

## ON THE POSSIBLE PREVIOUS LINKS OF THE DARK AGE AIOLIAN COLONISTS WITH THEIR NEWLY COLONISED TERRITORIES

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### ÖZET

Bu çalışmada Truva Savaşları'ndan (ca.M.Ö.1230-1180) hemen sonraki Karanlık Çağın başlangıcında Hellas anakarasından gelerek ilk aşamada Lesbos ve Anadolu'daki Güney Aiolis, Mysia ve daha sonraları Troad topraklarında koloni şehirleri kuran Aiollerin bu bölgelerle M.Ö.14 yüzyıldan Truva Savaşlarının sonuna kadar olan dönemdeki muhtemel atasal ve siyasi bağlantıları antik edebi metinlerin detaylı analizi ve bir dereceye kadar arkeolojik veriler ışığında ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Konuyla ilgili elimizdeki kaynakların mitolojik döneme ait olması bizleri mitolojinin tarihinin yazılamayacağı düşüncesine sevk etmemelidir. Bu dönemdeki olaylar içindeki muhtemel gerçeklere eldeki kaynaklar mantıklı bir şekilde kavranılarak bir dereceye kadar erişilebilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kolonizasyon, Güney Aiolis, Lesbos, Mysia, Macar, Tantalus, Pelops, Ahhiyawa.

### ABSTRACT

In this study, by making use of the detailed analysis of ancient literary sources and taking into account some relevant archaeological materials, we strive to enlighten the possible previous ancestral and political connections of the Dark Age Aiolian colonists, from 14 th century BC till the end of Trojan Wars, with their newly colonised territories after the Trojan Wars, first in Lesbos, Southern Aiolis and Mysia and later on in Troad in Asia Minor. Although the sources relevant to this era are mythological or legendary, this should not tempt us to believe that a history of mythology can not be written. Some possible realities within these myths could possibly be sorted out as a result of reasonable perceptions by means of the detailed analysis of the available ancient sources.

**Key words:** Colonisation, Southern Aiolis, Lesbos, Mysia, Macar, Tantalus, Pelops, Ahhiyawa.

### Introduction

Some of the modern authors have described the political development of the Dark Age Aiolian colonisation in general terms.<sup>1</sup> By making use of the detailed analysis of ancient literary evidence, in a different approach, we shall, on the other hand, strive to explain the possible ancestral and previous political links of the Aiolian colonists, who came from the Greek Mainland, with their newly colonised territories in Lesbos, Mysia, Troad and Southern Aiolis extending in region between the northern shores of the Elaeian Bay (Çandarlı Körfezi) and the southern parts of the banks of Hermus (Gediz), including Smyrna. We assume that in one way or another the Dark Age Aiolian colonists

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<sup>1</sup> Ramsay 1881, 44-54, 271-308; Tümpel 1893, col.1030-1032 s.v.*Aioles*; Hirschfeld 1893, col.1035-1036 s.v.*Aiolis*; Busolt 1893, 272-276; Cassola 1957, 119-120; Bérard 1959, 1-28; Sakellariou 1958, 4-5; Cook 1970, 25-29, 84-86 and 1975, 776-782; Kirsten 1979, col.180-182, col.180-182 s.v.*Aiolis*; Coldstream 1977, 262-264; Jeffery 1976, 237-243 and 1966, 359-362; Lawrence, 1973, 130-132, 138-139; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 405-421.

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must actually have had the previous knowledge of the places where they went to settle and one of the reasons in choosing to settle in these territories may have been due to the fact that they could easily have developed an ancestral claim over these newly colonised territories on the grounds of their previous genealogical connection and political involvements. Although these connections are rooted in myth, which may have been invented or developed after the foundation of these colonies, the traditions concerning their previous ancestral and political connection with the newly colonized territories are strong and they at least need to be explained within a historical context.

#### **Lesbos**

I assume that by making use of his experience in analyzing the historical material especially by means of analogy, a historian may even reach the sensitivity to feel the real nature of the myths. The issue of previous ancestral connection of the Dark Age Aeolian colonists should not be disregarded, as there are other examples of this. As regard to the case of the establishment of the colony of Thera by Lacedaemonians in the eighth century B.C., Herodotus (*Historiai*, 4.147) states that

Now, about this same time, Theras, a descendant of Polynices through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion, was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. [2] This Theras was of the line of Cadmus and was an uncle on their mother's side to Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; [3] but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not endure to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would no longer stay in Lacedaemon but would sail away to his family. [4] On the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, there were descendants of Membliarus the son of Poecilus, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor had put in at the place now called Thera during his search for Europa; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired to do so, he left on this island his own relation Membliarus together with other Phoenicians. [5] These dwelt on the island of Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pausanias, *Periegesis tes Hellados*, 3.1.7-9. He says that "[7] The names given to the sons of Aristodemus were Procles and Eurysthenes, and although they were twins they were bitter enemies. Their enmity reached a high pitch, but nevertheless they combined to help Theras, the son of Autesion and the brother of their mother Argeia and their guardian as well, to found a colony. This colony Theras was dispatching to the island that was then called Calliste, and he hoped that the descendants of Membliarus would of their own accord give up the kingship to him. This as a matter of fact they did, [8] taking into account that the family of Theras went back to Cadmus himself, while they were only descendants of Membliarus, who was a man of the people whom Cadmus left in the island to be the leader of the settlers. And Theras changed the name of the island, renaming it after himself, and even at the present day the people of Thera every year offer to him as their founder the sacrifices that are given to a hero. Procles and Eurysthenes were of one mind in their eagerness to serve Theras; but in all else their purposes were always widely different. [9] Even if they had agreed together, I should never have ventured to include their descendants in a common list; for they did not altogether coincide in respect of age, so that cousins, cousins' children, and later generations were not born so as to make the steps in one pedigree coincide with those of the other. So I shall give the history of each house by itself separately, instead of combining them both in one narrative."

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When this text of Herodotos is taken into consideration, it appears that the *oikist* of the colony of Theras, Thera, was of the descent of Cadmus and in a later period connected to the Lacedaemonian rule. On the account of losing his political prestige in Sparta, Thera seems to have begun the colonisation of this island in 1 st millennium B.C by leading some Lacedaemonian supporters.<sup>3</sup> The reason for the preference of Theras as a colony results from the fact that Theras's kindred, Phoenicians were already living for eight generations over there. This would approximately make that Cadmus<sup>4</sup> had persuaded his people, Phoenicians to settle in the island during the 13 th century B.C. So, what we witness here is the case of the recolonisation of the homeland of forefathers.<sup>5</sup>

The similar previous geneological connection with respect to the destination of the colonists could possibly be found in the case of the colonisation of the island of Lesbos, the main destination of the second wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists. The first organizer of Dark Age Aiolian colonists was Orestes. His sons Tisamenus and Penthilus took over this mission right after the death of Orestes possibly in Archadia while Orestes was on the course of making preparations. Later on we see that Penthilus led the second wave of colonists to Thrace, from where his son Echelas continued the search for colonies in Hellespont and around Propontis and finally they succeeded to settle in Lesbos under the command of Gras, son of Echelas.<sup>6</sup> The island settlements were more preferred, as there were easily defensible. Yet it may also happen that these colonists decided to settle in this island, as their ancestors had already been living there. When one examines the Greek traditions about the generation who had lived around the last quarter of the 14 th century B.C, he shall find

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<sup>3</sup> For the history of Thera, see Doumas 1967-1979; 1978-1980; 1983; Sperling 1973.

<sup>4</sup> Cadmus was the son of Agenor, king of Phoenicia, and of Telephassa. His sister Europa being carried off by Zeus, Cadmus, with his brothers Phoenix and Cilix, was sent out with the command to look for her, and not to return without her. In the course of his wanderings he visited Thrace, Phocis, and Boeotia where he is said to have built the Cadmea, or the stronghold of what was afterwards Thebes, which bore his name. See Herodotos, 2.49;145; Pausanias, 3.1.8; 3.15.8; 9.5.1-2; 9.12.2; Apollodoros, *Bibliotheka*, 3.1.1; 3.3.1 3.1.8; 3.4.1; 3.5.2.

<sup>5</sup> A Hellenistic inscription (Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum=CIG 3081) preserves what seems to be a list of of the original holders of large estates (*pyrgoi*) in Teos. Of the twenty-six names preserved the following, Alkimos, Alxenor, Hekadios, Kizon, Kothos, Malios, Merades, Poikes, Sthenelos, Philaios, Kopreus are Mycenaean origin. Each family as a *genos*, the kin tie unit of the extended clan, held its *pyrgos* as the economic structure of the *oikos*, and in many cases since the early days of Anatolian settlement and East Greek Colonisation. Some of the more than forty estates had passed out of the hands of the original families, but at least ten (and possibly others) remained into the Hellenistic era in the possession of the families descended from the early East Greek colonists. So, it seems that the geneological perspective of Greek communities in Hellenistic times went back coherently as evidence for land ownership and political privilege, in the cities on the west coast of Asia Minor, to the time of their foundation, fifteen or sixteen generations before the Persian Wars, that is to say to the middle of the eleventh century B.C. For the inscription and comments see Hunt 1947, 68-76; Webster 1964, 151; Balcer 1984, 64, 211.

<sup>6</sup> For the detailed analysis of the three separate waves of Aiolian colonisation, see Demir 2001, 108-125.

mention of a district, Achaea, south of Thessaly where the “sons of Aeolus” spread. Aeolus was the mythic progenitor of Aeolic race, who had reigned over the regions of Thessaly and later on moved to Achaea in northern Peloponnese from where the main core of the leaders of the Dark Age Aiolian colonists stemmed.<sup>7</sup> The ancient Greek sources mention of the settlement of a “son and the grandson of Aeolus” in Lesbos itself. Diodoros states that seven generations after the flood of Deucalion a certain Macareus (Diodoros calls him so), who is presented as the son of Aeolus as well,<sup>8</sup> came to Lesbos from Achaea in Peloponnese and made his home there.<sup>9</sup> He had been accompanied by some Ionians and every sort of people who had been gathered around him. In view of these sources, it appears that Macar (also called Macareus) had occupied Lesbos and other coast islands during the second half of the 14th century B.C.<sup>10</sup> One wonders if there were any expected locals friendly to Macar, who could have helped him to succeed in settling in this island. The native Pelasgians is not a faraway possibility in this respect.<sup>11</sup> Macar’s power in Lesbos kept steadily

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<sup>7</sup> There appears to be a connection between the people of Argos in Peloponnesus, the descendants of Aeolus, the mythic progenitor of great Aeolic race, and the leaders of the Dark Age Aiolian Colonisation and when the great deal of participation of the people of Boeotia and Thessaly is taken into account, the connection between the Aeolic race and the Aiolian colonists could clearly be established. On this subject see Demir 2001, 109, 125-127.

<sup>8</sup> Macar has incontestable links with Peloponnese. Sometimes he is presented as the son of Helios of Rhodes or the son of Aeolus from Thessaly. In *Hymnos eis Delon Apollo* (37), it is mentioned that the rich Lesbos was a home of Macar, the son of Aeolus (Μάκαρος ἔδος Αἰολίου). Cf. Pausanias, 10.38.4. He is also mentioned as the son of Crinakus (a name of barbarian origin). See Strabon, 7.7.1), the son of Zeus, originally from the city of Olenos in Achaia. Hesiodos, F 184 Merkelbach-West= Diodoros, *Bibliotheka*, 5.81.4; scholiasts (footnotes) ADBV in *Iliad*, 24.544; Dionysios of Halicarnassos, *Romaike Archaologia*, 1.18. In other sources, he is reported as the son of Lycaon from Archadia. Apollodoros, 3.8.1-2; Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v.Μακαρέαι; Pausanias, 7.3.3; Dionysios of Halicarnassos, 1.11, 13. Μακαρία in Messenia and Μακαρέαι in Archadia of Peloponnesus are often seen as eponymous names. Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v.Μακαρέαι; Pausanias, 8.3.3; Strabon, 8.4.6; Scholiasts MTA in Euripides’s *Phoenissai*, 26. His daughter, the nymph Amphissa is seen as the eponymous name of a homonymous city in Locris in Boeotia. Pausanias, 10.38.4. For the attachment of Macar to Lesbos by traditions, also see Van Der Kolf 1928, col.619-620 s.v.Μακαρ(eus); Cook 1975, 777-8.

<sup>9</sup> In Homeros (*Iliad*, 24.513), it is stated that Lesbos was the city of Macar. Also see *Hymnos eis Delon Apollo*, 37; Strabon, 8.3.31; 13.1.7 (Strabon refers to Homeros, *Iliad*, 24.513); Sostrates, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* = *FHG* IV.frag., 1 b, 504; Diodoros, 5.57; 5.81. Busolt (1893, 274-5) claims that in Lesbos Macar had established the sanctuary of Bresa Dionysios, whose cult probably derived from Boeotia. He was a strong chief in the island and also the priest of this cult. After the colonists arrived in the island, he and his descendants began to quarrel with the Pentilids, the dynasty of the descendants of Penthilus.

<sup>10</sup> Diodoros (5.81.5-8) dates this Aeolid settlement in Lesbos by genealogy which assigns the founder to the generation of 1200; but he has combined his materials wrongly as 5.67 shows. As Macar brought Ionians from Peloponnese, he clearly belongs to the generation of Ion in the second half of the 14th century B.C.

<sup>11</sup> To Herodotos (1.57) and Thukydides (1.3.2), the Pelasgians were barbarian in speech (whatever that may mean) but aboriginal. This explains why the Arcadians (Pausanias, 8.4.1), the inhabitants of Achaea (Herodotos, 7.94), and the Ionians as well as the Athenians were thought to

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increasing because of the fertility of the island. He portioned out the uninhabited land by the virtue of his fairness and sense of justice. Having sent his sons to the islands of Chios, Samos, Cos and Rhodes to establish colonies, he is also said to have captured these neighbouring islands. During his time, a grandson of Aeolus named Lesbus, after whom the island of Lesbos named, in obedience to an oracle of Pytho, sailed with colonists to Lesbos and married a daughter of Macar and he called his own daughters by the names subsequently borne by the cities of Lesbos, including Mytilenê and Methymna and the other cities.<sup>12</sup> In view of all these literary records, it could possibly be concluded that there was a powerful state called “Achaëa” somewhere west of Asia Minor, more than a century before the Trojan War, including “Aeolian” people and these Aeolians as Mycenaean Greeks had established some settlements in this island possibly around 1330 BC.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it could possibly be postulated that the second wave of the Dark Aiolian colonists came to settle in Lesbos, as the participants had already had ancestral connections with the people who were living in the island.

**Southern Aiolis**

There is also clear evidence that another group of the leaders of Dark Age Aiolian Colonists appear to have returned to around the territories where their ancestors had previously resided. As the third wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists, we see that Cleus and Malaus, from the *genos* of Agamemnon, landed in Cyme in Southern Aiolis and these colonists extended their influence in areas including the cities of Larisa, Neonteichos, Temnos, Smyrna, possibly Notion and Mount Sipylus as well.<sup>14</sup> Agememnon, the legendary king of Mycenaea and the leader of Greek Confederacy in the expedition against Troy, appears to have descended from Pelops, the son of Tantalus.<sup>15</sup> As shall be explained below,

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be Pelasgians. Herodotos (7.95.1) states that like Ionians, who came to Asia Minor from Peloponnese, Aeolians were too called Pelasgians, which the Greeks declare. This may imply that the Pelasgians who were settling in this island had previously came from Peloponnese from where the so-called Aeolians later launched their colonisation movement to Asia Minor. Diodoros (5.81.2-3) affirmatively states that the first people to seize Lesbos, while it has been uninhabited, was the Pelasgians. Seven generations before the Flood, Xanthus, the son of Triopas, who was the king of the Pelasgians of Argos seized a portion of Lycia along with the Pelasgians who had accompanied him; but later crossed over to Lesbos and settled this uninhabited island by dividing it among his people and named the island Pelasgia. Yet Strabon states (13.3.3) that the Pelasgians were living in Lesbos under the command of Pylaeus, whom Homeros calls as the ruler of Pelasgians (*Iliad*, 2.842). When the account of Strabon is taken into consideration, it appears that there were still Pelasgians living in the island during the Trojan War.

<sup>12</sup> The daughter of Macar whom Lesbus married is said to have been Methymna, see Hesiodos, F 184 Merkelbach-West = Diodoros, 5.81.3-6.

<sup>13</sup> Cook (1975, 778) also accepts that there was a Greek existence in Lesbos during the Bronze Age. For Mycenaean finds in the island, see Desborough 1964, 158-160; Spencer 1995, 269-306.

<sup>14</sup> See Demir 2001, 123-4.

<sup>15</sup> For the table of the geneology of the leaders of Aiolian colonisation, see Demir 2001, 137. The Geneology of the Tantalids or Pelopides in general, that is, the succession being Tantalus, Pelops,

Tantalus and his son Pelops are said to have ruled in and around Mount Sipylus (Sipil or Manisa Dağı) in Southern Aiolis during the second half of the 14 th century B.C., but later they were forced to flee to Peloponnese in Greece, where Pelops established the dynasty of Pelopides.

One of the heroic myths which is linked to divine presence through a descent from the gods is the one about Tantalus and his family who were the alleged ancestors of the leaders of Aiolian Colonisation. Despite the divine mythical aspects of Tantalus<sup>16</sup> and his acceptance as the son of Zeus by

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Atrous, Agamemnon, Orestes is shown in various ancient sources. Homeros, *Iliad.*, 2.105 ff; *Odysseia*, 1.22, 25; Pindaros, *Nemean Odes*, 8.5; Aeschylos, *Agamemnon*, 875; Sophokles, *Elektra*, 690; Euripides, *Andromakhe*, 880; *Helene*, 386; *Elektra*, 325, 335, 570, 880, 1090; *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 465, 615, 1115; *Iphigenia Taurica*, 1 ff; 769, 1360, *Orestes*, 10, 365, 920; 1435; *Troades*, 710; Herodotos, 1.67.2; 7.159.1; Aristophanes, *Batrakhoi* (Frogs), 1206; Isokrates, *Epistolai* (Speeches and Letters), 10.67; Diodoros, 15.66.2; Pausanias, 2.18.5-7; 5.13.2, 8; 8.5.4; Apollodoros, E.2.10; B.2.4.6; Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae ad M. Vinicium Consulem Libri Duo*, 1.1.3; Plutarkhos, *Theseus*, 3.1; Commentary on the *Heroides* of Ovidius' poem 8, *comline* 122. Pausanias (5.25.10) also mentions an inscription on which it is written that "To Zeus these images were dedicated by the Achaeans, Descendants of Pelops the godlike scion of Tantalus." It should be noted that the names of Tantalus, Thyestes and Orestes, as well as a derivative from Atrous, have been recognised on the Pylos tablets of the 13 th century Mycenaean World. This shows that the names of Greek legends may have been in use in Mycenaean times. See Webster 1964, 121-122; Chadwick 1976, 66-67. Therefore, all these may possibly suggest that the pedigree of Tantalus was already existent in the 13 th century B.C and may possibly not have been invented later. Even if it was invented, this could not exclude the possibility that each of the figures and the incidents they represent were real and interacted with each other. It should also be stated Asiatic words were found in the Linear B tablets. This would show that a verbal communication between the Greek and the Hittite world was possible and the Eastern stories entered the Mycenaean repertoire. Webster 1964, 2; Cline 1994, 69.

<sup>16</sup> Tantalus is linked to some myths which have divine aspects and most likely to have been based on a purely fictitious narrative invented in a later period. He was a special friend of the gods and was much trusted and so permitted to ask for whatever he desired. Since he, after sharing the table of the gods, made known to men the secrets of the immortals, he was punished eternally. It is also added that Tantalus was so immoderately given to pleasures that he asked always for more and for a life like that of the gods. Due to this, Zeus hanged a stone over his head to keep him continually harassed. Tantalus reached a very high point of perversion when he slaughtered his own son Pelops and served him as a meal at the banquet of the gods. It was then that Demeter ate Pelops's arm. When the gods learned what had taken place they gave Pelops life again, joining together all his limbs. However, as the shoulder was missing, Demeter fitted an ivory one in its place. So, in whatever way one looks to Tantalus's fate, there are only misfortunes to be found. Eternal punishment awaited him in *Hades* by not being able to eat or drink, as the water in the lake dries out and the fruits in the trees are lifted by the wind each time he tries to reach either. Tantalus became famous for the manner of his punishment. For the divine mythical aspects of Tantalus, see Apollodoros, E.2.1; Diodoros, 4.74.1-4; Homeros, *Odysseia*, 11.582 ff.; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, .82, 83, 155; Antoninus Liberalis, *Methamorphoses*, 36; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 1.146, 48.731; Ovidius, *Methamorphoses*, 4.458, 6.172, 6.404 (thirst of Tantalus); Pausanias, .2.22.3, 3.22.4; Plato, *Euthydemus*, 11e; Platon, *Gorgias*, 525d; Plutarkhos, *Moralia* (Greek and Roman Parallel Stories), 22.33; Plutarkhos, *Moralia* (Superstition), 13.11; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, 281b.

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Aeschylus and Euripides,<sup>17</sup> some other more prevalent sources suggest that he was a great hero in the eyes of Greeks. Homeros appears to be testifying to this. Although mentioning his suffering in the nether world, he does not say that Tantalus was a God.<sup>18</sup> In works of Plato, it is stated that Tantalus was one of the kings or potentates who was punished everlastingly in the nether world and Pelops is stated as not the son of a God, but as the son of a mortal Tantalus.<sup>19</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus (1st century B.C, *FGrH* 90 F 10, lines 10-18) claims that he was the son of Tmolus, the husband of Omphale<sup>20</sup> whose father Jardanus is said to have been the enemy of Cambilitas, the legendary king of the Atyade dynasty of Lydia.<sup>21</sup> In a much later period, the Ionian Greeks, who knew the geography of Lydia, seem to have accepted the oak-chapleted Tmolus his father, since Tmolus is connected to Lydian geography as the name of mountain.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, other sources point out that Tantalus ruled as a king in a real geographical place, that is around Mount Sipylus, Manisa Dağı near the modern city of Manisa. Though his guidebook, Description of Greece (*Periegesis tes Hellados*), written in about 150 A.D., only covers the Greek mainland, Pausanias gives us occasional precious bits of information about the rock marvels to be seen on Mount Sipylus whereabouts Pausanias is said to have been born.<sup>23</sup> Putting together, these glimpses describe a cluster of features and monuments belonging to the dynasty of Tantalids around Mount Sipylus.

Pausanias (5.13.7) reports that Tantalus and his son Pelops “*once dwelt in my country there have remained signs right down to the present day. There is a lake called after Tantalus and a famous grave, and on a peak of Mount Sipylus there is a throne of Pelops beyond the sanctuary of Plastene the Mother. If you cross the river Hermus you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnus [an Aiolian city] made of a living myrtle-tree. It is a tradition among us that it was*

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<sup>17</sup> Quoted by Strabon, 12.8.21; Euripides, *Orestes*, 5. Also see Tacitus, *Annales*, 4.56.

<sup>18</sup> Homeros, *Odysseia*, 11.582.*ff.*

<sup>19</sup> *Gorgias*, 525d; *Hippias Meizon*, 293b.

<sup>20</sup> Athenaeus, 636a. At his death Tmolus bequeaths to her the government of Lydia. Apollodoros, B.2.6.2. Pausanias (2.22.4), on the other hand, states that Tantalus’s mother was Pluto.

<sup>21</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrH* 90 F 28.

<sup>22</sup> Tantalus’s father Tmolus gave his name to a gold-producing mountain near Sardis, running east and west through the centre of Lydia, and dividing the plain of the Hermus on the north from that of the Cayster on the south. Herodotos, 1.84; 1.93; 5.100; Strabon, 12.3.27; 13.1.23; 3.2; 4.5, 6, 7, 12; 14.1.15, 45 Similarly, the names of Hittite kings, Tuthaliya and Arnuwanda were also the names of mountains which the Hittites saw as sacred. Akurgal 1998, 120. There was also a city around Mount Sipylus, named as Tmolus. See below, n.31.

<sup>23</sup> We have no firm external evidence about the birth place of Pausanias, but he mentions Mount Sipylus and its physical environs ten times and with such precision that he most probably grew up in that region. Pausanias, 1.21.3; 2.22.3; 3.22.4; 6.22.1; 7.24.13; 7.27.12; 8.2.7; 8.17.3; 8.38.10; 10.4.6. Pausanias obviously had considerable schooling and must have lived near a significant urban site. The most important city in that vicinity would be Magnesia on Hermus (Manisa), roughly half-way between Sardis and the sea.

dedicated by Pelops when he was propitiating the goddess and asking for Hippodameia to be his bride.” In a previous passage (2.22.3), he additionally states that “...the grave of him [Tantalus] who legend says was son of Zeus and Pluto--it is worth seeing--is on Mount Sipylus. I know because I saw it.” Pausanias (1.21.3) also says that he himself saw the rock of Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, when he “*had gone up to Mount Sipylus. When you are near it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away you will think you see a woman in tears, with head bowed down.*” According to legend, Niobe had turned into stone and this stone had shed tears even in summer.<sup>24</sup> In other site, Pausanias (3.22.4) also reports that Broteas, the ugly son of Tantalus, had carved the first image of the Mother of gods (Great Mother Sculpture) on the rock called Coddinus and still visited by Magnesians in his time.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, he knew in his time the cordax, a dance which had been performed by the followers of Pelops and still peculiar to the dwellers around Mount Sipylus.<sup>26</sup>

Since born in the neighbourhood of Mount Sipylus, Pausanias could be accepted as a reliable source. Having examined and eliminated the Yamanlar sites,<sup>27</sup> if one had the opportunity to make a survey, he could see that in Mount Sipylus everything falls into place just as Pausanias had described it.<sup>28</sup> If climbed the mountain, one could reach a crag with a carved ‘throne’, where Tantalus’ son Pelops is said to have sat to view his kingdom (Fig.1). On another cliff face is a magnificent Late Bronze Age earliest carving of the Mother Goddess, locally known as ‘Cybele’(Fig.2, it dates to about the 14th –13th centuries BC). This figure, carved into the rock of Mount Sipylus above the

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<sup>24</sup> Pausanias, 8.2.5-7; Apollodoros, B.3.5.6. In the *Iliad* (24:612 ff) Homeros says that Niobe “*stands among the crags in the untrodden hills of Sipylus, where people say the Nymphs, when they have been dancing on the banks of Achelous, lay themselves down to sleep. There Niobe, in marble, broods on the desolation that the gods dealt out to her.*”

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Apollodoros, E.2.2; Ovidius, *Ibis*, 517.

<sup>26</sup> 6.22.1.

<sup>27</sup> Being misled by one classical source (see below n34), which links the establishment of Smyrna to Tantalus, it is proposed that the grave of Tantalus is in Bayraklı. G.E. Bean who did researches for 27 years in Anatolia, states that The Smyrna School supports that the tomb of Tantalus, the throne of Pelops and the holly place of Meter Plastene are in Yamanlar Mountain. The founder of Smyrna School is Texier, who came to Smyrna in 1835. The circled tomb, which is at the top of a hill behind Bayraklı, attracted Texier’s attention. He called this “the tomb of Tantalus”. However, Bean says that he himself did excavations in Adatepe with Rüstem Duyar, who was the head of Izmir Museum, in 1945. The result was that it was a cistern and all complex was the surrounding fortress. Thus the theory of Smyrna School was proved to be wrong. On the other hand, Manisa School had proposed that the three places were at east of Manisa on Mount Sipylus. The places of these three sites were in fact found on Mount Sipylus, just Pausanias had described them. See Bean 2001, 36-41.

<sup>28</sup> One of the more recent theories is the one of the historian and archaeologist, Peter James. In his book (1995, Part III), he claims that Atlantis was this city of Tantalus on Mount Sipylus, called after king Tantalus, who was similar to Atlas. Peter James came to Manisa and actually documented these historical sources of the city, as mentioned by Pausanias.



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road about 7 km east of Manisa, had been called with different names in the history, but eventually it was given the name of the mother goddess, Cybele. Although the figure carved into the rock is 8-10 metres high, it was damaged by natural causes. Apart from the rather badly damaged head, the sitting figure is clear enough to be seen. The goddess with a headgear holds her breasts with her hands; a vague trace of four Hittite hieroglyphics could be seen on a squared part on the right side of her head. Not far away is a unique rock-cut tomb, thought to be the last resting place of Tantalus (Fig.3). On the other hand, Niobe is actually a natural rock (Fig.4). When you follow the road from the famous Red Bridge, walking under the plane trees 500 m up along the Çaybaşı Stream, you find a fountain at the end of the road. If you turn your back to the stream, on the rocks to the north, you will be able to see a silhouette of a woman with long hair who is supposedly crying. When the sun reflect on the rock from the other side, the silhouette becomes more vivid. It was so convincingly sculpted by the elements into the shape of a mourning woman that ancient writers frequently referred to it as a statue. It is in fact the world's oldest recorded simulacrum.

From the place (Akpınar), where the throne of Pelops is situated, one can watch below a massive gorge of haunting beauty, which must be the crack in the mountain referred to by Pausanias. In his book on Achaea (the northern province of the Peloponnese), Pausanias includes an interesting digression on the nature of the extraordinary disaster, the earthquake, that struck the Helike one winter's night in 373 BC. Pausanias continues to analyze the earthquakes in detail. The third kind of earthquake on a Richter scale he describes is the strongest one and he had witnessed this in his homeland, that is Magnesia on Hermus. Relevantly Pausanias mentions a city on Mount Sipylus, which vanished into a chasm, as the mountain split, water welled up from the fissure, and the chasm became a lake called Saloe. The ruins of the city could still be seen in the lake, until the water of the torrent hid them from view.<sup>29</sup> According to Demetrius of Scepsis (born around 205 BC), who relied on Demokles of Phygela (First half of the 5 th century BC), this disappearance of the city on Mount Sipylus occurred when Tantalus was the king.<sup>30</sup> The name of this

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<sup>29</sup> Pausanias, 7.24.13. There is another lake on Mount Sipylus. Pausanias (8.17.3) himself actually saw this lake, called Tantalus, on this mountain and the eagles, called swan-eagles, flying over it.

<sup>30</sup> Strabon, 1.3.17. Aristotle also knows about this natural disaster. In his *Meteorologica* (2.8), he writes that the Sipylus region was destroyed by an earthquake which was caused not by exceedingly strong winds but by a throbbing of the earth. Pausanias (10.31.12; Cf. Platon, *Cratylus* 395d-e) also refers to all the pains (quoting Homeros himself in this respect) and the terror of stone (probably an earthquake) that Tantalus endured. In other words, Tantalus was punished by having a rock dangle over his head, proverbial for Archilochos (600's B.C). Elsewhere Tantalus has to support a mountain (Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 36 ). The earthquakes damaged and destroyed many cities in Lydia. It was seen that whole houses were swallowed up by the earth. In Philadelphia in the Catacecaumene the walls used to crack every day, and its inhabitants took necessary measures while building their houses. Apamea at the

unfortunate city Pausanias omits to tell us is supplied by the Roman encyclopaedist Plinius (writing about 75 AD), in a discussing passage concerning the settlements in the interior of Asia Minor that ‘no longer exist’ due to the natural disasters. While reporting the subject of the collapse of mountains, as Mount Sipylus was of volcanic origin and its trembling often caused rifts, he tells (2.93) that this previously “very celebrated city” on Mount Sipylus, shattered by an earthquake and drowned under a lake, was used to be called Tantalus, in other words the city of Tantalus. In a later passage (5.31) he says that Tantalus was the capital of Maeonia (the old name for Lydia), “situated where there is now the marsh named Sala”<sup>31</sup> and Tantalus took the name of Sipylus in a later period.<sup>32</sup> Ruling from the city of Tantalus, Tantalus is said to have opened mines in the Sipylus region<sup>33</sup> and expanded his rule over the Yamanlar mountain by founding Smyrna and its ancient harbour, Naulochon.<sup>34</sup>

The story of Tantalus’ dwelling place as well as his son, Pelops’ migration to Greece and its reason is fully told with more realistic colors and confirmed by Nicolaus of Damascus (1st century BC), who presumably relying on Xanthus the Lydian (5th Century B.C) writes that

Tantalus, the son of Tmolus, after whom the Lydian mountain, Tmolus, was named, was defeated by the king of the Phrygians, The Trojan Ilus. Tantalus decided to leave his native land and settle in Peloponnesus. When he was forced to stay in Lydia because of his old age, he sent to Peloponnesus his son, Pelops, with an army. At last Pelops set out from Sipylus and arriving with his sister Niobe and great sources, he gave her sister Niobe to Amphion of Thebes. Then he went to the region of Pisa in Peloponnesus.<sup>35</sup>

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boundary of Lydia and Phrygia was destroyed around 130 B.C., and king Mithridates Euergetes gave 100 talents to restore it. Tralles, north of Meander, was demaged during the principate of Augustus. Augustus gave money to the inhabitants to rebuild their city. Strabon, 1.3.17; 12.8.7, 18. Tacitus (*Annales*, 2.47) states that in 17 A.D. the earthquake destroyed twelve famous cities along the banks of Hermus, which were restored by Tiberius. Magnesia on the Hermus, Tmolus and Mostus were among these cities situated around Mount Sipylus.

<sup>31</sup> In Homeros (*Odyssea*, 11.582), it is also implied that this lake, which later seems to have taken his name, dried up at the time of Tantalus and there was also strong wind on Mount Sipylus.

<sup>32</sup> Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, 2.93. Plinius also states that Sipylus disappeared and Archaeopolis took its place. Archaeopolis also perished, and was replaced by Colpe and afterwards the city of Libade was established over Colpe. This implies that there often happened earthquakes in this region.

<sup>33</sup> Strabon (14.5.28) states that “...the wealth of Tantalus and the Pelopidae arose from the mines round Phrygia and Sipylus...”. Cf. Pindaros, *Olympian Odes*, 1.38. For the fame of the wealth of Tantalus, also see Platon, *Euthyphron*, 11e.

<sup>34</sup> Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Τάνταλος. The Roman historian Tacitus (*Annales*, 4.56) states that Smyrnians trace their city's antiquity back to such founders as either Tantalus, the son of Jupiter, or Theseus, also of divine origin, or one of the Amazons. Yet according to the Greek tradition, Smyrna, along with Cyme, Myrina and Ephesus are said to have been founded by the Amazons. Strabon, 11.5.4; 12.3.21; 14.1.4.

<sup>35</sup> Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker = *FGrH* 90 F 10, lines 11-18. “... Τάνταλος ὁ Τμῶλου, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Τμῶλος ἐν Λυδίᾳ καλεῖται, πόλεμον ἔχων πρὸς Ἴλον τὸν Τρῶα Φρυγῶν βασιλέα, ἠττηθεὶς μάχῃ ἐκλείπει τὴν χώραν μέλλων δεῖς Πελοπόννησον ἐξοικίσεσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπο γήρωσ ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἐμείνειν, τὸν υἱὸν δὲ Πέλοπα σὺν στρατῶι ἐπέμψεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. Ο

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In view of Nicolaus's account, it appears that Ilus the Trojan, who was ruling in Troy, had gone into conflict with the Tantalids and eventually Tantalids were forced to leave their territory, possibly in the last quarter of the fourteenth century B.C.<sup>36</sup> Pausanias probably used the same source as Nicolaus of Damascus when he ( 2.22.3) says “...no constraint came upon him [*Tantalus*] to flee from Sipylus, such as afterwards forced Pelops to run away when *Ilus the Phrygian* launched an army against him...”. This war may possibly have reflected the truth.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that the rule of Tantalus, the king of Mount

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δε επει αφίκετο <υπο> πολλῶι πλούτῳι την αδελφην Νιόβην αγων, ὀρμηθεις το τελευταῖον εκ Σιπύλου, ταύτην μεν εδωκεν Αμφίονι τῳι Θηβαίῳι, αυτος δε τῆς Πελοποννήσου ηλθεν εις Πίσαν, ...” Tunç Çağında Tantalus ve oğlu Pelops'un Anadolu'dan göçüyle ilgili çalışma için ayrıca bkz.; Tolunay 1998.

<sup>36</sup> According to Eusebios (79 F 51b, *Phrygas rexit Tantalus, qui prius Maeones vocabantur*), Tantalus ruled Phrygians, which was previously called as Maeonians, around 1360 B.C. Eusebios (83 F 53b-f) also mentions that having fled from Asia Minor, Pelops of Peloponnesus ruled in Olympia in Peloponnesus around 1318-7 B.C. Since Tantalus was an old man, mentioned above by Nicolaus of Damascus, this would possibly make the date of the flight of Pelops from Asia Minor as the last quarter of the 14 th century BC.

<sup>37</sup> As also mentioned by Eusebios, it appears that Tantalus ruled in Phrygia and was possibly at odds with Ilus the Trojan, the king of Phrygians. Some evidence may also possibly imply that there happened to be a power-struggle over the control on regions between the Hermus river and the surroundings of Troy. Strabon (12.8.21) thinks that “*Aeschylos, in his Niobe, confounds things that are different; for example, Niobe says that she will be mindful of the house of Tantalus, those who have an altar of their paternal Zeus on the Idaean hill* [Aeschylos, fr. 162.2 (Nauck) ]; and again, *Sipylus in the Idaean land* [Aesch. Fr. 163 (Nauck)]; and *Tantalus says, I sow furrows that extend a ten days' journey, Berecyntian land, where is the site of Adrasteia, and where both Mt. Ida and the whole of the Erechtheian plain resound with the bleatings and bellowings of flocks* [Aeschylos, fr. 158.2 (Nauck)]”. It is possible that Aeschylos did not confuse the house of Tantalus, as he probably knew that Tantalus and his kinsmen's influence extended in an area as far as the Berecyntian land around Mount Ida. Tantalus may have held influence over Lesbos as well. Stephanos of Byzantion recorded that there was a Mount Tantalus in Lesbos. Pelops on his way to Peloponnesus is said to have stopped on the island of Lesbos. A certain Cillus, born around Lesbos was Pelop's charioteer in his last days. Pelops lamented bitterly over his death and honoured him with funeral rites, including his cremation, and a mound for his tomb was built up. This place became sacred and in the neighbourhood, the temple of Apollo was attributed to his name and a city, named Cilla, was established. Theopompus (IV B.C), *FHG* 1.frag., 339. “...γενομένῳ δε αὐτῷ περὶ Λέσβου, Κίλλος ὁ ἠνίοχος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· ὃς καὶ καθ' ὑπνον ἐπιστάς τῷ Πέλοπι σφόδρα ὀδνηρῶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχοντι, ἀπωδύρετό τε τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπώλειαν, καὶ περὶ κηδείας ἡξίου· διόπερ ἀναστάς, ἐξερυπάρου τὸ εἶδωλον διὰ πυρός· εἶθ' οὕτως ἔθαψε τὴν τέφραν, ἐπιφανῶς τοῦ Κίλλου· ἠρίον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγείρας, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἠρίῳ αὐτοῦ εἰμίματῳ ἱερὸν, Κίλλαιου Ἀπολλωνος προσαγορεύσας, διὰ τὸ αἰφνιδίως τὸν Κίλλον ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ μὴν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν κτίσας, Κίλλαν κέκληκεν...”. What we additionally learn from Strabon (13.1 62-63) is the following: the cities of Chrysa and Cilla had lied in the territory of Adramyttium and in Strabon's day, there was still a place near Thebe called Cilla and in this city there was a temple of the Cillaeon Apollo. According to Daë's of Coloniae, the temple of the Cillaeon Apollo was first founded in Coloniae (a city around Baba Bay) by the Dark Age Aiolian colonists who sailed from Greece. There was a tomb of Cillus in the neighborhood of the temple of the Cillaeon Apollo near Adramittium Thebe and he is said to have been the charioteer of Pelops and to have ruled over this region, that is around the Mount Ida and the Plain of Thebe including the modern city of Edremit in Mysia.

Sipylus region, had been weakened due to the above-mentioned natural causes such as earthquake and became open to a foreign invasion by Ilus the Trojan.

It seems that Ilus is of the Trojan pedigree, who is thought to have lived in the second half of the fourteenth century B.C, so contemporary with Tantalus. Ilus may have been a Phrygian, as Strabon (12.8.3-4) mentions that coming from Thrace, the Phrygians (we do not know which tribe of them) had managed to take control of Troy and of the country near it before the Trojan War.<sup>38</sup> Ilus's Phrygian connection is also brought forward by Apollodoros.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Strabon (12.8.7) states that some of the historians call the Trojans Phrygians; in this case Phrygians seems to have come to Troy before the Trojan War as contrary to some ancient authors. On this issue, Strabon (14.5.29) makes the following comments: "*Xanthus the Lydian says that it was after the Trojan War that the Phrygians came from Europe and the left-hand side of the Pontus, and that Scamandrius led them from the Berecynes and Ascania, but Apollodoros adds to this the statement that Homeros refers to this Ascania that is mentioned by Xanthus: And Phorcys and godlike Ascanius led the Phrygians from afar, from Ascania. However, if this is so, the migration must have taken place later than the Trojan War, whereas the allied force mentioned by the poet (Homeros) came from the opposite mainland, from the Berecynes and Ascania. Who, then, were the Phrygians, who were then encamped along the banks of the Sangarius, when Priam says, for I too, being an ally, was numbered among these? And how could Priam have sent for Phrygians from the Berecynes, with whom he had no compact, and yet leave uninvited those who lived on his borders and to whom he had formerly been ally?*" Yet Strabon (10.3.22) states that some ancient writers "*use the term Phrygia for the Troad because, after Troy was sacked, the Phrygians whose territory bordered on the Troad, got the mastery over it.*" It appears that Phrygians had already settled along the banks of Sangarius during the Trojan War. How come if these Phrygians were the allies of Trojans and defeated at the war, they managed to occupy the Troad after the war. It should be taken into account that, as shall be explained below, the term "Phrygian" is a general term invented in a later period and so there were various Phrygian tribes entered into Asia Minor at different times. Eusebios (83 F 53 b-i) reports that a certain Mida ruled in Phrygia in around 1310/9 BC. This Mida is accepted as the first Midas of Phrygia, which would imply that Phrygians had already started to rule in Asia Minor in the second half of the fourteenth century BC. For the sources, see Bossert 1941, 159.

<sup>39</sup> This Ilus was not the son of Dardanus, who died childless, but was the son of Tros. Apollodoros, B.3.12.2. In fact Troy is considered to be a Phrygian city (Apollodoros, 3.12.2-3); for this Ilus the second went to Phrygia finding games held there by the king. As a prize for having been victorious in wrestling, the king gave him a cow and bade him found a city wherever the animal should lie down. When she was come to the hill of the Phrygian Ate, she lay down; there Ilus the second built a city and called it Ilium (Troy). According to Parian Marble, this occurred in a period right before 1326 B.C. See Bickerman 1968, 87-89. This legend of the foundation of Ilium by Ilus is repeated by Tzetzes, *Scholiast on Lycophron*, 29. Homeros (*Iliad* 20.215 ff.) tells us that the foundation of Dardania on Mount Ida preceded the foundation of Ilium in the plain. Apollodoros (3.12.3) also states that this Ilus begat Laomedon and "...according to some his [Laedomon's] wife was Placia, daughter of Otreus,..." Otreus was a chief of Phrygia, who reigned all over Phrygia rich in fortresses. *Homeric Hymns*, 5.110, 145 [To Aphrodite]. He encamped along the banks of Sangarius and assisted by Priam in an invasion of the Amazons. Homeros, *Iliad*, 3.180 ff. During the reign of Priam, the Phrygians were living by the waters of Sangarius (Homeros, *Iliad*, 16.712) and they were Trojan allies and were led by Ascanius the Third. Another leader of the Phrygians was Asius the first who served in the same company as Helenus the first and Deiphobus the first; and Phorcys the first was also counted as a leader of the Phrygians during the Trojan War. Homeros, *Iliad*, 2.860; 10.431; Apollodoros, E.3.34.

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The problem with regard to both Nicolaus's and Pausanias's (2.22.3) above quoted texts is that if a Phrygian king named Ilus defeated Tantalus and his son, Pelops, this would contradict with other important sources which call the Tantalids Phrygian as well. This is because of the fact that if one accepted that Tantalids were Phrygian, it would be difficult to explain that they were defeated by another king of the Phrygians. Herodotos calls Pelops as "*Pelops the Phrygian*".<sup>40</sup> In Sophocles's (496-406 BC) *Ajax* (1290), Teucer is made to say that "*Are you not aware of the fact that your father's father Pelops long ago was a barbarian, a Phrygian?*" In another play of Sophocles, Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus is given the role of a Phrygian, who had had a connection with Mount Sipylus, the legendary seat of Tantalus, father of Pelops.<sup>41</sup> In Euripides's *Orestes* (1435, 1500) and in *Bacchylides's Odes* (8,125), Orestes is clearly called as "*Phrygian Orestes*" from the old hearth of Pelops. Pherekydes of Athens, a fifth century Athenian writer, states that Sipylus was a Phrygian polis.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, not only the Tantalids but also the Trojans during the Trojan War are mentioned as Phrygians in the tragic plays of Athens. Throughout Euripides's plays, Ilium (Troy) is made Phrygians's capital in Phrygian territory and the Trojan War was presented between Hellas and the Phrygians.<sup>43</sup>

Ilus the Trojan may really have been from a Phrygian origin, as explained above (notes 39 and 40). However, it should also be taken into consideration that in geographical terms 'Phrygia' or 'Lydia' and in race 'Phrygians' or 'Lydians' appear to have been used as a general term by later

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Apollodoros (E.3.7) also mentions Phrygian prisoner taken by Odysseus. Pindaros (*Nemean Odes*, 3.55) mentions Lycians, Phrygians and Dardanians in the war. Strabon (12.3.24) states that "the Amazons would not fight on Priam's side because of the fact that he had fought against them as an ally of the Phrygians, against the Amazons...". Thus many Phrygians are reported to have defended Troy against the Achaean invaders led by Agamemnon.

<sup>40</sup> Herodotos, 7.8C.1; 7.11.4.

<sup>41</sup> *Antigone*, 823-4.

<sup>42</sup> *FGrH* 3 F 76. According to Strabon (12.8.1-2), "*One part of Phrygia is called Greater Phrygia, the part over which Midas reigned, a part of which was occupied by the Galatians, whereas the other is called Lesser Phrygia, that on the Hellespont and round Olympus, I mean Phrygia Epictetus, as it is called. [2] But the boundaries of these parts have been so confused with one another, as I have often said, that it is uncertain even as to the country round Mt. Sipylus, which the ancients called Phrygia, whether it was a part of Greater Phrygia or of Lesser Phrygia, where lived, they say, the 'Phrygian' Tantalus and Pelops and Niobe.*" Pausanias (8.24.11), on the other hand, states that Meander was flowing through the land of Phrygians.

<sup>43</sup> Euripides, *Orestes*, 1380, 1480, 1515; *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, lines 85; 660, 680; 970; 1195; 1280, 1290, 1475; 1510; 1520; *Troades*, 7, 18, 20, 60, 390, 430, 531, 567, 574, 709; 715, 748, 920; 925-928; 970, 990, 994, 1071, 1287; For Troy as *Phrugōn polis* and the Trojans as Phrygians and sometimes barbarians also see *Hekabe*, 4; 328 ff, 345, 734, 775, 820; *Andromakhe*, 194, 291, 363, 455, 1040; *Bakkhai*, 55. Pergamus is also made a Phrygian town, which is taken by the son of Atreus, see *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 773.

authors to denote the race and the region of barbarians from Asia Minor.<sup>44</sup> According to Strabon (12.8.7), the reason why the tragic writers call Trojans as Phrygians derives from Homeros. Homeros held the allies of Trojans from the Asian mainland, including Carians and Lycians in the same category and called all of them as Trojans, just as he called all the Greeks in this war under a single name, Achaeans or Dananeans. Therefore, as also accepted by modern authors,<sup>45</sup> it appears that from a racial point of view, later Greek tragic writers similarly preferred to call the people from the Asia Minor, either they were Trojans or Lycians, as Phrygians in a sense that they wished to emphasize their non-Greekness as barbarians and this identification of Trojans as Phrygians was made in a later period to barbarize them.

Although it is difficult to determine the nature of their actual race or origin, Phrygian or Lydian-Barbarian-Asia Minor connection of Tantalids is additionally confirmed by other sources. While quoting some of Xerxes' speeches before he took the expedition against Athens c.a. 480 BC, Herodotos makes Xerxes speak that "*I should tehereby discover what that great risk is which I run in marching against these men- men whom Pelops the Phrygian, a vassal of my forefathers, sundued so utterly, that to this day both the land, and the people who dwell therein, alike bear the name of their conqueror!*".<sup>46</sup> What one can relevantly infer from this passage of Herodotos is that having migrated from Asia, which the Persians considered as their own as told by Herodotos at the beginning of his *Historiai*, Pelops the Phrygian (barbarian) conquered the Greek Mainland. If Pelops had managed this as a vassal of his ancestors, Xerxes proudly speaks that he himself could have fairly succeeded in invading Greece. Thukydidides informs us that, according to the account given by those Peloponnesians who have been the recipients of the most credible tradition, having arrived among a needy population from Asia with vast wealth, Pelops acquired such a power that, though he was stranger,<sup>47</sup> the country, Peloponnese,

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<sup>44</sup> The Tantalids were also connected to the land of Lydia and actually as mentioned above, had had connections with the legendary dynasty of Lydia. Pausanias (5.1.6; 13.7) prefers to call Pelops the Lydian who crossed over from Asia. Pindaros (*Olympian Odes*, 1.20) also mentions him as "*Lydian Pelops*". However, despite the Lydian connection, ancient writers like Herodotosus and Nicolaus of Damascus does not count them among the three dynasties of Lydia. It is also claimed that Tantalus was a Hittite prince, Tua-ti, the son of king Mutallu, who reigned c.1300 B.C. Poisson 1925, 75-94.

<sup>45</sup> Hall 1989, 38-39; Burnyeat and *et.all.* 1994, 104-106. Hall sates (38-39) that Homeros did not recognize this and the first step of naming the Trojans as Phrygians was first seen in one of Alcaeus' fragment (fr.42.15 PLF), but Phrygianization of Troy took place in the fifth century B.C and Aeskhylos (Aeskhylos, fr.446) himself was responsible for this.

<sup>46</sup> Herodotos, 7.11.4.

<sup>47</sup> The Athenian orator Isokrates (10.67 [Helen]; 12.79 [Panathenaicus]) clearly states that just as Danaus, an exile from Egypt, occupied Argos, Cadmus of Sidon became king of Thebes and the Carians colonized the islands in former times, Pelops, the son of Tantalus, was one of these "*barbarians*", who became master of all the Peloponnese. Plato (*Menexenus*, 245d) similarly states that Pelops or Cadmus, or Aegyptus or Danaus, and numerous others of the kind are

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was called after him.<sup>48</sup> Strabon (7.7.1) also expresses his view that “*Yet one might say that in the ancient times the whole of Greece could be said to have been a settlement of barbarians, if one reasons from the traditions themselves: Pelops brought over peoples from Phrygia [Asia Minor] to the Peloponnesus that received its name from him; and Danaus from Egypt; whereas the Dryopes, the Caucones, the Pelasgi, the Leleges, and other such peoples, apportioned among themselves the parts that are inside the isthmus and also the parts outside, for Attica was once held by the Thracians who came with Eumolpus, Daulis in Phocis by Tereus, Cadmeia by the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus, and Boeotia itself by the Aones and Temmices and Hyantes.*” The Roman historian Tacitus points out that “*The resources of the Lydians were yet further augmented by the immigration of nations into that part of Greece [Peloponnesus] which afterwards took its name from Pelops.*”<sup>49</sup>

All these sources point out that there is a strong tradition which calls Tantalus and Pelops as Phrygian or in a few sources Lydian (barbarian), originally from Asia Minor.<sup>50</sup> It appears that Pelops was forced to withdraw when Ilus the Trojan launched an army against him. Pelops with his large army and great wealth emigrated to Greece and wanted to participate in ruling Pisa by marrying the daughter of Oenomaus, the king of this city. Contrary to a few mythical aspects of some other traditions,<sup>51</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 F 10, 17-38) tells the story of Pelops’s migration quite reasonably:

When Pelops came to Pisa with his large army, Oenomaus sent Myrtilus to him to find his intention. The king suspected that Pelops came to marry his daughter. Bu Pelops told

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naturally “*barbarians*”, though nominally Greeks; but his people are pure Greeks and not a barbarian blend.

<sup>48</sup> Thukydides, 1.9.2.

<sup>49</sup> *Annales*, 4.55.

<sup>50</sup> Even a scholiast in Euripides’ *Orestes* (990) localizes the horse race between Pelops and Oenomaus, the king of Pisa, in Lesbos, which must have occurred in Olympia as shall be explained below.

<sup>51</sup> In stories told by some ancient writers the king Oenomaus was very much in love with his own daughter Hippodamia. He devised a race system in order to get rid of his daughter’s suitors. None of the suitors had been able to win this race, so they were killed. However, Pelops, with the cunning help of Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, who because expected to rule over half of the kingdom or because, as some say, he was himself in love with Princess Hippodamia, won the race in which Oenomaus was killed. After the race, Pelops refused to give Myrtilus his promised reward, Hippodamia and killed him by casting into the sea. In these traditions, Pelops is not attributed with any godly nature apart from the fact that Poseidon gave him a winged chariot whose axles were not wet even when it ran through the sea and by this chariot he won the race against Oenomaus. For other sources on the subject see Pindaros, *Olympian Odes*, 1.25 ff; 55, 70, 114 ff; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 14, 82-85; Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, 1.752; Apollodoros, E.1.2, 2.2-5, 9-10; 9.2; Apollodoros, B.2.4.4-6, 5.1, 3.5.5, 12.7, 15.7; Scholiast in Pindaros, *Nemean Odes*, 10.114; Diodoros, 4.9.1; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 18.27; Ovidius, *Metamorphosus*, 6.404; Pausanias, 2.5.7, 6.5, 15.1, 26.2, 30.8; 5.1.6 ff; 13.4; 6.22.8; Plutarkhos, *Moralia* (Greek and Roman Parallel Stories), 33; Strabon, 7.7.1; Sophokles, *Elektra*, 504; Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica*, 1.

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Myrtilus that he came to settle in the land. Although Myrtilus knew that this would be a hard task, since he was jealous of Oenomaus, he offered his services to Pelops if he would promise that he, Myrtilus, would receive Hippodamia as his wife. Pelops promised it. Myrtilus returned to Oenomaus, and told him the plans of Pelops. The king assembled his army, put on his armour, and advanced to derive Pelops away. Pelops accepted the challenge, and engaged in the battle. As soon as the fight began, Myrtilus, who was fighting next to Oenomaus, hit the king with his sword, and went over to Pelops. When the men of Oenomaus saw their king to fall, they fled. Pelops entered Pisa without any resistance, and took over the kingdom of Oenomaus. Later when Pelops wanted to marry Hippodamia, to make her grateful for avenging her father's death, he drowned Myrtilus in the sea.

As quoted above, Thucydides also confirms Nicolaus of Damascus that Pelops carried with him a vast wealth to a needy country, which helped to attract people to his side and so he met a great success. It, on the other hand, appears that before taking Pisa,<sup>52</sup> Pelops first landed in Boeotia. Strabon (8.4.4) mentions that "... *Pelops, after he had given his sister Niobe in marriage to Amphion, founded Leuctrum, Charadra, and Thalami now called Boeoti, bringing with him certain colonists from Boeotia.*" As mentioned above, Nicolaus of Damascus agrees with Strabon as to the marriage of Niobe with Amphion.<sup>53</sup> The couple were blessed with many children – six sons and six daughters (or in other accounts as many as 10 of each).<sup>54</sup> It is possible that owing to the marriage relation with Thebes in Boeotia, Pelops was invited to take refuge with Thebians and gradually kept on strengthening his position in these territories. Later on some people from Boeotia<sup>55</sup> and Achaea<sup>56</sup> as well joined in his forces and as a result of this he seems to have managed to take over the rule in Pisa.

According to traditions, the kingdom of Pelops was a flourishing one and when he held the games in Olympia he surpassed in splendour all of his predecessors. Pelops is said to have been the strongest of the kings in Peloponnesus, in part because of his wealth, but also because he gave many daughters in marriage to men of power and rank, and appointed many of his

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<sup>52</sup> As a city in the middle portion of the province of Elis, in the northwestern Peloponnesus, Pisa itself was situated north of the Alphaeus, on whose banks funeral games were held in honour of Pelops, at a very short distance east of Olympia, and, in consequence of its proximity to the latter place, was frequently identified by the poets with it.

<sup>53</sup> This is also testified by Apollodoros (B.3.5.5-6) that his sister had married to Amphion from Thebes, but he reports that "...*Niobe herself quitted Thebes and went to her father Tantalus at Sipylus...*" This gives the implication that this marriage had happened at the time of Tantalus and Tantalus had had contact with the Greek Mainland through this marriage relation.

<sup>54</sup> Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 12.36.

<sup>55</sup> It is also seen that during the Dark Age Aiolian Colonisation a large number of people from Boeotia would join the colonists. For the ancient and modern sources on the subject, see Demir 2001, 125-127.

<sup>56</sup> Strabon (8.5.5) states that "*For instance, they say that the Achaeans of Phthiotis came down with Pelops into the Peloponnesus, took up their abode in Laconia, and so far excelled in bravery that the Peloponnesus, which now for many ages had been called Argos, came to be called Achaean Argos, and the name was applied not only in a general way to the Peloponnesus...*"



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sons among the cities as rulers.<sup>57</sup> Yet above all the descendants of Pelops infiltrated, through marriage, the royal house of Mycenae and eventually took power in the city. The supposed son of Pelops, Atreus became king of Mycenae and appears to have continued to rule an extensive kingdom during the first half of the 13 th century until his son Agamemnon succeeded to the throne.<sup>58</sup>

I assume it seems possible to bring forward the striking parallels between these Greek legends about Pelops and his flight and the Hittite texts concerning the political developments in Western Anatolian Countries during the relevant periods. The flight of Pelops from Mount Sipylus resembles that of Uhhaziti from Apasa (Ephesus) during the reign of Mursili II (1321-1295 B.C). In Detailed Annals of Mursili II (*KUB XIV 15 I, 23-26*), a passage records that the kingdom of Arzawa, ruled by Uhhaziti and the city of Millawanda, now identified as Miletos (this city could have been part of Ahhiyawa) sided with Ahhiyawa in a rebellious collaboration against the Hittites.<sup>59</sup> As probably the

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<sup>57</sup> Plutarkhos, *Theseus*, 3.1.

<sup>58</sup> According to traditions, Mycenae was first ruled by its founder Perseus the first. In a later period, the throne of Mycenae, instead of being in possession of the Perseids, came gradually under the rule of the Pelopides (descendants of Pelops), for Sthenelus the third (Perseus's son) married Pelops' daughter Nicippe, and when he seized Mycenae he also entrusted to Atreus and Thyestes the city of Midea, which is northeast of Argos. Sthenelus the third was succeeded by Eurystheus. When Eurystheus left Mycenae in order to attack the Heraclides, he committed the government to Atreus, and after Eurystheus's death the Mycenaeans received, not surprisingly, an oracle which bade them choose one among the Pelopides for their king. In the matter of ruling Mycenae, Atreus was challenged by his own brother Thyestes. Atreus lost the throne of Mycenae when his wife betrayed him with Thyestes. However, Zeus sent Hermes to instruct Atreus to make a new agreement with Thyestes by which Atreus should be king if the sun should go backwards. When Thyestes agreed to this impossibility, the sun set in the east; for nothing is impossible to the gods (The whole story about the sun is just thought to have been a result of an eclipse; and since there is often an eclipse at hand they might like to refer to the one that took place in 1281 BC, in which the sun is said to have appeared already darkened over the horizon.). So Atreus got the sign of the sun going backward and ousted his brother Thyestes from the kingdom of Mycenae. He murdered the children of Thyestes and served them up to him at a banquet. Thyestes' son Aegisthus, who was not involved in the mass murder, killed Atreus and restored the kingdom to Thyestes. Atreus was buried in Mycenae, along with the treasures that he and his children stored in underground chambers. Thyestes was driven away by Agamemnon and Menelaus who had escaped Thyestes' wrath and came back later when they were grown. With the help of Tyndareus King of Sparta, they expelled Thyestes, as each had married a daughter of Tyndareus (Agamemnon=Clytemnestra; Menelaus=Helen). Agamemnon became King of Mycenae; Menelaus, that of Sparta. Agamemnon became the leader of the Greek forces in the war against the Trojans. For the ancient sources on this subject, see Herodotos, 1.67; 4.103; 7.159; Thukydidēs, 1.9.2-3; Apollodoros, E.2.7, 10-15, 18.1; 3.5, 10.7; 11-13, 16; 6.21; Apollodoros, B.2.4.4-6, 5.3; 3.2.1; Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, 3.27.68; Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica*, .3; *Orestes*, 11; Strabon, 1.2.15; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 85-88, 258; Ovidius, *Artis Amatoriae*, 1.327; Ovidius, *Tristia*, 2.391; Pausanias, 2.4.2, 15.4, 16.3-6, 18.1-2, 22.3; 29.4; 5.8.2; 6.20.7; 7.24.2; 9.40.11; Statius, *Thebais*, 4.306.

<sup>59</sup> For translation, see Sommer 1932, 309; Bryce 1989b, 299. Bryce (1989b, 302 ) points out that a fragmentary text (Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy = *KUB XXXI 29*, line 6) indicates that Ahhiyawa had land on the Anatolian mainland. In a letter from a Hittite king to the king of

part of the Arzawan Confederacy, the Seha River Land also appears to have collaborated with Uhhaziti against the Hittites.<sup>60</sup> It appears that Mursili II succeeded in suppressing this rebellion and Uhhaziti did not offer any resistance against him. He fled across the sea “to the islands” and took refuge in Ahhiyawa and after the death of Uhhaziti “in the sea”, Mursili II returned.<sup>61</sup> When the equation of Ahhiyawa-Mycenaean Greeks (Homeros’ Achaiwoi) is accepted,<sup>62</sup> it is natural that as a powerful and equal seafaring state, Mycenaean Greeks had

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Ahhiyawa, dated to the reign of Arnuwanda I/II, there are references to the islands belonged to the king of Ahhiyawa (*KUB XXVI 91*, obverse, lines 5’-7’ ). For translation see Sommer 1932, 268.

<sup>60</sup> In extracts from the Treaty of Mursili II with Manapa-Tarhunda (*KUB XIX.5*: 3-4, translated in Garstang and Gurney 1959, 93-94), King of the Seha River land with Appawiya, Manapa-Tarhunda who himself restored to his throne after a struggle with his older brothers, is recorded to have supported Uhhaziti, the King of Arzawa and fought against Mursili.

<sup>61</sup> Hawkins 1998, 14.

<sup>62</sup> The identification of Ahhiyawa, whom the Hittites were in contact from the early fourteenth to the late thirteenth century, with Mycenaean Greeks is one of the longest running controversies among scholars. By basing his arguments on the resemblances of names between the Achaeans and the Ahhiyawans, Forrer (1924a, 1-22; 1924b, 113-118) is the first to take Ahhiyawa to denote the Mycenaean Greek empire of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, with its capital at Mycenae and its eastern outpost in the south of Anatolia. His suggestions, which were also supported by some other scholars, met with a determined opposition from Sommer (1932), who claimed that the equation of the names is a philological impossibility and the Hittite texts does not actually indicate that Ahhiyawa is outside Anatolia. Ahhiyawa he regarded as an Anatolian state, having nothing to do with Achaia or with the Mycenaeans. Also see Sommers’s later discussion (1937, 169-297); Steiner 1964, 365-392; Hooker 1976, 128-131. Other candidates including Thrace and southern shore of Propontis has also been put forward. Hodinott 1981, Ch.3; Macqueen 1968, 169-185; 1986, 163, n.31; Mellaart 1968, 187-202. In a recent study by Mountjoy (1998), Rhodes (which had been proposed previously by Page 1959, chap 1) and the surrounding islands are suggested, though he does not dismiss the possibility of the mainland Greece. The Ahhiyawa must be either the whole or some part of Mycenaean territory, that is, referring to the land of Mycenaeans. This has over the years been strongly and persuasively argued. Gurney 1961, 46 ff.; Garstang and Gurney 1959, 95-97, 111-113; Stubbings 1951, 110 ff; Webster 1958, 10; Houwink ten Cate 1973, 161; Schachermeyr 1986; Bryce 1989a, 1-21; Huxley 1960, 15 ff; Desborough 1964, 218 ff; Güterboch 1983, 133-138; 1984, 114-122; 1986, 33-44; Wood 1985, 69-209; Cline 1994, 69; Hawkins 1998, 30-31. One should admit that the evidence is at present insufficient to offer a definite proof for either case of the Ahhiyawa/Mycenaean equation. So in this case, one is obliged to follow his own pattern and reinterpret the narrative accordingly and in a way that it would make sense. In the discussions below, although it could not be accepted on a certain basis, it will be considered that Ahhiyawa of the Hittite texts between 15th and 13th centuries is a reference to the mainland or homeland of Mycenaean Greeks and though it is possible that any of the mainland cities could have been pre-eminent in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, it is likely that Mycenae or Argos in Peloponnesus was the seat of a king whom Hittite diplomatic texts called as “Great King”, who can only be a ruler on the rank of Atreus or Agamemnon. In other words, the arguments of the scholars who, in view of the combination of documentary and archaeological evidence, propose that Ahhiyawa was a Mycenaean Greek kingdom, equal in rank to the Great King of Hatti and, by implication, to those of Egypt and Babylonia shall be followed in this paper.

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taken an active step in political, military as well as in commercial terms<sup>63</sup> and involved on the western coast of Asia Minor. During the period of this general revolt in the west against Mursili II, the people of the dukedom of Tantalus may also have gone into conflict with the country of Trojans, possibly mentioned as Wilusa in the Hittite texts and the permanent allies of Hittites.<sup>64</sup> As a result of

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<sup>63</sup> Not only the textual evidence but also the archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates that there were well-established connections between the Aegean and Western Anatolia. On the Anatolian coast the sites with the strongest Mycenaean contacts so far known are Troy, Menemen-Panaztepe, Klazomenae-Limantepe, Ephesos, Miletos with its cemetery at Değirmentepe, Iasos, Müsgebi and in Lesbos are Thermi and Antissa. Stubbings 1951, 110 ff; Desborough, 1964, 158-165; French 1978, 165-170; Mee 1978, 121-156; Mellink 1983, 138-141; Cline 1994, 68-74; Mountjoy 1998, 33-67. It appears that in the cities of Southern Aiolis, including Pitane (Çandarlı), Elaia (Kazık Bağları), Myrina, Kyme, Phokaia, Larisa (Buruncuk), Menemen-Panaztepe, Smyrna (Bayraklı) as well as on the banks of Hermus, Mycenaean pottery and materials were found. Özgünel 1983, 697-743; 1987, 535-547; 1996. As far as the archaeological finds show, Menemen-Panaztepe appears to have played a significant role for the spread of Mycenaean activities in Southern Aiolis. A tomb group from Menemen-Panaztepe, acquired by Manisa Museum from an antiquities's dealer provides a good illustration of the hybrid nature (Mycenaean and Local Anatolian) of the Interface. Ersoy 1988, 55-82. The materials from other excavated tholos type-graves continue to accumulate and the number of these type of graves appears to be dominant. All of these put forward that there happened to be Mycenaean activity and trade, if not a colony ruled by a Mycenaean aristocratic class, in the area. The recent excavations are still carried out by Prof.Dr.Armağan Erkanal and awaits publication. Panaztepe appears to be strategically in a key position and at the centre from where the Mycenaean traders must have spread into other areas within and outside Southern Aiolis and have had a contact with the natives. Panaztepe is not far from Smyrna and Mount-Sipylos where Tantalus and his people are said to have lived. It is highly possible that there may be some other Mycenaean sites, including Gerenköy-Panayırtepe, Kumtepe or Sakaltepe, which has not been excavated yet. See Meriç 1989, 199.

<sup>64</sup> It is possible to say that the country of Trojans was called Wilusa in Hittite texts. In a Hittite text, now believed to come from the time of Tudhaliya I/II (ca.1390-1370 BC, discussed in Garstang and Gurney 1959, 105-109), a victory of this king over "Land of Assuwa" is recorded and 22 enemy countries that seem to have made up the Land of Assuwa are also listed in a previous paragraph. The last two names in the alliance are recorded as Wilusiya and Tarusia. These two places are assumed to be the northernmost component of the Assuwan Confederacy. Although the relation of Wilusa to Wilusiya ( which also could be combined with Ilios ) and to Taruisa remains unclear, it is a striking coincidence that these two places appear together in roughly the same place where the legend of Troy takes place. It should also be noted that in Homeros' Iliad, Troy has two different names, Troy (frequently appears to mean the city) and Ilios (which is often the country like Wilusa). Therefore, the possibility that Troy was within the kingdom of Wilusa is accepted by some writers. Güterboch (1986, 41, 44) points out that, although a definite proof is not possible, the location of Wilusa in the Troad seems to be the most likely one and though could not be claimed with any certainty, the name Wilusa can be identified with Ilios when a number of morphological and phonetic changes are admitted. Also see Singer 1985, 187. In extracts from the Treaty of Muwatalli II with Alaksandus of Wilusa (ca.1280, translated in Garstang and Gurney, 1959, 102-103), it is recorded (17) that Wilusa was an Arzawan state like Arzawa, Mira and Hapalla. What we learn from the the content of Alexsandush treaty is that since the time of Labarnas in the 17 th century, though Arzawa was in continous enmity towards the Hittites, Wilusa managed to remain as a seperate political entity from the western states in the south and an Arzawan states by racial affinity and remained loyal to

their defeat, Tantalids decided to settle first in Boeotia and then in the district of Elis in Peloponnesus, where they were to establish their new dynasty, as told above, the Pelopides, by conquering the whole of Peloponnesus and possibly head the new Ahhiyawan state.

If the dynasty of Pelopids could be accepted as the new centre of Ahhiyawan state, having gained strength, they may later on have continued to intervene in the political affairs of Western Anatolia and even cause threat to both Hittites and Trojans by establishing strongholds in some territories over there. The evidence actually suggest that the king of Ahhiyawa (if they could be accepted as the Mainland Mycenaeans, the Achaian king could therefore just possibly be Agamemnon himself or his father Atreus) continued to hold its political influence among the western countries in Asia Minor. In the Tawagalawa Letter (*KUB XIV.3*), dated to the era of Muwatalli or Hattusili III (1264-1239 BC), Tawagalawa, the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa is clearly addressed as a Great King, Hittite King's Brother and His Equal.<sup>65</sup> This letter concerns Piyamaradu, an Arzawan prince and a Hittite renegade, who has been raiding the Hittite territory, that is, the Lukka Lands and other territories. The base of his operations was the neighbouring city of Millawanda or Milawata, ruled by the son-in-law of Piyamaradu, Atpa, clearly under the protection of Ahhiyawa. Though the word Ahhiyawa is never actually mentioned in the text, as an insurrectionist against the Hittites, Piyamaradu seems to have had the tacit support or connivance of the Ahhiyawan king.<sup>66</sup> According to the letter (I.61-2), when the Hittite king set out to enter into Millawanda, Piyamaradu "escaped by ship" probably to Ahhiyawa,<sup>67</sup> taking with himself 7,000 Hittite subjects (consisting of Hittite rebels and a large number of prisoners-of-war) from the Hittite king's vassal lands.<sup>68</sup> Hittite king's subsequent request for the return of his subjects was either refused or ignored by the Ahhiyawan king and by Atpa and it seems that Piyamaradu was not handed over to Hittites.<sup>69</sup> He left his household in Ahhiyawa and from there he continued to raid the Hittite king's vassal lands.<sup>70</sup>

Piyamaradu may actually have first begun to make raids into the Seha River Land. In Manapa-Tarhunda letter (*KUB XIX.5: 3-4*, translated in Garstang and Gurney, 1959, 95), a letter of protest written to the Hittite king

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the Hittites throughout the reigns of Tudhaliyas I and II, Suppiluliuma I, and Mursili II. See Güterboch 1986, 36-7 and Mellink 1986, 96-97.

<sup>65</sup> Singer 1983, 209-210. For the translation of this letter see Bryce 1989b, 300.

<sup>66</sup> Singer (1983, 213-4) argues that Tawagalawa is also "probably stationed in Millawanda from where he operates in Lukka, in competition with the Hittite king. In other words, he appears to be "the highest representative of Ahhiyawan interests on Anatolian soil". He also concludes that the Hittites were fighting against Ahhiyawa and her partisans in Anatolia.

<sup>67</sup> Güterboch 1983, 137.

<sup>68</sup> Bryce 1985, 16.

<sup>69</sup> Bryce 1985, 16.

<sup>70</sup> Mountjoy 1998, 48.

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and dated possibly to the reign of Muwatalli II, there also occur references to Piyamaradu, Atpa, Lazpa and Wilusa. According to this letter, Piyamaradu humiliates the vassal king of the Hittites, Manapa-Tarhunda, the ruler of Seha River Land, by appointing Atpa, the ruler of Millawanda (Miletos) over him and persuades all the men of Manapa-Tarhunda to side with him against the Hittite king. It is seen that Seha River Land would again rebel against the Hittites under the leadership of Tarhunaradu, who had nothing to do with the family of Manapa-Tarhunda, possibly a claimant to the throne and supported not only by Piyamaradu but also possibly by the direct involvement of the king of Ahhiyawa.<sup>71</sup>

In view of the Manapa-Tarhunda Letter, mentioned above, Piyamaradu attacked Lazpa as well. Arguing from the resemblances of names, it is assumed that the island of Lazpa, as mentioned so in the Hittite texts, could possibly be identified with Lesbos. Lazpa is first recorded in a Hittite text, dated ca.330, corresponding to the reign of Mursili II. According to this text (*KUB* V, 6), when this king was very sick, an embassy was sent to Ahhiyawa and to Lazpa, which brought the god (= cult-idol?) of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa, among other items, to help heal the king.<sup>72</sup> Although it is not clearly stated, Lazpa and Ahhiyawa appear to have been evaluated by the Hittites in the same diplomatic category, which might also imply a long-going political and cultural connection between these two places. If Lazpa is accepted as Lesbos, some Ahhiyawans may have previously lived in this island possibly from the second half of 14th century BC, as it is possible that Ahhiyawans may represent Achaeans, mainly the Peloponnesian Greeks, settled on different parts of the Mycenaean world. With a great navy at their disposal, they may more actively have involved in the political affairs of Lesbos from this time onwards. As mentioned above, it appears that some islands off the western coast of Anatolia had belonged to Ahhiyawa (see above.n.60). During Mursili II's suppression of revolts as discussed above, the people of Lesbos may have been forced to accept the rule of Hittites, but when the opportunity arose, they immediately inclined to ally

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<sup>71</sup> In textual fragments (*KUB* XXIII 13), dated to the reign of Hattusili III (1264-1239 B.C) or Tudhaliya IV (1239-1209 B.C), the king of Ahhiyawa is mentioned in connection with the Seha River and Arzawa, it is recorded that "The land of the Seha River again transgressed. [The people of the Seha River land then said:] "His Majesty's grandfather did not conquer [us] with the sword. [When] he conquered the Arzawa lands ( the father of his majesty ) [ he did not conquer us] with the sword. We have [no obligation?] to him". [So the Seha River land] made war. And the King of Ahhiyawa withdrew. [Now when he] withdrew, I, The Great King, advanced. [Then my enemies retreated into mountainous country:] I subdued the mountain peak Harana. Then 500 [teams of] horses I brought [back to Hattusas]." Translation and conjecture in square brackets following Sommer, 1932, 314-319. The word which is translated here as "withdrew", could have several meanings, including "take refuge with" or "relied on". Güterboch ( 1983, 138 ) suggests that "relied on" makes a comparatively more sense. Therefore, it appears that Tarhanaradu of the Seha River Land is relying on the support of the King of Ahhiyawa. Güterboch 1983, 137-138 and Singer 1983, 207-208.

<sup>72</sup> For the translation of text, see Sommer 1932, 283 and Cline 1994, 122.

with Piyamaradu. Therefore, it appears that in the early years of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the island of Lesbos was again absorbed within the newly created kingdom of western Anatolian states, brought about by Piyamaradu and also supported by the new kingdom of Ahhiyawa under the new rule of the descendants of Pelops.

Having found a great support from the local population in the Seha River Land and in Lesbos, as seen from the Tawagalawa letter, Piyamaradu seems to have extended his raids to the north as far as Wilusa (the country of Trojans). In Manapa-Tarhunda letter, there is also a hint concerning an attack over Wilusa in which Piyamaradu may have taken part possibly by taking the support of Ahhiyawa (Achaian forces, that is possibly the royal house of Pelops) in spite of the fact that there was a Hittite support for Wilusa, as guaranteed in Alaksandus treaty.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, in a uncertain restoration proposed by Sommer in his translation of the Tawagalawa letter it is suggested that at some stage prior to the events which are the main topic of the letter in the matter of Wilusa, Ahhiyawa king and the Hittite king had been at enmity with each other over Wilusa (probably contemporary with the activities of Piyamaradu in this region) and they (presumably Hattusili III, lower chronology 1264-1239,<sup>74</sup> but the name of Ahhiyawa king is not known ) now decided to settle this issue.<sup>74</sup>

Actually these attacks coincide with the last phase of Troy VIIh, which came to an end through a catastrophe, an earthquake, but the possibility of a hostile action around 1280 BC could not be ruled out.<sup>75</sup> If one accepts that Troy, within the kingdom of Wilusa, was destroyed as a result of a hostile action around ca.1280, one would wonder if this incident could be the basis of Homeric tale, as Homeros even remembers the name of the king of Wilusa (Alaksandus/Alexandros as another name of Paris called in ancient sources).<sup>76</sup> However, on the grounds of the traditional dating of this incident, generally dated to the second half and even the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (1230-

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<sup>73</sup> Bryce (1985, 15) argues that by his open enmity against the Hittites, Piyamaradu paved the way to create a new kingdom of Western Anatolian States including the Seha River Land, Lazpa, Wilusa and perhaps even Mira. He also thinks that Piyamaradu first attacked against the Lukka Lands and then extended his activities to the north. However, he does not take into account the possibility that the Tawagalawa letter may post-date the Manapa-Tarhunda letter, which is more likely to be dated to either the era of Mursili II or Muwatalli II. It is also possible that during the reign of Hattusili III, Piyamaradu continued his raids into Lukka Lands in the south, much nearer the Hatti.

<sup>74</sup> Tawagalawa letter IV, 7. Güterboch (1984, 37) concludes that in this letter, the restoration of Wilusa should not be doubted.

<sup>75</sup> Korfman 1986, 25-26.

<sup>76</sup> Wood (1985, 207) makes this suggestion, but the date he gives for the attack of Achaian troops is the late 1260s, much later than the destruction of Troy VIIh around 1280 B.C.

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1180 B.C),<sup>77</sup> Piyamaradu's attack on the part of Wilusa territory may possibly not be connected with the Trojan War, told by Homeros. Even if one accepts that Piyamaradu with the support of Ahhiyawa (Mycenaean Greeks) had destroyed Troy around 1280 B.C, it appears that after the destruction, Troy recovered with the help of the Hittite troops.

To sum it up, despite some mythical aspects, it should not be dismissed that Tantalus and his son Pelops may have been real personalities, who had lived in a real geographic place, that is around Mount Sipylus with an influence over the territories in Southern Aiolis. If there really had been a war between a ruler of Troy and the Tantalids, as a result of which the Tantalids had to flee to Greece, it will not be odd to assume that as a head of the new Ahhiyawan state, the Pelopides continued to involve in the political affairs of Western Anatolia against the Hittites and that from the pedigree of Tantalus, Agamemnon, now much more stronger, may have come back to Asia by leading the largest contingent in the confederate army in order take his family's revenge against the Trojans. This connection with Homeros' Trojan War is also reported by Pausanias as following that "*when the war of the Greeks against Troy was prolonged, the soothsayers prophesied to them that they would not take the city until they had fetched the bow and arrows of Heracles and a bone of Pelops*". The bone of Pelops was taken to Troy and afterwards shipwrecked.<sup>78</sup> As the third wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists, it is seen that the descendants of Agamemnon, Cleus and Malaus prefers to settle in territories near Mount Sipylus where their ancestors Tantalus and Pelops are previously said to have resided.

### **Mysia and Troad**

It is also plausible that Dark Age Aiolian colonists must have known about the regions, where they went to settle, due to their previous deeds in and around these lands during the Trojan War. Within this context, it should be taken into consideration that in a war between the Athenians and the Mytileneans of Lesbos which started possibly not later than 600 B.C and broke out again during reign of Peisistratid, the Athenians evidently developed a claim to Sigeum which was rooted in the myth of Trojan War. Herodotos (5.94.2) mentions that "the Athenians argued that the Aiolians had no better right to the district of Troy than they themselves or the rest of the Hellenes who helped Menelaus to revenge the rape of Helen". Indeed it seems that the Mytileneans had based their own claim upon the myth of Trojan War: Strabon (13.1.38.1) states that Archaeanax of Mytilene took stones from Troy to build a wall and occupied

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<sup>77</sup> Although C.W.Blegen (1963) ultimately placed it a generation or so earlier, Podzuweit (1982, 65-88) has recently suggested that it should be set a good deal later (ca.1230-1180 B.C).

<sup>78</sup> Pausanias, 5.13.4-6. There are also some Latin sources in which Pelops's descendants are connected with the war against the Trojans which is included in Phrygia. See Catullus, *Carmina*, 64.305 and Vergilius, *Aeneis*, 2.145.

Sigeum by claiming that he had a right that went back to the Trojan War. Diogenes Laertius (3 CE, *Philosophoi Biol*, 1.74.1) points out that they fought each other for the territory of Achilles. There is a passage in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (395 ff) which shows that the Athenians were still claiming their right to Sigeum in the middle of the fifth century at the time of Athenian Empire, when it remained fashionable to find mythical excuses to occupy the land of others. When Athena first enters the scene to settle the dispute between Orestes and the Erinyes by referring it to the Athenian jury, she says :

From afar I heard the call of a summons, even from the Scamander, while I was taking possession of the land, which the leaders and chieftains of the Achaeans assuredly assigned to me, as a goodly portion of the spoil their spears had won, to be mine utterly and forever, a choice gift unto Theseus' sons.

In Homeros an Athenian called Menestheus is said to have fought at Troy.<sup>79</sup> According to a tradition that is later than Homeros, but was well established before the time of Aeschylus, Demophon and Acamas, the sons of the great legendary Athenian hero, Theseus, took part in the campaign. As a result of this, the Achaeans, after they had utterly destroyed Troy, are said to have been granted some land in the Troad. So, the universal recognition of Athena's rights in the Troad, and therefore those of Athens, is said to go back to the Trojan war. In the passage, 'γην καταφθάντουμεν' literally means "taking to myself by first occupancy." As is implied in the play Athena<sup>80</sup> had first occupied it after the Trojan war and had been living there and holding it as a possession of the Athenians until the presentation of the play around the middle of the fifth century.

Given these facts, all these sources look for a link with Troy to claim the right for the territory of Sigeum. It is implied that not only the Athenians, but also all the other city states who had helped in the destruction of Troy may easily have made a claim on this territory. However, these sources are later than the establishment of the settlements. In the case of the foundation of colonies, such myths evolve as the development of the city goes on so that the Trojan war link may have been invented or developed after the foundation of these colonies. Despite this, the descendants of Agamemnon possibly thought that they could have put forward their alleged ancestral claim on the colonized territory more firmly than the other Greeks or the natives on account of their comparatively more effort and the consequent victory in the Trojan war. The same argument could be made with regard to the earlier activities of Agamemnon and his forces, mainly consisted of Achaeans from Peloponnese, during the Trojan War, in the regions where his descendants in a later period set out to settle as Dark Age Aiolian colonists.

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<sup>79</sup> *Iliad*, 2.552; 4.327; 12.331, 373; 13.195, 690; 15.331.

<sup>80</sup> There was a temple of Athena in Sigeum as indicated by Herodotos (5.94-95).



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Achaean (the general name used by Homeros for the Greeks) were more widely distributed and formed the greater part of the forces of Agamemnon in the Trojan War. It is seen that Agamemnon and his army not knowing the course to steer for Troy, they put in to Mysia and plundered the Meian plain, supposing it to be Troy. Yet Telephus, the king of the Mysians, and seeing the country pillaged, he armed the Mysians, chased the Greeks in a crowd to the ships, and killed many, among them Thersander, the king of Thebes, who had made a stand. Meanwhile, Achilles managed to wound Telephus.<sup>81</sup> Thukydides (1.11.1) states that when the confederation army had problems with supplies, they turned to the agriculture of Chersonese and piracy in the surrounding territories. So, during the long period of Trojan war, Greeks appear to have lingered around the waters of Troad. During this period, Agamemnon's forces under the command of Achilles, son of Thetis and Peleus, whose wedding eventually led to the Trojan War, raided Lesbos and Phocaea, then Colophon, and Smyrna, and Clazomenae, and Cyme; and afterwards Aegialus and Tenos, the so-called Hundred Cities; then, in order, Adramytium and Side; then Endium, and Linaeum, and Colone. He also took Hypoplacian Thebes and Lyrnessus, and further Antandrus, and many other cities.<sup>82</sup> Near the bay of Lecton, there were the sacrificing places (sanctuaries) of twelve gods established by Agamemnon.<sup>83</sup> The islands of Lemnos, Tenedos and Lesbos also seem to have been visited by the forces of Agamemnon, on which some Mainland Greeks (Achaean- possibly Ahhiyawans) had possibly settled in an earlier period, as explained in the first section.<sup>84</sup> North of Mycale (Samsun

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<sup>81</sup> Pausanias, 1.4.6; 8.45.7. Pausanias (9.5.14) also states that Thersander “*had shown himself the bravest Greek at the battle; his tomb, the stone in the open part of the market-place, is in the city Elaea on the way to the plain of the Caicus, and the natives say that they sacrifice to him as to a hero.*” For the war also see Apollodoros, E 3.17. The war in Mysia is narrated in more detail by Philostratus, *Heroicus*, 3.28-36 and Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*, 2.1-7. Philostratus (*Heroicus*, 35) says that the wounded were washed in the waters of the hot Ionian springs, which the people of Smyrna called the springs of Agamemnon.

<sup>82</sup> Homeros, *Iliad*, 9.129-130, 271, 664; 20.92; *Cf.Odyseia*, 4.342; 17.133; for details, especially see Apollodoros, E.3.32-3.

<sup>83</sup> Strabon, 13.1.49. Pausanias (1.35.4; 8.12.9) mentions that the Aiolians had settled in Ilium, possibly after the war.

<sup>84</sup> In Homeros, Menelaus speaks that Lesbos was a one-walled city and in this city Odysseus had wrestled with a certain Philomeleides and defeated him with a might and upon this all the Achaeans had rejoiced. So, it appears to be a port of call on the homeward journey. *Odyseia*, 3.169; 17.130-135. Lemnians made a special present to Agamemnon of choice wine before they traded with the army at Troy. Agamemnon's army paid for its Lemnian wine by the spoils of war, bronze, iron, hides, oxen and slaves. Homeros, *Iliad*, 7.467 ff; 21.40-41, 79-80, 102. Agamemnon is also said to have made marriages during the Trojan War. Chryses, said to have lived in the island of Ziminth (possibly Tenedos) as the priest of Apollo, is the same priest who, in the last year of the Trojan War, asked the Achaeans to set free his daughter Chryseis, whom they held prisoner, and had his request denied by the arrogance of Agamemnon. Some time after, however, the girl was released, in order to placate Apollo, who, hearing the prayers of Chryses the third had sent a plague which decimated the Achaean army. Some say that the priest's daughter was

Burnu, Dilek Yarımadası), a small town, Pygela, which never joined the Ionian League, was supposed to have been founded by Agamemnon and settled by a part of his troops; for it is said that some of his soldiers became afflicted with a disease of the buttocks and were called diseased buttocks, and that, being afflicted with this disease, they stayed there, and that the place thus received this appropriate name. This is a legend to which the name of its tribe Agamemnonis alluded.<sup>85</sup>

By virtue of these earlier activities of Greek forces especially in and around the Troad during the Trojan War, especially the first wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists, led by Tisamenus' eldest son Cometes may have intended to settle within the territories of Troad in accordance with the reply of Pythian oracle. Yet they first decided to go to Mysia, just as the Greek forces did during the Trojan War, but a small group of people followed Cometes in this expedition. They seem to have landed in the Baba Bay and settled in the city of Colonae, further inland, whereabouts Cilla, the chairteer of Pelops, the ancestor of Cometes, used to have ruled and died afterwards and even a city had been established in his name (See above n.38). In accordance with the demands of the oracle, they had the cults of their gods to enliven in these territories by establishing a temple for Apollo in Colonae. Later on, the second wave of the Aiolian colonists, led by Penthilus and after him by his son Echelas and grandson Gras, had advanced through Hellespont to Cyzikus in the southern shore of Propontis. Penthilus possibly died in Thrace and Echelas with his colonists may have settled in Perinthos on the northern shore of Propontis. At this point, Echelas' youngest son Gras separated from him and advanced to the river Granicus (Biga Çayı). Having equipped himself better, he felt strong enough to attack the island of Lesbos and prevailed over the island this time. So, it appears that the first wave of Aiolian colonists moved into Mysia from the start and the second wave hanged around the shores of Troad before they finally occupied Lesbos, as they possibly had had the previous knowledge of these places, especially from the time of Trojan War.

### CONCLUSION

To sum it up, one of the reasons that the leaders of Dark Age Aiolian Colonists and their supporters chose to establish colonies in Lesbos, Southern

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pregnant when she was set free and that later she gave birth to a boy Chryses the fourth, who was the son of Agamemnon. For the story see Homeros, *Iliad*, 8-52; 100, 111, 143, 182, 310, 369, 390, 428-437. Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica*.passim.

<sup>85</sup> Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum = *SEG* 4.513. Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 59; Strabon, 12.3.2; 14.1.20. The link with Agamemnon perhaps means that the settlers came from northeastern Peloponnese. Melie (Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 11, simply calls Melie a city of Caria) at the northern foot of Mount Mycale was at first in control of the sanctuary and grove of Poseidon the Heliconian before the Ionians took the cult from her (Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 4.1 ); Poseidon epithet here points to Mount Helicon in Boeotia. Wade-Gery 1952, 64. It is likely that there were Boeotians and Thebans in Melie as well as in Priene nearby.

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Aiolis, including Cyme and its surroundings as far as Mount Sipylus, and in Mysia could be due to the fact that they had had previous ancestral and political links with these territories. It has been shown that Macar, the alleged son of the progenitor of Aeolic race, Aeolus and Aeolus's grandson Lesbus are said to have come from Peloponnese and resided in Lesbos possibly during the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The sources particularly indicate that Tantalus and his son Pelops may have been real figures who had lived during this period and centred their rule around Mount Sipylus in Southern Aiolis. However, Tantalus had been defeated by the king of the Trojans, Trojan Ilus, a Phrygian in origin, and his son Pelops was consequently forced to flee to the Greek mainland, first to Boeotia and then to Pisa in Peloponnese where, taking over from the Perseids, established the dynasty of Pelopides. His son Atreus, having ascended to the throne of Mycenae, extended the borders of this dynasty, including the whole of Peloponnese and the islands in the Aegean. If the Mycenaean Greeks-Ahhiyawan equation is accepted, it is possible that Ahhiyawans under the new dynasty of Pelopides continued to interfere politically in Western Asia Minor. One can witness that during the Trojan War Atreus's son Agamemnon, from the pedigree of Pelopides led the largest contingent in the war against Homeros' Trojans, ruled by Priam, as if he was taking the revenge of his forefathers, Tantalus and Pelops, who had been defeated by Ilus the Trojan, and during the long period of this war, his forces had made raids and taken some cities over the territories in Mysia, Troad, and in the Aiolian islands of Lesbos and Tenedos. After the Trojan War, it is seen that Orestes, his sons Tisamenus and Penthilus and their sons Cometes, Echelas and Gras led the long process of Dark Age Aiolian colonization movement. They preferred to settle in almost the same territories where their supposed ancestors, Macar, Tantalus, Pelops had previously resided and over which territories Atreus and Agamemnon, supposedly from the same descent, had previously acted in political terms.



Fig.1. The Throne of Pelops

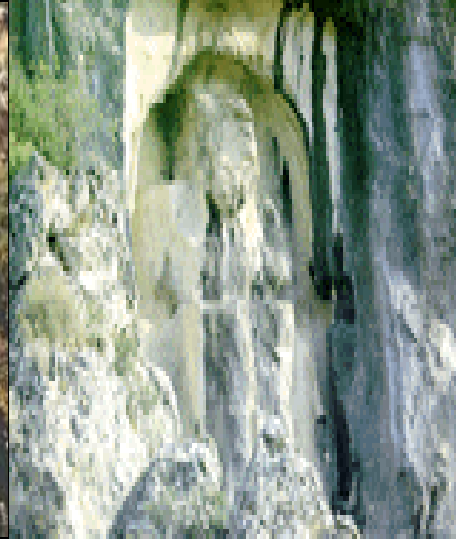


Fig.2. Great Mother Goddess (Kybele).



Fig.3. The tomb of Tantalus (?)



Fig.4. Niobe Rock

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