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THE GREEK ARMY AT TROY AND ITS LOGISTICS. BASED ON THE “CATALOG OF SHIPS” CALLED “BOEOTIA” FROM THE SECOND BOOK OF HOMER’S ILIAD

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ABSTRACT: The author showed a fragment of the Iliad referred to as the Catalogue of Ships, also called Beotia (Bojotia). The name of this part comes from the Beots, whose troops, arriving at Troy, were listed in the Catalogue as the first. The list contains information about the Greek armed forces, rulers and chiefs of the Greek peoples who took part in the naval expedition and the war against the Trojans.

It also determines the number of ships brought by the Greeks to Troy. Eager to go to war, they put themselves in Beotia near the city of Aulis where, on the Strait of Eurypus, a large port was located. It can also be assumed that the Catalogue of Greek troops begins with the army of Beotia because the ports of this land were chosen as the place of concentration of troops for the expedition against Troy.

A collection of works called the Trojan Cycle was also characterized, which includes 29 books and from which only small fragments (epitomai) and summaries in the so-called Chrestomatia have survived. Despite such poor literature, they are an important source in reproducing the content of the Trojan cycle.

The passage showing the Achaean army at Troy, which is a list of Greek nobility, is often omitted in the editions of the Iliad. However, for those studying the art of war, it is an extremely important record of Europe’s past.

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Homer, considered to be the father of epic poetry, is the oldest European poet known by name. Homer's works have influenced European culture and the culture of the entire western world, up to and including modern times. They have been translated into many languages, and each era has interpreted his texts based on current literary trends.

Homer is credited with the authorship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as well as the *Batrachomyomachia* and the *Homeric Hymns*. (Scholars of ancient literature believe that Homer's hymns (which include *On Apollo Delius*, *On Apollo Pythias*, *On Hermes*, *On Demeter*, *On Aphrodite*) are the works of various poets who lived between the 7th and 5th centuries BC.). They are more poetic tales than hymns, but retain the language of Homer (*Antique novellas*, 1986, p. 4).

No Greek poet surpassed Homer in fame. Temples were erected on the islands of Ios and Chios dedicated to him and statues of him were erected in Olympia and Delphi. In the ancient world, there was no poet who surpassed Homer in fame.

According to the explanations of ancient scholars, cyclic poets (also called cyclicists) were literary creators "who wrote down around the *Iliad* what came before it, or what came after, in addition to Homer's poems themselves" (Castleden, 2008, pp. 15–17; Kumaniecki, Michałowski, Winiczuk, 1990, p. 168). Cyclic poets drew on the same legends and hero myths as Homer, but developed different themes. Therefore, it was assumed that their works were many times explanations or supplements to Homer's works. Cyclic poets are the epic poets of archaic Greece who authored great literary cycles (*Letters of the epic cycles of ancient Greece*, 2022).

The entire collection known as the Trojan Cycle was 29 books and about 18,000 verses and only small fragments (*epitomai*) and summaries in the so-called *Chrestomatia*, authored by Proklos, have survived. *Chrestomatia* is an abbreviated title adopted in modern scholarly literature. The full original title is: *Excerpts from the Grammatical Chrestomatia*. Despite this paucity, Proclus' *epitomai* are an important source in reconstructing the content of the Trojan Cycle (Phocius, 2006, p. 174 *passim*).

Proklos Neoplatonist of Constantinople (c. 410–485 BC); Greek philosopher born in Lycia; studied at Alexandria and Constantinople before

settling in Athens where he headed the Neoplatonic school and was its last famous representative; critic of Christianity and one of the last great representatives of Greek philosophy; by systematising it, he exerted a great influence on the development of European thought in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He was the author of dozens of school lectures (writings) and hymns in honour of the gods; his main works were 'Elements of Physics' (*Stoicheiosis physike*) and 'Elements of Theology' (*Stoicheiosis theologike*); he also wrote commentaries on the writings of Plato, Euclid and Claudius Ptolemy; he continued the teaching of Plotinus, Porphyry and Jamblichos. The author of the *Chrestomatia* may also have been another Proklos, an unrecognised grammarian from the 2nd century; an analysis of the literature shows that Proklos no longer had access to the cyclic poems themselves and probably used unknown mythographic works or earlier summaries (Świderkówna, 1982, p. 390).

The Trojan Cycle shows the events from the genesis of the war to the death of Odysseus.

1. The *Kypria* (*Kypriaka epe*) – these are the Tales of Cyprus in 11 books, attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus (or Hegesias of Salamina [in Cyprus]) – covered the events preceding the action of the *Iliad*; they describe the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, the court of Paris, the kidnapping of Helen and the first nine years of the Trojan War. Stasinus, Greek epic poet from the 7th century BC, author of a cyclical poem (*Kypria* – Tales of Cyprus); fragments and summaries made by Proklos (grammarian from the 2nd century AD) have survived from *Kypria*.

2. The Trojan War (*Iliad*) by Homer – in 24 books, begins with Achilles' wrath against Agamemnon; the Catalogue (also called the Beotia – after the first country listed in the list of armies arriving at Troy); could also be called the *Achilleid* if the names of the chiefs fighting at Troy were taken as the canon. Troy (which refers to the archaeological monument of Troy VIIA) was built around 1300 BC. Its builder, according to Homer, was Laomedon – the father of King Priam (Hammond, 1994, p. 100; Luce, 1987, p. 138 *passim*).

3. *Aethiopides* (*Aithiopsis*) – in 5 books; attributed to Artkinos of Miletus, 7th century BC; which saw the action from the end of the *Iliad* and the arrival of the queen of the Amazons to the aid of Troy; to the death

of Achilles, who earlier still kills Memnon (the new leader of the Trojans) and the queen of the Amazons, Penthesilea.

The 4th Little Troy (Ilias Mikra; Iliad Minor) – 4 books, attributed to Lechs of Pyrrha on Lesbos (or Kinajthon of Lakedaimon) narrated the events of the end of the war and the destruction of Troy; more precisely from the moment when Odysseus was handed the shield of Achilles to the capture of Troy;

here the arrival at Troy of Philoctetes is also described, who during the war remained on the island of Lemnos for 9 years wounded after a snake bite. However, he arrives at Troy and is only healed here. Philoctetes is the owner of the arrows of Heracles. Without these arrows, Troy could not be conquered. With one of them, Philoctet mortally wounded Paris. Little Troy also includes the events surrounding the wooden horse. The Greeks built a huge wooden horse in which they hid a group of warriors (in the military history of Europe, this was the first known special task force) and the remaining troops of their army pretended to swim away from the Trojan shores (Królikowski, 2003, pp. 17–21).

5. The Destruction of Troy (Iliu persis) – in 2 books also attributed to Artkinos of Miletus (or Lesches of Lesbos); shows the Trojans attempting to lead a horse into the city at Pergamus; the priest Laokoon warned them against this act but he and his sons were bitten by snakes and die. The Trojans believe that he was shown a bad omen by the gods. The horse was led into the city walls. At night, a special group of Greek warriors left their hiding place in the horse and begin a slaughter of the Trojans.

6. The Returns (Nostoi) – in 5 books, attributed to Hagias of Troy; supplemented the contents of the Odyssey with the story of the return of other heroes from under Troy.

7. The Odyssey – in 24 songs by Homer; this is the story of Odysseus' return from war to his native Ithaca;

8. The Tale of Telegonos (Telegonia) – in 2 books; attributed to Eugamon of Cyrene (6th century BC) shows the further fate of Odysseus and the story of the son Telegonos born to him by Kirke, who killed his father during one of his expeditions (Świderkówna, 1982, p. 179).

The events described took place in Mycenaean Greece, also known as Aegean Greece. This civilisation was formed on the island of Crete, but

did not last very long (Wipszycka, 2020, no. 10, p. 9). It was destroyed by a crisis beginning at the end of the 13th century BC. Its nature and causes were certainly manifold and, in addition to the assumption of economic influence and social conflicts, exhausting wars between Greeks and external attacks were certainly of great importance. Agamemnon had already been engaged in warfare in the hinterland of Asia Minor skirmishing with the Arzawa people and the Hittites. The lands inherited from his grandfather Tantalus were in dispute. These territories were also raided by Hittite corsairs. However, it took many expeditions across the Aegean Sea to repel the Hittite onslaught (Bibby, 1967, p. 449). The war for Troy described by Homer, in the *Iliad*, also belonged to one such conflict.

Today, we cannot say with absolute certainty that the *Iliad* appeared as an unwritten text. The title of the work comes from the expression *he Ilias poiesis* – a song about Ilion (Troy). The epic tells the story of the final, but not the last, 50 days, of the Trojan War, which lasted 10 years. The work is a sumptuous source of information about the events of one of the most famous wars in world history.

One might think that the Trojan War was an act of revenge. Although King Agamemnon had long desired to conquer the invincible, economically powerful city, the pretext for his attack was only given by the kidnapping of the beautiful Helen and the theft of her jewels by Paris, prince of Troy. Paris also abducted Clymene (mother of Palamedes, son of Nauplios – king of Euboea) and Ajtras (mother of the Athenian Theseus) (Stabryła, 2004, p. 42). Menelaos turned to his powerful brother for help to wash away the disgrace he had suffered because of his wife's escape. The reprisal was to be a war between the city-states of Greece and Troy. For a war, with such a powerful state as Troy, it was necessary to prepare well and this required time. Each of the states wishing to support the expedition was to refurbish old ships and build a sufficient number of new ones within two years. A further three years were needed to assemble, arm and equip the contingent and to stockpile grain and food (mainly live animals). Even before declaring war and launching the expedition, the Achaean command needed to know what forces would take part so that the whole endeavour would not end in disaster (Stabryła, 2004, pp. 73–74, 81).

An extremely valuable passage in the Iliad is the so-called Catalogue of the ships also called Beotia (Boiotia), [in Iliad verses: 484–877]. The name comes from the Beots, whose troops, arriving at Troy, are listed first in the Catalogue. The Catalogue contains information about the Greek armed forces, rulers and commanders of the Greek peoples who took part in the naval expedition and war against the Trojans. It also identifies the number of ships brought by the Greeks to Troy. Those willing to go to war were stationed in Beotia near the city of Aulis where, on the straits of Eurypus, a sizable port was situated. It can also be assumed that the catalogue of Greek armies begins with the army of Beotia, because the ports of this land were chosen as a place to concentrate troops for the expedition against Troy.

At the call of the brothers (Menelaus and Agamemnon), the greatest warriors of ancient Greece marched towards the Aulidian coast to support a just cause. At the head of the entire expedition was Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, brother of Menelaos, the most powerful of all Achaean rulers.

Achilles, Ayas the Telamonian (named after his father, Telamon) and Phojnix (king of the Dolopes) were chosen as commanders of the united Achaean fleet. This may have meant that the fleet was to move in three groupings.

Odysseus, Palamedes and Diomedes were chosen as commanders of the land army, and they were to distribute functions and tasks among themselves (Stabryła, 2004, s. 78).

The composition of the Greek army and the number of ships that arrived at Troy:

Armies from cities and lands	Commanders	Number of ships
[Boeoci] – Hyria, Aulida, Schojnos, Skol, Etejon, The-speia, Grai, Mycalez, Harma, Eilesion, Erythrea, Elejon, Hyla, Peteon, Medeon, Okalea, Eutrezida, Kopai, Thysba, Koroneia, Haliartos, Plataea, Glisant, Hypotheba, Onchestos, Pozeidon, Midea, Arna, Anthedon, Niza	Lejtos Peneleos Prothoenor Klonios Arkesilaos	50 á 120 people Σ 6 000 Warriors
Aspledonia, city of Minean Orchomnie	Ascalaf Jalmen	30

Armies from cities and lands	Commanders	Number of ships
Phocians: Kyparyssa, Python, Kryza and cities: Aulida, Panopeia, Anemorea, Jampola, Lilaja	Epistroff[os] Schedios	40 [black ships]
[Locroi] Opoent, Kynos, Kalliaros, Bessa, Skarfa, the cities of Augai, Tarfa, Thronion	Ajas	40 [black ships]
[from Abai] Ewboja, Eritrea, Chalcis, Histeja, Kerynth, Dios, Karystos, Styra	Elfenor	40 [black ships]
Athens	Menesteus	50 [black ships]
Sal[amina]	Ajas [the Great son of Telamon]	12
Argos, Tyrynth, Hermione, Azina, Ejonea, Trosia, Epidaurus, Aegina, Maza	Diomed[es] Sthenelos Eryal	80 [black ships]
Mycenae, Corinth, Cleon, Orneja, Arajthra, Sykyon, Hyperezya, Gonoessa, Pellena, Aigios, Helika	Agamemnon	100
Lakedemon, Fara, Sparta, Messa, Bryzeje, Avgei, Amykla, Helos, Ojtyla, Lay	Menelaos	60 a 100 people Σ 6 000 Warriors
Pylosic, Arena, Thyrena, Ajpa, Amphigeneia, Kyparyssa, Pteleos, Helos, Dorios	Nestor	90
Arcadia, Orchomen, Peneos, Kypa, Strata, Enispa, Tegea, Mantyneia, Stymfel, Parhazyia	Agapenor	60
Buprazion, Elida, between Hyrmina, Myrsyn, Alejzios and Olensk	Amfimachos Thalpios Amarynkajdes Polixen	40
Dulichia, Echinadean Islands	Meges	40
[Kefalonians] – Ithaca, Neryt, Crocilea, Aigilipia, Zakynth, Samos	Odysseus	12
Pleury, Olena, Pylen, Kalydon, Chalcis	Thoas	40
Crete, Knosos, Gortyna, Lyktos, Miletus, Lykastos, Phaistos, Rytios	Idomen Merion	80
Lindos, Jelysus, Kameiros	Heraclites Tlepolem	9
Sym	Nirej	3
Nizyr, Kaza, Kos, the island of Kalyndos	Fejdyppos Antiph	30
Argos, Alopa, Alos, Trechia, Hellas, Phtilia	Achilles	50

Armies from cities and lands	Commanders	Number of ships
Fylaka, Pyraz, Ithon, Antron, Ptelej	Prothesilaos Podarkes	40
Fera, Bojba, Glafira, Jolka	Ewmel	11
Metheona, Thawmakia, Meliboja, Olizon	Philoctetes Medon	7
Trykka, Ithoma, Ojchalia	Machaon Podaleros	30
Ormenion, Asterios, Titan's white hills	Eripil	40
Agrissa, Gyrtion, Ortha, Helon, city of Oloossa	Polipoites	40
Kyf, Enion, Peraiba, Dodon	Protoos	22
Penei, Pelios	Proto	40

The timing of the expedition was also important. The sea storms were abating in the spring, but the Achaeans were surprised by the lack of wind in the Aegean, which made it difficult to sail out of port. This was supposed to be the revenge of the goddess Artemis, who punished Agamemnon in this way for killing a deer in the sacred grove. The king of Argolida had to sacrifice his eldest daughter Iphigenia to propitiate the goddess. This event was depicted by Euripides (Eurypides, 1924). It is difficult to say today whether the Greek fleet sailed only from the port of Aulis. Strabon believed that the port of Aulis could only accommodate 50 ships (Strabon, 1620, p. 403; <http://ancientrome.ru>) and therefore claimed that the Greek army also sailed from a neighbouring port, according to Strabon, an anchorage organised on a larger bay called Bathys Limen. Stabryła identifies Argos as the place where the troops were concentrated. (Stabryła, 2004, p. 75).

The Achaean warriors set out, at hitherto unconquered Troy, from 29 lands on 1,186 ships. The Greek troops (contingents), estimated to have arrived at Troy in the force of 100,000, were commanded by 43 commanders. It was the largest fleet and the largest army of warriors ever to set sail on a war expedition from the coast of mainland Greece (Bibby, 1967, p. 459).

Among the elite troops was the formation of King Menelaus of Sparta, fighting at the walls of Ilion. It was a troop of 6,000 hoplites. Menelaos was

the son of the Mycenaean king Atreus; husband of Helen and brother of Agamemnon. This ruler brought the bravest Spartan soldiers to Troy, who formed a separate, independent and relatively numerous formation at Troy. The king was distinguished from others by his courage and determination, and “like king like army” – emphasised the ancient writers.

In the Greek army, the Myrmidons, commanded by Achilles, were considered the bravest and cruellest. The warriors of this formation were descended from the mythical Achaean people inhabiting the southern part of Thessaly. Achilles brought 5,000 warriors (Zamarovsky, 2006, pp. 8–9) to Troy and half of them were Myrmidons (Ovid, 1969, book VII, pp. 36-38; Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book II. 680-684; Rev. XVI. 65; Rev. XIX. 278), also known as Hellenes or Achaeans (Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book II. 684-685). This command was certainly due to the fact that Peleus (Achilles’ father) was king of the Myrmidons in Thessaly Phthalia. According to Homer, Achilles commanded 2,500 Myrmidons, but this contingent may have been supplemented by warriors attached to the Thessalian contingent, from Argos in Argolida and also, according to Homer, from Alopeia, Alos, Trechia, Hellada and Phthia [Phthya]. These men were seen as brutal and uncouth soldiers, who inflicted cruelly on their opponents with their annoyance. The Myrmidonian warriors were characterised by great discipline in battle, but also a great propensity for plunder. Achilles brought his contingent on 50 ships and on each came 50 Myrmidons. A total of 2,500 warriors thus arrived at Troy, forming five divisions. It can be inferred that there were 500 soldiers in each, and each had 10 ships at their disposal. The Myrmidons also had horses and battle wagons (chariots) at their disposal. It can be thought that horses and chariots were concentrated in the Fourth Myrmidon Division (Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book XVI.196–197).

- 1st Myrmidon Squad commander Menestios; son of Spercheios;
- 2nd Myrmidon Squad – Eudoros; son of Hermes;
- 3rd Myrmidon Squad – Peysandros; son of Majmalos;
- 4th Myrmidon Squad – Phojniks, described as a aged horseman;
- 5th Myrmidon Squad – Alkimedon; son of Laerkes.

The fact that, under the command of a most distinguished warrior, the Myrmidons took part in the Trojan expedition is indicative of their atti-

tude during the battle. The bravery of Achilles as a leader and his soldiers gives this formation an elite character (Leebaert, 2010, pp. 36, 602 [footnote 10]). The Myrmidons should be considered the bravest among the Greek soldiers of the Homeric era, i.e. before the historical Spartans.

The Catalogue also depicts the Trojan forces. On the side of King Priam's army fought 9,000 warriors from the city, 41,000 from around Troy and 11 clusters of allies. Among them Homer mentions: contingents of Paphlagonians, Halidzones, Myzes, Phrygians and Meon (Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book II. 851-866). In addition, the Trojans received support from Caria, Thrace, Bithynia and Lydia, and Lycaea.

The contingent from Lycia was led by the king of this country, Sarpedon. He was supported by Glaucus (Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book II. 876). Sarpedon found himself in a difficult position when Agamemnon offered him cooperation, noticing the favorable location of his country and ports (south of Troy). The commander of the Greek expedition decided that he could set up a war base for the Achaean fleet in the ports of Lycia. However, Sarpedon refused when Priam persuaded him to ally with Troy with twice as much gold as the Achaeans (Stabryła, 2004, pp. 81-82).

Together, the Trojan forces numbered over 50,000. soldiers. ... A thousand fires are burning, and at each sit. Fifty heroes shining from copper... (Homer, *Iliad*, 1804, book VIII, lines: 575-576; Homer *Iliad*, 1972, book VIII. 561-562).

The allies of the Trojans were neighbors near and far. They showed up in the city on the Scamander for various reasons. Some were driven by kinship with Priam, others by the desire for military adventures. Everyone was aware that the Achaeans, after conquering the city, would turn militarily against other countries of Asia Minor (Krawczuk, 1985, p. 228). Their ability to stop the Achaean momentum was strengthened by the defensive walls of Troy.

The policy of the Hittites also turned out to be a great support for the Trojans, whose governor waged wars in Lydia with the troops of Sparta Atreus and his son Menelaus (Cotterell, [ed. by], 1990, pp. 118-124; see Gurney, 1970; Klengel E. and H., 1974). Menelaus, returning from one of the expeditions by the northern route, visited Troy, which made a great impression on him as a defensive point (Bibby, 1967, p. 454). The Hittites,

pushed north in the course of the struggle by the Muscovites and the Phrygians, formed a loose coalition in Lydia. In this federation, the most influential state was Troy, which always retained its political and military independence (Bibby, 1967, p. 459).

The army and its soldiers actually prove themselves in the reality of war. However, city fortifications well prepared for defense stood before them to overcome. The history of urban settlement on Hissarlik Hill, where Homeric Troy is identified, is still debated and analysed by historians and archaeologists. The fortified city was located on the northeast coast of Asia Minor. The vast plain at the foot of the Ida mountain range was intersected by the valley of the Scamander River. Near the coast, where a small tributary called Simois flowed into the Scamander, there was a hill Hissarlik, on which the walled city of Troy stood. At the site described, archaeologists distinguish nine layers of cities and settlements identified by Roman numerals as successive Troy. Among others, walls up to 3 m thick have been discovered at Troy I (Majewski, 1963, p. 58). Fortified cities and fortresses were usually built in hard-to-reach places. This was to make it difficult for foreign troops to enter the city. As Homer wrote, “the walls of the city, which were beautifully erected” ... (Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book XXI, verse 516) ... “could fall in ruins” (Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book XXI, verse 517) “there are so many fighting men around the Priam’s city” (Homer, *Iliad*, 1972, book XXI, verse 449).

The buildings and ruins of Troy II indicate that they were built of large boulders and included a settlement with an area whose cross-sections reached 40 to 45 meters. The walls were closed with an outer gate and an inner gate which stopped the assault. The town was entered through these gates but the castle, also sheltered by an inner wall, required extra effort when storming. The layout of the buildings (walls, rooms and castle) of Troy II resembles in its layout the buildings of the city described by Homer. Similar archaeological findings and descriptions of the city apply to Troy VI. It can be concluded that these cities were twinned which was forced by terrain conditions (Majewski, 1963, p. 59).

The Achaeans arrived at Troy in 1193 and ten years later were still stuck under its walls. This indicates that the Greek army lacked specialists in the art of siege warfare. The Trojan War was therefore a classic conflict of that

era and was fought under the walls or on the walls. Breaking into a fortress or fortified city was extremely difficult at the time. More often than not, it was successful by surprise or trickery. During this period, few armies of the area had specialists in the art of siege warfare. These included the Egyptian army and the Hittites, but the armies of these countries performed their own tasks and did not engage in the Greek conflict. In an earlier period, the masters of fortress warfare were the Assyrians (Bibby, 1967, p. 460). It follows that the struggle at Troy was not the only conflict in the eastern Mediterranean, the Asia Minor peninsula and Egypt during this period.

In the course of war struggles, especially on a large scale, one of the most important tasks is logistics, securing the army with food and equipment. During the threat of war, activities of a logistical nature also found reference to the population of threatened cities. The provision of necessities, mainly food, is referred to in the language of the rear forces and in the literature as – provisioning.

Provisioning is a term that means “groceries, food” (Dictionary of foreign words, ed. PWN, 2002, p. 69) and also “supplying the population with food”. Provisioning should also be understood as: “it is the provision of necessities to the population (but also to the army), especially food” (Dictionary of polish language, ed. PWN, 1979, vol. 1, p. 71; Dictionary of words ed. PWN, 2002, p. 69). So also the term *aprovide*, means “to supply necessities, especially food”.

The importance of food problems and the difficulty of solving them is always of great importance, both in peacetime and in wartime. However, under conditions of war, the problem increases immeasurably. There can always be negative economic processes for the state, as well as for the states and cities neighbouring the war activities. In ancient times, the population and above all the army were affected by such phenomena as:

- disorganisation of production;
- looting;
- destruction;
- shortage of factors of production;
- The displacement of masses of people (and also of large armies) can consequently cause, the phenomenon of famine that accompanies wars.

Such phenomena have occurred in the past and have accompanied armies. Ever since mankind has been fighting wars, there have been problems of provisioning that needed to be solved. It was (and still is) a matter of obtaining food in the right quantities and structure, as well as transporting it and protecting it from spoilage, destruction (generally speaking, loss). A dedicated or specially organised service, today referred to as logistics, was responsible for efficient provisions in the army.

In Greece, there was the office of *logistas*, whose task was to control officials with access to state money. Logisticians were known in Athens, on Delos, in Ephesus, Eretria, and on Tenos. In Beotia, their counterparts were *kaptotes*; in Iasos (Asia Minor), *synegoros*; in Knidos, Chios, Smyrna and Halicarnassus, they were called *eksetastes* (Fredouille, Racht, 2007, pp. 429, 301). The detection of embezzlement of the city's monetary resources resulted in the accusation of the guilty party before the great tribunal (*helia*), which was formed by the general public and which determined the amount embezzled and ordered the official to repay ten times the amount lost.

The process became much more complicated in the course of war, when food and equipment replenishment came from looting. As this is not an easy process special squads (or groups) are often set aside to carry it out. This is because logistics was already understood as a branch of the art of war.

Erich Durschmied's observation seems interesting. This author suggests that precisely for provisioning reasons it is not possible for such a large army to lay siege to a well-fortified city for 10 years. He therefore draws the conclusion that this was not a single expedition but a series of raids, and as he supposes, harassing attacks conducted from the sea. One could partially agree with this theory especially as this mode of action was quite common in this period (Durschmied, 1999, p. 15). It was also characteristic of attacks of a piratical nature.

However, the civilisational (historical) development at the time included the eastern Mediterranean and the area of mainland and insular Greece, which acted as a cultural hegemon in ancient times (Schopen, 1938). The waters bordering Greece allowed for cultural and commercial contact with the civilisations of non-Assyrian Persia and Syria, as well as

Egypt and the peoples of North Africa. The zone of operations of the groups seeking provisions was quite extensive. This did not force the Greek army to abandon the siege. All that was needed was to organise a provisioning force.

In the eastern Mediterranean, where Troy was located, the Aegean Sea stretches. Its waters lap the eastern and southern coasts of the Balkan (Peloponnesian) peninsula, the shores of Asia Minor and further south, Crete. The area of this sea covers 190,000 square kilometres and the characteristic feature of this body of water is the vast number of islands (around 3,000) scattered throughout its area (Szczepański, 1989, pp. 14–20; Atlas of ancient history, 1994, p. 5, [Greece card]). Through the Thracian Bosphorus (today the Bosphorus – is literally “ford for oxen”) it connects to the Propontida (Sea of Marmara) and through the Hellespont (meaning: Helenian route; today: Dardanelles) to the Euxine Pont (Black Sea). This sea basin was extremely important due to its numerous communication and trade routes. In addition, it abounded with coastal cities and towns, trading ports, settlements and anchorages, which could provide an easy target for both pirates and detached troops from the army seeking supplies for the military.

Because of the extensive coastline throughout the Mediterranean (i.e. the sea navigated by the Hellenes), smaller bodies of water and routes are distinguished on which Greek ships but also Phoenician (Herodotus, 2006, book I. 202, p. 107), Egyptian and pirate ships sailed. The Greeks were interested in the areas to the south and east of the Mediterranean coast both for reasons of trade and colonisation of these lands (Aksamitowski, 2013, p. 37).

In the course of the war, the Achaean army had to divide its forces by assigning them separate tasks. Part of the force was forced to stand at the walls of Troy conducting major or minor skirmishes and clashes with the city’s defenders. The rest of the Greek fleet certainly had other tasks, carrying out a series of operations to secure food and material for the troops. It thus made forays into the surrounding towns, settlements and villages. It also organised expeditions and raids to the Aegean islands, along the coast of Asia Minor and even further afield, where ports and coastal towns were attacked to bring supplies to the troops fighting at Troy. The

most valuable prey was grain and herds of animals, which could be kept in camp thus always using fresh meat. In addition to feeding the army, attention also had to be paid to the tributes (gifts) paid to the gods, which also required considerable supplies. Hecatomba – originally a sacrifice of a hundred oxen to Zeus, but figuratively a great number of sacrifices made during wars. According to Greek beliefs, the gods had a great influence on the course of war events and could decide the final outcome of the struggle.

The armies of the cities of the Greek states had similar menus. The Spartans ate the most modestly. There was a black soup called pottage (supposedly unpalatable; but considered a national dish) but, as the Spartans themselves claimed, ‘they do not live to eat’. In peacetime they also got a piece of pork and bread in any quantity (Kulesza, 2003, p. 156). Even on private grounds, the Spartans did not hold feasts similar to the Persians. Their refreshments, as described by Herodotus (see Herodotus, 2006, book IX. 82), even towards guests were more than modest. If a war expedition was to last about two weeks, everyone taking part had to take food supplies for 20 days. The supplies were carried by a servant or (as in the army of Sparta) assigned to the hoplite – a light-armed perioia (servant, squire). If the hoplite did not have a servant he carried his supplies in a bag on his back. On an expedition, Greek soldiers took: cheese, onions, barley or wheat grain, wine, salted fish or other salted products (Kulesza, 2003, pp. 153–155; Connolly, 1991, p. 55).

It is worth noting that in the course of the war, the fields once belonging to Troy were now sown by slaves and Achaean captives. The Greek army thus had constant access to grain. But the army besieged at Troy also had constant access to food. This was due to the fact that the Greek fleet was unable to maintain a tight blockade of the Dardanelles coast. This was thought to be due to the predominance of strong winds blowing from the north-east. Supplies from small ships approaching the shore could be picked up under cover of darkness or during an excursion (trip) organised for this purpose against the Achaeans.

During the 10 years of the war, Achilles and the Myrmidons made many expeditions to obtain supplies for the army. They raided and looted 23 towns along the eastern seaboard. In addition, the Myrmidons accu-

rately and unscrupulously carried out any orders they received. In the 10th year of the battle of Ilium, Achilles set out with the Myrmidons to the neighbouring kingdom in order to supply the army with food and, thanks to the loots, boost the morale of the Greek troops fighting at Troy (Zamarowsky, 2006, pp. 8–9). The army under Achilles looted and destroyed the cities of Thebe, Lyrnessos and Pedasos to the south-east of Troy (Castleden, 2008, p. 65).

Historians studying the ancient phenomenon of war expeditions link them with elements of maritime robbery. It turns out that this was not always carried out by sailors who could be called pirates. Activities of this nature during war expeditions were engaged in by soldiers of attacking armies and states and nations throughout the Mediterranean (Souza, 2008, pp. 33–40). In antiquity, this was mainly perpetrated by the Phoenicians during their naval expeditions. Activities of this nature were carried out, among others, by the Greek army during the expedition to Troy and throughout the siege of Troy. Pirates then operated mainly from the ports of Asia. It was difficult to distinguish between pirates and heroes in this era. Both took to the sea on their ships to plunder and kill. In the later period, Turkish fleets and North African corsairs ruled the sea. Until the 1830s, the Berbers remained maritime highwaymen operating along the northern (African) coasts of the Mediterranean (Braudel, Coarelli, Aymard, 1982, p. 107; see Bennassar, 2003).

It is worth noting that the Trojan War, fought between 1193 and 1182, was accompanied by numerous expeditions to the surrounding islands and coasts where groups of Achaean troops plundered, kidnapped, captured and murdered the local population. Terrorism on the trade routes and against all sailors makes it possible to argue that the siege of Troy was a component of the trade war waged by the Greeks. Pirate raids by sea were very effective and profitable and, as the great philosopher of antiquity, Aristotle, claimed, became a way of earning a living (Lewis, 2009, p. 14). In Homeric times and almost until the end of the archaic era in Greece, war and piracy, in the form of naval attacks, were seen in the same way and extended over a vast area of the Mediterranean and its adjacent lands and islands. For a certain period also, the practice of piracy was counted as a laudable human occupation (Souza, 2008, pp. 40–43).

In fact, the concept of piracy did not appear until the archaic period of Greek history (around 800 to 500 BC). Before that, it did not formally exist, although there was the practice of plundering ships on the seas and settlements and cities and ports on the coast. Homer's poems (the *Iliad* and especially the *Odyssey*) show groups of people and individuals described and acting as pirates. Trade and piracy are forms of economic activity with a different face and identical purpose – i.e. the desire to gain wealth. Odysseus, even before his expedition to Troy, “led armed troops to distant peoples” nine times, taking what was most expensive (Homer, *The Odyssey*, 1965, book XIV. vers. 219–222), and so growing in possessions (wealth). Trade was possible when the sea lanes were free of pirates or when ships had an escort of ships.

The procedure of plundering coastal towns and countries, linked to the battle for Troy, certainly had its continuation during the return home of the great Greek army. Odysseus, his soldiers, whose return to Ithaca took another 10 years, had to procure supplies. This was a process characteristic of the period, that is, in the era of the decline of Mycenaean culture and migratory invasions. A description of the pirate exploits is provided by the Greek leader Odysseus, as portrayed by Homer in the “*Odyssey*”, which reads as follows: (Homer, *Odyssey*, 2000, book XIV. verse, 249–270; Żuchowicz, 2021, no. 04, p. 8.)

...my adventurous heart was thirsting for Egypt. Into these lands I wished to fall, taking my companions and rowing boats. So I arm nine ships, the people rush to me. Six days I opened the larder to these volunteers, I served them generously, and the slaughtered oxen went to the gods for sacrifice and to their tables. On the seventh, from the shores of Crete when the boats set sail, with a good north wind we glided along the water. Lightly, as if with the current, that nothing broke down in any *sudno* [ship], and health revived wonderfully driven by the auspicious wind and the helmsman's hand. After five days an Egyptian river greeted us. Having entered it, I ordered the ships to be held, and the brave companions of our expedition were ordered to guard the ships and keep to the banks, while spies were sent to the nearby hills. But the disobedient ones, in their blind insolence, attacked some of Egypt's beautiful domains, took wives and

children into slavery, and chopped husbands to pieces! When this was reported to the city, crowds rushed to the rescue on horseback and on foot in the morning” (see Homer, *The Odyssey*).

The Corinthians were the first, in the archaic period, to support the merchants and actively act against the pirates (Tukidides, 1995, book I. 13). At the end of this period, the differences between commercial warfare and piracy became apparent in the Greek world. Until then, the difference between warfare (based on law) and piracy was only a matter of interpretation (Łoposzko, 1994, p. 35 *passim*).

The phenomenon of piracy in the waters of the ancient Mediterranean Sea was still reviving. Pirates carried out plunder on their own account or while serving in the army of some ruler or city, which became some form of protection against possible retaliatory consequences. However, it never protected them from revenge. It is clear from the historical records of antiquity that the rulers of the time often used pirates (as mercenaries) during their conquests. Just as often, the Greek islands and city-states, *inter alia* Athens, Sparta or Rhodes waged wars against pirates, who had a great influence on the free maritime trade in the Aegean Sea at a time when their own power was growing. Pirates were thus an important economic, military and political factor in the Hellenistic world (Bodnarski, 1957, p. 374).

The Catalogue (Beotia) is to this day considered the golden book of Greek nobility. Every family and tribe referred to their ancestors fighting in the Trojan War. The Catalogue was also invoked in political disputes in Greece. In the modern era, a list of a great number of names, surnames and numbers allow analyses of the geopolitics and military strategy of the time. Although it refers, presumably, to people living 500 years later, a period when Homer lived.

After 10 years of fighting and many personal clashes, the Greeks, using the ruse of war, broke into the city. The incursion into Troy by means of a wooden horse was advised by Prylis (son of Hermes), and his idea was later credited to himself by Odysseus, the cunning king of Ithaca. The Trojan horse was built by Epejos (son of Panopeus) the Phokian of Parnassus with the help of the goddess Athena.

Almost the entire royal family was slaughtered. King Priam, his wife and grandson were killed. The most beautiful Trojan women, together with Hector's wife Andromache, were taken captive. Helen returned to her husband Menelaus along with the treasures stolen by Paris, the city was burned.

For some historians of ancient culture, Homer's 'Iliad' is the 'Bible of the Europeans' ... and if for some it is just mythology, how real it is. For some, it is a story showing the real events of the Mycenaean era. These events were aptly put by Nikos Chadzinikolau when he wrote in the introduction to the Iliad, which he translated into Polish: "In it, Homer praises man at war, enslaved by his suffering and the gods. But at the same time he highlights his beauty and nobility, his dignity, valour and prudence" (Homer, 2001).

The Iliad has never lost its relevance.

When, nearly 860 years later, Alexander III set out with his Macedonian army to conquer the Persian Empire, and in fact of Asia, he never parted with his copy of the Iliad (Flavius Arrian, 2004, book I.11). This was the second such major expedition of the Greek army to Asia. At the start of the expedition, Alexander crossed the Hellespont and was the first Greek soldier to jump off a ship onto Asian soil, on the beach near Troy (Marcus Junianus Justinus, 1988, book XI.5-6; Zamarovsky, 2006, [Protesilaos], p. 393; Green, 1978, pp. 156-159). He then went to the region of Troy to make offerings to the gods and heroes of the struggle at Troy (Plutarch, 1955, [Alexander the Great] book IV.14-15). He had a special veneration for Achilles, whom he wished to match. During the expedition to Troy in 1193 BC, he was the first to jump off the Protesilaos ship onto the beach and became the first casualty of the war. As the oracle proclaimed, whoever stood first on Trojan soil would die. Protesilaos was pierced by Hector's spear. There are several variants of his death in ancient literature.

When he returned to the army at Arisbya, he gave a speech to his soldiers in which he forbade them to ravage and plunder the land they occupied (Marek J. Justinianus, book XI.6; Green, 1978, p. 159), unlike their predecessors at Troy. Alexander did not want to destroy what was soon to become part of his state.

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