

Although it is widely agreed that mature Panhellenism, based on a systematic opposition between Greek and Barbarian, emerged only in the wake of the Persian Wars, the nature of Archaic Panhellenism – and even its very existence – remains open to debate. Scholars who emphasize the role of the Barbarian in the self-definition of the Greeks tend to argue against the rise of Panhellenism prior to the Persian Wars (Hartog 1988; E. Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993, 1995). Others who trace the origins of Panhellenism to internal dynamics are more receptive to an earlier date (Snodgrass 1971; Nagy 1999; Hall 1997, 2002). Akhaian identity in the epics represents an early expression of Panhellenism arising from a combination of internal and oppositional factors. Homeric Panhellenism is based upon a shared language, homeland (*gaia*), and warrior-community (*ethnos*), the unity of the Akhaians only emerges by way of contrast to the diversity of the Trojans and their allies.

Homeric Panhellenism is primarily aggregative, constructed through the extension of more limited identities. It is built from territorial and military units, from the *gaia* and the *ethnos* (cf. Donlan 1985), rather than from groups claiming descent from a common ancestor (cf. J. Hall 1997, 2002). For instance, Homer frequently speaks of a single Akhaian *gaia* (e.g. *Il.* 1.254; *Od.* 13.249), an entity that both resembles and subsumes individual lands such as Lakedaimon or Ithaka (each of which is itself described as a *gaia*: *Il.* 3.244; *Od.* 10.420). Conversely the Trojan *gaia* is always clearly distinguished from the homelands of the allies (e.g. *Il.* 5.687). Homer often sets the Akhaian *gaia* beside the Trojan *polis*, but never compares the former to a more expansive territorial entity encompassing both Trojans and allies (e.g. *Il.* 17.733-46). The same pattern holds true for the Akhaian *ethnos*. Individual military contingents, such as the Pylians or the Lykians, are *ethnea* (*Il.* 12.330), but the Akhaian force as a whole also constitutes an *ethnos* in its own right (*Il.* 17.552). The Akhaian army displays a unity analogous to that of an individual contingent, but the Trojans and allies together do not (Mackie 1996). The process of building a larger identity from individual *gaiai* and *ethnea* is limited to the Akhaians alone.

Even though no strict dichotomy between Greek and Barbarian emerges in Homer, it is the heterogeneity of the defenders of Troy that reveals the unity of the Akhaian invaders. First, although Akhaian epithets are applied indiscriminately to the heroes attacking Troy, Homer never fails to assign the appropriate, specific identity (Trojan, Lykian, Thrakian, etc.) to each the city's defenders. Furthermore, the Akhaians speak freely to one another and to Trojans, but the Trojans and their allies speak diverse languages (e.g. *Il.* 2.802-06, 4.433-38), thus marking one symptom of an inherent disorder in the Trojan force (Mackie 1996; Ross 2005). Finally, although concepts normally limited to individual contingents (*ethnos*, *gaia*) form the basis of a Panhellenic identity, no comparable process of aggregation takes place among the Trojans and their allies. Homer's consistency in these matters is absolute, revealing differences that do not constitute a stark dichotomy between Greek and Barbarian, but do convey a unique and pervasive sense of "complex unity" shared by the Akhaians (Mackie 1996, 20).

Panhellenism exists in the epics, aggregated from smaller territorial and military units. Although no categorical opposition between Greek and Barbarian emerges, the unity of the Akhaians stands in contrast to the diversity of Trojans and allies. And if the epics reflect the world of the late eighth century BC (Snodgrass 1971; Donlan 1980; Morris 1986; Nagy 1996), these features may represent three important contemporary processes: synoikism and territorial delineation among the emerging poleis (de Polignac 1995), the rise of a cosmopolitan elite (Tandy 1997), and intensifying contact with non-Greeks through trade and colonization (Morris 1996).