more than 250 locally made). On this local pottery we find designs some of which I would consider approaching the LH III C style. Some of these Dr. Nylander, quoting the weighty support of Professor Furumark, places in the LH III C category.<sup>31</sup> However, it could be maintained that the local potters left to their own devices, since importation of vases was impossible, and under the stress of war conditions, simplified the decoration of their pots, thus bringing to birth at an earlier date designs developed later by potters in the Mycenaean area. The latest pottery found at the site, I believe, definitely places the destruction of Troy VIIa towards the very end of the LH III B ceramic phase.<sup>32</sup>

Additional evidence is given by the excavators in the final volume of their publication. There they state definitely that Troy VIIb-1 follows the destruction of Priam's city: "In VIIb-1," it is added, "we are dealing with an immediate reoccupation of the site by the survivors who somehow escaped the disaster that laid the citadel of Troy VIIa in smoldering ruins." Troy VIIb-1, furthermore, "comes in with, but does not outlast the Granary class of Mycenaean pottery."<sup>33</sup> We take this to mean that LH III C pottery was current at the very beginning of Troy VIIb-1. Consequently, the pottery used in the years which preceded the building of Troy VIIb-1 must have belonged to varieties which preceded the LH III C style. But the years which preceded the construction of Troy VIIb-1 were the years of the destruction of Troy VIIa, since the construction of the former took place immediately after

<sup>30</sup> "The Fall of Troy," etc., p. 448.

<sup>31</sup> Nylander, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps similar considerations underlined the placing of the end of Troy VIIa about 1240 B.C. in the final publication; i.e., some 10 years before 1230, the date suggested by Professor Furumark and then generally accepted for the end of the ceramic phase LH III B. It is interesting to note that Sherd figure 244 No. 5-7, *Troy IV*, belonging to a pot made locally, and found in the destruction level of Troy VIIh "according to Furumark, could be Myc. III B but nothing prevents even a III C date." Sherd figure 248, 16, with a local variation of the sacral ivy-chain could, again according to Nylander-Furumark, be attributed to LH III C. This will demonstrate the fact that imported motives by local potters could be developed towards simplification much faster than in the area of production.

<sup>33</sup> Blegen, *Troy IV*, pp. 142, 146.

the destruction of the latter. This leads us to the evident conclusion: the pottery characterizing the last years of Troy VIIa belonged to the latest varieties of the LH III B ceramic phase.

We must emphasize the fact that Troy VIIb-1 is stated to have been built immediately after the destruction of Troy VIIa, and that its existence ended while the Granary style was still in use. If we accept the decade 1270 or 1260 B.C. as marking the years of the Fall of the Homeric Troy, we shall be obliged to postulate a life-span of some length for Troy VIIb-1, since the pottery found in it includes sherds of the Mycenaean Granary style and that style in the territory of its production appears after 1200 B.C. and is still in use even after 1150 B.C. This long span is not justified by the stratigraphy and the remains of the settlement. Furthermore, Troy VIIb-1 "comes in" with LH III C wares; but in the decade around 1270 or 1260 in the Mycenaean area we have the earlier phase of LH III B ware, or as Professor Blegen states, a phase "before the middle stage of the ceramic style LH III B." Between that phase of pottery and the LH III C we have a period of at least fifty or sixty years. Even though we may admit that some time must have elapsed between the rebuilding of Troy VIIb-1 and the resumption of trade with the Mycenaean world, we shall still be obliged to accept the suggestion that the resumption of trade would have occurred long before half a century had passed. And then it will be pertinent to ask what happened to the pottery which was produced during that half century. From the publication, it does not appear as if the excavators found an intermediary layer containing local pottery and covering the years between 1270 or 1260 and 1200 B.C., the years in which the middle and later varieties of LH III B style were being produced. It seems to us that the evidence preserved by the pottery will exclude the high date for Troy VIIa suggested by Professor Blegen.<sup>34</sup>

What of the argument based on the life span of Troy VIIa? The beginning of that settlement is indicated by a number of Mycenaean sherds. Most of these are stated to be LH III B style but some are "attributable" to LH III A times. A number of these sherds belong to imported pots, others to local imitations. It is interesting to note that all the imported Mycenaean sherds from Troy VIIa found in areas which were neither disturbed nor contaminated belong to the LH III B period; not a single imported sherd was assigned by the excavators to LH III A times, and none belongs to those times. All the sherds "attributable" to LH III A are local imitations of Mycenaean ware. It is assumed that these "must have been produced at Troy while characteristic motives of Mycenaean III A were still current and available for copying, along with those of III B."<sup>35</sup> On this observation seems to

<sup>34</sup> In a way the date suggested by me for Troy VIIa is more in agreement with Nylander's (*op. cit.*, p. 7) although I think that the evidence does not justify the placing of its destruction in LH III C times, as he does.

<sup>35</sup> *Troy*, IV, p. 9.

rest the conclusion that "Troy VIIa was founded when the ceramic style of Mycenaean III A was just being superseded by that of III B."<sup>36</sup> I would think, however, that if imported pots of LH III A existed in the early years of Troy VIIa some fragments would have survived. More precisely I would maintain that the appearance of LH III A motives on local pottery, and a complete absence of imported pots with similar motives, would only indicate that the local potters were repeating patterns learned in the past, even by their fathers, and established in the traditional repertory of their trade; that they did not depend upon prototypes "current and available for copying," which may as well have been lacking completely. The use and survival of old patterns in the so-called "peasant arts," such as the art of the potter, is a phenomenon well-known that could be illustrated by many even contemporary examples. According to Dr. Nylander Professor Furumark "is of the opinion that there were no Myc. III A sherds at all among those mentioned and illustrated,"<sup>37</sup> and we have to recall that LH III B sherds were found in the debris of Troy VIh. It seems to us that the imported Mycenaean ware will place the beginning of Troy VIIa well into the LH III B period.

Even if we placed the beginning of Troy VIIa within the LH III B period and its end towards the end of that period we would give to it a considerable span of existence. But the excavators state that "the settlement of Period VIIa had a relatively short existence. Precisely how long it lasted we have not been able to determine, but it seems to have lived out its life within a century or less, possibly even within a generation of men." And again they state that "we have estimated its duration as perhaps spanning no more than half a century or perhaps even a single generation."<sup>38</sup> Now this estimate is based on the remains of Troy VIIa, which survived. We have already seen, however, that the important structures in Troy VIIa, the palace of the king, the houses of the leaders, presumably stood "on the upper ringed terraces in the central part of the site." It is natural to assume that the palace of the ruler would have been among the first buildings to be erected as soon as the reconstruction began. The remains of the palace and the houses of the officials on the terraces would have given us the sequence from Phase VIh to VIIa, and since they would have been occupied until the destruction of the city, their fill would have provided an indication of the life-span of Troy VIIa. Unfortunately, their remains "were removed without leaving a trace when the top of the hill was shaved off in Hellenistic and Roman times."<sup>39</sup>

Most of the remains uncovered, as we have seen, were built in the free passage along the fortification wall in a hurry and under duress, as the excavators pointed

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Nylander, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> *Troy*, IV, pp. 8, 12.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.



out. We have attributed that duress to enemy action, the invasion of the Achaean expeditionary force. Before we can base an estimate for the life-span of Troy VIIa on the remains of these houses, it seems to me that we have first to prove that the construction of the preserved houses of Troy VIIa began immediately after the earthquake which laid low Phase VIh. One could perhaps maintain that some time after the earthquake and the rebuilding of Troy VIIa the people of the country were forced to take refuge within the citadel and then they constructed the houses revealed by modern excavators. The remains of those houses can be assumed to represent only the final and closing phase of Troy VIIa. No valid conclusions therefore could be based on the assumed long or short life-span of Troy VIIa and we have to depend solely on the evidence presented by the pottery. That evidence, I believe, indicates conclusively that Troy VIIa, Priam's Troy, was destroyed towards the end of the period of the LH III B ceramic style.

I have intentionally avoided stating the conclusion in terms of years until now, because the chronological limits of the end of LH III B and the beginning of LH III C are not definitely established with a degree of unanimity; scholars engaged in the study of Mycenaean remains differ considerably in their estimates. Thus the end of LH III B and consequently the beginning of LH III C is placed by Professor Furumark around 1230 B.C., by the late Professor Wace *ca.* 1210 or 1200 B.C., by Daniel *ca.* 1180 B.C., by Stubbings *ca.* 1190 B.C.,<sup>40</sup> a date suggested previously by myself. Professor Blegen seems to favor 1200 B.C. for the end of the ceramic phase LH III B, since he accepts that date for the destruction of the Palace of Nestor. In terms of years the Fall of Troy, as indicated by the archaeological evidence, should be placed, I think, in the decade around 1200 B.C.

How will this date for the Fall of Troy harmonize with the evidence unearthed in the Mycenaean sites of the mainland of Greece? Pylos is one of the main sites in the mainland about which we already have definite information in spite of the fact that its final publication and clearing is still under way. As *Τύχη Ἀγαθή* would have it, the eminent scholar who excavated Troy in our days has also cleared Pylos' remains. Professor Blegen in one of his later annual reports on the work stated that "the floor deposits in the palace at Englianos have yielded . . . much III B with a considerable admixture of III C" pottery. In his most recent statement on the Palace, Professor Blegen concludes that "the Palace of Nestor in southwestern Messenia was constructed at the beginning of the ceramic period of Mycenaean III B and was destroyed by violence at the end of the same period." He adds, however, that two of the "deep bowls" look like products of the Granary Class of Mycenaean III C, that "an urnlike jar, standing on three short legs and carrying a somewhat

<sup>40</sup> F. H. Stubbings, "Chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age," *Cambridge Ancient History* vol. I and II, ch. VI. Mylonas, "The Date of the Fall of Troy," p. 448.

elaborate linear design, might be a forerunner in the late Phase of III B, of the Close Style that comes still later . . . The overwhelming testimony of the pottery in any event fixes the sequence dating of the destruction of the palace of Nestor at the very end of Mycenaean III B.”<sup>41</sup> Yet the later sherds, no matter how few, will indicate that the Palace was still standing at a time when LH III C began to appear and to be used. This will in turn indicate that the Palace of Ano Englianos was destroyed shortly after the destruction of Troy VIIa, the Troy of Priam. The difference in years between the two destructions may be brief, but it exists.

The destruction of the Palace of Ano Englianos is attributed to the Dorians. But, according to Thoukydides, the Dorians overran the Peloponnesos some eighty years after the Fall of Troy, and Pausanias specifically states that: “*διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον πολέμου καὶ Νέστορος ὡς ἐπανήλθεν οἴκαδε τελευτήσαντος, Δωριέων στόλος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ἡρακλειδῶν γενομένη δύο γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Νηλέως ἀπογόνους ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας.*”<sup>42</sup> On the basis of this information, drawn from legends, and to harmonize the evidence obtained in the two sites Professor Blegen seems to have updated the Fall of Troy from his original suggestion of *ca.* 1240 to the decade 1270-1260; *ca.* 1200 the date of the destruction of Pylos plus two short generations of 30 years each and some 10 years of the reign of Nestor after his return from Troy: 1200 + 60 + 10: 1270 B.C. We have seen, however, that the ceramic evidence obtained at Troy VI and VIIa would not admit this calculation. How can the two bodies of evidence be harmonized?

The palace of Ano Englianos was destroyed by fire about 1200 B.C.; that is a fact established by the excavations. It is also a fact that its ruins have disclosed no evidence which identifies or even suggests its destroyers. Its destruction is attributed to the Dorians. We are justified in asking on what evidence this attribution is based. There is no archaeological evidence proving the attribution. Even some of the traditions would not support it. The relative traditions about Pylos are more specific than for the other great centers of the Mycenaean world. Pausanias in describing the occupation of Messenia by Kresphontes states that: “*Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων ὁ δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν. Ταῦτα δὲ σφισιν εἴκειν παρίστατο ὑποψία πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύοντας, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οἱ Νηλεῖδαι.*”<sup>43</sup> This statement seems to reflect a peaceful take over of the land, a shrewd political maneuver rather than a conquest by fire and sword.

Thebes again provides traditional indications which do not seem to favor the conception of a Dorian destruction of the Palace at Pylos. We have seen that the destruction of the Palace of Thebes occurred towards the end of the thirteenth

<sup>41</sup> C. W. Blegen, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, p. 133. *The Mycenaean Age*, pp. 19-20, 22.

<sup>42</sup> Thoukydides, I, 12, 3-4; Pausanias, IV, 3, 3.

<sup>43</sup> Pausanias, IV, 3, 6-7.

century B.C. In fact, Professor Blegen recently stated that "the House of Kadmos at Thebes came to its end in a similar disaster," as that which overtook the Palace of Nestor, "almost surely to be dated to the same fateful juncture."<sup>44</sup> But according to the tradition, Thebes was destroyed in the same generation which saw the Fall of Troy, while the Dorian invasion occurred eighty years after the destruction of the city of Priam. Tradition is completely against the destruction of the Palace of Pylos, which occurred at the "same fateful juncture," by the Dorians who conquered the Peloponnesos eighty years after that "juncture."

In Pausanias we find another helpful piece of tradition. Thebes was destroyed by the *Epigonoι*, after the failure of the first expedition against it, in the course of which both Polyneikes and Eteokles were killed. Now we find in the traveler's book on Messenia that Kresphontes' efforts to obtain Messenia were opposed by Theras the son of Autesion, acting on behalf of the sons of Aristodemos. This Theras, the contemporary of Kresphontes, who was the leader of the Dorian conquerors of Messenia and consequently the assumed destroyer of the Palace of Pylos, was a Theban and Pausanias states that he was "fourth in descent from Polyneikes the son of Oidipous."<sup>45</sup> Then Kresphontes must belong to the generation "fourth in descent" from the generation of Polyneikes; he lived therefore at least three generations after the destruction of Thebes. But Thebes was destroyed towards the end of the thirteenth century and the Palace of Pylos around 1200 B.C. How could Kresphontes be considered the destroyer of a Palace burned at *ca.* 1200 B.C. when, according to the tradition preserved in Pausanias, he must have lived in the third generation after the end of the thirteenth century B.C.?

Thus tradition does not seem to bear out the conclusion that the Palace of Nestor at Ano Englianios was destroyed by the Dorians. But the details cited are legends, which perhaps must not be used; but the Dorian invasion and its details are also legends. If we throw out one group of legends which happens not to agree with our view, are we justified in keeping another and if we are not, then we should place reliance only on the tangible evidence brought to light by the excavators. The archaeological data found among the ruins of the palace of Ano Englianios do not specify nor suggest even that the Dorians were its destroyers.

We have, however, the fact that the palace was destroyed by fire around 1200 B.C. The excavations of the palace failed to disclose any fortification walls which may have protected it. The palace was not the center of a citadel. It stood unprotected on the top of a hill whose two sides at least are abrupt but not very difficult to climb. This, however, would not have made unnecessary the construction of walls. The slopes of the citadel of Mycenae are even more abrupt, yet its palace is protected by

<sup>44</sup> Blegen, "The Mycenaean Age," p. 23.

<sup>45</sup> "Ἀπόγονος πέμπτος Πολυνείκου τοῦ Οἰδίποδος," Pausanias, IV, 3, 4. Translation Frazer.

mighty walls; the slopes of the Akropolis of Athens are more rocky and hard to climb, yet fortification walls crown its summit. The slope of the hill would not have made it difficult for an enemy to get to the palace which was exposed to a sudden attack. The palace is at a comparatively short distance from the sea. A series of hills conceal it from the sea but they also block the view of the immediate coast line from the palace.<sup>46</sup> The coast of the area ruled by the inhabitants of the palace is extensive and mostly sandy. The water is deep to a few yards from the sandy beach and thus offers easy approach and mooring to ships of the times. We can readily see that sudden, piratical attempts to land and attack the palace were possible. The lack of fortification walls and perhaps the repute of wealth invited them. We may attribute the destruction of the palace of Ano Englianios to a successful piratical attack which occurred after Nestor's return from Troy *ca.* 1200 B.C. or shortly afterwards. Again we do not know who the destroyers were, but we can maintain that they were not the Dorians.

That the ruler of Ano Englianios was aware of the exposed position of his palace is proved by a series of tablets found in its ruins dealing with military and naval operations.<sup>47</sup> Small groups of men under a "commander" were stationed at certain "command posts" and with them was an officer known as *e-que-ta-*, a "follower," whose duty seems to have been to keep the command post in touch with headquarters. Rowers and ships were also provided to guard the coast. It was assumed originally that these operations were connected with the Dorian invasion. There is nothing, however, in the tablets to support this assumption. It seems to me that the tablets reflect a well-organized system of surveillance and detection of enemy approach and protection against sudden invasions, in use for some time.<sup>48</sup> It was assumed that the tablets indicate that the rulers and people of Pylos put themselves on a war footing, in a state of defense and readiness the year in which the catastrophe occurred. If this were so, if they were expecting this one massive invasion of Dorians, one may wonder why they did not construct a wall around their palace to defend it. That would have been a most natural thing to do and very practical and useful. The destruction of the palace of Pylos is assumed to have been one in a chain of catastrophes which were anticipated over a number of years by the Mycenaeans. The construction of the West Cyclopean Wall of Mycenae and the northeast extension of its citadel is often enough assumed to have been inspired by fear of hostile invasions.

<sup>46</sup> From Ano Englianios we have a view of the coast around the Voïdokoilia—Sphakteria district and of a short section to the north of it, but the vast expanse of the coast immediately to the west of the hill and to the north is hidden by natural formations.

<sup>47</sup> M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, pp. 185-194.

<sup>48</sup> Discussing the tablets dealing with naval operation Professor Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195, concludes that "there is nothing whatsoever to indicate that these 'Oarsmen' Tablets have any connexion with the events which culminated in the final destruction of Pylos." Cf. his bibliography on these tablets, pp. 211-214, notes 69-84.

That same fear must have been felt by the Pylans. Why then did they not build protecting walls around their palace as the people of Mycenae, Athens, etc. are presumed to have done? To date (and the excavation of the site is completed) no trace of such walls nor of an attempt to construct such a wall was revealed. The naval and military tablets prove only that the rulers of Ano Englianos were aware of the dangers to which undetected, piratical attacks would expose the focal point of their domain, their unprotected Palace, and took measures to guard against a surprise.

It is time to try to summarize our suggestions regarding Troy VIIa and Pylos. It has become evident, I hope, that we cannot fix the date of the Fall of Homeric Troy by adding 60 or 70 years, as indicated by tradition, to the date of the destruction of the palace of Pylos. If we limit ourselves to the archaeological evidence, exclusively ceramic, it seems to me that we have to conclude that Pylos was destroyed in the period when LH III C ware was coming to use, *ca.* 1200 B.C. suggested by Professor Blegen, while Troy VIIa fell when the ceramic phase LH III B was in its latest years. The fall of the latter preceded by little the destruction of the former. If we use the tradition and attribute to the Dorians the destruction of the palace of Pylos, thus bringing about the need to revise the date of the Fall of Troy, then we have to take into consideration other traditions which exclude the presence of the Dorians in Messenia about 1200 B.C. Kresphontes occupied Messenia in the course of the third generation after the destruction of Thebes, and that Boeotian city was destroyed shortly before the Trojan War early in the generation that witnessed the destruction of Troy. The only possible conclusion in harmony with the archaeological evidence is to maintain that the destruction of the palace of Pylos was due to a sudden, piratical attack by people who remain unknown; an attack that occurred a few years after the Fall of the City of Priam.

Let us now turn our attention to the other sites of the mainland. It is stated by some that conditions in Greece in LH III B times were such that the Trojan War would have been undertaken only when Troy VIIh was still in existence, and that indicates that VIIh was Priam's city. It is stated that the "early part of the period Myc. III B was an age of great commercial and cultural expansion . . . but in the later part of this period the archaeological material points to a remarkable change in the living conditions and fortunes of the Mycenaean world." More sweeping statements are made regarding destructions and abandonment of sites at the end of the period.<sup>49</sup> Professor Oscar Broneer some years ago pointed out that a number of Mycenaean sites were destroyed and abandoned at the end of LH III B, and attributed the catastrophe to the Dorian invasion. Recently Professor Blegen supported this view strengthened by his own findings at Pylos.<sup>50</sup> Now we learn from Dr. Nylander's

<sup>49</sup> Nylander's argument (c): "Conditions in Mycenaean Greece at the time of the destruction of Troy VIIa," *op. cit.*, pp. 8-11.

<sup>50</sup> Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 426 and *Antiquity*, XXX, 1956, pp. 9-18, especially pp. 16-17. Blegen, "The Mycenaean Age," pp. 22-24.

article that in his unpublished dissertation Dr. Per Ålin of Vienna has studied some 297 Mycenaean settlements and apparently reached the conclusion that a general catastrophe overcame Greece at the end of the ceramic phase LH III B to be attributed to the so-called Illyian migration from the North.<sup>51</sup> One wonders how near to the facts are these and other sweeping conclusions. It is stated, for example, that among others the palace of Iolkos was destroyed "leaving Myc. III B pottery as evidence of the date of the catastrophe." The palace of Iolkos has not been excavated fully, but the Ephor of the district and the excavator, Dr. Theochares, in his report published in the *Πρακτικά* or 1956, only recently circulated, states specifically that the palace was destroyed by fire in LH III C times. His own words are: "Ἐπὶ τῶν δαπέδων τῶν δωματίων 1 καὶ 2 καταφανῇ εἶναι τὰ λείψανα τρομακτικῆς πυρκαϊᾶς, ἥ ὁποία ἀπετέφρωσε τὸ κτήριον κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς ΥΕ III C-1 περιόδου."<sup>52</sup> One wonders whether it would not be wiser to await the excavation of the complete or at least a substantial part of the palace before proposing generalized conclusions.

At the other, southern end of Greece, at Sparta, it is stated the "Menelaion . . . is burned down at the same time, leaving Myc. III B pottery on the floors."<sup>53</sup> The excavators state specifically that they explored only one house.<sup>54</sup> Does that prove the conclusion reached? At Mycenae, Mrs. E. French explored a house that was destroyed in the first half of the LH III B period.<sup>55</sup> In the course of our excavation at Mycenae in the summer of 1962, some meters to the north of the dromos of the Treasury of Atreus Mrs. Ione Mylonas Shear revealed a house that was also destroyed sometime before the middle of the LH III B period, as is proved by the pottery left on its floor.<sup>56</sup> If we had only these two examples from the site, if the rest of the site was not explored, we could have reached the conclusion that Mycenae was destroyed in the first half of the thirteenth century, using the same logic employed for the Menelaion. Let us recall that at the Amyklaion a sanctuary of LH III C times is indicated by the many figurines found there.

<sup>51</sup> I regret that I could not see Dr. Ålin's dissertation which is to be published shortly, but I take his conclusions from the statements made by Dr. Nylander. Dr. Ålin's thesis appeared in the *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol. I, under the title: *Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland*. In this valuable study Dr. Ålin distinguishes 11 major catastrophes covering the greater part of LH III B and stresses the existing limitations in materials, final results and accurate reports; but he does not reach the conclusion that a general catastrophe took place at the end of the LH III B.

<sup>52</sup> D. Theochares, *Πρακτικά*, 1956, p. 128. It is stated also that Gla was abandoned with LH III B pottery left on the floors. The late Ephor and excavator of the site John Threpsiades had not published his finds fully, and in his reports published in the *Πρακτικά* he only speaks of sherds belonging to the later years of LH III without specifying sub-periods. Again general conclusions have to await the publication of the material obtained from that site.

<sup>53</sup> Nylander, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>54</sup> *B.S.A.*, XV, 1908-1909, pp. 109 ff.; XVI, 1909-1910, pp. 4 ff.; LI, 1956, p. 170.

<sup>55</sup> E. French, *B.S.A.*, LVI, 1961, p. 85.

<sup>56</sup> See *Ἔργον*, 1962, pp. 97 ff.

It is stated that "the houses around the strongly fortified Acropolis of Athens are suddenly deserted at about the same time with the same kind of pottery on the floors."<sup>57</sup> The statement conjures up a good number of real houses in all the sections of the slopes of the sacred hill; *around* the Akropolis it is stated. As a matter of fact Professor Broneer at the northwest section of the slope cleared the remnants of three homes as he says and two "stroseis" without walls around them which he accepts as house floors.<sup>58</sup> The explanation of these remains is not so easy. One may well ask why the poor people who lived in them did not return to the houses after the enemy had gone, to collect their possessions and to continue to live in them? Certainly Athens continued to be inhabited after the enemy left and its poor people continued to be part of its inhabitants. In some cases pots were broken, but, according to the excavator, "the pieces were found together in one place." Enemies who get into houses do not break pots, leaving all the pieces together; they throw things out or they kick them in all directions. If they were broken by their owners then they were not suddenly abandoned, but deliberately broken since the pieces were found together. Among "pottery below the upper stretch of the stairway was found a piece of lead weighing 4.10 kg."<sup>59</sup> Certainly the poor people who are supposed to have abandoned their homes suddenly would have looked for this valuable possession after the danger had passed. We cannot assume that these people were destroyed by the enemy since, as Professor Broneer aptly observed, the Akropolis, in which presumably they took refuge, was not stormed or in any way damaged. These remarks indicate that the case of the "poor people" of Athens is not so simple and definite. More work perhaps would make possible a better understanding of their fate. Some time ago I suggested that the "humble" dwellings found on the slope of the Akropolis were temporary shelters built under the shadow of the walls of the Akropolis by people who normally lived beyond the walls, even in the country, and who took refuge under the walls of the citadel at the approach of an enemy. That would explain the temporary character of the structures and the fact that their owners did not return to live in them. When the enemy left, they abandoned their shelters, broke some of their pottery in jubilation and also in order to reduce the burden to be carried and went to their real homes in the suburbs or the country. I believe that this explanation may find greater favor and will account for more facts revealed by the excavator. At least it would demonstrate that the statement made by Dr. Nylander is not entirely correct.

The great wall "built across the Isthmus" has yet to be fully studied, and perhaps it would be wiser to wait for that study.<sup>60</sup> Our exploration of the walls of

<sup>57</sup> Nylander, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup> Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 351 ff.; IV, 1935, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1933, pp. 352, 353.

<sup>60</sup> Broneer, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 298 ff.; the pottery found is described on p. 334 with information of its discovery in footnote 43; *Antiquity*, XXXII, 1958, pp. 80-81, fig. 2.

Mycenae, carried out in the course of four campaigns, has proved that it is not easy to find ceramic material that can be depended upon, that can be classified accurately in the known groups and be placed especially in the sequence of the LH III B times. Professor Broneer states that the stirrup vase and the jug illustrated in his article are from the Cyclopean Wall in the village of Isthmia. Does that mean that he found them in the village in some house and the information was that they were found in the Wall? In that case their value for dating purposes is rather dubious.

Perhaps we have presented enough arguments to indicate that our evidence for a number of sites mentioned is very inadequate for the conclusions based on them. There is one more remark that must be made before we turn to Mycenae, a site which has been sufficiently excavated to provide us with dependable evidence. It deals with the LH III B pottery. In general that ceramic phase is well known; in particular there is great uncertainty still, especially about its closing phases. When we say Myc. III B pottery, what exactly do we mean? Pottery which was produced in a decade around 1200 B.C., for example? Can we identify that type of pottery so accurately? And then can we be sure that everywhere from Iolkos on the North to Sparta at the South, from Mycenae in the East to Pylos in the West that type of pottery appeared and was used exactly at the same time, at the same year, or even decade? Isn't there a margin up and down varying with the locality? Unfortunately no deep fill has been found and explored as yet where the stratification could be studied and a sequence established on that stratification.<sup>61</sup> Until such a sequence is established stratigraphically in a number of sites, our conclusions based on pottery differing but little chronologically cannot be as sweeping and general as we are apt to propound now.

The work done at Mycenae by the late Professor Wace, by the much to be lamented John Papadimitriou, and by myself in the last fifteen years has yielded important evidence. Let us test the various statements made against this evidence. It has been stated repeatedly that the expected attacks from enemies forced the Mycenaeans to fortify their citadels more strongly, that already "in the middle of the . . . period III B the Greek mainland is seen preparing itself against enemy attack which eventually comes and destroys the great palaces."<sup>62</sup> Yet Wace pointed out repeatedly that about the time when the people of Mycenae are supposed to become apprehensive great structures were built and maintained beyond the walls.<sup>63</sup> Whether the complex he and Dr. Verdelis brought to light may be called houses or an appendage to the palace where perfumed oil was manufactured, the fact remains that the complex,

<sup>61</sup> Because of this lack of evidence the assignment of pottery to minor subdivisions is very subjective and often arbitrary; what one scholar considers as LH III B others consider LH III C. See for example Nylander's statement about the pottery from the destruction level of Troy VIIa (*op. cit.*, p. 7) as against Professor Blegen's statements.

<sup>62</sup> Nylander, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>63</sup> Wace, in Preface to Bennett's *The Mycenae Tablets*, II, p. 5.



large and impressive, was built and maintained outside the walls. This, as Wace stated, indicates that peace and prosperity existed at Mycenae then. The many valuable objects found in the debris of the complex, the ivories especially, the sealed false-necked amphoras still containing their precious commodity at the time of the destruction, prove that to the end there was no fear of threatened invasions, of an approaching enemy; otherwise all these commodities would have been taken within the walls.

We have seen that the Lion Gate and the West Cyclopean Wall were constructed about the middle stage of the ceramic phase LH III B. These monumental works are not the result of fear or apprehension, but of confident strength, of pride in the regime. People do not construct monumental Gates like the Lion Gate when they are under pressure, nor do they carve and place over their Gates monumental reliefs such as the Lion Relief. Nor do they sometime afterwards transport huge blocks of conglomerate to Tiryns to construct a replica of the Gate in another fortress which already had its dipylon. We could not maintain furthermore that the Lion Gate-West Cyclopean Wall extension was made to provide space in which the people living beyond the walls could find refuge when the expected enemy came, because most of the area newly enclosed was taken up by a few houses and other monumental works to be used apparently by the leaders. The people of Mycenae already had a citadel which could accommodate additional numbers; they would not build extensions in the monumental fashion illustrated by the West Cyclopean Wall and by the Northeast Extension. Besides, beyond the walls stood one of the most impressive monuments of the Mycenaean world, the Treasury of Atreus. Wace, as we have seen, pointed out that it must be contemporary to the Lion Gate. Consequently it must have been built around the middle of the thirteenth century. The so-called Tomb of Klytemnestra is even later than the Treasury, but equally monumental. Such structures cannot be built overnight; they require time and we would not be far off if we maintained that the later tomb was built towards the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Now people who are apprehensive of enemy action, who strengthen their fortifications to meet it, do not build monumental tombs of their ruling families in the open and beyond the walls. The tomb of Klytemnestra proves that peace and prosperity existed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

Within the citadel we find extensive activity to be dated perhaps even in the last quarter of the century. Besides the Palace, which perhaps was rebuilt and extended when the Lion Gate was constructed, we find that the Great Ramp supported by its monumental Cyclopean Wall was built. The late Dr. Papadimitriou's work and mine proved that the foundations of this wall rest upon the base fragments of the parapet slabs of Grave Circle A.<sup>64</sup> This proves that the Ramp is later than the rearrangement

<sup>64</sup> To date only brief statements on that work have appeared in *Ἐργον*, but see the reports being published in the *Πρακτικά* for 1959 and my special study on the Walls of Mycenae in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1962.

of the Circle. Remnants of an earlier Ramp, the one built when the Lion Gate was constructed, were found in 1959 below the existing ascent. This, too, proved that the Ramp we have must have been built in the second half, possibly in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. People expecting enemy invasion do not build monumental ramps which they do not actually need, since they already possess one. In a similar fashion the last Northwest Propylon, even the Grand South Staircase, if we assign it to the LH III B and not C period, are additions which were not needed and indicate confidence and prosperity rather than fear and economic decline.

The excavations of the late John Papadimitriou and Lord William Taylour have proved that the so-called Citadel House was destroyed by fire around 1200 B.C.<sup>65</sup> It is furthermore assumed, by the believers in a wholesale destruction at the end of the LH III B period, that the complex of the so-called House of the Oil Merchant etc. was destroyed by fire around that date. If this assumption is correct,<sup>66</sup> it would seem that the destruction both inside and outside the citadel occurred at one and the same time. Besides, the catastrophe seems to have come suddenly to the structures of the complex outside the walls, since its people or the people in charge of it had no time to transfer their valuable possessions to the citadel which is only some 200 yards away. If the people of Mycenae were apprehensive of an enemy attack and had prepared for it for years, how can we account for the fact of this sudden catastrophe? The people who are supposed to have built "a strong wall with towers" across the Isthmos, because they expected a hostile invasion, seem to have been caught by surprise by an enemy who destroyed their homes both inside and outside the citadel and then left the area. Does this seem possible?

From the tablets found at Pylos we learn something of the elaborate system of detection of enemy approach which that state had established.<sup>67</sup> We may assume that at Mycenae too such a warning system existed which made impossible a sudden enemy attack. This assumption is justified by archaeological evidence. Ever since the days of Steffen it has been known that at least three roadways connected Mycenae with Corinth.<sup>68</sup> Outposts and towers at intervals guarded the roads and these were manned by soldiers. Certainly these guards had the duty of relaying to the capital

<sup>65</sup> I do not think that the name is appropriate since it is not certain whether or not the structure is actually a house and since all the houses found in the citadel can be called citadel houses. For the date of its destruction see Lord William Taylour's statement in J. Chadwick's, *The Mycenae Tablets*, III, p. 46.

<sup>66</sup> This assumption is by no means definitely proved. Dr. N. Verdelis in his recent discussion of the West House (in J. Chadwick's *The Mycenae Tablets*, III, p. 7) places the destruction of that house before the end of LH III B, while Mrs. Elizabeth Wace French in her "Summary" of the pottery from the complex states definitely that the destruction of the "Houses in the Clytemnestra group (House of Shields, West House, House of the Oil Merchant, House of Sphinxes) . . . cannot be later than the middle of LH III B," *B.S.A.*, LVIII, 1963, p. 50.

<sup>67</sup> *Supra*, notes 47 and 48.

<sup>68</sup> H. Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*, 1884, pp. 8-10.

news of an approaching enemy. On top of Mt. Prophet Elias, right by the citadel of Mycenae, a lookout post of Mycenaean times was found and explored.<sup>69</sup> The story of the fires on mountain tops which announced the Fall of Troy and the sentinel placed by Klytemnestra on the roof of the palace to watch for the fire which would herald the return of Agamemnon, so vividly described by Aischylos in his *Agamemnon*, seem to be the reflection of a tradition well remembered.

With this elaborate warning system it would be strange that a foe could reach the Lion Gate undetected. And if they reached the citadel in spite of the efforts of the Mycenaeans to stop them, it is incomprehensible how this marauding enemy could at the same time destroy the homes outside the walls and capture the formidable citadel manned by people who knew of their coming! And then we are told that Tiryns also was stormed and sacked at the same time and by the same enemy.<sup>70</sup> One would think that the attack on Mycenae would have become known to the Tirynthians who could have defended successfully their citadel at least for some time. If the assumption that the structures by the tomb of Klytemnestra were destroyed at the end of the LH III B period is not correct, as Mrs. Elizabeth French indicates, then Mycenae should be taken out of the list of the sites destroyed along with others around 1200 B.C.

Most recently Desborough has projected three destructions and catastrophes at Mycenae based on the evidence reported to have been found in the "Citadel House."<sup>71</sup> The first is indicated by the stated first destruction by fire of that building sometime in the course of LH III B; the second is established by the destruction of the Citadel House again by fire at ca. 1200 B.C., and the third at the close of the Mycenaean Age. He equates the destruction or abandonment of other sites in the Argolid with the one or the other of these catastrophes.

We shall have to await the final and complete publication of the evidence obtained in the excavation of the "Citadel House" before we can determine objectively the validity and sequence of these destructions, especially since the evidence on which the sequence is based seems to come from a section, part of the floor of which had

<sup>69</sup> Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, pp. 429-434.

<sup>70</sup> The destruction of Tiryns at the end of LH III B cannot be proved so easily. The excavators concluded that the Mycenaean palace stood until well into the eighth century B.C. The finds of Dr. N. Verdelis by the postern Gate, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1956, *Χρονικά*, pp. 5-8, would indicate a destruction by fire, but perhaps only of the rooms of the palace which stood immediately above the area where the debris was found, since among it were beams of wood that were burning when they fell over the wall. To this problem we shall return in another study under preparation. The pottery found in the recently explored underground passages to springs proves that Tiryns was inhabited in LH III C times.

<sup>71</sup> Desborough, *op. cit.*, p. 76. It is pertinent to point out that the excavations conducted in the summer of 1964 in the area of the "Citadel House," which I had the privilege to supervise, did not bring to light evidence to prove repeated destructions in the course of the LH III B period.

collapsed into a basement thus producing a definite change and disturbance in the stratification. Meanwhile, however, we may ask what constitutes a dependable criterion for a destruction that can be accepted as indicative of a general catastrophe, caused by enemy action or internal upheaval. Does the destruction by fire of a single building, whose function even is not established, constitute a dependable base for the conclusion that a general destruction overtook a site? The "Citadel House" we are told was destroyed by fire twice. What other buildings in its neighborhood were destroyed by fire at the same time that would make possible the acceptance of the conclusion reached by Desborough?

Most of the structures surrounding the "Citadel House" were excavated at an early date in the exploration of Mycenae and the data published do not permit an answer to our question. Wace, however, completed the excavation of the "Ramp House"; he gave a detailed account of the undisturbed stratification he found in part of its eastern side; he pointed out the existence of two floor levels and the evidence indicating that the house was reconstructed somewhat in the long period of its occupation; but he does not mention any evidence indicating a destruction by fire at the end of the LH III B period or at any time in its course.<sup>72</sup>

To the West of the "Ramp House" lies the "House of the Warrior Vase." That building was completely excavated by Schliemann and so it has little to contribute to our quest. But immediately to the south of it lies the "South House," an important building only the north wall of which and a very small section of its west wall were cleared in 1876.<sup>73</sup> Its large North Hall and three adjacent rooms were excavated by Wace in 1920, and he gave a detailed account of the stratification he observed. Nowhere does he mention traces of an earlier and a later destruction by fire. The only destruction he mentions is the final one and that seems to have taken place in LH III C times since on the floor of the East Room he found parts of a deep bowl decorated in typical LH III C close-style.<sup>74</sup> The Granary was finally cleared by Wace; there too we have but one final destruction.<sup>75</sup> Tsountas, in his brief but lucid report of his excavation of the building now known under his name, does not mention an earlier and a later destruction by fire but only one final catastrophe.<sup>76</sup>

Before we can admit as a fact that the burnings of the "Citadel House" indicate a general catastrophe we have to prove first that it was not a misfortune which overtook that building alone. Perhaps this will prove possible when all the data from the structure are published; meanwhile, it seems to me that the projection of three

<sup>72</sup> *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, pp. 74-84.

<sup>73</sup> H. Schliemann, *Mycenae*, plan B.

<sup>74</sup> Wace, *B.S.A.*, XXV, 1921-1923, pp. 86-95, fig. 25, c.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-61.

<sup>76</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 79. He does not mention earlier destructions in his excavation diaries which I have had the good fortune to study.

general destructions at Mycenae to which others in the mainland should be referred is premature.

The facts connected with Mycenae, the incomplete excavation of a number of sites, the lack of final reports from others, the uncertainty existing about the chronology and the grouping of the latest varieties of the LH III B ceramic phase seem to indicate that as yet we do not have sufficient evidence to enable us to make sweeping statements and final conclusions which could be proved as sound. There can be little doubt that, as Professors Blegen and Broneer have stressed, a number of sites were destroyed and important Mycenaean palaces were burned at the end of the LH III B period. But can we be sure about the cause which brought about the destruction? It has been attributed to the Dorian invasion, an event attested by tradition. But if the Fall of Troy is placed at the end of the LH III B ceramic phase, then the Dorian invasion as the instrument of destruction is ruled out, because again according to tradition it occurred eighty years after the Fall of Troy, and the destruction of some sites and the abandonment of others occurred shortly after that Fall. Recently this destruction and abandonment of the Mycenaean sites has been attributed to the so-called Illyrian migration, to the movement of northern people who, pushed from their homes, went through Greece to Asia Minor and points beyond, looking for a land to settle, destroying and looting the area.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps this interpretation may be correct. But it is based on appearances and generalizations which as yet have to be proved. We are called upon, for example, to see the invaders coming down into Greece from the north, destroying the palace of Iolkos in LH III C-1, the palace of Thebes which is further south in LH III B, not its very end, threatening Athens at the end but not the very end of LH III B, by-passing a "strong wall with towers" at the Isthmos (or did they storm it?), devastating the area around Mycenae, storming its formidable citadel as well as that of Tiryns in the same general year, proceeding further south to Sparta and destroying the Menelaion site, swinging westward and burning the palace of Pylos and then marching north and disappearing into Macedonia and further east. Through all this march they passed by a number of plains and sites where they could settle, but they did not, although they are assumed to have been looking for an area to establish themselves. They fought their way over long, for the times, distances and marched over rough terrain, and yet they seem not to have suffered, since no graves of their dead have been found thus far. Indeed they seem

<sup>77</sup> Nylander, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Milojevic, *Arch. Anz.*, 1948-49, pp. 12-15; Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1960, pp. 49 ff. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization*, p. 67. E. T. Vermeule, *Archaeology*, XIII, 1960, pp. 66 ff. In a recent visit to Thessaly I was again impressed with the expanse of its fertile ground. Whether you stand at the heights of Pharsala, or those of Kalabaka, or the beginning of the Vale of Tempe you cannot help but be impressed by its arable land. And the question comes to mind at once, how could people seeking land to establish themselves have failed to settle there, especially since the southward advance seems to be barred by a veritable wall of high mountains?

to have left no traces behind them. Perhaps we shall be able to find these traces and graves in the course of time. Perhaps that is what happened, but for the time being we have no concrete evidence of their progress and their existence. The people who project this theory reject the traditional legends because they are not proved by facts. It is only reasonable to ask them what facts prove the perambulations of the Illyrian migrants in Greece.

Still the destruction and abandonment of some sites at the end of the LH III B remains a fact. Is there any other way we can account for it? We have the traditions which are filled with rumors of war and destruction of cities around the end of that period. The Fall of Thebes, for example, is attributed to the wars which resulted from the difference between the sons of Oidipous, to the successful second attempt of the Epigonoi. The threat to the Citadel of Athens may be seen in the wars which the Athenians waged against the people of Eleusis; wars which could have been remembered by later generations because they were reminded of them by a group of statues on top of the Akropolis.<sup>78</sup> The bloody deeds which followed the return of Agamemnon from Troy may have been responsible for the destruction of buildings in and out of the citadel of Mycenae; internal struggle for power and the rule of the city would account for the simultaneous destruction of houses within and without the fortified area, even for the destruction, if any at this time, of Tiryns. If the political system at Mycenae was as autocratic and centralized as that of Pylos, vouched for by its tablets, then the violent, repeated removal from life of its *wanaktes* would have brought about the breaking down of the system, would have spread disorder in the realm, would have caused the abandonment of remote and unfortified sites, and would have precipitated turbulent conditions attended by local destruction. Tradition is filled with stories of wars which bring about destruction, the breaking down of law and order and the consequent abandonment of small remote establishments. Such internal struggle in its domain may account for the destruction in other sites connected with Mycenae. And we have seen that Pylos could have been destroyed by a piratical attack long before the Dorians began their southward march. Of course this conception rests upon tradition, and often enough it is believed that the "myths" should be excluded from our consideration. We have, however, to be careful not to substitute for these traditions a modern version of ancient mythology by picturing invaders looking for areas to establish themselves and yet marching through Greece from north to south and from east to west and then making an exit without leaving any traces

<sup>78</sup> Pausanias, I, 36, 4 and I, 38, 3. Apollodoros, III, 15, 4-5. Thucydides, II, 15. Also, Plato, *Menexenos*, 239 B; Isokrates, IV, 68; XII, 193; Demosthenes, LX, 8, p. 1391. For the bronze group of statues on the Akropolis, see Pausanias, I, 27, 4. It seems to me that some scholars disregard these reports without substantiating their disbelief by evidence. One may legitimately ask, can they prove them as unfounded? I would like to see them try, instead of dogmatically rejecting them.

behind other than the destroyed citadels which seem impregnable. It may have happened this way; but before we accept it as a historic fact we need some tangible evidence which is proved archaeologically.

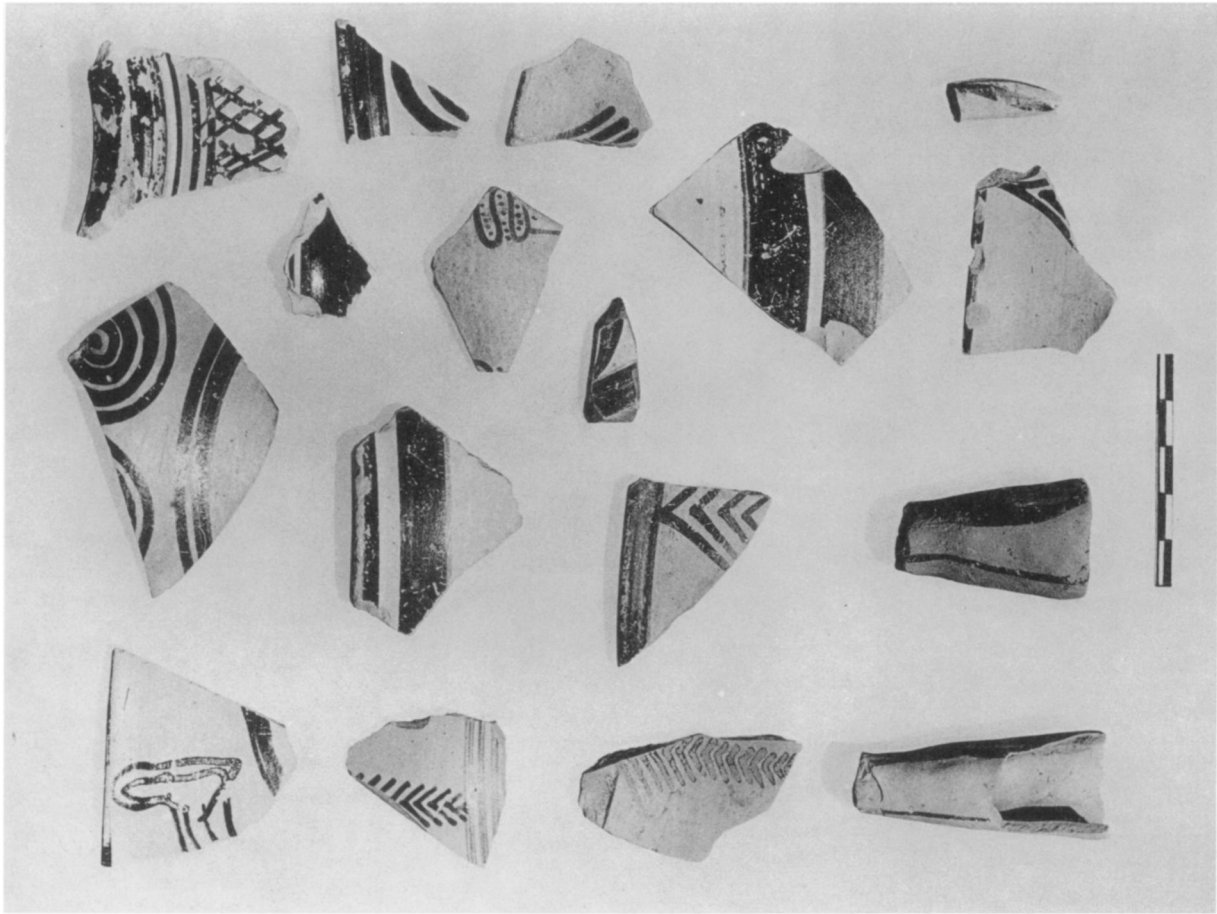
I agree with Professors Blegen and Broneer that the Trojan expedition could not have been launched in LH III C times, but the existing evidence proves that it could have been launched even in the closing years of the LH III B period, i.e. in the years preceding immediately the destruction which is said to have overtaken Mycenae at the end of that period. Let us also note that Mycenae continued to be active after that destruction. Its vases of the Granary class are known from a number of sites including Troy VIIb-1; they formed the prototypes of the so-called Philistine ware. And our excavations have proved that the Mycenaeans continued to live in their citadel and tend to their walls and storerooms in these walls in the days when LH III C ware was being produced. The great amount of that type of ware found recently by Dr. N. Verdelis at Tiryns indicates that the fortress so closely associated with Mycenae in tradition was also fully occupied by Mycenaeans in the early years of the twelfth century B.C., in spite of the categorical statements to the contrary of some scholars.

At best, therefore, we may say that our evidence is so limited that we cannot as yet determine with any degree of certainty the cause or causes which brought about the destruction and abandonment of sites at the end of the LH III B period. Furthermore, we cannot definitely prove that these destructions occurred at exactly the same time or within a certain small margin which is not determined as yet. Judging from Mycenae, from Pylos, from Athens, however, we can maintain that prosperity and strength did exist in Mycenaean Greece to the very end of LH III B times; that it was in those times that the expedition against Troy could have been prepared and launched; that after the Fall of Troy and the return of the Achaean leaders to their homeland the widespread destruction began. As a general conclusion of our survey then, we may propose that Troy VIIa was the city of Priam, that it was destroyed towards the end of the LH III B period, that shortly afterwards at the very end of LH III B may have occurred the destruction and the abandonment of the Mycenaean sites noted by Professors Blegen, Broneer and others, brought about by causes historically as yet undetermined.<sup>79</sup>

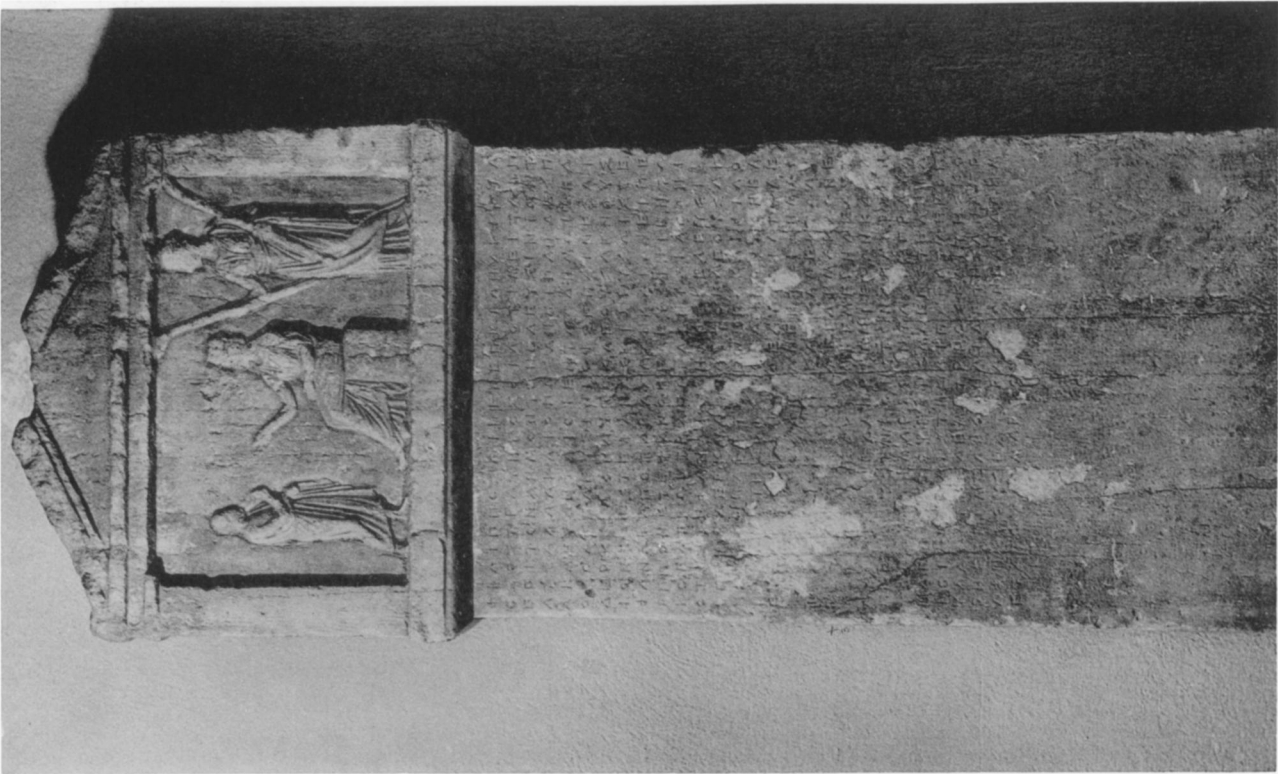
GEORGE E. MYLONAS

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,  
SAINT LOUIS

<sup>79</sup> Of course I favor the disturbed local conditions, and for Pylos, a piratical raid, as the causes which brought about the destructions.



GEORGE E. MYLONAS: PRIAM'S TROY AND THE DATE OF ITS FALL



FORDYCE W. MITCHEL: DERKYLOS OF HAGNOUS AND THE DATE OF I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1187

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1187