

MAKING SENSE OF THE MYTHS BEHIND AIOLIAN COLONISATION

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ÖZET

Modern yazarlar Aiol kolonizasyonu ile ilgili kaynakların mitolojik ve efsanevi unsurlar taşıdığını düşünmektedirler. Biz ise bu çalışmada ilgili original Yunan metinlerinin detaylı bir analizini yaparak Aiol kolonizasyonunun liderleri, tarihsel süreci, sebepleri ve kolonistlerin menşei hakkında mantıklı tarihsel açıklamalar ortaya koymaya çalışacağız.

ABSTRACT

Modern writers assume that ancient sources concerning the Aiolian colonization display mythological and legendary aspects. In this study, we, on the other hand, strive to render plausible historical explanations, relating to the leaders, period, reasons of Aiolian colonisation and the origins of Aiolian colonists, by making a detailed analysis of the relevant original Greek sources.

Giriş

The recent study on Aiolian Colonisation has been made by Jacques Vanschoonwinkel.¹ In this study, he strives to describe all of the aspects of Aiolian Colonisation as mentioned in ancient sources and seems to be accepting the common view that these sources are mostly legendary or mythical and does not comment on them in detail. Yet, at one extreme, the “traditional material” could be considered as previous literary works, oral or written, from which poets and mythographers borrow characters and plot elements and to which they frequently allude. At the other extreme, one can consider the “myths” as fundamentally religious or heroic and are not normally verifiable. On the one hand, there is the literary use of conventional material. On the other hand, there is some vast mysterious religious and heroic abyss. To avoid these extremities, in this study, as the mythic tales may bear a claim to the truth, we intend to make sense of them and bring forward the possible historical aspects of Aiolian Colonisation, especially by looking into the original Greek texts in detail. Also I have originally sought to specify the groups of different ancient writers, touched on this subject.

The Leaders of Aiolian Colonisation

Not long after the Trojan War (ca.1230-1180), the Dark Age Aiolian colonists from Boeotia and Thessaly began to move across the northern Aegean firstly to the island of Lesbos and then to the Asiatic coastland between Caicus

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¹ *L'égée et la méditerranée orientale à la fin du deuxième millénaire: Témoignages archéologiques et sources écrites*, Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgique), Université Catholique de Louvain, 1991, pp.405-421. He (p.405) mentions the other few modern studies written on this subject.

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

Plain in the north and the gulf of Smyrna in the south. The most comprehensive detail of the Dark Age Aiolian colonisation is given in Strabo (B.C.E.64/3-C.E.23?)'s *Geographica* (written perhaps when Strabo was already in his eighties). Regarding this colonisation, Strabo (13.1.3) states that

In fact, the Aiolian colonization, they say, preceded the Ionian colonization by four generations, but suffered delays and took a longer time; for Orestes, they say, was the first leader of the expedition, but he died in Arcadia, and his son Penthilus succeeded him and advanced as far as Thrace sixty years after the Trojan War, about the time of the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus; and then Archelaus the son of Penthilus led the Aiolian expedition across to the present Cyzicene near Dascylium; and Gras, the youngest son of Archelaus, advanced to the Granicus River, and, being better equipped, led the greater part of his army across to Lesbos and occupied it. And they add that Cleues, son of Dorus, and Malaus, also descendants of Agamemnon, had collected their army at about the same time as Penthilus, but that, whereas the fleet of Penthilus had already crossed over from Thrace to Asia, Cleues and Malaus tarried a long time round Locris and Mt. Phricius, and only later crossed over and founded the Phryconian Cyme, so named after the Locrian mountain.

As for Strabo, Orestes was the first leader of expedition. He is said to have been the legendary son of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra (Table.1).² It appears that he did not join the Trojan War, as he was still too young.³ After his father, Agamemnon returned to Mycenae from the Trojan War, he was murdered by the mutual plot of his wife, Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. Aegisthus became king of Mycenae. On the assassination of Agamemnon, Orestes, then quite young, was saved from his father's fate by his sister Electra, who had him removed to the court of their uncle Strophius, king of Phocis.

² Homer, *Odyssey*, 1.22, 25; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 875; Sophocles, *Electra*, 690; Euripides, *Andromache*, 880; *Electra*, 325, 335, 570, 880, 1090; *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 465, 615, 1115; *Iphigenia Taurica*, 769, 1360, *Orestes*, 365, 920; Herodotus, *Historiai*, 1.67.2; Diodorus, *Bibliotheka*, 15.66.2; Pausanias, *Periegete*, 2.18.5; 8.5.4; Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae ad M. Vinicium Consulium Libri Duo*, 1.1.3. Agamemnon himself descended from Pelops who is said to have come from Asia Minor and founded the dynasty of Pelopides by conquering the whole of Peloponnesus. So, one would wonder why the colonists took the name of Aioliens rather than the Tantalids, the dynasty of Tantalus, the father of Pelops. 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 Aiolian Colonisation. As to the tradition, Hellen, forefather of Greeks, had three sons, Xuthus, Dorus and Aeolus. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheka*, 1.2.3, Stra., 8.7.1. Xuthus was granted to rule in Thessaly, but his other brother expelled him from Thessaly. Later on, Xuthus begot two sons, Achaeus and Ion. When the sons of Achaeus came to power in Argos and Lacedaemon, the inhabitants of these towns came to be called Achaeans. The name Achaeans was common to them; the Argives had the special name of Danai. Paus., 7.1.7. According to the Scholion on Homer's *Il.*, 1.2, Xuthus, the ancestor of Achaeans, was a son of Aeolus. Also see Euripides, *Ion*, 55, 290. If this is accepted, Hellen had two sons and Aeolus had reigned over the regions about Thessaly and named the inhabitants Aioliens. Apollod., B.1.7.3. Pausanias states that the Boeotians, who in more ancient days inhabited Thessaly and were then called Aioliens, 10.8.4. Also Herodotus (7.176.4) states that Thessaly of his time was originally an Aiolian land. Cf. Diod., 4.67.2; as to Aeolus, his descendants, and their settlements, see Diod., 4.67.2-7; Scholion on Pindar's *Pythian Odes*, 4.107. Aeolus was later on expelled from Thessaly by Dorus. Then the grandchildren of Aeolus, the sons of Achaeus settled in Argos. In its neighbourhood they were called the Achaeans. It appears that Pelops who is said to have come from Mount Sipylus in Lydia to Peloponnesus captured Argos and consequently the whole of Peloponnesus and possibly later on entered into friendly relation with those from the generation of Aeolus. Moreover, it appears that the name of Orestes was originally Aiolian, which was also used by the Pelopides after they occupied the lands which had been settled by the Aioliens, as there appears to be another Orestes who descended from Aeolus. Aeolus had married Enarete, daughter of Deimachus, and begat seven sons, Cretheus, Sisyphus, Athamas, Salmoneus, Deion, Magnes, Perieres, and five daughters, Canace, Alcione, Pisidice, Calyce, Perimede. Perimede had Hippodamas and Orestes by Achelous. Apollod., 1.7.3. In another source, the name of Orestes is also connected with Thessaly, as there was Orestes, son of Echekratidas, the Thessalian king in the fifth century B.C. Thucydides, *Historiai*, 1.11.1. The name, Achelous sounds like Echelas (the alleged son of Penthilus, the son of Orestes, see below dn.53), who had also taken part in the colonisation movement. The name of Borus, one of the sons of Penthilus was similarly used by another Borus, grandson of Aeolus (see below dn.45). Finally, when the great deal of participation of the people of Boeotia and Thessaly is taken into account, as shall be discussed below, the connection between the Aeolic race and the Aiolian colonists could clearly be established.

³ It appears that Orestes did not join the Trojan War and he is said to have grown up in abundance and to have been the favourite son of Agamemnon. Homer, *Il.*, 9.142-143; 284-285.

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

There he formed an intimate friendship with Pylades, the son of Strophius, and with him concerted the means, which he successfully adopted, of avenging his father's death by slaying his mother, Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus in the eight year of Aegisthus' reign (Fig.1). Having become a matricide, the Furies drove Orestes into insanity; and Orestes inquired at Delphi how he should be rid of his mental disorders. The answer was given that Orestes would not be restored to a sane mind until he went to the Tauric Chersonesus in Crimea, and brought away from that quarter the statue of Artemis to Argos. Orestes, along with Pylades, was made prisoner in Tauris, but after being recognized by his sister Iphigenia, who acted as a priestess, he fled with her and the statue of Artemis back to Greece, although some have said that the ship of Orestes was driven in a storm to Rhodes, and that, in accordance with an oracle, the statue was dedicated there. Still others say that, by a favouring wind, the ship of Orestes was borne to the island of Zminthe, where the family of Chryses, priest of Apollo, lived.⁴

Leaving aside the stories about Orestes, making up the themes of ancient plays, the sources also show the possible historical aspects of the kingship of Orestes. As a king, Orestes ruled over a vaster territory in Peloponnesus than his father's. After his return to the Peloponnesus, Orestes took possession of his father's kingdom at Mycenae,⁵ which had been usurped by Aletes, son of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra. When Cylarabes of Argos died without leaving any heir, Orestes added to his kingdom the city of Argos as well.⁶ He not only married Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, the king of Sparta,⁷ but also succeeded to the throne of Sparta, for the Lacedaemonians considered his claim to the throne prior to that of Nicostratus and Megapenthes, these being sons of Menelaus by one or perhaps two slave women, whereas Orestes was the son of one of the daughters of King Tyndareus.⁸ His succession to throne of Sparta meant the rule over the region of Messenia. Besides Sparta and Argos, Orestes also extended his rule over the region of Messenia and the

⁴ The tragic writers introduced many variations of the story of Orestes concerning the plot of his father's death, matricide and insanity. His story is the subject of an existing trilogy by Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*.passim, *Choephoroe*.passim, *Eumenides*.passim), and is treated by Sophocles in his *Electra* (passim) and by Euripides in the remaining plays (*Andromache*.passim, *Electra*.passim, *Iphigenia Taurica*.passim, *Orestes*.passim). Also see Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 11.34 ff.; Hdt., 1.67; Apollod., *Epitome*, 2.16, 6.13-14, 6.24-28; B.2.7.7-8; Paus., 1.22.6, 1.33.8, 2.16.7, 2.17.3, 2.18.6, 2.29.4, 2.31.4, 3.16.7, 3.22.1, 8.34.1; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*, 6.4; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 117, 257; Velleius Paternulus, 1.1.3.

⁵ Apollod., B.2.7.8.

⁶ Paus., 2.18.5; 3.1.5; 7.1.7. He is also said to have been purified and to have had booth at Troezen, a district in the southeast of Argolis, on the Saronic Gulf, and opposite the island of Aegina. Paus., 2.31.4. Troezen was subject to Argos. Paus., 2.30.10. It received the name of Troezen from Troezen, one of the sons of Pelops. Paus., 2.30.8. There was also Orestes's statue at the Heraeum, the temple of Hera at Argos, being the most famous. Paus., 2.17.3.

⁷ Paus., 1.33.8, Paus., 3.1.5; marries Hermione or Erigone. Apollod., B.2.7.8.

⁸ Paus., 2.18.5 ff.; Paus., 3.1.5; Paus., 3.16.7.

greater part of Arcadia and, obeying the oracle of Delphi, he moved his capital from Mycenae to Arcadia.⁹ He is also said to have been the king of Achaia.¹⁰ It is said that the expedition of Hyllus, son of Heracles, against the Peloponnesus, took place during the reign of Orestes, and not during the rule of his son Tisamenus. However, as shall be discussed below, Orestes does not appear to have died fighting against the Heraclids. The man who slew his mother and, risking his life on several occasions, fought many enemies, was killed by the bite of a snake at Oresteum¹¹ in Arcadia.¹² As it appears Orestes was first buried in the city of Tegea in southeastern Arcadia. His body, in accordance with an oracle, was afterwards carried from Tegea (one of the oldest and most powerful cities of Arcadia, was first recorded in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships) to Sparta, and there buried.¹³ His bones are said to have been found at a later time in a war between the Lacedaemonians and Tegaetans, and to have been conveyed to Sparta.¹⁴ The Roman historian, Velleius Paterculus reports that he lived ninety years and reigned seventy.¹⁵

In view of the above mentioned available sources, though one could question, but not definitely say that Orestes was not a real figure within the politics of the Mycenaean World despite the fact that, as in the case of any Meycenanen hero, some mythical aspects are attributed to him. What concerns us here more is the question of his real role in the Aiolian colonisation. Actually when Strabo says that Orestes first began the expedition but died in Arcadia, he seems to be contradicting with himself. As mentioned above, Oresteum, where Orestes died, was in Arcadia, that is within the realm of his rule, which would only enable us to assume that Orestes may only have initiated the preperations

⁹ Paus., 8.5.4. It is also said that Orestes spent the time of his madness in Arcadia, where, in his frenzy, he gnawed off one of his fingers. Paus., 8.34.2.

¹⁰ Paus., 8.5.1. He founds sanctuary of Eumenides at Cerynea, a city of Achaia. Paus., 7.25.7

¹¹ It is a town of Arcadia, north of Sparta and southeast of Megalopolis and this town gave name to the district of Oresthis. Thuc., 4.134. It is called Oresthasium by Pausanias (8.3.1) and according to him, it was founded by Orestheus, son of impious Lycaon, but Euripides (*Orestes*, 1647) gives Oresteion from Orestes. Its ruins, according to Pausanias, were to be seen to the right of the road leading from Megalopolis to Tegaea. Paus., 8.4.4. The figure of Orestes is basically coming from Archadia, for example, the tribe of Orestai and toponymic names, Oresta, Oresteia, Oresthanion. Also see J.Schmidth.*Oresthanion*., in *Paulys Realencyclopädie Der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XVIII 1, cols.1014-1016, Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag, rep.1995. There are others with identical name during the mythical age. The first legendary Orestes is the son of the river god Achelous and Perimede, daughter of Aeolus, as mentioned above (n.2). The first leader of Aiolian Colonisation, Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, comes after him. The third Orestes was an Achaean soldier killed by Hector and Ares at Troy. Homer, *Il.*, 5.705. The fourth Orestes was a Trojan who attacked the Achaean wall together with Asius, leader of the Phrygians, during the Trojan War. Homer, *Il.*, 12.139, 193-194.

¹² Apollod., B.2.7.8.

¹³ Paus., 3.3.5 ff.; 3.11.10; 8.54.4.

¹⁴ Hdt., 1.67-68; Diod., 9.36.3.

¹⁵ Velleius Paterculus, 1.1.3.

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

of this expedition, but due to his accidental poisoning by a snake, he died without leading this colonisation. Following Strabo, both Apollodorus¹⁶ and Pausanias (115-180 A.D) from Magnesia at Sipylum¹⁷ accept that Orestes had died at home in Arcadia. Demon of Athens and Velleius Paterculus follow Strabo, Apollodorus and Pausanias that Orestes had died before the Aiolian expedition.¹⁸ It seems that these writers had made use of two main sources, Pherecydes of Athens in the fifth century BC and Ephorus of Cyme in the second half of the fourth century BC.¹⁹

Some other sources, on the other hand, imply the contrary that Orestes did not die in Arcadia and he personally engaged in leading the expedition to the Asian coast. Pindar (born at or near Thebes in Boeotia, 522 B.C and died just after 446 BC, the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, son of Daiphantos) states that in the blood of Aristagoras of Tenedos, there was the ancient blood of

¹⁶ In the second century BC, Apollodorus of Athens was a scholar who studied under the famous Aristarchus at Alexandria, but left that city around 146 BC, perhaps for Pergamon. He spent much of his later life working at Athens, and produced a wide range of major scholarly works. In the Byzantine period, his name became associated with the "Library" (*Bibliotheka*) the mythological handbook which now survives as our best single source on Greek mythology. The real author of the *Library* of Apollodorus is thus unknown. Scholarly opinion, arguing from the language used by the text, generally places the Library in the first or second centuries A.D.

¹⁷ Pausanias composed an extensive guide book of Greece (*Periegete*), relating in great (though occasionally inconsistent) detail what he saw as he toured the mainland Greek homeland. We have no firm external evidence of who Pausanias was or where he came from, but he mentions Mount Sipylus and its physical environs ten times and with such precision that he most probably grew up in that region. Paus., 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.

¹⁸ *FGrH* 327 F 17 and Velleius Paterculus, 1.2.3.

¹⁹ The most important lost source used by the *Library* of Apollodorus seems to have been Pherecydes of Athens, a prose author from the fifth century BC, who composed a long work on Greek mythology. Many of the most useful traditions preserved in Apollodorus seem to derive from Pherecydes, and Apollodorus thus offers us glimpses of myths as they were recorded at a very early date. From Strabo 14.5.6, it appears that Strabo had read an earlier version of Apollodorus's *Bibliotheka* and he also makes citations from Pherecydes. See Stra., 10.2.4; 10.3.21; 10.5.8; 14.1.3; 14.1.27. While telling the boundaries of Aiolis, Strabo alludes to Ephorus of Cyme in Aiolis (a celebrated Greek historian, a contemporary of Philip and Alexander, flourished about B.C. 340. He wrote a universal history, *Historiai*, in thirty books, the first that was attempted in Greece. It covers a period of 750 years, from the return of the Heraclidae to B.C. 341). See 12.3.11; 13.1.4, 39. From Strabo 13.3.6, it appears that he definitely read the work of Ephorus, but did not find it useful with regard to Aiolis, as he says that the region of Aiolis was shortly mentioned by Ephorus. While Pausanias, possibly from Magnesia at Sipylum, might possibly have used Ephorus of Cyme, Demon of Athens (who wrote an *Atthis*, the name given by Hellenistic scholars to local histories of Attica, at the end of 4th century-the beginning of the 3rd century B.C) was possibly able to reach the work of Pherecydes of Athens. Gaius Velleius Paterculus (a Roman historian born about 19 B.C of a distinguished Campanian family, wrote his *Historiae Romanae ad M. Vinicium Consulem Libri Duo* in the year 30, a succinct compendium of universal history, beginning with the settlement of Magna Graecia and extending to his own times) seems to have had access to the materials the same as those of the writers mentioned above.

Peisander of Sparta who along with Orestes had come from Amyclae²⁰ to Tenedos and led here a bronze armored soldiers from Aetolia (the inner part of Thessaly secluded from the sea) and also the blending of his blood with that of his mother's ancestor Melanippus.²¹ In a scholion (commentary) on these sentences of Pindar by an anonymous reader of a later period,²² it is added that the story concerning Orestes's Aiolian colonisation had been told by Hellanicus (one of the Greek logographi or chroniclers, born at Mitylene in Lesbos about 490 B.C and probably the first chronicler of Athens) in a fragment of his *Aiolika*,²³ of which only the fragments remain. This same story about Orestes' arrival in Lesbos appears to have also been cited by Tzetzes, 12th century A.D Byzantine author of a valuable commentary on Lycophron, usually printed in editions of that author. As written by Tzetzes, having killed Aigisthus, Orestes received an oracular response to despatch a colony. By putting in order the different mass of people, as they were from various places and were called Aiolians, he came to Lesbos. Dying immediately, he was not able to establish a city.²⁴ Although he does not mention anything about Orestes's death, Menecles Barcaeus (Second half of the 2nd century B.C, from North Africa) at the same time points out that in accordance with an oracular response, Orestes gathered into one mass many people who had been named as

²⁰ An ancient town of Laconia (Paus., 3.18.7; 3.19.6; 3.20.3) on the Eurotas, twenty miles southeast of Sparta. It is said to have been the abode of Tyndarus, and of Castor and Pollux, who are hence called Amyclaei Fratres. After the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, the Achaeans maintained themselves in Amyclae for a long time (Paus., 3.2.1); but it was at length taken and destroyed by the Lacedaemonians under Teleclus. Paus., 3.2.6; 3.12.9; 3.19.6. Amyclae still continued memorable by the festival of the Hyacinthia celebrated at the place annually, and by the colossal statue of Apollo, who was hence called Amyclaeus. Paus., 3.1.3; 3.10.8; 4.14.2.

²¹ *Nemean Odes*, 11.43-47, written for Aristagoras of Tenedos, on his installation as President of the Council, 446 B.C ?. Pindar also calls Orestes a Laconian. *P.Odes*, 11.5. These lyric poems were composed to celebrate the successful contestants in the great national games of Greece. Melanippus was a legendary Theban hero; his cult introduced at Sicyon. Hdt., 5.67. Also see Apollod., B.3.6.8 and Paus., 9.18.1. There was also Melanippus from Mytilene, a friend of the poet Alcaeus. Hdt., 5.95.

²² A Scholion on Pindar's *Nemean Odes*, 11.43 (sc. Πείσανδρος Σπαρτιάτης).

²³ FGrH 4 F 32. "...περι δὲ τῆς Ὀρέστου εἰς τὴν Αἰολίδα ἀποικίας Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ [περὶ] Αἰολικῶν ἰστόρηκεν...". This fragment was taken from Scholiast.Pindar., *N.Odes*, 11 43.

²⁴ See Tzetzes's Scholion on Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 1374, in which he gives information about the second son of Agamemnon, who is Orestes. "Ὁ Ὀρέστης μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν Αἴγισθον χρησμὸν ἔλαβεν στέλλεσθαι εἰς ἀποικίαν· ὁ δὲ συντάξας ἐκ διαφόρων λαοῦς, οὓς ἐκάλεσαν Αἰολεῖς, διὰ τὸ ἐκ ποικίλων τόπων εἶναι, ἦλθεν εἰς Λέσβον· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταχὺ ἀποθανὼν πόλιν κτίσαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη..." Lycophron was a grammarian and poet who was a native of Chalcis in Euboea, and lived at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285-247). He wrote an extant poem in 1474 iambic lines, entitled *Cassandra* or *Alexandra*, in which Cassandra is made to prophesy the fall of Troy. In lines 1374-1377, Lycophron mentions the second son of Agamemnon, who is explained as Orestes in the commentary by Tzetzes.

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

Aiolians and it is sure that most of them were Aones of Boeotians.²⁵ In a scholion on *Periêgêsis* of Dionysius Periegeta (820),²⁶ it is similarly stated that Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, was the first to organize the people for Aiolian expedition. It appears that Meneclês Barcaeus and Dionysius Periegeta might also have made use of Hellenicus.

Both Pindar of Thebes and Hellenicus of Mytilene in the first half of the fifth century (Pindar seems to be a few decades earlier than Hellenicus) seem to be the original sources stating that Orestes had not died in Archadia but led the Aeolian expedition to the islands. While Pindar only accepts that Orestes had arrived in Tenedos, it is possible that Hellenicus, having possibly admitted his arrival in Tenedos, also had accepted his arrival in Lesbos. I assume that these local traditions were affected by and the dependent on the reflections of various aristocratic families and dynasties in different cities and these later versions concerning the role of Orestes in the islands, Tenedos or Lesbos, were influenced by writings of tragic writers. As mentioned above, Orestes is said to have reached the island of Zminthe while returning from Tauris in Crimea. I assume that the island of Zminthe could be Tenedos, where Chryses lived. Chryses 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, had sent a plague which decimated the Achaean army. In one of his prayings, Chryses cried that “*O god of the silver bow, you who protect Chryse and holy Cilla and rule Tenedos with your might, hear me O god of Sminthe.*”²⁷ So there was possibly the cult of Apollon Smintheon (see below dn.55) in the island of Tenedos, and the name, Siminthe recalls the island of Zminthe where Orestes is said to have landed. The sources connecting Orestes with the island of Tenedos might have taken into account the story of Orestes’s Tauric expedition and added that he had been present in Tenedos and the nearby islands.

Therefore, what we infer from the relevant sources in common is that Orestes was the first to organize the expedition. However, the first group of traditions, as mentioned above, seem stronger that Orestes had died in Arcadia

²⁵ FGt H 270 F 10. “Αἰολεῖς Ὀρέστης κατὰ χρησμόν συνήθροισε πολλοῦς* * τοὺς ὀνομαζμένους Αἰολεῖς, ὡς μὲν τινες ὅτι πλείστοι <Αἰονες> ἤτοι Βοιωτοὶ ἦσαν,...”. Aones was an ancient Boeotian race, said to have been barbarian or foreigner. See Stra., 7.7.1; 9.2.3; 9.5.2; Paus., 9.5.1.

²⁶ Dionysius Periegeta was the author of a Greek poem in 1186 hexameters, entitled *Tês Gês Oikoumenês Periêgêsis*, “A Description of the Habitable World.” It is not clearly ascertained where he was born. The probability is, however, that he was a native of Charax in Susiana in Iran. It is uncertain, also, when he flourished; he belonged, however, according to the general opinion, to the latter part of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A.D. He derived from his poem the surname of Periegeta.

²⁷ Homer, *Il.*, 1.35.

and his name was very much associated with the places and families in Arcadia rather than those of Lesbos or Southern Aiolis. Apart from Pindar's account, there is no evidence at all about the origin of Peisander of Sparta, said to have gone to Tenedos, or about his any possible connection with the city of Amyclae and Orestes.²⁸

After Orestes died, his son from Hermione, Tisamenus became the king of Argos and Lacadaemon, that is, king of the Peloponnesians.²⁹ Velleius Paterculus (1.1.4) says that Orestes's sons Tisamenus and Penthilus reigned for three years after the death of their fathers. On the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heraclids and the Dorians, many of the Achaians under Tisamenus left their country.³⁰ Having engaged in a war against the Ionians, Tisamenus with his army and sons settled in Achaia in the northern coast of Peloponnesus by driving them out of their lands and held out against the Heraclids.³¹ Following Strabo, Pausanias (7.6.1-2) adds that "*They divided their land among themselves and settled in their cities. These were twelve in number, at least such as were known to all Greek world; Dyme, the nearest to Elis, after it Olenus, Pharae, Triteia, Rhypes, Aegium, Ceryneia, Bura, Helice also and Aegae, Aegeira and Pellene, the last city on the side of Sicyonia. [Almost all of these settled cities were in along the southern seaboard of the Corinthian Gulf]. In these cities, had previously been inhabited by Ionians, settled the Achaeans and their princes. [2] Those who held the greatest power among the Achaeans were the sons of Tisamenus, Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes; his eldest son, Cometes, had already crossed with a fleet to Asia. These then at the time held sway among the Achaeans along with Damasias, the son of Penthilus, the son of Orestes, who on his father's side was cousin to the sons of Tisamenus.*"

As could be understood from the above-quoted sentences, while Heraclids were invading Peloponnesos, Tisamenus sent out colonies. This is also confirmed by Strabo. Quoting from Ephorus, Strabo says that Tisamenus of Achaea was one of the colonizers of the peoples who settled in the Peloponnesus after the return of the Heracleidae.³² In another passage, Strabo (9.2.3) states that the sons of Orestes, that is, Tisamenus and his half-brother Penthilus,³³ despatched the Aeolian fleet to Asia, near Aulis in Boeotia. Further below, this time Strabo (9.2.5) reports that the Boeotians cooperated with

²⁸ There are two Trojan warriors and the son of Maimalos, the chief of Myrmidons in Thessaly by the same name, Peisander. Homer, *Il.*, 11.122-147; 13.601-642; 16.193-195.

²⁹ Paus., 2.18.6; 3.1.5; 7.1.7; Apollod., B.2.7.8; 2.8.2. The name, Tisamenus is associated with Elis in Arcadia and Thebes in Boeotia. Hdt., 4.147; 6.52; 9.33-35; Paus., 3.11.5-8; 3.15.6; 6.14.13; 9.5.15; Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 11.2.

³⁰ Paus., 2.18.8.

³¹ Stra., 8.7.1.

³² Stra., 8.8.5.

³³ cf. Paus., 2.18.6 and Velleius Paterculus (1.2.3) only says that the leaders of Aiolian migration were the sons of Orestes, who sailed to the island of Lesbos.

Penthilus and his followers in forming the Aeolian colony and they sent with Penthilus most of their own people, so that it was also called a Boeotian colony. It appears that the account given by Strabo seems confusing with regard to the participation of Tisamenus and Penthilus in this expedition.

A fragment of Demon would possibly help us to clarify this point. He tells us that after Orestes, Teisamenus and after him, Cometes took the rule of the expedition. After having the oracular response, they had to decide where to go and they cautiously questioned on this matter again and again. By the oracular response of the gods, they were to sail to the furthest parts of Mysia. Many people, who had gathered, ignored this oracle, but a small group of them followed Cometes to go to Mysia, the region between Troad and Southern Aiolis.³⁴ In view of this source, it seems to me that although Tisamenus himself stayed in Achaea and died there,³⁵ but before his death, he sent his son, Cometes and his supporters to establish colonies, who acted independently from Penthilus.³⁶ As also mentioned by Pausanias, quoted above, Cometes had probably led the first wave of Aeolian colonists out of Peloponnesus. Their first destination was Mysia as advised by the Pythian oracle and there is an evidence confirming this, which the modern writers appear to have dismissed. Strabo (13.1.62) informs us that “*In the territory of Adramyttium lie also Chrysa and Cilla.The Cillaeum in Lesbos is named after this Cilla; and there is also a Mt. Cillaeum between Gargara and Antandrus. Daës of Coloniae says that the temple of the Cillaeum Apollo was first founded in Coloniae (a city around Baba Bay) by the Aeolians who sailed from Greece; it is also said that a temple of Cillaeum Apollo was established at Chrysa, though it is not clear whether he is the same as the Sminthian Apollo or distinct from him.*” This passage gives the implication that the first group of Aeolians had landed in the Baba Bay where the city of Coloniae was situated and in accordance with the demands of oracle, as told by Demon (see below p.28), they appear to have enabled the cults of their gods to root in these territories by establishing a temple for Apollo.

³⁴ FGrH 327 F 17. “...μετὰ δὲ Ὀρέστην Τεισαμενὸν λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον Κομήτην. οἱ χρωμένωι, ποῖ δέοι πλεῖν —κατὰ γὰρ εὐλάβειαν καὶ δις καὶ τρίς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπανερέσθαι—<ὕπὸ> τοῦ θεοῦ δοθῆναι χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσχατὸν Μυσῶν πλεῖν. Κατολιγωρήσαντας δὲ πολλ<οὺς τ>ῶν συνηθροισμένων τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ἀφισταθαὶ καὶ τὸν Κομήτην καταλιπεῖν, μικρὸν πεφροντικένοι λέγοντας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Μυσῶν ἐσχάτου...”

³⁵ There are two different versions as to the death of Tisamenus. While Pausanias states that he was killed in a battle against the Ionians, Apollodorus gives a different version, saying that he was slain in battle by the Heraklids. Paus., 7.1.8; Apollod., B.2.8.3. His tomb was afterwards shown at Helice, from which place his remains were subsequently removed to Sparta by the command of an oracle. Paus., 2.18.5; 7.1.8; Apollod., B.2.8.2.

³⁶ After the victory of Heraclids, Tisamenus’s other sons, Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes may also have joined Cometes. Tellis is the name of the father of the Spartan general, Brasidas, who had gone to the relief of Lesbians, when they revolted from Athens in 428 B.C. Thuc., 3.69.1; 4.70.1; 5.19.2; 5.24.1.

Meanwhile Orestes' another son Penthilus³⁷ appears to have taken over the expedition after the death of his father. According to Kinaiton, an early epic poet of Sparta, he was the bastard son of Orestes by Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus, the archenemy of Orestes.³⁸ Actually in another account of Pausanias, while telling the people expelled by the Heraclids, it is implied that a certain Pericylmenus³⁹ was the father of Penthilus.⁴⁰ This Penthilus was married to Anchirroe from Argos⁴¹ and had three sons Borus, Echelas, Damasias.⁴² What is only known about Damasias is that the sons of Tisamenus held sway among the Achaeans along with Damasias during the time of the return of Heraclids⁴³ and Damasias's son Agorius was brought from Helice to Elis by Oxylus in order to obtain the kingdom of Elis, as an oracle from Delphi told that he should bring in as co-founder of Elis "descendant of Pelops."⁴⁴ Borus is only said to have been the father of Andropompus whose son was Melanthus.⁴⁵

I think that Penthilus took the leadership of the second wave of Aiolian colonists, this time to the island of Lesbos. As quoted above (p.1), Strabo says that Penthilus advanced the expedition as far as Thrace. In a previous passage (10.1.8), Strabo relates that there had remained some Aiolians from the army of Penthilus in Euboea, probably in *metropoleis*, Eretria and Chalcis. Strabo (9.2.3) again states that Penthilus had despatched the Aeolian fleet to Asia, near

³⁷ Paus., 2.18.6; 5.4.3; 7.6.2.

³⁸ Paus., 2.18.6.

³⁹ It is known that this Pericylmenus was the son of Neleus and Chloris, brother of Nestor. He is the chief hero of the defence of Pylos against Heracles, to whom he gave much trouble by his prowess as well as by his power of transforming himself, like the sea-gods, into every possible shape. This power had been given him by Poseidon, who was reputed to be his father. Finally he succumbed to the arrows of Heracles, and by his death sealed the doom of Pylos. See Apollod., B.1.9.9; 2.7.2.

⁴⁰ Paus., 2.18.8.

⁴¹ The geneology of Hellanicus provides this information. Hellanicus FGrH 4 F 125.

⁴² Paus., 2.18.8; 3.2.1; 5.4.3; 7.6.2.

⁴³ Paus., 7.6.2.

⁴⁴ Paus., 5.4.3.

⁴⁵ Melanthus was expelled from Messenia by Heraclids. Paus., 2.18.8. And then he became king of Athens: Paus. 1.3.3; 2.18.9; 7.1.9. He is also said to have descended from Messenians of Pylus (Paus., 7.2.3) and the father of the legendary Athenian king, Codrus. Paus., 1.19.5; 7.25.2. Actually the name of Borus seems to be connected to Messenia in southwest of Peloponnese. There occurs the name of another Borus, whose father was Perieres, the son of Aeolus, and the king of Messenia. Homer, *Il.*, 16.175; Apollod., B.1.7.3; 1.9.2; 1.9.5; 3.13.1; Paus., 2.21.7; 4.2.2; 4.3.7; 6.22.2. There is also mentioned Borus or Boros the Maeonian whose son, Phaestus had come from fertile Arne in Lydia to join the Trojans in their war against the Achaeans. Arne is the name of a city in Thessaly. Homer, *Il.*, 5.43 and Stra., 9.2.35.

Aulis in Boeotia.⁴⁶ It appears to me that if Penthilus and his supporters launched the first expedition from Aulis, a group of them appears to have crossed to Euboea right across Aulis, as they probably wished to move to Asia right across Aegean from Euboea to Lesbos. However, according to Strabo, Penthilus advanced as far as Thrace by his fleet, as he seems to have followed the seaboard of Thrace and Troad in order to reach Lesbos. While telling the colonies in which Lacedaemonians took part, Pausanias (3.2.1) points out that Penthilus was the first among colonizers to seize the island of Lesbos.

The existence of patronymous dynasty, Πενθίλιδοι is attested in Mytilene and various other cities in Lesbos⁴⁷ and according to Stephanus of Byzantium, Penthilus had become an eponymous name of a small city in Lesbos, named Πενθίλη, whose citizens were Penthilids descending from Penthilus.⁴⁸ Although Alcaeus points out that Penthilidai descends from Atrides, forefathers of Orestes,⁴⁹ the sources do not indicate to any dynasty in Lesbos, derived from the name of Orestes. These could lead anyone to believe that Penthilus was considered as the common ancestor of the cities of Lesbos rather than Orestes or his father Agamemnon and cast doubts on the geneology of the leaders of expedition.⁵⁰ However, I assume that this may also possibly result from the fact that Orestes actually had not died in Lesbos. It should also be considered that Penthilus was the half-son of Orestes and there are even doubts on this point, as mentioned above. A passage in Pollux,⁵¹ speaks about those who invented the process of coining money, mentioning Pheidon and Demodike

⁴⁶ Aulis is a port town in Boeotia across Euboea (It approaches closest to the mainland at Chalcis, where it juts out in a convex curve towards the region of Aulis in Boeotia), from where Agamemnon also appear to have launched his expedition against Troy. Paus., 1.35.3; 9.19.7-8; Apollod., E.3.11; After the victory, the Greek fleet returned to Aulis again. Apollod., E 3.18. As to list of the Greek forces which mustered at Aulis, see Hom. *Il.*, 2.494-759; Euripides, *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 253 ff.; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 97; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*, 1.17.

⁴⁷ While giving examples from the shameful personal indignities committed by certain monarchs, Aristotle (*Politica*, 11.31-32, 36; cf.5.8.10; 13.19) relates that “the Penthilidae at Mitylene went about striking people with their staves Megacles with his friends set on them and made away with them, and afterwards Smerdis when he had been beaten and dragged out from his wife’s presence killed Penthilus.” The Penthilidae was the ruling family in early oligarchy there; Plutarch, *De sollertia animalum*, 36.9. In an inscription it is attested that there exists a certain Potamon, the son of Lesbōnax, who is τὸν ἀπύγονον Πενθίλω τῷ [β]ασίλειος (IG XII suppl., no:II 7 [25]). It is accepted that the island of Lesbos lived under the titular domination of the Penthilids until about 620 B.C. On the history of Lesbos during the Archaic Period, see D.Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), 149-243 and Anne Pippin Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets: Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho* (Bristol, 1983), 106 ff. For the sources also see Rudolf Hanslik, *Penthilidai.*, in RE, XIX 1, cols.549-550, München: Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag, rep.1981.

⁴⁸ Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Πενθίλη. “πόλις Λέσβου. οἱ πολῖται Πενθίλιες ἀπὸ Πενθίλου.” For the presence of the patronymic name, Πενθίλη in Lesbos, also see a fragment of Alcaeus (F 75 Lobel-Page).

⁴⁹ Alcaeus, F 70, 6 Lobel-Page.

⁵⁰ Vanschoonwinkel, 1991, p.412.

⁵¹ Pollux, 9.83.

from Cyme, wife of the Phrygian king, Midas, and daughter of a King Agamemnon of Cyme. Xenophanes states that the king of Cyme in the 8th century BC was named as Agamemnon.⁵² Therefore, it could be argued that the kingly house of Cyme claimed descent from Agamemnon because one of its members bore his name. This also brings forward the view that the descendants of the Aiolian colonists who established cities in Southern Aiolis of Asia Minor (as seen in the case of Cleues and Malaus who were the descendants of Agamemnon as told by Strabo) claimed direct descent from Orestes's son, Agamemnon rather than Penthilus whose colonists appear to have been more active in Lesbos. The separate action of the cities of Southern Aiolis is also to be seen from the fact that none of the cities from Lesbos became a member of Aiolian Confederacy during the Archaic Period.

Strabo states that after Penthilus, his son Archelaus (Echelas),⁵³ led the Aiolian expedition across to the present Cyzicene near Dascylium. We learn a bit more about the role of Echelas within the colonization movement from a story of a maiden sacrificed by the colonists. Mythographer Myrsilus of Methymna of an uncertain date tells us that the oracle asked the daughter of Phineos or Smintheus to be thrown into the sea (as a sacrifice to Amphitrite, Poseidon's wife) by the Penthilidai. She jumped off into the sea, but carried to

⁵² Xenophanes, F 4 Diels-Kranz.

⁵³ He is called as Echelas the son of Orestes by Pausanias (3.2.1). The same name is given by Myrsilus, the local historian of Lesbos, and the name Echelas should be accepted. Strabo may have confused this name by more common one, Arkhelaus. The name Arkhelaus is associated with the kings of Sparta (Hdt., 7.204; Paus. 3.2.5, Paus. 4.4.2) and with the son of a ruler of Egypt, Egyptus whose sons come to Argos, marry the daughters of Danaus, and are murdered by them. Apollod. 2.1.4-5. For Egyptian connection also see Apollod., 2.4.5. It should also be noted that the name Echelas sounds like Achelous, who is the father of Hippodamas and Orestes descending from Aeolus. See Apollod., B.1.7.3. The name Achelous is also connected with the Achelous river of Acarnania and Aitolia. Acarnania and Aitolia form the region north of the Corinthian Gulf and belong to Central Greece. There is also another river Achelous, flowing from Mount Sipylus in Asia Minor where Tantalus and his son Pelops, the ancestors of Orestes and Echelas, were residing before Pelops migrated to Peloponnesus. Hom., *Il.*, 24.615; Paus., 8.38.10. Although the truth of the genealogy of the leaders of Aiolian colonisation could not be verified, at least the names of the leaders of Aiolian colonisation may bear a claim to truth. In view of this evidence, there may appear to be a genealogical connection in the use of this name, Echelas and it may possibly not have been invented later, as opposed to views of some modern writers. J.M.Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and in the East*, London, 1970, p.26 and Vanschoonwinkel, 1991, p.416.

ashore alive by dolphins.⁵⁴ There is a more detailed version of the same story. In this story, those from the race of Penthilids received an oracle to colonise Lesbos. In the place where they landed, they attempted to sacrifice a girl, the daughter of Smintheus,⁵⁵ to Amphitrite and Nereisi, Nymph of the Sea (*i.e.* the Mediterranean Sea) by throwing her into the sea. There were seven kings (or chiefs) and the eighth was Echelas who had been sent by the Pythian Oracle as the leader of the colony. He was still a young man at the age of marriage and was one of the seven unmarried men who were to be assigned by lot to catch the daughter of Smintheus. Having adorned her with a golden dress, they came to the spot. They prayed for and she was seated to be about to be destined to her fate. However, there happened to be some one who had accompanied Echelas. He was a young man without a family and called as Enalus, who felt affection towards the girl from his soul. Taking the willingness to act, he was at loss at helping her. In the end, he held her body and threw himself into the sea along with and saved her.⁵⁶ In the sixth book of his *Nostoi* (*Return*, that is the title of epic poems narrating the homeward journeys of Greek Heroes after taking of

⁵⁴ *FHG*, IV, P.459 F 12, cited by Plutarch (*De sollertia animalum*, 36.9). “Ἐναλον δὲ τὸν Αἰολέα, Μυρτίλος (scr. Μυρσίλος) ὁ Λέσβιος ἱστορεῖ τῆς Φινέως (scr. vid. Σμινθέως) ἐρῶντα θυγατρὸς ριφείσης κατὰ χρησμὸν τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης ὑπὸ τῶν Πενθλιδῶν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξαλλόμενον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὑπὸ δελφίνος σῶον ἐξενεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν Λέσβον.”

⁵⁵ This name which sounds like Apollon Smintheus may be misleading, as this event resembles the story of Chryses's daughter, as mentioned above (p.4), in which Chryses invokes Apollon Smintheus to save his daughter from the hand of Agamemnon. Smintheus is a surname of Apollo, which is derived by some from sminthos, “a mouse,” and by others from the town of Smintheus in Troas. The common explanation with regard to the amalgamation of the Greek Apollo with a local mouse-god is that the word is a familiar abbreviation of “Sminthophthoros”, destroying the field-mice or voles which ravaged the vineyards. See James G. Frazer's note on Paus., 10.12.5 in *Pausanias' Description of Greece: Translated with a commentary*, 6 vols., New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1913. Only a few years ago Thessaly was seriously injured by an invasion of these little pests. Others see in the mouse the symbol of plague, which would be especially suitable here. In Herodotus (2.141) the destruction of the army of Sennacherib is attributed not to a plague but to a host of field-mice which gnawed the Assyrian bow-strings in the night. A somewhat similar story connected with the colonization of the Troad is told by Strabo (13.1.48). According to Strabo (13.1.48 ff.; 2.6), this cult was widespread in and around the island of Lesbos and there were several sanctuaries so named, which were in the neighborhood of Hamaxitus, Larisa, Parium and Chrysa (the most important one) in Troad, in Rhodes and Lindus as well. The one in the island of Ceos had been founded by Nestor of Pylos on his voyage homeward from Troy. Str., 10.5.6.

⁵⁶ *FHG*, IV, P.459 F 12, cited by Plutarch (*Septem sapientum convivium*, 20.163). “Χρησμοῦ γὰρ γενομένου τοῖς οἰκίζουσι Λέσβον, ὅταν ἔρματι πλέοντες προστύχωσιν, ὁ καλεῖται Μεσόγειον, τότε ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνι μὲν ταυρον, Ἀμφιτρίτῃ δὲ καὶ Νηρηΐσι ζῶσαν καθίναι παρθένον. Ὀντων οὖν ἅρχηγετῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ βασιλέων, ὀγδόου δὲ τοῦ Ἐχελάου πυθοχρήστου τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνος, οὗτος μὲν ἦθεος ἦν ἐτι, τῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ κληρουμένων, ὅσοις ἀγαμοὶ παῖδες ἦσαν, καταλαμβάνει θυγατέρα Σμινθέως ὁ κληρὸς. Ἦν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῶ κοσμήσαντες, ὡς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ἐμελλον εὐξάμενοι καθήσειν. Ἐτυχε δὲ τις ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τῶν συμπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀγεννής, ὡξέοικε, νεανίας, οὗ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα διαμνημονεύουσιν Ἐναλον. Οὗτος ἀμήχανόν τινα τοῦ βοηθεῖν τῇ παρθένῳ προθυμίαν ἐν τῷ τότε πάθει λαβὼν, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὥρμησε, καὶ περιπλακεῖς ὁμοῦ συγκαθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν...”

Troy), Antikleides of Athens (3rd century B.C) relates that the oracle told the Aiolian colonists to sink into the sea as they sailed across the sea a maiden as offering to Poseidon; he writes also the following: “Some people in Methymna tell the story of the maiden who was dropped into the sea, and they declare that one of the leaders, whose name was Enalus, had fallen in love with her and dived off the ship to save the girl...”. Antikleides probably used Myrsilus of Methymna as his source and he appears to have taken slightly different version of the story, as told by some other people in Methymna, that the maiden was sacrificed while crossing the sea and Enalus was also one of the leaders of the colony (...αὐτῆς τῶν ηγεμόνων τινά, ὡς ἦν τοῦνομα Ἐναλος...)⁵⁷ When these accounts are taken into consideration, it appears that as a member of the family of Penthilidai, Echelas was given the right by the Pythian oracle to be one of the leaders of Lesbian colonists during the course of the colonisation movement and accompanied not only by others from the same family (there may have been his other sons apart from Gras, the youngest one as told by Strabo, but it is possible that Gras may also have born during the colonisation) but also possibly by the chiefs of Boeotian and Thessalian tribes, as shall be discussed below (p.20), as Enalus is not described as a member of Penthilidai.

Gras, from the same family, was also among these chiefs, as Antikleides tells us the story of Gras, who had led a colony to Lesbos together with other kings,⁵⁸ but unfortunately his work *Nostoi* did not survive to present day. Pausanias only says that Gras was the leader of colonisation, “who was destined to occupy the land between Ionia and Mysia, called at the present day Aiolis”.⁵⁹ Perhaps at the beginning Gras and his group was to occupy Southern Aiolis or any other suitable land in the Mainland, but they later seem to have changed their target and Gras appears to have separated himself from the others and acted independently. Strabo (13.1.3) states that Gras advanced to the Granicus River, and, being better equipped, led the greater part of his army across to Lesbos and occupied it. Actually, Demon mentions that after Tisamenus and Cometes became less successful, throughout the generation, Gras, the son of Echelas, the son of Penthilus reorganised the expedition and so practised the previous oracular response.⁶⁰ So, in this source it is implied that Gras moved separately from the group of Cometes and realized the final target of his colonists, that is, the occupation of Lesbos. Additionally, Tzetzes states

⁵⁷ *FGrH* 140 F 4, cited by Athenaus (11.466c-d). Athenaus is the Greek scholar, a native of Naucratis in Egypt. He was educated at Alexandria, where he lived from 170-230 A.D. After this he lived at Rome, and there wrote his *Deipnosophistai* (Banquet of the Learned) in fifteen books.

⁵⁸ *FGrH* 140 F 4, cited by Athenaus (11.466c), The text is “Ἀντικλείδης δ’ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ [ι]ς Νόστων περὶ Γρᾶ διηγούμενος τοῦ τὴν Ἀποικίαν εἰς Λέσβον στείλαντος σὺν ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι...”

⁵⁹ Paus., 3.2.1.

⁶⁰ *FGrH* 327 F 17. “...κατὰ <δὲ> τὴν ἐχομένην γενεάν <Γρᾶ τοῦ Εχέλα τοῦ> Πενθίλου πάλιν συναγείραντος τὴν στρατιάν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν προενέγκαντος χρησμόν...”

that although Orestes died right after he reached Lesbos, which I assume to be less convincing, his descendant (son), that is, Gras became master of (gained possession of or seized) Lesbos and established a city from the ground hundred years later.⁶¹ Although, Tzetzes does not say anything about the wanderings of the colonists before they reached Lesbos, it appears that in the end Gras was able to establish a footing in the island.

However, Pausanias also accepts that Penthilus had occupied the island of Lesbos before Gras. Pausanias's account that Penthilus had already occupied Lesbos may be due to the fact that although he occupied the island at the beginning, but he was not capable of holding in the island due to the resistance of hostile tribes and was expelled to Thrace, from where he continued to harass the native Lesbians. While he remained there, he continued military operations in the region. It seems to me that during the military operations against Lesbos, not Orestes but Penthilus must have taken the island of Tenedos,⁶² but he possibly died in Thrace before finally establishing himself in the island. Meanwhile, his son Echelas went through Hellespont to in search of another possible colony. They seem to have gone as far as Cyzikus and even Perinthos. Even his colonists seem to have settled in Perinthos.⁶³ Though could not be given a definite date, at this point, his youngest son Gras separated from him and advanced to the river Granicus (Biga Çayı). Having equipped himself better, as told by Strabo, as he may also have been supported by the local tribes there, he felt strong enough to attack the island of Lesbos and occupied it this time, which is confirmed by the evidence of Demon and Tzetzes. He possibly

⁶¹ *Commentary on Lycophron*, 1374. "...ἀπόγονος δὲ μετὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἐκυρίευσεν τῆς Λέσβου καὶ πόλιν ἐκτίσεν... ἔστι δὲ ὁ Γράς υἱὸς Ὀρέστου." The verb, κυριεωω, implies that Gras and his ancestors had struggled a long time before they established a city in the island. Yet Tzetzes seems to be wrong when he says that Gras was the son of Orestes. Gras apparently is a Boeotian hero and his name appears in the sources as Graia in Boeotia and eponymous of Graiens. The name, Gras may derive from the place, Graia or Graea, which is the highlands near the rocky Aulis in Boeotia across the city of Eretria. Hom., *Il.*, 2.490. It is mentioned as Graia in *Il.*, 2.495. cf. Strabo, quoting from Homer, *Il.*, 8.6.17; 9.2.26. There is also said to have been a city with the same name near the river of Oropus. Thuc., 2.23.3; 3.91.3 and Str., 9.2.10. Pausanias, on the other hand, states (9.20.2) that Graea was the name of an old woman and this name was given to the city itself and some of the natives believed the old name of the city of Tanagra to be Graia. cf. Str., 9.2.10. G. Busolt states that the ancestor of Gras, Pelops began to live in this region in Boeotia for a certain time after coming from Attika. Therefore, the name of the *oikist* of Lesbos, Gras, originally comes from this name of the place. *Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schacht bei Chaeroneia*, I, Gotha, 1893, p.190, dn.8 and 273.

⁶² Herodotus mentions only one settlement on Tenedos separate from the Troadic settlements and like the Lesbian cities, part of the Aiolic confederation. 1.151.

⁶³ Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Περὶνθος) states that the name of the city, Perinthos in Thrace (on the northern coast of Propontis) derives from one of the friends of Orestes, who served with him as a soldier. "ἀπὸ Περὶνθου Ἐπίδαυρίου τοῦ μετὰ Ὀρέστου στρατευσαμένου. Ἔστι δὲ πόλις Θράκης. ὁ πολίτης Περὶνθος. τὸ θηλυκὸν Περὶνθα." However, this passage does not necessarily mean that Orestes had personally participated in establishing this city.

first occupied Mytilene in Lesbos.⁶⁴ Thus the sources, having different contextual emphasis, should not mislead us that there definitely happened to be one certain leader of the Lesbian colonists, the leadership may have changed during the course of the expedition, which appears to have lasted for a long time, as shall be discussed below. What we certainly know is that the expedition first led by Penthilus and later on by his alleged sons⁶⁵ finalized in Lesbos.⁶⁶

It appears that a third group of the colonists destined separately in a later period. As quoted above (p.1) Strabo heard that Cleues, son of Dorus and Malaus,⁶⁷ also descendants of Agamemnon, had collected their army at about the same time as Penthilus, but they were probably indecisive where to go and waited for a long time round Locris and Mt. Phricius,⁶⁸ and only later crossed over to Asia Minor from Thrace and founded the Phryconian Cyme, named after Mount Phricius over Thermophylae in Locris.

However, apart from Strabo, who seems to have taken his account from Ephorus of Cyme,⁶⁹ we have no any other ancient source confirming that a certain Cleues and Malaus were descendants of Agamemnon (Even Pausanias and Apollodorus does not mention them). They appear to have completely separated themselves from the expedition of Penthilus's descendants. As told above, Penthilus was the bastard son of Orestes and Cymeans claimed a descent from Agamemnon during the Archaic Period, so if Cleues and Malaus were indeed Agamemnon's true descendants, it could be said that Cometes's and their colonists should have formed the hard core of Aiolians to which the extraneous elements such as, the Boeotians, Thesselians or even the Euboeans attached themselves less. These extraneous elements appears to have been much

⁶⁴ Herodot calls it an Aiolian town.2.178.

⁶⁵ We do not have any evidence that other sons of Penthilus, Borus and Damasias joined in this expedition. Paus., 2.18.8; 3.2.1; 5.4.3; 7.6.2. This leads one to assume that the geneology of the leaders of Aeolian colonisation may have been inventive or actually the alleged descendants of Penthilus in this expedition were military leaders from various places either in Boeotia, in Thessaly or in Peloponnesus. This is also emphasised by Myrsilus as told above.

⁶⁶ Antikleides (*FGrH* 140 F 4), cited by Athenaus (11.466.5-10); Stra., 13.1.3; Velleius Paterculus, 1.2.3; Tzetzes, *Commentary on Lycophron*, 1374.

⁶⁷ There was a place called Malene near Atarneus down the Caicus Valley in Southern Aiolis. Hdt.6.29 and another town in Troad near Adramyttium. Stra., 13.1.44. Malus is also the name of tributary of Alpheius river in the district of Messene in southwest Peloponnesus. Paus., 8.35.1.

⁶⁸ It is not clearly stated that Cleues and Malaus began their expedition from the sea-coast town of Locris. They may also have been gathered in Aulis and moved northwards through the Euboean straits as far as Opuntian Locris, but they preferred to wait here for a long time. There may have occurred some kind of disagreement about where to go. Apollodorus (B.1.9.26) states that Argonauts followed the same route. The part Locris played in ancient history is less well known, but Opuntian Locris, united around Opus, drew the assembly of a thousand to found the colony of Locri in southern Italy. Hdt., 6.23; Paus., 6.6.4; 3.19.12.

⁶⁹ As an Aiolian historian from Cyme in Southern Aiolis on the mainland, Ephorus must have had some more to tell about the leaders, especially the ones who strove to establish settlements on the mainland.

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

more dominant in Lesbos, as shall be discussed below especially the Lesbian and Boeotian dialects are similar and the Lesbian-Boeotian political connection is also mentioned in the sources (p.20). We also see that this hard core of the Aiolians later constituted the Aiolian confederacy of the twelve Aiolian cities during the Archaic Period. As told above (p.9), the similar organization had been established in Achaia by Cometes's father, Tisamenus, who had divided the land along the northern coast of Peloponnese into twelve cities. Cometes's group may later on have been absorbed within the colonists in Southern Aiolis.

To sum it up, the whole account relevant to the beginning of Aiolian colonisation and the genealogy of its leaders are scarce, fragmented and not only written at different times but also oriented by various interests of the writers possibly influenced by the external propaganda of the local dynasties and families. As far as I have worked out, there appear to be three main different traditions of writers constituting the principal sources of Aiolian colonisation. Since Hellanicus is the only Aiolian local historian and Pindar only mentions Orestes's arrival in Tenedos, it is possible that Lycophron, Menecles Barcaeus, a scholiast in Dionysius Periegeta, and Tzetzes and Stephanus of Byzantium, the later writers on this tradition referred to Mytiographer Hellanicus of Mytilene, who had composed his books, *Lesbiaka* and *Aiolika*, of those only the fragments remain.⁷⁰ The original writers of the second tradition were possibly Mytiographer Pherecydes of Athens and Ephorus of Cyme, whose works seem to have been used by Demon, Strabo, Velleius Paterculus, Apollodorus and Pausanias.⁷¹ Myrsilus of Methymna seems to be representing the third tradition, which was alluded by Antikleides, Plutarch and Athenaus. Although these sources do not seem to go back earlier than the fifth century B.C, this would not necessarily mean that the whole material of these sources were mythical and legendary and might be accepted as a part of the previous literary works. A coherent historical picture of the Aiolian colonization could reasonably be portrayed, as the lack of compliance between the texts does not lead to basic controversies.

The second tradition is stronger that Orestes had died in Arcadia despite the fact that he possibly had made the first plans of emigrating from his country, but hindered by his accidental death. Right after the death of Orestes, there appears to have occurred three different waves of Aiolian colonists out of Peloponnese. Due to the pressure of the Heraclids, Orestes's elder son,

⁷⁰ F.Jacoby.*Hellanikos.*, in *RE*, VIII 1, cols.133, Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag, rep.1995; L.Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, Westport, 1975, pp.194-197. J.M.Cook, "Greek Settlements in the Eastern Aegean and Asia Minor," *Cambridge Ancient History*, II 2, 1975 (3), p.777.

⁷¹ Ephorus may have had some more extra points to say about the Aeolian migration than Pherecydes of Athens. It is likely that Demon and Apollodorus mainly referred to Pherecydes of Athens, while Strabo and Pausanias, took references from Ephorus of Cyme.

Tisamenus moved his ruling area to Achaia in the northern coast of Peloponnesus by fighting against the Ionians there and at the same time, his son Cometes was sent out to find a suitable place as in case of the expulsion of his father from Peloponnesus, as they could have lived in this future colony. The sources indicate that Cometes and his colonists were the first to sail across the Aegean to Mysia.⁷² Meanwhile, Orestes's illegitimate son, Penthilus led another group of colonists. It seems that their main target was to settle in Lesbos. Yet Penthilus was possibly not able to capture Lesbos and lingered around and in the waters of Thrace. At the same time his son Echelas along with other chiefs continued the mission of colonization around the waters of Propontis. Finally, Gras, after long preparations, managed to occupy and settle in the island of Lesbos, their eventual destination. In a later period, Cleues and Malaus commanded the final group of colonists, who seem to have directly landed in Cyme in Southern Aiolis.

The Origins of Aiolian Colonists and the Date of Aiolian Colonisation

In view of the evidence, mentioned above, it is likely that the leaders of Aiolian Colonisation, Orestes, Penthilus, Tisamenus, Cometes, Cleues and Malaus did come from Arcadia or Achaia in Peloponnesus, which enhances the Peloponnesian elements within this colonisation movement, while the name of Gras, the youngest leader of the colonization movement, was more firmly connected to Boeotia. Since the leaders of Aiolian Colonisation are claimed to descend from a Mycenaean king, Agamemnon, this would strengthen the Peloponnesian origins of Aiolian colonists.

One would wonder if the Peloponnesian origin is uniquely valid for the leaders of this colonisation or for a group of the colonists who took part in the colonisation movement. Not only leaders but also the Lacedaemonians from Peloponnesus appears to have taken in this expedition as stated by Pindar and Pausanias.⁷³ It seems that, though the leaders and their supporters were of Peloponnesian origin (these leaders must actually have provided the means of transportation), a great deal of Boeotians, Thesselians and Locrians as well joined them mainly at the ports of Boeotia, as they must also have been affected by the return of Heraclids. Various ancient writers point out to different groups of Aiolian Colonists from these regions. Strabo (9.3.5) not only mentions that the Boeotians cooperated with Penthilus and his followers in forming the Aeolian colony, sending with him most of their own people, so that it was also

⁷² They did not require a large naval contingent for their transport. The ships were most likely to have been private merchant ships powered by oar. As a matter of fact, any vessel capable of crossing the Aegean would have served the emigrants's purpose of moving their possessions to a new land, as the *pentecoster* was probably not invented until the late eight century. We see that in the cases of the colonisation of Thera, Cyrene and Platea in the eight century B.C., three *triaconters* or two *pentecosters* did suffice to do the job. Hdt., 4.148; 153; 156.

⁷³ Pindar, *N.Odes*, 11.43-47 and Paus., 3.2.1.

called a Boeotian colony, but also reports that the colonists who established Cyme and Larisa in Southern Aiolis came from Locris.⁷⁴ Hesiod only mentions that, the first allusion to be made to Aiolis in the sources, Cyme was an Aiolian city where his father, Dius⁷⁵ used to live and due to the poverty, he emigrated back from Cyme to Askyra in Boeotia to find a better living.⁷⁶ Thucydides attributes the Aiolic races, including Methymnians, Mitylenians, Tenedians and Aenians to Boeotians.⁷⁷ Another passage in Thucydides (3.2) leads us to admit that there was also a Lacedaimonian connection, as both Boeotian, their kindred, and Lacedaimonian support is expected in the revolt of Mytileneans against Athens in 428 B.C. Meneclēs Barcaeus says that under the name of Aiolians, there were Boeotians and numerous other people,⁷⁸ while in a scholiast in Dionysius of Periegetes (820), it is only referred to Thessalian connection of the Aiolian colonists. Tzetzes stresses that Orestes had put in order the different people from various places.⁷⁹

The participation of Thessalians and Boeotians is generally and exclusively accepted. This opinion became popular as a result of the similarities between the dialects of Boeotians and Thessalians on the one hand and those of the islands on the other.⁸⁰ A result of the disruptions after the twelfth century B.C. was the influence of the Aiolic dialect on the northwest Greek dialect of Locris. As late as the fifth century B.C. Eastern and Western Locris shared a northwest Greek dialect heavily influenced by the Aiolic dialects of the Boeotians and other regions of central Greece. Inscriptions from the fourth century onwards show clearly that the closest ties of the Lesbian (and Asiatic Aiolic) dialect are with Boeotia and eastern Thessaly. The cult of Hera in Lesbos also constitute one of the elements confirming the Peloponnesian and Boeotian origins of Aeolian colonists, as this cult had two major centres, Argos and Mycenaea and it was generally worshipped in Boeotia, especially in the city of Plataea where his temple was.⁸¹ This is advocated by a fragment of Sappho

⁷⁴ Stra., 13, 1, 3-4 ; 3.2-3; Hellanicus FGrH 4 F 80. For the comments on the Phryconian Locris, see n.?

⁷⁵ Cf. Strabo, 13.3.6.

⁷⁶ *Erga kai hemerai*, 634-640.

⁷⁷ Thuc., 7.57 and 8.100 where it is said that there was a community of blood existing between Thebans and Lesbians.

⁷⁸ FGrH 270 F 10. See above dn.25.

⁷⁹ Tzetzes, *Commentary on Lycophron*, 1374. See above dn.24. The name, ὁ λαός, as used in the text, refers to the people at large, never like δῆμος, the people as body politic, but merely a mass of men, whether united under one name or no.

⁸⁰ For the similarities see C.D.Buck, *the Greek Dialects*, Chicago, 1955, p.4-6, 147-153; Cook, 1970, p.26; 1975, pp.777-778; H.H.Miller, *Bridge to Asia: the Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean*, New York, 1967, p.56; G.L.Huxley, *The Early Ionians*, Shannon, 1972, p.36; R.Schmitt, *Einführung in dies griechischen Dialekte*, Darmstadt, 1977, p.66-82, 120-121.

⁸¹ As the myth tells, the festival of Hera was first instituted in Olympia by Hippodamei in thanks for her marriage to Pelops, the forefather of the leaders of Aiolian Colonisation. W.Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1992, pp.131-135.

where the beauty contests take place in front of the temple of Hera in Lesbos and its foundation is attributed to Atrides, that is, to the alleged forefathers of the leaders of Aiolian colonisation.⁸² Since a month in the Aiolian mainland is denominated as Ηραος, this could be accepted as a supplement to point out to the diffusion of the cult of Hera within these territories. Another striking rapprochement results from the homonymy between Aigai in Achaea and Aigai in Aiolis.⁸³ Although this homonymy is banal, the existence of the Poseidon cult in both of these places appears to be verifying this connection.⁸⁴

Thus, as written in the sources mentioned above, although it seems that the leaders, with the possible exception of Gras, and the core of colonists were mainly from Peloponnesus, it appears that different and diverse participations occurred especially during the later course of the Aiolian colonisation, especially from Boeotia and they were led by their own chiefs, who seem to have obeyed to the main core of Peloponnesian leadership. This leads to the conclusion that Aiolian cities in Asia Minor were established by the Greeks who were from various origins. It is a result of this that some writers focused on the different origins of Greeks in Aiolis. This was not a colonization movement conducted by a certain family, but a vast population movement lasting for a long time. It should also be considered that the flourishing up of these colonies was a long process, which must have been continuously joined by newcomers from the Greek mainland.⁸⁵

Strabo (13.3.2) states that “*all Aiolian history, which arose but shortly after the Trojan times.*” As for Strabo, Penthilus had launched the Aiolian expedition and arrived in Thrace sixty years after the Trojan War, about the time of the return of Heraklids to the Peloponnesus.⁸⁶ Therefore, both the date of the Trojan War and the return of Dorians under the Heraclids to Peloponnesus are significant in determining the traditional date of the beginning of Aiolian colonisation. If we consider the Trojan War of Greek myth to have been an historical event, then Troy VIIa is perhaps the most likely candidate for the city of Priam which is mentioned in *Iliad*. The date of Troy VIIa’s destruction

⁸² Sappho, F 17 Lobel-Page.

⁸³ Aegeira in Achaea also sounds like Aigirossa, one of the twelf cities of Aeolian Confederacy during the Archaic Period.

⁸⁴ Homer, *Il.*, 8. 201-204; 13. 20-22; *Od.*, 5.381; Stra., 8.7.4; 13.3.5.

⁸⁵ See A.J. Graham, *Colony and the Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Chicago, 1964, pp.72 ff.

⁸⁶ For the first attempted invasion of the Peloponnese by the Heraclids or sons of Herakles, see Diod., 4.58.1-4. The invasion is commonly spoken of as a return, because, though their father Herakles had been born at Thebes in Boeotia, he regarded Mycenae and Tiryns, the kingdom of his forefathers, as his true home. The corresponding verbs, *katerchesthai*, “to return from exile,” and *katagein*, “to bring back from exile,” are regularly applied by Greek writers to the return of exiles from banishment, and in particular to the return of the Heraclids. As examples, see Strab., 8.3.30; 8.4.1; 8.5.5; 8.6.10; 8.7.1; 8.8.5; 9.1.7; 10.2.6; 13.1.3; 14.2.6; Paus., 4.3.3; 5.6.3; Apollod., B.2.7.2-3; 2.8.2; 2.8.5; 3.10.5.

probably lies within the half-century ca. 1230-1180 B.C.⁸⁷ Traditional date for the end of Trojan War could be accepted as 1183 B.C,⁸⁸ which also accords with the destruction level. If the Trojan War ended in 1183 B.C, the Aiolian expedition must have started in about 1120's. This is also confirmed by Strabo's another statement (14.1.3) that the Boeotians returned to the homeland, at the time when the Aeolian fleet, near Aulis in Boeotia, was now ready to set sail, that is, the fleet which the sons of Orestes were despatching to Asia.

However, Thucydides states that the Heraclids, in conjunction with the Dorians became masters of Peloponnese twenty years later than the return of the modern Boeotians to the present Boeotia by the pressure of Thessalians which took place sixty years after the Trojan War.⁸⁹ So, Thucydides accepts that the Heraclids prevailed on Peloponnesus eighty years after the Trojan War, which is also supported by Pausanias and Velleius Paterculus.⁹⁰ Strabo presents the return of Boeotians and that of Heraclids as the same date, though he seems to have first given an approximate date for the return of Heraclids. It is possible that though started about sixty years after the Trojan War, the complete invasion of Peloponnese lasted longer, and so Thucydides possibly referred to the date of the end of invasion in Peloponnese. Strabo may possibly have confused date of the return of Boeotians with the final occupation of Peloponnese by the Heraclids.

Pausanias at first dated the return of Heraclids in the reign of Tisamenus, son of Orestes,⁹¹ but he afterwards changed this opinion by stating that the return of Heraclids and the war against them occurred during the reign of Orestes.⁹² The return of Heraclids may very well have occurred during the reign of Orestes's sons. Velleius Paterculus (1.1.2) states that Orestes reigned for 70 years and after his death his sons Penthilus and Tisamenus reigned for three years. Orestes began his reign in the eight year after Agamemnon's return from the Trojan War.⁹³ If we accept that Orestes died in Arcadia and take the

⁸⁷ Although C.W. Blegen (*Troy and the Trojans*, London, 1963) ultimately placed it a generation or so earlier, C. Podzuweit has recently suggested that it should be set a good deal later (ca.1230-1180 B.C). "Die mykenische Welt und Troja," in B. Hänsel (ed.), *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v. Chr.*, Berlin, 1982, pp. 65-88.

⁸⁸ The scholar Eratosthenes (274-194 B.C) calculated the dates of the war as 1193-1183. But many other dates are given; 1127 B.C (Callimachus); 1209/8 B.C. (the Parian Marble); ca. 1250 B.C. (Herodot), and 1334/3 B.C. (Douris of Samos). The war appears to have lasted for twenty years. Apollod., E 3.18 and Homer, *Il.*, 24.765 ff.

⁸⁹ Thuc., 1.12.3-4.

⁹⁰ According to Paus. 4.3.3, the Dorian expedition and the return of the Heraclids took place two generations later, which tallies fairly with the estimate of Thucydides. Velleius Paterculus (1.2.1) also states that the descendants of Pelops, that is, Agamemnon and Orestes, reigned about eighty years after the capture of Troy. So he agrees with Thucydides as to the date.

⁹¹ Paus., 2.18.1-7; 3.1.15.

⁹² Paus., 1.41.2; 8.5.1.

⁹³ Homer, *Od.*, 3.276.

traditional date of the end of Trojan War as 1183 B.C, this would make that the sons of Orestes were finally driven out of Peloponnese around 1102 B.C. It is more plausible to accept Thucydides's account with regard to the final occupation of Peloponnese by Heraclids and that the expeditions in which Tisamenus's son Cometes and later on Penthilus took part possibly occurred after 1102 B.C. Despite this, it is also possible that as Orestes was an old man, his sons, though they did not leave their throne, had already started to send their people out on the news that Heracleidae were about to invade their lands, which means that the initial attempts or preparations for this colonisation were before the final occupation of Heraclids.

It appears that the colonisation had lasted a long time since its beginning. As quoted before, Strabo heard that the Aiolian colonisation had preceded the Ionian colonisation by four generations, but had suffered delays and taken a longer time (p.1). As implied in his following passages, the four generations are represented in a consecutive order; Orestes, Penthilus, Echelas and Gras, but it should be taken into consideration that Orestes died soon afterwards. Chronologically this puts the Ionian colonization away from the Trojan War. If one accepts Strabo that the process of Aiolian colonisation expanded to four generations, it was completed at the beginning of the Ionian colonisation.

Velleius Paterculus (1.4.3-4), on the other hand, informs us that just after the Ionian Colonisation, Aioliens, after long wanderings, "*took possession of places no less illustrious and founded the famous cities of Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, Mytilene, and other cities on the island of Lesbos*". This contradicts with regard to his explanation concerning Lesbos. What could be noticed from the relevant sentences of Velleius is that the Aioliens conducted their migration just after the Ionian Colonisation. However, he actually seems to be ignorant of the issue, if there did not occur a manuscript mistake by the copiers of his texts, as other sources point out to contrary. The most detailed account with concern to Ionian colonisation is given by Strabo. Citing from Pherecydes, Strabo says that Ionian colonisation was later than the Aiolian one.⁹⁴ The most confirming evidence is coming from a fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus. He states that the king of Cyme had opposed to the establishment of Phocaea by Ionians.⁹⁵ In view of all these sources, it is plausible to assume that Velleius Paterculus is simply wrong.⁹⁶ In a previous passage, Velleius Paterculus (1.2.3) also states that the expeditions of the sons of Orestes were affected by the change of circumstances, including storms, but despite difficulties they managed to settle in Lesbos fifteen years after their repulsion

⁹⁴ Pherecydes *FGrH* 3F 155; cf. *Str.*, 14.1.3.

⁹⁵ *FGrH* 90 51.

⁹⁶ Also see J.Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1941, pp.60-62.

by Heraclids. Yet his date concerning the settlements on and about the island of Lesbos by the sons of Orestes fifteen years after the return of Heraclids, does not appear to be convincing either.

We should accept, as stated by Strabo, that the Aiolian colonisation was not only earlier than the Ionian one, but also took a long time and so expanded to several generations. This opinion is also supported by Demon, as he reports that long discussions were made where to go and the leadership changed hands several times (see above dn.34).⁹⁷ Rather more tacitly, it is possible to see the same thought in Pausanias.⁹⁸ Tzetzes says that Gras took possession of Lesbos and established a city there hundred years later than the death of Orestes.⁹⁹ As mentioned above, when it is accepted that Orestes reigned 62 years after the Trojan War and the Trojan War is traditionally dated as 1183 B.C, this would lead us to assume that Gras managed to establish a city and prevail on Lesbos, in the year, 1005. This would roughly comply with the evidence of Strabo that the Aiolian migration lasted for four generations.

Pseudo-Herodot, on the other hand, mentions that various Aiolian cities were founded at different times. According to him, the establishment of the cities on Lesbos goes 130 years after the Trojan War; Cyme is 20 years later and Cymeans established Smyrna 18 years after the establishment of their city.¹⁰⁰ Previously, he states that Smyrna had been established by Theseus, a Thesselian and from the generation of Admetos, who had been sent by Cymeans,¹⁰¹ which contradicts with the relevant evidence of Strabo.¹⁰² In another passage, he says that Neon Teichos was a colony of Cyme which was established ten years after that of Cyme.¹⁰³ If admitted that the Trojan War took place in 1183 B.C, we could figure out that the cities in Lesbos, Cyme, Neon

⁹⁷ *FGrH* 327 F 17.

⁹⁸ Paus., 3.2.1.

⁹⁹ *Commentary on Lycophron*, 1374.

¹⁰⁰ *Vitae Homeri*, 540-545 Allen. "...ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς Ἴλιον στρατῆς, ἣν Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος ἤγειραν, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα Λέσβος οἰκίσθη κατὰ πόλεις, πρότερον εὐσθα ἀπολις. μετὰ δὲ Λέσβον οἰκισθεῖσαν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον εἴκοσι Κύμη ἡ Αἰολιωτὶς καὶ Φρικωνίς καλεομένη οἰκίσθη..." Pseudo-Herodot (*Vit.Hom.*, 545-550) says that Homer lived during the Aiolian colonisation and 622 years had passed since the invasion of Persian King, Xerxes in 480 BC. So if one accepts Pseudo-Herodot's dates, the consecutive establishments of Smyrna, Cyme and Lesbos could be given as, 1102, 1120 and 1140. According to his chronology, this makes the date of Trojan War, 1270. However, it is hard to accept that Homer lived in 1102 B.C.

¹⁰¹ *Vit.Hom.*, 18-23.

¹⁰² The Roman historian Tacitus (1st Century A.D) states that Smyrnians trace their city's antiquity back to such founders as either Tantalus, son of Júpiter or Theseus, also of divine origin, or one of the Amazons. *Annales*, 4.56. Yet according to the Greek tradition, Smyrna, along with Cyme, Myrina and Ephesus are said to have been founded by the Amazons. *Stra.*, 11.5.4; 12.3.21; 14.1.4.

¹⁰³ *Vit.Hom.*, 96-99. "...πορευόμενος δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἑρμίου πεδίου, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Νέον τεῖχος, ἀποικίην Κυμαίων. οἰκίσθη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὕστερον Κύμης ἔτεσιν οὐκτώ..."

Teichos and Smyrna were subsequently established in the years, 1053, 1033, 1023 and 1015 B.C. This expands the Aiolian colonisation to three generations. Finally, Eusebius of Caesar (IV A.D) gives some dates with concern to the Aeolian colonisation, but his dates are usually superficial, controversial, and are result of the complexity of different chronologies. According to the St.Jerome version of the Eusebius's Chronology, Cyme and Myrina were subsequently established in the years of 1050 and 1046.¹⁰⁴ So Cyme was established 132 years after the Trojan War, dated in 1182 by St.Jerome; Myrina 136 years after that.

In sum, as long as the date of the Trojan War remains unsolved, the chronological indications, brought forward by the ancient writers with regard to the Aiolian expedition, are based on a weak ground and usually contradictory. Although the span of time between the Trojan War and the end of the course of the Aiolian colonisation could not be converted to definite dates, it firmly appears that the Aiolian colonisation which took place roughly eighty years after the Trojan War and lasted for a long time, as it passed through different stages of leadership and the change of circumstances. Especially the development and the consolidation of these colonies in new and hostile territories must have been a long process. So, in view of the sources, duration of hundred years could roughly be acceptable between its beginning and end.

The Possible Reasons for Aiolian Colonisation

For the mainland Greece aftermath of the Trojan War, as shown in the Homeric epics, Agamemnon returned to Mycenae and was treacherously murdered by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover, Aegisthos. Seven years later both were killed by Orestes, who apparently became the king of Mycenae. Diomedes came home to the palace at Tiryns his father Tydeus had usurped in the days of the Theban war, to find that his wife had put another man in power; he escaped to Libya and the western seas. Achilles's son Neoptolemos moved from Thessaly to the west coast of Epirus in north western Greece, where very late Mycenaean burials continue the princely tradition of *tholoi*. Odysseus was forced to wander ten years before reaching his home in Ithaca and found that another man was about to take power in his city and had to kill him. So, it seems that Mycenae had entered a phase of weak kingship and dynastic savagery. The period after the Trojan wars is most properly and briefly expressed by Thucydides in the section of his history of the Peloponnesian war known as the "Archaeology". Thucydides records that

Even after the Trojan War, Greece was still involved in the movement and settlement of people, so that, not being undisturbed, she failed to grow. The belated return of the Greeks from Troy caused many changes, and strife was quite general in the cities. Those expelled in such strife founded cities. Those who are now Boeotians were expelled

¹⁰⁴ *Chronique-Canon*, p.55-70 Helm (2nd ed).

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

from Arne by the Thessalians in the sixtieth year after the capture of Troy, and settled in what is now Boiotia but was formerly called Kadmeian land (there was a division of Boeotians in this territory previously, too, from whom those who campaigned at Troy came). The Dorians, led by the children of Heracles, got hold of the Peloponnese in the eightieth year...¹⁰⁵

In view of the records of Homer and Thucydides, it appears that there happened to be a political turmoil in the Mainland after the capture of Troy. Though not clearly, Thucydides refers to the local rebels or civil wars in various cities or even to the wars between the local kingdoms. As a result of these revolts or wars, some leading members of these cities had to flee and found cities elsewhere. These revolts were perhaps led by the merchants, by free peasants, by the masses of slaves, or by several or all of these elements making common cause against the weakened autocratic kings and nobles, as they had also sent a great part of their army to the Trojan war and these had come back exhausted after a prolonged war (we could say it as a Pyrrhic victory). Meanwhile, even if the economic disintegration in the Mainland did not occur as a result of the climatic changes, such as serious erosion of the soil, caused by deforestation, floods or drought, in the face of political insecurity, self-interest and the disintegration of the palatial systems, the economic conditions must also have deteriorated. The people may no longer have been able to cultivate their lands or live in healthy conditions due to the political instability. Owing to the dislocations and political instability caused by the local revolts or human conflicts, boundaries may have weakened and thus invited invaders. Finally, there appears to have come invading forces of the other Greek tribes, as in the examples of Thessalians against the Boeotians and the Dorians against the Achaeans. It appears that the wars between the petty kingdoms and the revolts led to a broad movement of tribes, the strong ones were invading the other weak tribes. When these criteria are taken into account, I assume that there is no point

¹⁰⁵ Thuc., 1.12.

in ascribing the cause of disasters in the Mainland Greece after the Trojan War to a single cause.¹⁰⁶

Therefore, it appears that the life in Mainland Greece was harder than ever after the Trojan War, as the political instability had led to economic deterioration. These difficulties were amassed by natural disasters. Demon tells us that after the Trojan War, plague and destruction of crops have come around Greece. Seeking an oracle about these things, Greeks appealed to the Pythian Oracle. This oracle bid that these sufferings would come to an end if those from the race of Agamemnon sailed to Troad in order to build up cities and enhance the honour of their gods over there. Receiving this oracular response, Orestes died soon afterwards.¹⁰⁷ Although they do not refer to the reasons for consulting the oracle, Menekles Barkaeus and Tzetzes also allude to the oracle, as a result of which Orestes assembled various people for the Aiolian Migration.¹⁰⁸ Likewise both Myrsilus and Antikleides report this oracle only in accordance with enlivening the cults of their gods, such as Poseidon, by the colonists in the areas where they set out to settle, but they do not directly refer to the possible

¹⁰⁶ There does not appear to have been a general agreement among the scholars with concern to the issue that what may have caused the disasters in the Mainland after the Trojan War. Some scholars would attribute it to Dorian invasion. N.G.L. Hammond, "The End of the Mycenaean Civilisation and the Dark Age; The Literary Traditions," *Cambridge Ancient History* II 36, Cambridge, 1964, ; V.R. d'A Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*, Oxford, 1964, 221-232; 1965, 221-3. John Chadwick has tried to weaken the theory of a Dorian invasion. "Who were the Dorians?" *La Parola Del Passato*, 31, 1976, pp.103-117. Other authorities would ascribe the disorders to internecine wars between the petty kingdoms as well as the local rebellions within them. J.T.Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece*, London, 1976, 166-180. Yet another explanation proposed is the deterioration in climate in Mediterranean bringing a major drought and famine. Rhys Carpenter, *Discontinuity in Greek Civilisation*, Cambridge, 1966. Others, as opposed to this, have held the view that the climate changed to cool and wet. A later volcanic eruption than the one in Thera as well as the earthquakes may also have added to the hardships. A.Galanopoulos, *New Light on the Legend of Atlantis and the Mycenaean Decadence*, Athens, 1981. However, if one holds the nature responsible for the collapse of Mycenaean civilisation, how could he explain the "feverish construction of fortifications, the provision of access to water supply from within the walls, the dispatch of watchers along the Pylian coast and apparently urgent distribution of metals to Pylian smiths for the manufacture of weapons?". Carol G.Thomas, *Myth Becomes History: Pre-Classical Greece*, Claremont, p.74. Several scholars argue that in the case of the Mycenaean kingdoms, there occurred an excellent instance of "Systems Collapse", that is, the general features of collapse and aftermath were there, so there is no single cause for the collapse. C.Renfrew, "Systems Collapse as Social Transformation," in Renfrew and K.L.Cooke, eds., *Transformations, Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, New York, 1979, pp.481-506.

¹⁰⁷ FGtH 327 F 17. "«...ύστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν λοιμοῦ καὶ φθορᾶς καρποῦ περιεληλυθίας τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μαντευομένων περὶ τῶν παρόντων, χρῆσαι τὴν Πυθίαν, τηλικαῦτα παῦλαν αὐτοῖς τῶν δεινῶν, ἐπειδὴν τινες τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐχόντων τὸ γένος πλεύσαντες εἰς Τροίαν τὰς πόλεις <ἀνα>κτίσσει καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ἀναλάβωσιν, ἃς ἠφανίσθαι συνέβαινεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ταύτην τὴν μαντείαν παραδεξάμενον τὸν Ὀρέστην, συνέβη λιπεῖν τὸν βίον..."

¹⁰⁸ FGtH 270 F 10 and Tzetzes, *Commentary on Lycophron*, 1374. It is also highly possible that Hellanicus, who was cited by Tzetzes, mentioned the same event.

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

economic reasons.¹⁰⁹ If the oracle is accepted in general, it, on the other hand, could be postulated that some socio-economic factors led to this migration. In my opinion, it is possible that the problem of plaque had really occurred in Greece after the Trojan War, as it is seen that the cult of Apollon Smintheus became widespread around in and around the island of Lesbos after the migration of Aiolian Colonists. As discussed above, the cult of Apollon Smintheus may be connected to plaque and the the destruction of the fields by mouses (see above dn.55).

It assume that even before the invasion of Heraclids, some Greeks in Peloponnesus were already in quest of the colonies,¹¹⁰ but the final blow came by the invasion of outsiders, which forced them to migrate eventually. Velleius Paterculus differs from other ancient sources in explaining the reasons for Aiolian colonisation. He mentions that the descendants of Pelops “had held sway in the Peloponnesus after they had driven out the descendants of Hercules (Heracles), were again in turn driven out by them,” led by Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, the great-great-grandsons of Hercules. Afterwards he clearly adds that the sons of Orestes, Penthilus and Tisamenus, the descendants of Pelops, began to move out of Peloponnesus, as they were expelled by the Heraclidae.¹¹¹ So, the colonists were no longer able to resist the invading forces of Heraclids and were compelled to leave their country in the end. Moreover, as could possibly be seen from their stories concerning the return of Heraclids (see above p.9), Strabo and Pausanias give the implications that the return of Heraclids had changed the political map in Mainland Greece.

In the first place, the theory of natural causes such as plaque, destruction of crops caused by draught or mouses, which led the Aeolian colonists to find rich agricultural lands elsewhere, looks convincing, as it is known that the land on the mainland Aiolis was much more suitable for cultivation¹¹² than that of the Ionians and that most of the colonists were dealing with agriculture rather than with the seamanship.¹¹³ However, even if one accepts the agriculturalist character of these colonists, it does not follow that why they did not prefer to stay around Troy, as advised by the oracle, and deal with agriculture in these

¹⁰⁹ Anticleides (FGrH 140 F 4), as cited by Athenaus (XI, 466c) and Myrsilus (FHG, IV, P.459 F 12), as cited by Plutarch (*De sollertia animalum*, 36.9 and *Septem sapientum convivium*, 20.163).

¹¹⁰ This is implied by Strabo (9.2.3) that the Boeotians returned their home as a result of the Heraklids, when Orestes' fleet was about to sail from Aulis to establish the Aiolian colonies.

¹¹¹ Velleius Paterculus, 1.2.1, 3.

¹¹² Hdt., 1.149.

¹¹³ It appears that Hesiod's father who had migrated from Boeotia to Aiolis was a villager, but it should not also be dismissed that he preferred to return to his homeland. Hesiod, *Erga kai hemerai*, 633-636. Also we learn from Strabo (13.3.6) that Cymeans had started to collect the harbour taxes 300 years after the establishment of their city. For the agriculturalist character of the Aiolians also see J.Bérard, “La migration éolienne,” *Revue Archéologique*, 1959, p.13.

territories more fertile and extensive than the land in the southern Aiolis. It should not also be forgotten that the first destination of the colonists appears to have been the island of Lesbos which had less extensive lands for agriculture. All these enable us to assume that the security reasons were in front of the economic reasons. These people primarily appear to have sought a secure place rather than agriculturally suitable lands. If the climatic conditions, affecting the whole climate of Mediterrenaen, had been the main cause of the Aiolian colonisation, the leaders of the Ionian migration whose power and influence in the Mainland seem to have been less affected by the invasion, could not have waited for four more generations to begin their colonisation movement after the Aeolian colonisation.

Therefore, although the subsequent colonisation of Aiolis does not mean to omit the economic difficulties brought about by natural causes, the political reasons appears to have given up to the final stimulus in beginning this colonization movement in mass.

CONCLUSION

In relation to Aiolian colonization, I have figured out that there appear to have been three main line of traditions, written by Hellanicus of Mytilene; Pherecydes of Athens and Ephorus of Cyme; Myrsilus of Methymna. Although these sources, having been influenced by the local dynasties or families of their cities for external propaganda, are usually held to be mythical or legendary, this should not restrain us from putting forward a coherent and reasonable portrait of the early history of Aiolian colonization. It is likely that Orestes, the first leader of Aiolian expedition, died in Arcadia at the time of preparations. His son Tisamenus took over the rule and owing to the pressure by the Heraclids, he sent his son, Cometes, out of Peloponnese in search for colonies in Mysia. Meanwhile, the illegitimate son of Orestes, Penthilus sailed across the sea from Aulis in Boeotia by following the land and reached Thrace. He may have used this place as a base of his military operations, but his attempts to capture Lesbos possibly failed. Despite this, his son Echelas continued the military operations through the Hellespont into Propontis to find other suitable places of settlements. His colonists seem to have lingered in the waters of Propontis and even founded a colony in Perinthos. After a scan of time, having equipped better, in the end, Gras, the son of Echelas, along with other chiefs, managed to prevail upon Lesbos. In a later period, other set of colonists, led by Cleues and Malaus also began to colonize Southern Aiolis. The main core of leadership and colonists did come from Peloponnese and they were joined by other chiefs and their tribes, especially from Boeotia and Thessaly. Since the leadership of colonies changed hands and the course of expeditions were affected by circumstances, setting aside the long and complex process of consolidating these settlements by newcomers, the colonisation movement does not appear to

Making Sense Of The Myths Behind Aiolian Colonisation

have firmly established itself in these new and hostile territories in less than hundred years. As to the reasons of the colonization movement it appears that, after the Trojan Wars, there happened to be internecine civil wars in Greece which deteriorated the economic conditions. These conditions were worsened by natural disasters such as plague and destruction of crops and the final blow came as a result of the invasion of outside tribes. In the end, the Greeks were forced to flee from their country in mass.

Table1. The Geneology of the Leaders of Aiolian Colonisation

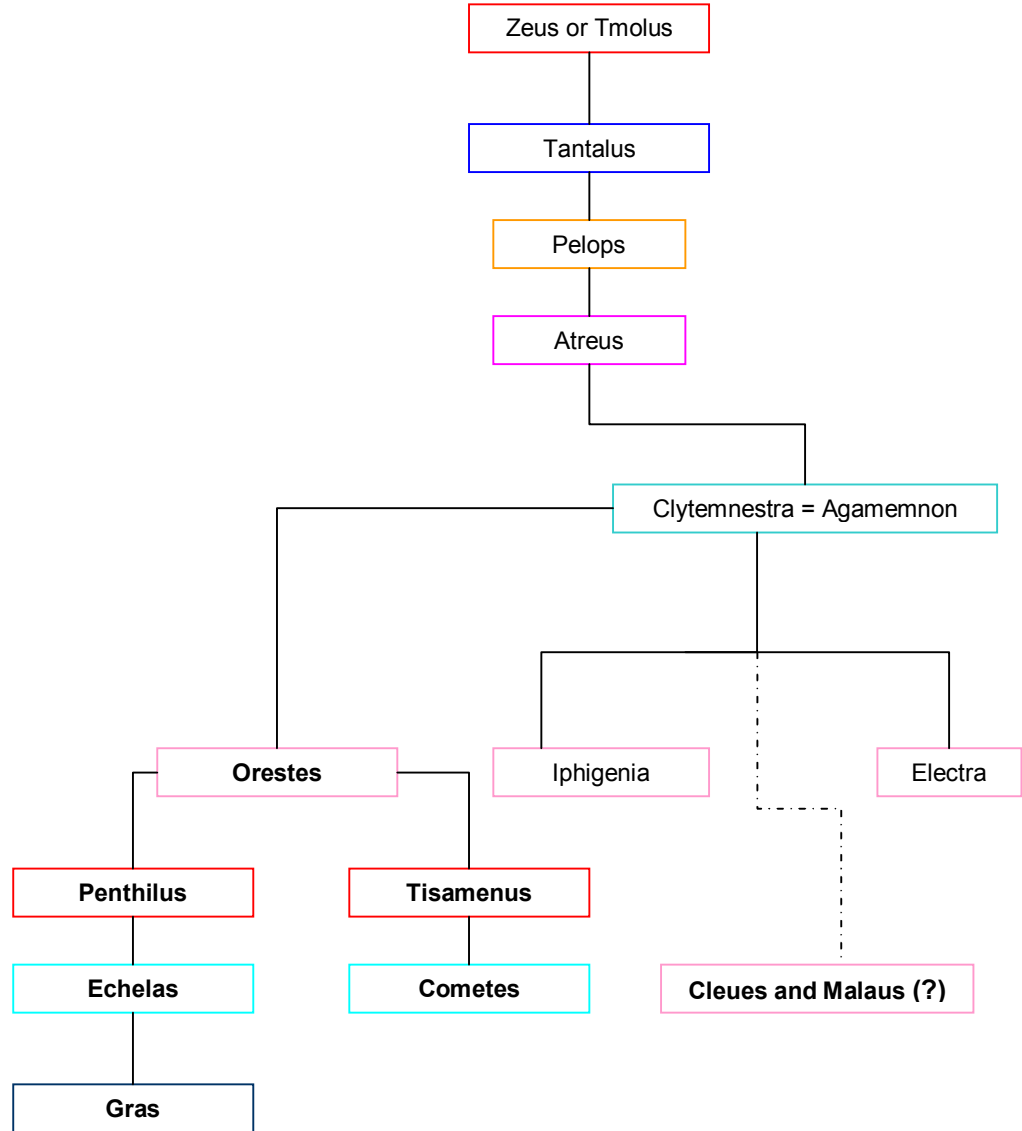


Fig.1. Orestes and Aegisthus from a vase (J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1963, 204.109, 1633).



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