

# In Search of Agamemnon



In Search of Agamemnon:  
Early Travellers to Mycenae

By

Dudley Moore, Edward Rowlands  
and Nektarios Karadimas

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P U B L I S H I N G

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Fig. 1: The Lion Gate at Mycenae following Schliemann's discoveries, front page of *The Illustrated London News*, February 3, 1877 (the artist is most probably William Simpson)



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## PREFACE

With his remarkable and ‘full in gold’ discoveries at Mycenae in 1876, Heinrich Schliemann brought to light a new civilisation. Mycenae suddenly became the centre of intense archaeological interest. Even until today the acropolis remains one of the most important archaeological sites in the Aegean. However, before Schliemann, Mycenae was not an unknown area; on the contrary, during the Napoleonic wars, it was a favourite destination for travellers on the Grand Tour. Schliemann may have discovered the ‘Mycenaean World’, but he did not discover Mycenae. It had been long open to the elements before his arrival.

Although many books focus on the fascinating story of Schliemann, little has been written on Mycenae before his excavations. This work, therefore, aims to fill this gap in part. It looks at the English speaking pioneers who visited the citadel at Mycenae before Schliemann. It is not intended to cover their lives in full but biographic references are given in the footnotes (and bibliography and associated sources). The purpose is to bring back to life their thoughts on Mycenae. It is also a reflection on dating theories of the site during the nineteenth century. At that time the general consensus concerning the beginning of the ‘Greek world’ was the classical civilisation of the fifth century BC. This was not the view of many of these travellers.

The ancients too had a fascination with Mycenae. The Homeric tales of Agamemnon, King of Mycenae, led to popular sixth and fifth century BC plays from the likes of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. But what did these ancient writers and later travellers, such as Pausanias, actually see?

Finally, there is a need to be reminded of some of the ‘pioneer’ travellers to Mycenae and their descriptions of the Lion Gate citadel and the ‘Treasury of Atreus’ as they are of particular historical interest. Not only that, but some of these observations are pure poetry and a delight to read.



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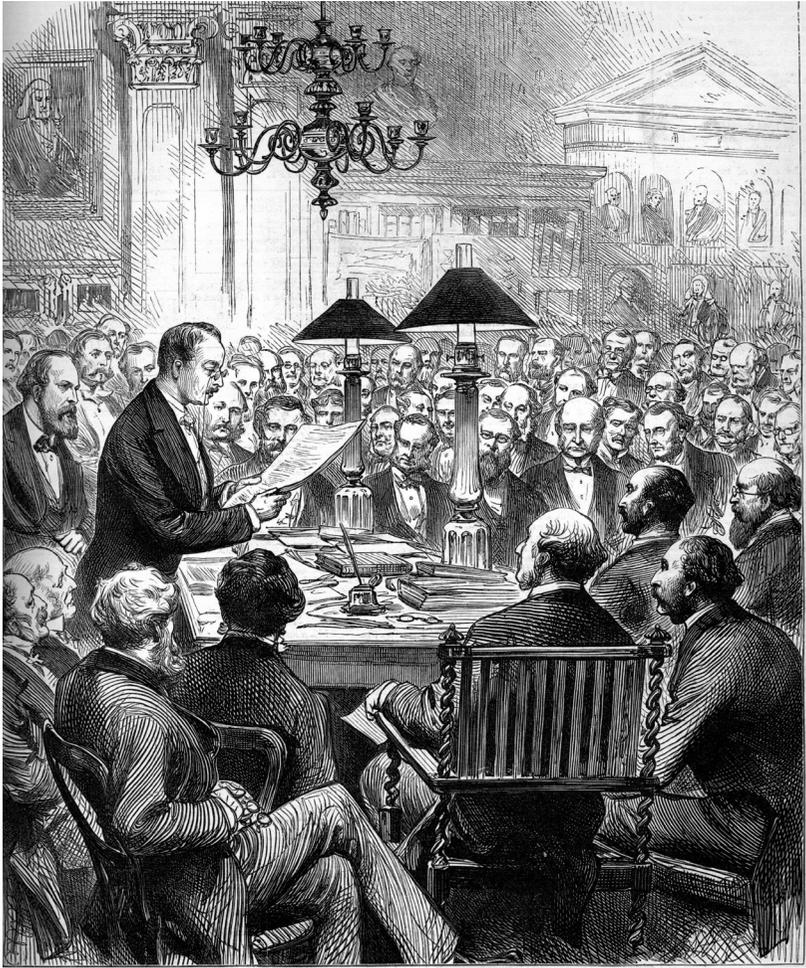


Fig. 2: Schliemann addressing the Society of Antiquaries of London on his discoveries at Mycenae, *The Illustrated London News*, March 31, 1877



## INTRODUCTION

A twenty-first century view of Mycenae conjures up a brooding image of the ruins of this once formidable bastion, “Bleak and foreboding, it is set among grey, rocky, inhospitable hillsides: a brutal fortress built crudely from huge boulders. Its pervading mood is dark – seeing to reflect, three thousand years later, the atrocities that happened within.”<sup>1</sup> We will look to see whether this modern day description is a reflective observation of the travellers to the ruins centuries before or whether the ‘romantic ideal’ of the Enlightenment, with its appreciation of Homer’s heroic adventurers, turned a blind eye to the city’s murky legends.

We first hear of the legendary Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, from the epic poetry of Homer - circa eighth century BC. To the classical Greeks of the fifth century BC, Agamemnon and his fellow invaders of Troy were their historic past. However, time was to place these heroic characters into the realms of mythology and legend, and there they would remain until the nineteenth century AD. In 1964 Lord William Taylour observed, “In 1876 legend became history.”<sup>2</sup>

The citadel of Mycenae (constructed in three stages during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC) and its surrounding tombs have been a source of tourist attraction since their initial excavation by Heinrich Schliemann in 1876 and he has been credited for the ‘discovery’ of the Bronze Age of Greece with his excavations/writings on the site.<sup>3</sup> However, Schliemann was not the first to discover the citadel of Mycenae as it had laid open to public gaze for many years prior to his visit. In fact, the approach leading to the Lion Gate entrance was cleared by the Archaeological Society at Athens in 1841 under Kyriakos Pittakis.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carroll, 2010:14 (John Carroll, the professor of sociology at La Trobe University, Melbourne); the atrocities being the myths of King Atreus serving his brother’s cooked children to his brother, Thyestes; the death of King Agamemnon at the hand of his wife, Clytemnestra; and the death of Clytemnestra at the hand of her son, Orestes.

<sup>2</sup> Taylour, 1964: 9.

<sup>3</sup> Schliemann, 1878 (he had begun excavating at Mycenae in 1874, but illegally and so this was cut short).

<sup>4</sup> Petrakos, 1987: 28; Gere, 2006: 59. The Society had been set up in 1837 to restore Greek antiquities.

The site had fallen into disrepair following its attack by Argos in 468 BC. Pausanias, in the second century AD, was the first to write about it in detail in his *Periegesis (Guide to Greece)*. It seemed to have been forgotten again until 1700 (see below).

Strangely enough, the Heroic acropolis of Mycenae (or Tiryns) did not seem to arouse much curiosity pre-1800.<sup>5</sup> This is rather surprising given that these sites had often been referred to by ancient authors, such as Homer, Herodotus (ca.484-ca.425 BC), Strabo (65/4 BC-24AD), and Pausanias (second century AD). Moreover, Mycenae and Tiryns were often included in maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD, which, however, were not based on topographical observations, but on descriptions by ancient classical authors.<sup>6</sup>

There are, perhaps, three possible reasons for this apparent lack of interest. First, according to Strabo and Ovid, little of Mycenae or other Heroic sites had survived, and this may well have discouraged travellers from making arduous journeys to sites where little could be seen.<sup>7</sup> In particular, Ovid's quotation "Sparta, Mycenae, were of Greece the flowres [*sic*]; ... now glorious Sparta lyes [*sic*] upon the ground; Loftie Mycenae hardly to be found" (as translated by Sandys in 1632) was often repeated by seventeenth century scholars.<sup>8</sup> The second possible reason was that the Classicism movement encouraged travellers to search only for classical sites and monuments.<sup>9</sup> Hence, although the likes of Jacob Spon, George Wheler and Richard Pococke visited Boeotia, Corinth and the Argolid using Pausanias' *Periegesis (Guide to Greece)* as a guide, they did not visit Mycenae.<sup>10</sup>

The third possible reason for this lack of visitation to Mycenae was that during the medieval period travel to Greece was very limited. It was

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<sup>5</sup> For travellers who visited Mycenae before Schliemann's excavations in 1876, Lavary and French (2003) have compiled the only catalogue of visitors so far. On early French travellers in the Argolid, see also Sève 1993, Karadimas, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> On maps of the Argolid of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, see Giakobaki *et al.* 2006.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, VIII.6.10 and VIII.6.19; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book 15.

<sup>8</sup> See Weever, 1631: 3 and Winstanley, 1687: preface.

<sup>9</sup> Admittedly Mycenae was just part of the classical period, being destroyed at the very beginning in 468 BC, so not readily recognised as a force of that era worth visiting.

<sup>10</sup> Spon, 1678, vol. II: 295; Wheler, 1682: 443; Pococke, 1743-45, vol. II, part 2: 173-174. It should also be noted that William Lithgow camped between Argos and Mycenae, but he did not find Mycenae nor was he able to see other ancient remains because, as he wrote, "the barbarousnesse [*sic*] of Turkes and Time, having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquity" (Lithgow, 1616: 28).

mainly for religious activity, either individuals carrying out spiritual duties or commands, pilgrims on their way to the Holy Lands, or marauding crusaders. Travel by sea was perilous with navigation in its infancy and weather unpredictable. There were also pirates. Travel by land was not a great deal safer as there were feuding warlords and thieves. There were few laws and such travel was both a venture into the unknown, and dangerous. As relations improved between the Byzantine Empire and Western Europe, land travel became more feasible but still very slow. There were no roads (most Romans roads had long since decayed) and travellers relied on horse, mule or foot. Greece itself was just part of the route east as it was not a centre of cultural appreciation or tourism during the Middle Ages. Its fame as such did not develop until the seventeenth century with Mycenae taking a little longer still. In fact, as mentioned above, one of the main problems of visiting Mycenae was that nobody knew where it was.

The first traveller who claimed to have been to Mycenae was the Italian humanist Ciriaco of Ancona, a.k.a. Ciriaco de Pizzicolli (1391-1452), who travelled in the Peloponnese with Pausanias' *Periegesis* in hand in 1447-1448.<sup>11</sup> However, on the basis of a sketch he made, it is evident that he mistook the Hellenistic acropolis of Katsingri for Mycenae.<sup>12</sup> In 1524, the Venetian, Pietro Zeno, wrote that he visited the vestiges of Mycenae, but again it is not certain whether he saw Mycenae or another acropolis or castle.<sup>13</sup> The next alleged visit to Mycenae was made in 1669 by André de Monceaux, who was treasurer in the French city of Caen and was entrusted by the newly founded *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* to collect coins and manuscripts from the East for the royal collections.<sup>14</sup> In the posthumous and contradictory report of his travels in the East (published in 1725), it is mentioned that he saw an amphitheatre 6 miles outside the town of Argos, which he believed to be Mycenae; however, in a letter dated 27 July 1669, he wrote that he saw the acropolis of Tiryns, but he could not find Mycenae.<sup>15</sup> De Monceaux may not have viewed the real Mycenae, but he left a detailed description - the first ever recorded - of the Bronze Age walls of Tiryns, which he reported, the inhabitants called, 'the ancient Nafplio'.<sup>16</sup> Two decades later

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<sup>11</sup> Ciriaco d'Ancona, *Diary V*: 66-68. See, Bodnar and Foss, 2003: 337-339.

<sup>12</sup> Wolters, 1915; see also Karo, 1915.

<sup>13</sup> Zeno's travel book was published by Rinaldo Fulin in 1881 (Fulin, 1881).

<sup>14</sup> On de Monceaux (ca. 1640-1674), see Meynell, 1993; Guilmet and Asvesta, 2007: 107-108.

<sup>15</sup> De Monceaux, 1725: 477-478. For his letter, see Omont, 1902: 1196.

<sup>16</sup> De Monceaux, 1725: 473-474.

in 1691, the French officer, Nicola Mirabal, visited a village called Aghios Georgios where he claimed he saw the ruins of Mycenae.<sup>17</sup> It is clear, however, that he was mistaken, just as Ciriaco of Ancona had been, since the village closest to Mycenae was already known as Charvati by that time.<sup>18</sup>

The first modern, correct, identification of Mycenae seems to have been made in 1700, when the government of Venice ordered Francesco Grimani, Provveditor General of the Armies in Morea, to register all their properties in the Peloponnese. The record was completed under the direction of the engineer, Francesco Vandeyk, who not only made detailed plans for each village, but also studied and described ancient monuments. Among them was the ancient site of Mycenae which he was able to identify on the basis of Pausanias' description. Vandeyk reported a monumental entrance where a triangular relief was sculpted with two lions disposed heraldically against a column. He noted that these lions stepped their forepaws on two altars and, as a result, the entrance is known today as the Lion Gate.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, Pausanias' own description of the Lion Gate<sup>20</sup> was so accurate that it did not leave any doubt that the monumental acropolis, close to the modern village of Charvati, was the site identified by the ancient author as Agamemnon's citadel.

Vandeyk also visited, measured and gave a detailed description of the building commonly known by Pausanias' designation as the Treasury of Atreus, which Vandeyk thought was the tomb of a King of Mycenae. The Treasury was situated in the centre of a hill and remained in an excellent condition. A dromos led to a circular vaulted chamber, which, according to Vandeyk, was constructed from marble; from another door one could enter a smaller square chamber cut into the rock. A lintel at the main entrance of the Treasury was made from one block of stone measuring 24 feet long (ca. 8 m), above which sat a relieving triangle.<sup>21</sup>

Almost thirty years later, from 8 February 1729 until 23 June 1730, the Abbé Michel Fourmont (1690-1746), a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* and Professor of Syriac language at the *Collège de France*, went to Greece to collect manuscripts and inscriptions

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<sup>17</sup> Mirabal, 1698: 102.

<sup>18</sup> The village officially changed its name to Mycenae in 1916 when many villages with Turkish name were rendered to Greek.

<sup>19</sup> His account was found and published in 1880 by Mondry Beaudouin (Beaudouin, 1880).

<sup>20</sup> Pausanias, II. 16. 5.

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed description of the Treasury of Atreus, see Wace, 1949: 26-34.

for the French Royal Library.<sup>22</sup> He was accompanied by his nephew, Claude-Louis Fourmont, and together they conducted research in Attica, the Peloponnese and Sparta. With Pausanias' *Periegesis* in hand, they travelled in the Argolid and endeavoured to see and record the Heroic places described by Pausanias. The two men visited Mycenae where they saw the Lion Gate and the Treasury of Atreus, which Fourmont described as *τάφος τοῦ Ἀτρέου* (Tomb of Atreus).<sup>23</sup>

However, the nineteenth century - before Schliemann - brought many (around 50-60 that are documented) to the citadel of Mycenae, nearly half of them being British, and much was written about the site by these travellers. Even before Schliemann the ruins received some 'public' attention in *The Penny Magazine* in 1833 (Fig. 3).<sup>24</sup>

British curiosity in Mycenae was slow to catch on. It did not really take full effect until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The gentleman traveller of that century has been described as "an introspective observer, literate, acquainted with ideas of the arts and culture, and, above all, a humanist."<sup>25</sup> Although the purpose of the work is to focus mainly on travellers from the English speaking world and their interest in Mycenae, it is not intended to go into minute detail about what has been found there by them. Much has been written about Mycenae between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries<sup>26</sup> and to quote William Clark as early as the middle of the nineteenth century, "These ruins have been described minutely by Colonel Leake, popularly by Mr. Mure, succinctly by the author of the [*John Murray*] *Handbook*, and variously by other travellers."<sup>27</sup> The section on Mycenae from John Murray's *Handbook* is reproduced in the Appendix.

But what brought these travellers to this ancient citadel? It is no classical Greek Acropolis of Athens with its magnificent Parthenon. Was it simply the song of the Homeric goddess beckoning them to the stronghold of the King, Agamemnon, who was to set in motion the anger

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<sup>22</sup> On Fourmont, see Sève, 1993: 31-32 and 38-39.

<sup>23</sup> Omont, 1902: 607-608.

<sup>24</sup> 'The Ruins of Mycenae', April 27, 1833, 68: 159-160.

<sup>25</sup> Kaplan, 1996: 50.

<sup>26</sup> See for instance: Wace, 1949; Mylonas, 1966; Taylour, 1964; Chadwick, 1976; Fitton, 2001; French, 2002; Schofield, 2007.

<sup>27</sup> Clark, 1858: 66. *Murray's Handbook* went through seven editions until 1900: 1840, 1845, 1854, 1872, 1884, 1896 and 1900. These editions were published anonymously; for the real authors, editors, revisers and other contributors, see Lister 1993, 19-20.

of Peleus' son, Achilles, which was to "cause pain thousandfold upon the Achaeans at Troy"?<sup>28</sup> Or was it just plain curiosity?



Fig. 3: The Lion Gate, *The Penny Magazine*, April 27, 1833: 160

This work is about what these early travellers saw and what they thought they were looking at in regard to antiquity. There are particular opinions on the usage of the 'Treasury of Atreus': was it, in fact, a treasury or really a tomb? The views are not exhaustive but attempts have been made to bring back some of the more descriptive and colourful (romantic and poetic) descriptions of the citadel from bygone days. However, it begins with a brief review of what Mycenae meant to the ancient world before it entered the academic world of British classical literature, ancient prehistory and Aegean archaeology.

Whilst lengthy quotations are generally frowned upon in works of a research nature, we make no excuses for the incorporation of such references from these early travellers as they are the main point of the work – to see what they had seen. To support this contention, in both practice and principle, we quote from the nineteenth century British traveller, Edward Dodwell:

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<sup>28</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, I. 1-2.

A work of this kind [travel journal], from the vary [*sic*] nature of the subject, required numerous quotations, but these have never been amassed for the sake of vain parade or learned ostentation, but solely because they were initially connected with the subject of the Tour ...<sup>29</sup>



Fig. 4: Map of Ancient 'Greece' with Mycenae in the Peloponnese

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<sup>29</sup> Dodwell, 1819, vol. I: iv.



# CHAPTER ONE

## ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN TRAVELLERS TO MYCENAE

It should not be underestimated just how important ancient sources can be for a better understanding of Mycenae. John Lavery and Elizabeth French have gone as far as stating that these references are “largely irrelevant.”<sup>1</sup> This is an odd conclusion to come to. Travellers to the site from the eighteenth century onwards (including Heinrich Schliemann) used the work of ancient authors to form opinions on what they saw. The contributions of these ancient writers have made an enormous impact on our understanding of the site. There needs to be an appropriate examination of their work – not only what they said but, perhaps more importantly, what they did not say. We also need to understand how many of these ancient writers actually visited Mycenae and what they actually saw. It is curious to imagine that the people of the ancient world would show little interest in travelling to see Mycenae, especially considering the popularity of Homer and the tales of the Trojan War. Yet this is the scenario that first comes to mind when considering the available textual evidence.

Mycenae’s presence in ancient mythology, the archaeological record of the site, and the consequences of its fifth century BC destruction by Argos need to be understood when assessing the extent to which the site was visited by the peoples of antiquity. Firstly the importance of the Archaic period at Mycenae is explained and the fashioning in that period of the myths and legends that came to characterise the site. Then the destruction of Mycenae by Argos in 468 BC is considered - how this is described by ancient writers and the impact this would also have on interpreting the site. Following that we consider Pausanias, “an indefatigable Baedeker of the second century AD”,<sup>2</sup> and how accurate his description of the site can be. Finally we look at Agamemnon’s association with Sparta and how this

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<sup>1</sup> Lavery and French, 2003: 1.

<sup>2</sup> Taylour, 1964: 9.

may relate to the frequency at which Mycenae was visited in ancient and more modern times.

Mycenae may not have acquired the reputation it had without its staggering, visible Bronze Age monuments. Consider Thucydides' comment about Sparta and Athens:

Suppose, for example, that the city of Sparta were to become deserted and that only the temples and foundations of buildings remained, I think future generations would, as time passed, find it difficult to believe that the place had really been as powerful as it was represented to be ... If, on the other hand, the same thing happened to Athens, one would conjecture from what met the eye that the city had been twice as powerful as in fact it is.<sup>3</sup>

Such an impression as at Athens may have been gained by those early visitors to Mycenae – shaping its reputation for the next three thousand years.

## **Homer and Mycenae**

Any analysis of ancient textual references relating to Mycenae must, of course, start with Homer. Mycenae was immortalised by the Homeric epics. Its characterisation as the capital of the Greeks principle leader – Agamemnon – would ensure the site's fame for millennia to come. What historical fact may lie behind the tales of Homer, the other works of the Epic Cycle, and the story of the Trojan War is a vast topic that goes far beyond the limits of this publication. It is tempting to think of bards in the Late Bronze Age palaces putting the tales of returning Greek warriors from Troy into legendary poetry. Ancient Greek historians certainly treated the war as if it was an historical fact. Thucydides (460-400 BC), for example, took for granted the power and the empire that Agamemnon had in the *Iliad* as fact when he said, "... he had a stronger navy than any other ruler; thus, in my opinion, fear played a greater part than loyalty in the raising of the expedition against Troy."<sup>4</sup> Pausanias is another example, frequently quoting Homer to verify information.<sup>5</sup> Yet, writers from antiquity also noted that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could not portray a completely accurate historical record of events. Thucydides also noted that poets "exaggerate the importance of their themes" and that they were "less interested in telling the truth than in catching the attention of their

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<sup>3</sup> Thucydides, I. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Thucydides, I. 9.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Pausanias, I. 12.5.

public.”<sup>6</sup> Modern academia, on the whole, rightly shares this scepticism and has moved on from the Schliemann point of view that the remains of Mycenae convey the *complete* reality of the Homeric record. However, a lot of ancient and nineteenth century (AD) travellers and authors took Homer very seriously, and so we should take into consideration how Homer portrays Mycenae and its king, Agamemnon.

Mycenae, as would be expected from a great capital, was given an impressive description by Homer. References to the “Well founded citadel of Mycenae ...”<sup>7</sup> and “... golden Mycenae”<sup>8</sup> illustrate a city of impressive grandeur and success. It was also divinely favoured. Homer has the queen the gods, Hera herself, as saying, “There are three cities dearest of all to me, Argos and Sparta and wide wayed Mycenae.”<sup>9</sup> Divine support is also given to its leader Agamemnon. The *Iliad* also says “...and Athena and Hera thundering over him, showing honour to the king of golden Mycenae.”<sup>10</sup> Agamemnon’s legitimacy, as the greatest of the Greek kings and as head of the Greek expedition, is underlined by his inheritance of a sceptre constructed by the god Hephaistos. Before addressing the Greek army he holds in his hand the sceptre, “... the work of Hephaistos’ labour. Hephaistos gave it to lord Zeus the son of Kronos: and Zeus gave it to Hermes the guide, the slayer of Argos: and lord Hermes gave it to Pelops the charioteer ...”<sup>11</sup> This sceptre is then passed down generations of leaders to Agamemnon, symbolising both his lineage and divine approval.

Agamemnon is given a wide, but rather ambiguous territory in the *Iliad*. He is “... king over many islands and all of Argos.”<sup>12</sup> However, later in the same book Mycenae is said to control land that stretches in the opposite direction towards “wealthy Corinth and well-founded Kleonai” – with no mention of Argos or any islands.<sup>13</sup> What is distinctly unambiguous in Homer is the portrayal of Agamemnon as a powerful warlord:

... and among them went lord Agamemnon, looking in eyes and head like Zeus who delights in thunder, like Ares in his waist, and his chest like Poseidon’s. Just as in the herd the bull is far the foremost of all cattle, and

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<sup>6</sup> Thucydides, I. 21 (for English translators of all ancient texts, see bibliography).

<sup>7</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II. 569-609.

<sup>8</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, VII. 150-188.

<sup>9</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, IV. 31-72.

<sup>10</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XI. 33-71.

<sup>11</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II. 73-113.

<sup>12</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II. 73-113.

<sup>13</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II. 569-609.

among the crowding cows he stands preeminent: so Zeus made the son of Atreus on that day, outstanding in the mass and foremost among heroes.<sup>14</sup>

In a conversation between Priam and Helen, Priam asks, “Who is he, this tall and manly Achaean? There are others of great stature, but I have never set eyes on a man so fine looking or so distinguished: he has the look of a king.” Helen answers that it is Agamemnon who is, “... both a good king and a strong fighter with the spear ...”<sup>15</sup> Agamemnon’s superior status among the Greeks was portrayed by Homer in terms of being the most powerful and highly prestigious ruler and also down to his personal physique and his strengths in the arts of war. For example, Homer referred to Agamemnon in the following way, “And among them he himself armed in gleaming bronze, in the pride of his glory, and outstanding among all the heroes, because he was the greatest of men and brought by far the largest army.”<sup>16</sup> He also has Achilles, the finest warrior in the Greek expedition as saying, “Son of Atreus, we know how superior you are to all others, and how much you are the best in strength for the spear throw.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Mycenae in the fifth century BC**

The citadel of Mycenae continued to be occupied from the Late Bronze Age to the fifth century BC and played an important part in the politics of the Argolid. Although an independent entity, it appears to have come under the heavy influence of Argos.<sup>18</sup> Thucydides, who would have known of Mycenae in late fifth century BC, said that it was of modest size, “Mycenae certainly was a small place, and many of the towns of that period do not seem to us today to be that imposing ...”<sup>19</sup> Yet, the influence Mycenae seems to have had changed in 494 BC after the Battle of Sepeia when the Argive army was destroyed by the Spartans.<sup>20</sup> This devastating loss may have given the Mycenaeans the freedom to act more independently;<sup>21</sup> contributing troops against the Persians at Thermopylae

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<sup>14</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II. 442-483.

<sup>15</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, III. 151-192.

<sup>16</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, II. 569-609.

<sup>17</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII. 860-897.

<sup>18</sup> In Greek mythology this is explained by the invasion of the Heraclidae who overthrew the descendants of Agamemnon and based themselves at Argos (see Herodotus IX. 27; Pausanias, II. 18. 4-7).

<sup>19</sup> Thucydides, I. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Herodotus, VI. 77-78.

<sup>21</sup> Diodorus of Sicily (hereafter Diod. Sic.), II. 65.5.