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*Τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος (“The best evidence is given by Homer”, Thuc. 1.3.3.1).
Extracting data: History and Myth in Thucydides’ Homer**

di Luigi De Cristofaro

Thucydides’ sentence 1.3.3.1 suggests that he considered Homer as a historical source for the very ancient past. He connects the origin of the Greeks to Thessaly and Aeolian/Aeolic environments and components. He also mentions the lines Il. 2.683-684 where Achilles’ homeland, Phthie, is identified as Hellas, and Achilles’ Myrmidons are identified with the Hellenes and Achaeoi (1.3). Then he refers to the early semi-nomadic populations who settled in the Greek mainland and coasts. They practiced piracy as a legal and honorable mode of acquiring goods. Thucydides relates this custom to the pre-Achaic world and his terminology strongly recalls some elements of Homer’s language (1.5). Finally, he refers to the Argive-Trojan cycle, alluding to the pre-Dorian/pre-Doric Peloponnese and to Greek experiences in Anatolia, although embellished by poetry and myth (1.9-12). The linguistic and structural analysis of several Homeric passages which show the marks of the earliest oral composition-in-performance techniques, the comparison with the archaeological evidence and LBA Anatolian sources, indicate that it is possible to recognize the unintentional recording of historical data or situations within the epic traditions.

La frase di Tucidide 1.3.3.1 indica che egli considerava Omero una fonte storica per il passato più antico. Lo storico ateniese collega l’origine dei Greci alla Tessaglia e ad ambienti culturali e linguistici eolici. Menziona poi i versi Il. 2.683-684, in cui la madrepatria di Achille, Phthie, viene identificata come Hellas e i Mirmidoni di Achille vengono identificati con gli Hellenes e gli Achaeoi (1.3). Di seguito fa riferimento alle prime popolazioni seminomadi che si stabilirono sul territorio greco e sulle coste e che praticavano la pirateria come legittimo e onorevole modo di acquisizione dei beni. Tucidide pone questa pratica in relazione con il mondo pre-arcaico e la terminologia usata richiama fortemente il linguaggio di Omero (1.5). Fa, infine, menzione del ciclo argivo-troiano, facendo anche allusione al Peloponneso pre-dorico e ad effettive esperienze greche in Anatolia, sebbene abbellite dai parametri della poesia e del mito (1.9-12). L’analisi linguistica e strutturale di alcuni passaggi omerici, che mostrano tracce delle più antiche tecniche di composizione orale estemporanea, il confronto con le evidenze archeologiche e con le fonti anatoliche del Tardo Bronzo, indicano che è possibile rilevare la registrazione non deliberata di dati o situazioni storiche all’interno delle tradizioni epiche.

Thessalian and Aeolic components of the earliest epic traditions

Thucydides connects the origin of the Greeks to Deucalion’s son Hellen who was the ruler of Thessalian *Phthie*.¹ Many centuries later, Apollodorus also states that Deucalion reigned over *Phthie* and that his descendant, Aeolus, was king of Thessaly.² The mythological traditions agree on this *topos* from the 8th-7th century BC at least.³ Achilles, the pivotal character in the *Iliad*, is a Thessalian native-born just like Jason, the leader of the Argonauts. Thessalian Myrmidons led by Achilles are identified with the “Hellenes” and “Achaeans” at *Iliad* 2.684 and his homeland *Phthie* is identified with “Hellas” in the previous line 2.683. On the contrary, all of Greece is referred to as “Hellas” by Hesiod.⁴ The Theban cycle is also set in the Heroic past, in a place that will be an Aeolic enclave in the Archaic Age.⁵ These details seem to suggest that the rising of the very early epic traditions was somehow connected to Thessalian and Aeolic environments.⁶ Lines 2.683-684

* I would like to thank Prof. George W.M. Harrison for having read the draft and his very precious suggestions.

¹ Thuc. 1.3.2; Hornblower, *comm. on Thuc.*, 1.16-17.

² Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.2-3.

³ Cf. Hes. fr. 9-10 M-W.

⁴ Hes. *Op.* 653; West 1978, 292; cf. *Il.* 2.530; Nagy 2019, 185; Sch. *Il.* 2.529-30 (Erbse 1969-88, 1.200-300); Hes. *Op.* 528; Archil. fr. 102 West; Strab. 8.6.6.

⁵ Barker/Christiansen 2019; cf. Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2001; Pantelidis 2018; Janko 2018, 112, 122, 126.

⁶ Eust. *Il.* 2.681-5, 681, 683, 684: 319.29-42, 319.43-320.1, 320.24-41, 320.42-321-30 (van der Valk 1971-87, 1.496-497, 498-500); Sch. *Il.* 2.681a-b, 681-5, 682, 683, 684 (Erbse 1969-88, 1.322-324).

are part of section 2.681-694, made up of 14 independent lines, according to the scheme 5 + 9.⁷ The examination of the structure and language indicates that this Homeric piece probably traces back to the very old stages of composition-in-performance.⁸ Section 2.681-694 introduces the first of nine contingents from Thessaly:⁹ they are ‘the most of the Achaeans’ and if we add them to the two squads from Boeotia, listed at the beginning of the Catalogue (*Iliad* 2.494-510, 2.511-516),¹⁰ we count 11 Aeolian army-corps out of 29 that form the Greek forces in the Trojan war¹¹. The Boeotians start the Catalogue and the Thessalians close it, in a sort of ring-composition.¹² The preponderance of Aeolian troops in the army led by Agamemnon might not be random.¹³ The Thessalian origin of Achilles and the lineage of the other heroes from Aeolus’ offspring are not insignificant,¹⁴ since the Homeric traditions are in essence the founding myth of Greek identity: as according to Thucydides, Greece did not have this name before the ‘Trojan War’ (1.3.1-2).¹⁵

Thessaly was in all likelihood the place in mainland Greece first occupied by the semi-nomadic tribes of Indo European speakers who penetrated into the central regions and Peloponnese¹⁶: “Indeed it became increasingly difficult to deny population movements during the EH/MH transition (Maran 2007), or the significance of external stimuli in the MH/LH transition”.¹⁷ On the other hand, this region was a second-rate area during the Mycenaean age, that is, the Age of Heroes to which Homer refers:¹⁸ the discoveries near the Saronic Gulf are not comparable with the Late Bronze Age sites in the pre-Achaic Peloponnese¹⁹. The political and religious leadership of some Thessalian urban centers is connected to the Lelantine and Cirraean Wars in the second half of the 8th century BC and the first decade of the 6th century BC respectively. This fact does not account for the Thessalian origin of the prominent hero in the *Iliad*, which was mostly formed

⁷ Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2003, 219-224; Kirk 2001, 228-230; van Thiel 1982, 169-170; cf. Nagy 2018; De Cristofaro 2016b and 2018, 4-6.

⁸ A systematic dissection shows that Homer’s texts are mainly made of regular and recurring hexametric blocks, mostly made up of independent and formulaic lines, which are syntactically autonomous and complete and can join other hexameters rather the previous or following ones. This phenomenon is due to oral and extemporaneous composition-in-performance, accounting for the root cause of Homer’s multi-textuality (Nagy 2010b; Dué/Ebbott 2016). The groups of verses that fall within these rules trace back to the early phases in processing of the epic traditions. As a result, this methodology, supported by the diachronic and synchronic linguistic analysis, enables an approximative text stratigraphy (De Cristofaro 2016a, 9-35 and 2018, ix-xi; cf. Nagy 2010a, 311-381).

⁹ Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2003, 146, 219-246; Kirk 2001, 186-187, 228-237.

¹⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2.494-510, 2.511-516; Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2003, 155-163, 163-165; Kirk 2001, 177, 178-179, 181, 183, 184, 190-198, 198-199. Cf. Finkelberg 2005, 101-102; McInerey 2011. On Anatolian and Minoan connections, Eust. *Il.* 2.511: 272.45-273.1 (Van der Valk 1971-87 1.418), *Il.* 6.184s.: 635.39-40 (Van der Valk 1971-87 2.285); Stoevesandt 2008, 73; Kirk 2000, 184-185. On the Aeolic origin of the Minyans, Sch. *Il.* 2.511b-c (Erbse 1969-88, 1.296); Hom. *Od.* 11.284; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.69; Sch. *Pyth.* 4.121c, 122; cf. Hdt. 4.145-150; Paus. 9.34.5, 9.37.2; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.128-133; Stoevesandt 2008, 62-63. Cf. García Ramón 2018, 91, 94-95; Aura-Jorro/Adrados 1985-93, 1.436 (*me-nu-a2*), 1.436-437 (*me-nu-wa*). Cf. Skafida/Karnava/Olivier 2012, 57; Rutter 2017, 17, 19-21; Bintliff 2017, 23.

¹¹ Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2003, 146; Kirk 2001, 168.

¹² Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2003, 153-154; Kirk 2001, 186-187

¹³ See below on Hom. *Il.* 6.151-154.

¹⁴ Finkelberg 1999; García Ramón 2018, 90. Cf. Nagy 2019, 174-185.

¹⁵ Hornblower, *comm. on Thuc.*, 1.15-16.

¹⁶ Karnava/Skafida 2018; Wiersma/Voutakis 2017, ix, xii-xiii; Bintliff 2017; Rousioti 2016; Stamatopoulou 2013; Feuer 2011, 516, 528-529; Pullen 2008. Cf. Thuc. 1.2; Strab. 9.5.

¹⁷ Wiersma/Voutsaki 2017, ix; Harrell 2014; Cherry 2017. *Contra* Dickinson 2016. Cf. Thuc. 1.2; Hornblower, *comm. on Thuc.*, 1.8-15.

¹⁸ Panagiotopoulos 2017, 92; Sherrat 2017, 49.

¹⁹ Pantou 2010 and 2014; Skafida, Karnava, Olivier 2012; Papadimitriou 2008;

and well-known throughout the whole of the Greek world in the 8th century BC.²⁰ We, therefore, deal with a strange incongruity and it seems reasonable to search for the very first origins of the epic traditions in a previous age before 1450-1100 BC in an extra-Peloponnesian context. This is presumably pre- or proto-Mycenaean Thessaly.²¹

The diachronic and synchronic analysis demonstrates that the Aeolicisms²² in the epic language are especially related to the Thessalian background, as well as the Aeolian characters and environments. “The most logical place to look for the origins of Aeolic is south-eastern Thessaly in the palatial period”,²³ and “the formative period for creation of the four main dialectal groups was before the fall of the palaces around 1200 BC”,²⁴ between 1400-1200 BC.²⁵ The earliest surviving source on the Aeolic dialects is the poetry of Alcaeus, Sappho and Corinna, while the epigraphic evidences are, for the most part, much later.²⁶ Nevertheless, prominent Aeolic features earlier than the lyric poets occur in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.²⁷ Some Thessalian components embedded in hexametric diction are common to Mycenaean-Achaean and Arcado-Cypriot: e.g. the genitive ending *-āo*, the genitive ending *-oio*, the vowel change *o>u*, the retention of digamma.²⁸ The latter is shared with other Greek dialects in the Archaic Age, except for Ionic and Attic, such as the retention of long *alpha*. A further Aeolic-Thessalian element shared with Mycenaean is the possible doubling of *-r/-l-*: “*ra*₂, *ro*₂ stand for [rra], [rro], the allegro version of *-ri-ja*, *-ri-jo* [rja][rjo], with gemination and absorption of *yod*.”²⁹ The Homeric perfect participle *-ōn*, *-ontos* is especially significant, because it is the only innovation shared by Thessalian, Lesbian and Boeotian.³⁰ By contrast, the Thessalian-Aeolic retention of *-ti* is a conservative form that predates the Mycenaean innovations just like some very few Homeric ‘linguistic fossils’ (e.g. the formula *λιποῦσ’ ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην*).³¹ Retention of *-ti* is, however, recorded in some Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos.³² Syntagmata having apocope, syncope and regressive assimilation are Thessalian characteristics that are unreplacable in the verse-making as well (see e.g. *Iliad* 2.692), and occur in some Laconic *glossae*:³³ “The Achaeans were Phthiotae in race, but they lived in Lacedaemon” (Strab. 8.7.1).³⁴

Iliad 6.152-155 calls attention to Aeolic-Thessalian presence in pre-Doric Peloponnese³⁵. This piece of Homeric poetry matches Thucydides’ account of Corinthians’ Aeolian origin at 4.42.2 and Strabo’s passages on the Aeolian origin of the Achaeans and the first inhabitants of the

²⁰ Mazarakis Ainians 2018; Filos 2014; Sherratt 2017, 37; Haslam 2011, 849-850. Cf. De Cristofaro 2016b, 22-28.

²¹ Cf. Mikrakis 2013, 227; Minchin 2012; Fowler 2011b; cf. also Helly 2018, 363-365; Beekes 2016; Chantraine 1999, 432-433; Frisk 1973, 1.668.

²² Nagy 2011a, 136.

²³ Janko 2018, 122; cf. Nagy 2011a, 155-158, 162-167; Miller 2014, 26; Rousioti 2016, 240; García Ramón 2018, 66-99.

²⁴ Janko 2018, 126; Nagy 2011b, 83.

²⁵ Janko 2018, 119-120, 120-127.

²⁶ Helly 2018, 351-352; Méndez Dosuna 2018, 280-291.

²⁷ Nagy 2011a, 154-162.

²⁸ Cf. Janko 2018, 113.

²⁹ Nieto Izquierdo 2018, 386.

³⁰ Nagy 2011a, 167-169; Janko 2018, 121-122.

³¹ Willi 2011, 463; cf. Ruijgh 2011; Bennet 2014.

³² Nagy 1968, 674-675; Woodward 1986, 50, 63-66, 73-74.

³³ Hsch. κ 9, 11 (Latte 1966, 386).

³⁴ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.679; Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2003, 217-219; Eust. *Il.* 2.676-80, 677: 318.20-33, 318.33-319.14 (van der Valk 1971-87, 1.495-496); Sch. *Il.* 2.677a-b (Erbse 1969-88, 1.322).

³⁵ Stoevesand 2008, 62-63; Kirk 2000, 178-179; van Thiel 1982, 235, 239-240. Eust. *Il.* 6.153s, 154: 631.12-25, 26-31, 31-46 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2.266-268); Sch. *Il.* 153a-c154, 155a-b (Erbse 1969-88, 2.157-158).

area surrounding the Isthmus (8.1.2).³⁶ Lines 6.152-155 belong to Glaucus' speech at 6.144-211 (see below §3); these four independent hexameters show remarkable Aeolic and Mycenaean components.³⁷ Corinth, the homeland of Glaucus' forefather Bellerophon, is called *Ephyre* at 6.152.³⁸ This is a compound place-name, composed of the preposition ἐπί (“upon”) and verb ὀράω (“to see”); the vowel change *-o->-u-* is shared by Aeolic, Mycenaean and Arcado-Cypriot, and occurs in some Panhellenic words (e.g. ὁμώνυμος). The Ionic shift from *-ā* into *-ē* is most likely due to the later transmission. This name is well-suited to an isthmian settlement, placed in a strategic location.³⁹ This town was “in the farthest nook of Argos”, which here includes the whole of the region. Toponym “Peloponnesus” is not used at 6.152, although Pelops was known by Homeric bards and their audience as an ancestor of Agamemnon.⁴⁰ The following lines 6.153-154 mention Aeolus' son Sisyphus, who was the grandfather of Bellerophon:⁴¹ the presence of Aeolic-Thessalian elements in Peloponnesian is connected to early Greek-speaking people who moved from their first settlements in North Eastern Greece down to the heartland and then to the “Island of Pelops” between the MH III and the LH I, just as we have seen above.⁴² Moreover, Bellerophon (6.155) is an Aeolic name: initial *b-* is the Aeolic outcome of an Indo-European labiovelar (e.g. Lesbian *σπελλάμεναι* and Panhellenic *πέλομαι*), similar to Latin *duellum/bellum*, meaning something like “slayer of foes”,⁴³ that is one heroic ancestor able to free his community from danger or calamity. Aeolic components in pre-Doric Peloponnesian are not surprising.⁴⁴ These are somehow consistent with Ernst Risch's conclusions about *mycénien normal* and *mycénien special* in the Pylian tablets,⁴⁵ and with the occurrence in Aeolic and Doric/North Western dialects of features common in Homer's hexameters.⁴⁶

Piracy and war booty: socioeconomic components of pre-Archaic society and Homeric poetry

The name Achilles itself seems to be connected to the ancestral past, before the formation of the mythological traditions drawn from actual Mycenaean experiences in Late Bronze Age Anatolia. The anthroponym *akireu* occurs in two Linear B tablets from Knossos (14th Cen. BC) and Pylos (13th Cen. BC).⁴⁷ The name Achilles/Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς alludes to a hypostatic “Predatory Achaean”: it is related to the root of ethnonym Ἀχαι(φ)οί and toponym Ἀχαι(φ)ία, joined to the root of nouns ληΐς < λᾱΐς (“booty”) and λᾱφός (“the whole of the adult males able to plunder” and, consequently, to

³⁶ Hornblower, *comm. on Thuc.*, 2.199-200. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.3.

³⁷ De Cristofaro 2014, 14-21.

³⁸ Eust. *Il.* 6.152s.: 631.12-25 (van der Valk 1971-8, 2.266-267); Sch. *Il.* 6.152a-c¹⁻² (Erbse 1969-88, 2. 156-157); Stoevesandt 2008, 61-62; Kirk 2000, 177-178.

³⁹ De Cristofaro 2014, 15, n. 3.

⁴⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2.104-105; Eust. *Il.* 2.101-8, 104, 106s.: 181.14-182.107, 183.13-184.20, 184.21-185.3 (van der Valk 1971-87, 1.277-279, 281-282, 282-283); Sch. *Il.* 2.104-6, 104a-b, 105 (Erbse 1969-88, 1.200); Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2003, 37-40; Kirk 2001, 126-128.

⁴¹ Hes. fr. 10 M.-W.; Stoevesandt 2008, 62-63; Kirk 2000, 178; De Cristofaro 2014, 15-18.

⁴² Cf. n. 16-19; see also Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7-9; García Ramón 2018, 91-92; Bintliff 2010, 22.

⁴³ De Cristofaro 2014, 15 n.1.; Stoevesandt 2008, 63-64; Kirk 2000, 178; Cf. Eust. *Il.* 157-60:632.1-8 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2.269-270; Sch. *Il.* 155b (Erbse 1969-88, 2.158):

⁴⁴ De Cristofaro 2014, 18-21; cf. Janko 2018, 120-127; Mendez-Dosuna 1985 and 2018a, 280-291; Finkelberg 2005 and 2018, 454.

⁴⁵ Risch 1966. Cf. Thompson 2002-2003.

⁴⁶ Nagy 2011a; Janko 2018, 122-124.

⁴⁷ Aura-Jorro/Adrados 1985-93, 1.44: KN Vc 106, PY Fn 79.2.

fight).⁴⁸ Both nouns are derived from the root **lāu-* (“erbeuten, genießen”)⁴⁹; λήϊς, -ίδος adds the suffix **-id*⁵⁰ that occurs in other Homeric words. Ἀχαιίς, -ίδος and πατρίς, -ίδος are part of some formulaic expressions indicating the Greek homeland (Ἀχαιίδα γαίαν, πατρίδα γαίαν), while Ἀχαιίς in the plural form stands for “Greek women”. Pierre Chantraine pointed out that suffix **-id* was not widely used in other Indo-European languages and underlined its feminine connotation,⁵¹ which might be due to the borrowing of Semitic feminine suffix *-t* (*baal/baalat*).⁵² Words like λᾱφόρς and λᾱφίς are documented in Mycenaean Greek in compound and derived terms, such as *rawaketa* and *rawijaja*.⁵³ The first one designates an official at the head of the λᾱφόρς. The second term semantically corresponds to Homeric *hapax* ληϊάδας δὲ γυναικάς, “seized women as spoils of war”, which is probably an ancient formula.⁵⁴ The first component of name Ἀχιλλεύς occurs in the Hittite expression KUR/URU *Ahhiya(wā)*⁵⁵, a phrase that matches the aforementioned Homeric formula Ἀχαιίδα γαίαν.⁵⁶ **Ahhiya-* is the Hittite rendering of the sound of the name by which the Greeks they met in the 15th Century BC used to identify themselves: Ἀχαιοί.⁵⁷

This etymology of the name of Achilles (“Predatory Achaeans”) is consistent with Thucydides’ report on the pre-Archaic Greek society and economy (1.5,1.7).⁵⁸ He especially focuses on the practice of ληστεία (“pillaging”), using some Ionic-Attic expressions closely connected to the Homeric vocabulary (ληστείαν, λησταί, ἐλήζοντο, ληστείας). He stresses that pillage was the most honorable way of acquiring goods in pre-Archaic Greece, suggesting that the symbolic value of the spoils was greater than their economic value.⁵⁹ This fact seems to be highly significant, since the violation of Achilles’ ληϊς, embodied in Briseis as a personal and legal entity, is the root cause of the breach between Achilles and Agamemnon. This term is, therefore, fundamental to an understanding of Homer’s texts: it provides the justification of the μῆνις of the Thessalian prince from a religious and legal point of view, making his wrath and behavior totally acceptable to the audience of the Homeric *Songs*.

The restitution of both Chryseis and Briseis does not require the payment of the ransom. In the world of warriors, a captured enemy can be released under payment of “infinite ransom” (ἀπερείσι’ ἄποινα) or can be killed: both solutions were legally and religiously correct.⁶⁰ The returning of a war prisoner is essentially a private act involving the captor and the family of the captive. This is possible because he is not ληϊς, which is assigned by the community of “the sons of Achaeans”, that is, it has a public aspect.⁶¹ When Chryses went to Agamemnon promising “infinite ransom” (*Iliad* 1.13, 1.372), Agamemnon could nastily but easily refuse because Chryses’ daughter was not a war prisoner *tout court*: she was ληϊς, something different from a war-captive,

⁴⁸ Cf. Latin *populor* and *populus*: De Vaan 2016, 480; Chantraine 1999, 619-620, 626; Frisk 1973, 1.83-84, 96; Beekes 2016, 832-833; De Cristofaro 2016b, 41-52.

⁴⁹ Pokorny 1954, 655.

⁵⁰ Chantraine 1979, 335-348.

⁵¹ Chantraine 1979, 335, 339.

⁵² Schniedewind/Hunt 2007, 158; Huehnergard 2011, 7.

⁵³ Aura-Jorro/Adrados 1985-93, 2.230-231, 233-234, 234-235.

⁵⁴ Hom. *Il.* 20.193; cf. De Cristofaro 2018, 18-22, 79-82, 114 and 2019a, 27-28.

⁵⁵ Heinhold-Krahmer 2007, 191 n. 2; cf. Aura-Jorro/Adrados 1985-93, 1. 35 (*a-ka-wo, a-ka-wi-ja-de*); Frisk 1973, 1.198-199; Chantraine 1999, 149; Beekes 2016, 18; De Cristofaro 2016b, 48-49 and 2018, 20.

⁵⁶ Hom. *Il.* 1.254, 7.124; Hom. *Od.* 21.107; cf. Hom. *Od.* 13.249.

⁵⁷ Nagy 2011b, 85. Cf. Woodward 2019; Fowler 2011a.

⁵⁸ Hornblower, *comm. on Thuc.*, 1.23-25, 28-30.

⁵⁹ Thuc. 1.5.1-2; Hornblower, *comm. on Thuc.*, 1.23-24; De Cristofaro 2018 and 2019a-b.

⁶⁰ Hom. *Il.* 6.49, 10.380, 11.134; cf. *Il.* 9.406-408.

⁶¹ Hom. *Il.* 1.368, 369, 392.

something more than a slave.⁶² The return of Cryseis (1.440-474) and Briseis (19.252-266) was bound up in religious ritual involving a prayer, a blood sacrifice and, in the case of Briseis, a solemn oath to Zeus and to the Heavenly and Chthonian deities.⁶³ The first action is performed by the original legal owner of the rights over the released girl (i.e. her father), who is simultaneously the recipient and the officiating priest, in the presence of Odysseus (as appointed representative of Agamemnon) and part of the community. In the second instance, Agamemnon is instead the expiator and the priest-king at the same time. The oath, the prayer and the blood sacrifice are performed by him in the presence of Achilles (the prior rightful owner) and the community (the legal entity that gave him Briseis as a war-prize):⁶⁴ both rituals take on legal significance of a public and a private act. The sections in which λῆϊς and derived terms are found, and the passages in which the capture and the restitution of Chryseis and Briseis are told, are constructed of regular and recurring hexametric modular blocks, mainly composed of independent lines and archaizing linguistic components.⁶⁵

The Anatolian setting of the plot, and some remarkable correspondences with the Hittite *Ahhiyawa Texts*,⁶⁶ call for the comparison with the Anatolian sources.⁶⁷ The analysis of similar terms and contexts in the Ancient Near Eastern documents reveals that there are neither practical situations nor similar linguistic expressions that precisely match the Homeric framework.⁶⁸ Some partial similarities can only be found in the Hittite Laws in reference to a class of war-prisoners named *appantalaš*, who were treated differently from captives or slaves, having a special status connected to a sort of emphyteusis *ante litteram*.⁶⁹ Except for this specific instance, the massive documentation relating to war prisoners in the Oriental Sources, including the Hurrian-Hittite *Song of Release*,⁷⁰ does not show anything that may be comparable with the case of the two young women in the *Iliad*.⁷¹ It is remarkable that the word λῆϊς is never used by the translators of Alexandrian *Septuagint*: this is the only Ancient Near Eastern literary *corpus* translated into Greek, even though in a much later age and language than the different epochs and ‘multiform’ language of Homer.⁷² Homeric λῆϊς and its religious and legal implications express and summarize the conceptual apparatus clearly related to the socio-economic system that Thucydides outlines when writing about the pre-Archaic Greek civilization.

Historical traces in Iliad 6.167-177

Thucydides comments on the Trojan War at 1.3.1-2, 1.8.3-4 and 1.9-11; it is an attempt at an exegetical effort to extrapolate historical data from the sources at his disposal.⁷³ The short passage *Iliad* 6.167-177 is part of Lycian Glaucus’ speech to Diomedes (6.144-211) within the larger

⁶² De Cristofaro 2018, 1-6, 16-22, 80-82, 112-115, 2019a/2019b.

⁶³ De Cristofaro 2018, 7-15; cf. Kitts 2011.

⁶⁴ Dué 2002 and 2011a/2011b.

⁶⁵ Hom. *Il.* 9.128-140, 9.270-283, 11. 670-681, 12.1-9, 18.323-342; *Od.* 3.102-114, 5.28-43, 10.37-45, 13.125-138, 13.253-266, 13.267-275, 14.79-88; De Cristofaro 2018, 23-59, 60-98.

⁶⁶ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011; Süel 2014, 937.

⁶⁷ De Cristofaro 2019b, 319-323, 330-337.

⁶⁸ De Cristofaro 2018, 99-111.

⁶⁹ Puhvel 1984, 279-281; Hoffner 2002, 61-62; von Dassow 2013, 142-146.

⁷⁰ Neu 1996.

⁷¹ De Cristofaro 2018, 99-109, 2019b, 323-329.

⁷² De Cristofaro 2019b, 337-344 and the references therein; cf. Niehoff 2012; Haubold 2015; Dalley 2017; Loudon 2018; on the Homeric language as an integrated working system see Nagy 2010a, 233.

⁷³ Hornblower, *comm. on Thuc.*, 1.30-37.

section 6.119-236.⁷⁴ Here, too, the fabric of 6.119-236 is formed of recurring and regular hexametric modular blocks, mostly made up of independent-formulaic lines, mainly composed of Aeolic-Thessalian and Mycenaean-Achaean components.⁷⁵ 6.167-177 is made up of 11 independent hexameters according to the scheme 4 + 7. There is reference to the relationships between Achaean power centers and Anatolian kingdoms. A series of diplomatic intercourses is listed therein: Proitos, ruler of Argos, sends Bellerophon to Lycia (6.167); Bellerophon acts as an emissary, delivering Proitos' missive to his Lycian counterpart (6.168-169); the Greek king is married to the daughter of the Lycian king (6.169; cf. 6.156-166); Bellerophon is hosted at Lycian court as an important delegate for 9 days and 9 nights (6.172-173), and 9 oxen are sacrificed in his honor (6.174);⁷⁶ lastly, the Lycian king asks him to see the letter on the 10th day (6.174-177).⁷⁷ Mutual *xenia* between the Greek and Anatolian ruling classes is confirmed at the end of the episode, when Diomedes realizes that he is bound to Glaucus by their ancestors' hospitality (6.212-231). This bond is stronger than ethnic or blood ties (6.229).⁷⁸ The exchange of gifts follows at 6.232-236.⁷⁹ The story of Corinthian-Argive Bellerophon at the Lycian court and Diomedes' account of the hospitality between Oineus and Glaucus' grandfather clearly indicate that there is a structure of codified and reciprocal actions. At any rate, Bellerophon is sent to Lycia to be killed: there is likewise the possibility that disagreeable personages can be sent overseas, presumably to their deaths. Hittite *Ahhiyawa Texts* (AhT) provide a few but very precious clues on the quality of relations between the Hittite kings, Mycenaean rulers and western Anatolian subject-rulers.⁸⁰ Some passages perfectly match this Homeric piece: the reciprocal sending out messengers,⁸¹ the mutual sending missives,⁸² inter-dynastic marriages,⁸³ hospitality or shelter,⁸⁴ extradition requests,⁸⁵ the removal of disagreeable people,⁸⁶ and the exchange of gifts⁸⁷. I shall refer briefly to three well known and studied texts.⁸⁸

AhT 3 is a letter sent by Hittite king Arnuwandas I to his vassal Madduwatta, in the first decades of 14th Century BC. It additionally makes mention of events that happened during the

⁷⁴ Stoevesand 2008, 48-86; Kirk 2000, 170-191; van Thiel 1982, 234-235, 239-241.

⁷⁵ De Cristofaro 2016a, 88-91 and 2014, 21-25.

⁷⁶ Stoevesand 2008, 67-70; Kirk 2000, 180-182; Eust. *Il.* 6.6.169, 6.166s., 168-70, 168s., 171, 172, 173: 631.632.8-12, 632.23-33, 632.34-40, 632.41-634.2, 634.3-13, 634.13-16, 634.17 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2.270, 271-279); Sch. *Il.* 6.167, 6.168, 6.169a-b, 6.168-69, *Il.* 6.170a-c, 171b, 6.172a¹-a², 6.173 (Erbse 1969-88, 2. 160-161).

⁷⁷ Stoevesand 2008, 70; Kirk 2000, 182; cf. Eust. *Il.* 6.174, 176s., 177s.: 634.17-23, 634.23-30, 634.30-32 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2.279-280); Sch. *Il.* 6.174a-c, 6.176a-c (Erbse 1969-88, 2.163). Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.31 (69).

⁷⁸ Stoevesand 2008, 83-84; Kirk 2000, 187-189; cf. Eust. *Il.* 6.226-33, 228, 229, 230s.: 638.27-36, 638.37, 638.38-40, 638.40-48 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2. 296-297); Sch. *Il.* 6.226a-e, 6.227-29 (Erbse 1969-88, 2.170-171).

⁷⁹ Stoevesand 2008, 84-86; Kirk 2000, 189-191; cf. Eust. *Il.* 6.235s., 234, 230s., 236: 638.49-50, 638.51-61, 638.62-639.6, 638.6-10 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2.297-299); Sch. *Il.* 6.230, 6.230-31, 6.234a-b¹⁻², 6.235a¹-a², 6.236a¹⁻³-b (Erbse 1969-88, 2.171-172).

⁸⁰ Heinhold-Krahmer 2007; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 267-283; De Cristofaro 2014, 26-44; Taracha 2018a/2018b/2015; Kelder 2012/2004-05.

⁸¹ AhT 3§7; AhT 4§5, §6, §15; AhT 27A§7, AhT 27B§6.

⁸² AhT 3§30'; AhT 4§3, §6, §8 §15; AhT 6§3; AhT 9§ 2'; AhT 25§ 2'.

⁸³ AhT 6§3.

⁸⁴ AhT 4§8, §12; see also AhT 1A§17', §20'; AhT 12§2'.

⁸⁵ AhT 1A§25'; AhT 4§5, §8 §12; AhT 25§2'.

⁸⁶ AhT 12§2'; AhT 13§1; AhT 15§1', §2'; cf. AhT 26§4'.

⁸⁷ AhT 4§5; AhT 8§5'.

⁸⁸ For an extensive and updated literature see Heinhold-Krahmer/Rieken 2019; Bryce, 2019; Oreshko 2018, Taracha 2018a and 2018b.

reign of Arnuwandas' father Tudhaliya I/II (late 15th Cent. BC).⁸⁹ Madduwatta was forbidden from having any contact with his former enemy, Attarissiya, “man of Ahhiya” (AhT 3§§1-4, §7, §12). They repeatedly raided Alasiya-Cyprus that was a Hittite tributary dependency (AhT 3§36’): “Such raids would be entirely consistent with the image presented in Homeric epics of Mycenaean plundering enterprises conducted thorough the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean regions”⁹⁰. Madduwatta was obliged by the Hittite king to seize Attarissiya’s emissaries and send them to his overlord (AhT 3 §7). This order demonstrates that diplomatic relations and reciprocal sending of messengers usually occurred between Madduwatta and the Achaean chief. The short and older form Ahhiya⁹¹ occurs in the oracular text AhT 22§25 (late 15th - early 14th Cent. BC), where the leader of Ahhiya is explicitly called “enemy”.⁹²

AhT 4, the s.-c. *Tawagalawa Letter* (middle of the 13th century BC), shows a foreign policy change and several references to the reciprocal sending of written communications between the Hittite and Ahhiyawan kings.⁹³ The Ahhiyawan ruler is now called “Great King”, and “My Brother”, according to the diplomatic code of the Amarna Letters⁹⁴. It is possible to suppose that the king of Ahhiyawa had at his disposal scribes able to use cuneiform writings,⁹⁵ using some more valuable materials than clay tablets.⁹⁶ AhT 4§5 refers to the exchange of gifts,⁹⁷ and AhT 4§8 gives evidence that an Ahhiyawan dynast was hosted at the Hittite court: Tawagalawa was the crown prince or the (previous?) king of Ahhiyawa,⁹⁸ who stayed in Hattusa not for a short time. He was trained, together with the author of the *Letter Hattusili III*, to ride the war chariot by Tapala-Tarhunta, who was a high-ranking official and a relative of the Hittite queen⁹⁹. The Hittite king demands the extradition of the Arzawan renegade Pyamaradu, who constantly raided the coastal territories of Western Anatolia.¹⁰⁰ Tapala-Tarhunta is sent to Ahhiyawa as a hostage for the safe-conduct of Piyamaradu, who was evidently a *protégée* of the Ahhiyawan King: he fled to Millawanda/Miletus, and “then Piyamaradu departed by ship” from Millawanda to Ahhiyawa (AhT 4§5).¹⁰¹

The marriage of a Greek-Mycenaean king with an Anatolian princess is mentioned in AhT 6§3, dated in the reign of Muwattalli II (14th - 13th Century BC).¹⁰² Three previous generations are listed therein, and the name of Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II is recorded.¹⁰³ The specialists do not agree whether this fragmentary text is a written missive or an oral communication transcribed

⁸⁹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 69-100; Bryce 2019, 69-72.

⁹⁰ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 99.

⁹¹ *KUB* 14.1 + *KBo* 19.38 obv. 1 and obv. 60.

⁹² *KBo* 16.97 + *KBo* 40.48 obv. 38.

⁹³ Heinhold-Krahmer 2019b; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 101-122; Hoffner 2009, 296-313.

⁹⁴ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 122; Kelder 2012, 46; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007, 194.

⁹⁵ See e.-g. AhT 4§6, §8.

⁹⁶ Nagy 2011b, 88-89; Marazzi 2013.

⁹⁷ *KUB* 14.3 ii 53-54.

⁹⁸ Heinhold-Krahmer 2012 and 2019a, 18; Taracha 2018a, 216, 218 and 2018b, 15-17; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 120, 122; Miller 2010.

⁹⁹ *KUB* 14.3 ii 55-iii 6.

¹⁰⁰ AhT 4§4, §5, §8 §13; AhT 5§6’; AhT 7§4; AhT 15§1’; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 120-121, 133, 143-144, 171; Alparslan 2015; Mac Sweeney 2010.

¹⁰¹ *KUB* 14.3 i 61-62.

¹⁰² *KUB* 26.91 obv. 7-12; Taracha 2018a, 221-222. Cf. AhT 12; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 158-161; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007, 198.

¹⁰³ *KUB* 26.91 obv. 9.

afterwards and if the author was the Ahhiyawan or Hittite king¹⁰⁴. Anyway, the marriage of an Achaean king and the daughter of an Anatolian sovereign is documented, also referring to some insular territories now claimed by both the Hittite and Ahhiyawan ruler¹⁰⁵. This fragmentary text offers some further points that correspond to the Homeric poetry. Firstly, the princess is the daughter of an Assuwan king; Tarwisa and Wilusa are mentioned as part of the s.-c. Assuwa Confederacy in the *Annals* of the same Tuthaliya;¹⁰⁶ these place names are generally identified with Homeric Troy and (W)Ilios.¹⁰⁷ Some archeological, epigraphic and iconographical evidences indicate that the Mycenaean were involved in the war between the Aššuan coalition and the Hittites.¹⁰⁸ The same territories will be raided two centuries after by Piyamaradu, backed by the Ahhiyawan king (AhT 4§12, §13).¹⁰⁹ Secondly, Achaean interests and military involvement in the islands facing the western Anatolian coasts are evoked in the 9th *Song* of the *Iliad*. Agamemnon promises Achilles seven women from Lesbos (9.128-134.270-276), and the concubines of Achilles and Patroclus are two seized girls from Lesbos and Scyros respectively (9.664-668).¹¹⁰ A further connection can be found in the oracular text AhT 20§24' reporting that the "deity of Ahhiyawa and the deity of Lazpa" (i.e., Lesbos) were sent to the Hittite king Murisili II (late 14th - early 13th Century BC).¹¹¹

Homer and Hurrian Kizzuwatna

Sarah Morris has carefully examined the ritual performed by Hecuba, the Trojan women and the priestess Theano Kisseis in the 6th *Song* of the *Iliad*.¹¹² The core passage 6.297-310 is arranged in 7 + 7 independent hexameters according to the scheme 1 + 6, which is the most recurring pattern in the *Iliad*.¹¹³ The lines are preponderantly made of Aeolic and Mycenaean elements¹¹⁴. She highlighted some points that strikingly match the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean rituals from Hattusa and paid attention to some lexical-linguistic and onomastic components: "*Kissēis*, whose spelling and versification suggest some form of **Kissēw-is*, could also be 'Kissew-an,' if Theano comes from a place in Anatolia known to Greeks at least by an initial term. The obvious candidate, abbreviated

¹⁰⁴ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 134, 137, 138-139; Hoffner 2009, 290-292. Text's content is somehow connected to Achaeans' involvement in the s.-c. Assuwa rebellion (15th Cent. BC), and to AhT 7 (first decades of 13th cent. BC): Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 134-135, 137-141, 143-144.

¹⁰⁵ *KUB* 26.91 obv. 5-7.

¹⁰⁶ Carruba 1977, 158-159; Beckman 1999, 82-88; Haas 2006, 126-129, 287; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 114-117, 128-129, 140-141; Gander 2015, 453-471.

¹⁰⁷ *Contra* see Pantazis 2009.

¹⁰⁸ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 269-270; Bryce 2005, 124-127; Cline 1997 and 1996; Bittel 1976.

¹⁰⁹ Kopanias 2018.

¹¹⁰ Hom. *Il.* 9.128-130, 270-272, 663-668; Eust. *Il.* 9.128-30, 129s., 664s., 666-68: 740.58-741.3, 741.8-34, 782.29-35, 782.36-54 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2.676, 676-678, 832-834); Sch. *Il.* 9.128a-c¹⁻², 129-30, 129, 130a-b, 271, 664a-b, 665, 668a-c (Erbse 1969-88 2.424-425, 458, 538-539). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.543-546; Brügger 2009, 194-195; Richardson 2003, 333; Eust. *Il.* 24.543-6, 544s.:1362, 52-55; 1364, 36-44 (van der Valk 1971-87, 4.943-944, 952); Sch. *Il.* 24.544a-c, 545a-b (Erbse 1969-88, 5.610-611); cf. AhT 7 §4: Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 143-144; De Cristofaro 2018, 23-28.

¹¹¹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 192-195, 209; Teffeteller 2013; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007, 199. Cf. Nagy 2019, 184.

¹¹² Morris 2013. *Il.* 6.286-310 is made of 3 hexametric groups 6.286-296, 6.297-303, 6.304-310. They are respectively made up of 2 + 9, 1 + 6, 1 + 6 lines; 6.311 ends the section: De Cristofaro 2016a, 86-87.

¹¹³ De Cristofaro 2016a, 37-38.

¹¹⁴ Stoevesandt 2008, 99-106; Kirk 2000, 199-200; van Thiel 1982, 241. Cf. AhT 26: Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 248-252.

in Greek, would be Kizzuwatna”.¹¹⁵ These data lead to believe that the Greeks had direct knowledge of Hurrian rituals in the Late Bronze Age, when both Hattusa and the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna were still existing and these rituals were usually performed.¹¹⁶

The interpretation of *Kissēis* from **Kissēw-is* and so “Kissewan”, meaning “Kizzuwatnean”, might correspond to feminine ethnic adjective *ki-si-wi-ja* from Pylos (13th c. BC) and personal name *ki-si-wi-je-ja* from Knossos (14th c. BC). *Ki-si-wi-ja* has been interpreted as “women from Chios”.¹¹⁷ At any rate, the reading **kiswīai*/**ki(s)swīai* and **ki(s)swījea* as related to **Kissēw-is* is not incompatible with Linear B writing norms¹¹⁸. Moreover, the Mycenaean masculine forms meaning “man from Chios” are *ki-e-u* in Pylion texts and *ki-je-u* in Knossos tablets. The feminine should eventually be something similar to **ki-(j)e-(j)a* and not *ki-si-wi-ja*.¹¹⁹ However, it is clear enough that the masculine forms *ki-e-u*/*ki-je-u* and *ki-si-wi-jo* (attested in KN V 60.2)¹²⁰ are different in morphology and stem from different roots.

Kizzuwatna was probably the cultural milieu where the Greeks learned the cosmogonic myths of Hurrian theology and wisdom literature, flowed into Hesiod’s epic background, losing in time an awareness of their ‘barbarian’ origin.¹²¹ The similarities between the storyline of the *Iliad* and Hurrian-Hittite *Song of Release* have been also pointed out in several studies.¹²² Familiarity with Hurrian mythology and religious practices from Kizzuwatna confirms the Mycenaean frequentation of this area that roughly corresponds to Cilicia,¹²³ namely the probable setting of Achilles’ raid when both Chryseis and Briseis were taken.¹²⁴ Homeric ‘Cilician’ should be decoded as historical ‘Hurrian’, just like Aeolic/Aeolian must be understood as something very old. Moreover, Andromache, the spouse of Achilles’ *alter-ego*, was a Cilician native and her homeland can be reliably identified with Kizzuwatna.¹²⁵ Andromache’s words evoke Achilles’ raid and perhaps add the memory of an inter-dynastic marriage between an Aššuwān prince from Wilusa and a Hurrian princess from Kizzuwatna.¹²⁶ This historical framework was not extraneous to Late Bronze Greeks.¹²⁷

Rostislav Oreshko has recently proposed a new interpretation of the Early Iron Age bilingual Phoenician-Luwian inscription from Karatepe, in Cilician Taurus Mountains. He reads

¹¹⁵ Morris 2013, 155-156. Eust. *Il.* 6.298-300, 299, 305-10: 643, 23-27.28-29.47-53 (van der Valk 1971-87, 1.317); Sch. *Il.* 6.299, 300 (Erbse 1969-88, 2.184).

¹¹⁶ Miller 2004; Kaynar 2018.

¹¹⁷ *DMic*1:364-365: *ki-si-wi-ja* PY Aa 770, Ab 194 B, *ki-si-wi-ja-o* PY Ad 675, *ki-si-wi-je-ja* KN Xd 98, *ki-si-wi*/ KN Od (1) 570.b. The masculine form is *ki-si-wi-jo*[KN V (2) 60.2. Cf. Sainer 1976:43: “*ki-si-wi-ja* Aa 770, [Ab 194], *ki-si-wi-ja-o*: Ad 675; the description, possibly ethnic, of 7 women and 10 children at Pylos. The women are also described as *o-nu-ke-ja* (a trade name).” On the Anatolian women mentioned in Linear B texts see Ergin 2007; on the updated edition of the Pylos Tablets see Godart/Sacconi 2019/20.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Melena 2014.

¹¹⁹ *DMic* 1:358: PY An 724.9, PY Aq 64.16 (Dat. *ki-e-wo*); KN Xd 94. In classical Greek only exists the form *Χῖος*, *α*, *ο*v (*LSJ*:1993).

¹²⁰ *DMic*1:365.

¹²¹ Haas 2006, 103, 130-176; West 1997, 276-233; cf. López-Ruiz 2010; Strauss Clay 2003.

¹²² Bachvarova 2016, 111-165; von Dassow 2013.

¹²³ Yağci 2015; Novák/Rutishauer 2017; Kozal/Novák 2017. Cf. Aura-Jorro/Adrados 1985-93, 1.362 (*ki-ri-ko*).

¹²⁴ Hom. *Il.* 1.365-369, 2.688-693; Dué 2011c/2011d; see Eust. *Il.* 2.691, 692: 322.14-32, 322.32-43 (van der Valk 1971-87, 1.501-502); Sch. *Il.* 2.690, 692 (Erbse 1969-88, 1.325); cf. De Cristofaro 2018, ix-xv, 1-15.

¹²⁵ Scafa 2005; Minchin 2011; Rutherford 2011; cf. de Martino 2011; Meyer 2011; Breyer 2011.

¹²⁶ Hom. *Il.* 6.394-397, 414-420; Stoevesandt 2008, 127-129, 135-137; Kirk 2000, 211, 214-216. Eust. *Il.* 6.395-7, 397, 413-28, 415s.: 649.33-42, 649.43-650.1, 652.13-22, 652.23-25 (van der Valk 1971-87, 2.340-342, 349); Sch. *Il.* 395-6a-b, 396a-b, 397a-b, 414a-c (Erbse 1969-88 2.197-198, 201).

¹²⁷ See above on AhT 6 §3. Cf. Morris 2001.

a-HHIY-*wa* in place of *a*-DANA-*wa*, and his epigraphical and linguistic analysis seems to be well grounded on sound argumentations.¹²⁸ The bilingual inscription from Çineköy nearby Adana testifies the Luwian place name Hiyawa (AhT 28).¹²⁹ These two documents are closely connected between them. The author of the first is Azatiwata, an official of Awarika/Warika, the author of AhT 28, who is mentioned in the 8th Century BC Assyrian sources as “Urikki king of Que” (i.e. Hiyawa).¹³⁰ He was named “king of Adanawa” in the Karatepe inscription: the new reading would designate him as “king of Ahhiyawa”.¹³¹ The retention of the Hittite form *Ahhiya(wā)* suggests that this form of the name was known in Cilician territory since the Late Bronze Age.¹³²

Conclusion

Thucydides’ *Archeology* confirms the outline of the foregoing. This, in turn, emphasize his efforts in differentiate blurred boundaries of history and myth. He connects the origins of the Greeks to Thessalian and Aeolic components: the role of Thessalian elements in the first stages of the very early epic traditions hardly seems deniable, as well as an Aeolic/Aeolian presence in pre-Doric Peloponnese. Focusing on the word λήϊς and on both Chryseis and Briseis release-procedures, we have seen that Homeric poetry precisely matches Thucydides’ socio-economic analysis on the pre-Archaic Greek civilization. Lastly, the comparison with some Anatolian documents from the Late Bronze Age indicates that the Homeric traditions synthesize the whole of Mycenaean experiences in Asia Minor, from the North Western coasts to the South Eastern shores: reminiscences of actual relations between Achaean and West-Asiatic political and cultural entities merged into the Homeric *Songs*, although transformed through the idealizing lens of the myth. Just as Thucydides states at 1.10.3.

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¹²⁸ Cf. Oreshko 2018, 24-30.

¹²⁹ AhT 28 §1, §2, §3, §7.

¹³⁰ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 263-266, 280-281; Bryce 2016.

¹³¹ Oreshko 2018, 46-51.

¹³² Janeway 2017, 119-120; Pulak 2014; Simon 2014; Gander 2012,

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