

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

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ÖZET

Karanlık Çağ Aiol kolonistlerinin liderleri ve onların destekçilerinin Kyme'den Manisa'nın Sipil Dağı'na kadar olan bölgeyi kapsayan güney Aiolis'te ve Mysia'da koloniler kurmayı tercih etmelerinin sebeplerinden biri, eğer aradaki soy kütüğü kabul edilirse, onların bu topraklarla olan soy ilişkileri olabilir. Elimizdeki konuyla ilgili kaynakların mitolojik döneme ait olması bizleri mitolojinin tarihinin yazılamayacağı düşüncesine sevk etmemelidir. Bu dönemdeki olaylara ilişkin muhtemel gerçeklere, eldeki kaynaklar mantıklı bir şekilde kavranılarak bir dereceye kadar erişilebilir. Aiol ırkının atası Aiolos'un iddia edilen oğlu Makar ve Aiolos'un torunu Lesbus'un Peloponnesos'dan geldikleri ve muhtemelen iö.14.yüzyılın son çeyreğinde Lesbos adasına yerleştikleri söylenmektedir. Kaynaklar özellikle Tantalos ve onun oğlu Pelops'un bu dönemde yaşamış ve yönetimlerini Sipil Dağı çevresinde merkezileştirmiş gerçek kişilikler olabileceğine işaret etmektedir. Ancak Tantalos Phryg menşeli olduğu söylenen Truvalılar'ın kralı Truvalı İlos tarafından yenilgiye uğratılır ve oğlu Pelops bunun sonucunda ilk önce Boiotia ve daha sonra Peloponnesos'da Pisa şehrine göç etmek zorunda kalır. Pelops önce Pisa şehrini ele geçirecek yönetimini güçlendirir. Daha sonra oğlu Atreos Mykenai şehri merkezli Perseidai Hanedanlığını ele geçirecek Pelopidai Hanedanlığını kurar. Atreos bütün Peloponnesos ve Ege adalarına kadar yönetimini genişletir. Hitit belgeleri doğrultusunda Miken Hellenleri Ahhiyawa olarak kabul edilecek olursa, yeni Pelopidai Hanedanlığı yönetimindeki Ahhiyawalıların Küçük Asya'nın batısına yönelik politik müdahalelerinin devam ettiği görülmektedir. Truva Savaşı (ca.iö.1230-1180) esnasında Pelopidai soyundan geldiği iddia edilen Atreos'un oğlu Agamemnon, Priamos tarafından yönetilen Homeros'un Truvalılara karşı en büyük birliğe liderlik eder. Agamemnon bunu yaparken Truvalı İlos tarafından yenilgiye uğratılan ataları Tantalos ve Pelops'un intikamını alıyor gibidir. Aynı zamanda uzun süren Truva Savaşı esnasında Agamemnon'un güçleri akımlar düzenleyerek, Mysia, Troas, Lesbos ve Tenedos adalarında şehirler ele geçirirler. Truva Savaşı'ndan sonra

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Agamemnon'un ođlu Orestes ve onun ođulları Tisamenos, Penthilos ve onların ođulları Kometes, Ekhelas ve Gras'ın Hellas'dan uzun süren Aiol kolonizasyonunu başlattıkları görölmektedir. Aiol kolonizasyonunun bu liderlerinin ataları Makar, Tantalos, Pelops'un önceden yaşamış oldukları ve yine aynı soydan geldikleri söylenen Atreos ile Agamemnon'un politik olarak müdahalede buldukları aynı topraklara yerleşmeyi tercih ettikleri görölmektedir.

Introduction

Some of the modern authors have described the political development of the Dark Age Aiolian colonisation in general terms.¹ By making use of the detailed analysis of ancient literary evidence, in a different approach, we shall, on the other hand, strive to explain the possible ancestral and previous political links of the Aiolian colonists, who came from the Greek Mainland, with their newly colonised territories in Lesbos, Mysia, Troas and Southern Aiolis extending in region between the northern shores of the Elaeian Bay (Çandarlı Körfezi) and the southern parts of the banks of Hermos (Gediz), including Smyrna. We assume that in one way or another the Dark Age Aiolian colonists must actually have had the previous knowledge of the places where they went to settle and one of the reasons in choosing to settle in these territories may have been due to the fact that they could easily have developed an ancestral claim over these newly colonised territories on the grounds of their previous genealogical connection and political involvements. Although these connections are rooted in myth, which may have been invented or developed after the foundation of these colonies, the traditions concerning their previous ancestral and political connection with the newly colonized territories are strong and they at least need to be explained within a historical context.

Lesbos

I assume that by making use of his experience in analyzing the historical material especially by means of analogy, a historian may even reach the sensitivity to feel the real nature of the myths. The issue of previous

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

ancestral connection of the Dark Age Aiolian colonists should not be disregarded, as there are other examples of this. As regard to the case of the establishment of the colony of Thera by Lakedomonians in the eight century BC, Herodotos (*Historiai*, 4.147) states that

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

When this text of Herodotos is taken into consideration, it appears that Thera, the oikist of the colony of Theras, was of the descent of Kadmos and in a later period connected to the Lakedamonian rule. On the account of losing his political prestige in Sparta, Thera seems to have begun the colonisation of this island in 1st millennium BC by leading some

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

Lakedaemonian supporters.³ The reason for the preference of Theras as a colony results from the fact that Theras' kindred, Phoenikians were already living for eight generations over there. This would approximately make that Kadmos⁴ had persuaded his people, Phoenicians to settle in the island during the 13th century BC. So, what we witness here is the case of the recolonisation of the homeland of forefathers.⁵

The similar previous geneological connection with respect to the destination of the colonists could possibly be found in the case of the colonisation of the island of Lesbos, the main destination of the second wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists. The first organizer of Dark Age Aiolian colonists was Orestes. His sons Tisamenos and Penthilos took over this mission right after the death of Orestes possibly in Arkhadia while Orestes was on the course of making preparations. Later on we see that Penthilos led the second wave of colonists to Thrace, from where his son Ekhelas continued the search for colonies in Hellespontos and around Propontos and finally they succeeded to settle in Lesbos under the command of Gras, son of Ekhelas.⁶ The island settlements were more preferred, as there were easily defensible. Yet it may also happen that these colonists decided to

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

⁴ Kadmos was the son of Agenor, king of Phoenikia, and of Telephassa. His sister Europa being carried off by Zeus, Kadmos, with his brothers Phoenix and Kilix, was sent out with the command to look for her, and not to return without her. In the course of his wanderings he visited Thrace, Phokis, and Boiotia where he is said to have built the Kadmia, or the stronghold of what was afterwards Thebai, which bore his name. See Herodotos, 2.49; 2.145; Pausanias, 3.1.8; 3.15.8; 9.5.1-2; 9.12.2; Apollodoros, *Bibliotheke*, 3.1.1; 3.1.8; 3.3.1; 3.4.1; 3.5.2.

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

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

settle in this island, as their ancestors had already been living there. When one examines the Greek traditions about the generation who had lived around the last quarter of the 14th century BC, he shall find mention of a district, Akhaia, south of Thessaly where the “sons of Aiolos” spread. Aiolos was the mythic progenitor of Aiolic race, who had reigned over the regions of Thessaly and later on moved to Achaia in northern Peloponnesos from where the main core of the leaders of the Dark Age Aiolian colonists stemmed.⁷ The ancient Greek sources mention of the settlement of a “son and the grandson of Aiolos” in Lesbos itself. Diodoros states that seven generations after the flood of Deukalion a certain Makarios (Diodoros calls him so), who is presented as the son of Aiolos as well,⁸ came to Lesbos from Akhaia in Peloponnesos and made his home there.⁹ He had been accompanied by some Ionians and every sort of people who had been gathered around him. In view of these sources, it appears that Makar (also called Makarios) had occupied Lesbos and other coast islands during the

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

⁸ Makar has incontestable links with Peloponnesos. Sometimes he is presented as the son of Helios of Rhodos or the son of Aiolos from Thessaly. In *Hymnos eis Delon Apollo* (37), it is mentioned that the rich Lesbos was a home of Makar, the son of Aiolos (Μάκαρος ἕδος Αἰολίωτος). Cf. Pausanias, 10.38.4. He is also mentioned as the son of Krinakos (a name of barbarian origin). See Strabon, 7.7.1), the son of Zeus, originally from the city of Olenos in Akhaia. Hesiodos, F 184 Merkelbach-West 1967 = Diodoros, *Bibliothēke*, 5.81.4; scholiasts (footnotes) ADBV in *Ilias*, 24.544; Dionysios of Halicarnassos, *Romaikē Archaologia*, 1.18. In other sources, he is reported as the son of Lykaon from Arkhadia. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, 1.11; 1.13; Pausanias, 7.3.3; Apollodoros, B.3.8.1-2; Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v.Μακαρέαι; Μακαρία in Messenia and Μακαρέαι in Arkhadia of Peloponnesos are often seen as eponymous names. Strabon, 8.4.6; Pausanias, 8.3.3; Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v.Μακαρέαι; Scholiasts MTA in Euripides' *Phoenissai*, 26. His daughter, the nymph Amphissa is seen as the eponymous name of a homonymous city in Lokris in Boiotia. Pausanias, 10.38.4. For the attachment of Makar to Lesbos by traditions, also see Van Der Kolf 1928, col.619-620 s.v.Μakar(eos); Cook 1975, 777-8.

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

second half of the 14th century BC.¹⁰ One wonders if there were any expected locals friendly to Makar, who could have helped him to succeed in settling in this island. The native Pelasgians is not a faraway possibility in this respect.¹¹ Macar's power in Lesbos kept steadily increasing because of the fertility of the island. He portioned out the uninhabited land by the virtue of his fairness and sense of justice. Having sent his sons to the islands of Khios, Samos, Kos and Rhodos to establish colonies, he is also said to have captured these neighbouring islands. During his time, a grandson of Aiolos named Lesbus, after whom the island of Lesbos named, in obedience to an oracle of Python, sailed with colonists to Lesbos and married a daughter of Makar and he called his own daughters by the names subsequently borne by the cities of Lesbos, including Mytilene and Methymna and the other cities.¹² In view of all these literary records, it could possibly be concluded that there was a powerful state called "Akhaia" somewhere west of Asia Minor, more than a century before the Trojan War, including "Aiolian" people and these Aiolians as Mykenaian Greeks had established some settlements in this island possibly around 1330 BC.¹³ Therefore, it could possibly be postulated that the second wave

¹⁰ Diodoros (5.81.5-8) dates this Aiolic settlement in Lesbos by genealogy which assigns the founder to the generation of 1200; but he has combined his materials wrongly as 5.67 shows. As Makar brought Ionians from Peloponnesos, he clearly belongs to the generation of Ion in the second half of the 14th century BC.

¹¹ To Herodotos (1.57) and Thukydidēs (1.3.2), the Pelasgians were barbarian in speech (whatever that may mean) but aboriginal. This explains why the Arkadians (Pausanias, 8.4.1), the inhabitants of Akhaia (Herodotos, 7.94), and the Ionians as well as the Athenians were thought to be Pelasgians. Herodotos (7.95.1) states that like Ionians, who came to Asia Minor from Peloponnesos, Aiolians were too called Pelasgians, which the Greeks declare. This may imply that the Pelasgians who were settling in this island had previously come from Peloponnesos from where the so-called Aiolians later launched their colonisation movement to Asia Minor. Diodoros (5.81.2-3) affirmatively states that the first people to seize Lesbos, while it has been uninhabited, was the Pelasgians. Seven generations before the Flood, Xanthos, the son of Triopas, who was the king of the Pelasgians of Argos seized a portion of Lykia along with the Pelasgians who had accompanied him; but later crossed over to Lesbos and settled this uninhabited island by dividing it among his people and named the island Pelasgia. Yet Strabon states (13.3.3) that the Pelasgians were living in Lesbos under the command of Pylaios, whom Homeros calls as the ruler of Pelasgians (*Ilias*, 2.842). When the account of Strabon is taken into consideration, it appears that there were still Pelasgians living in the island during the Trojan War.

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

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

of the Dark Aiolian colonists came to settle in Lesbos, as the participants had already had ancestral connections with the people who were living in the island.

Southern Aiolis

There is also clear evidence that another group of the leaders of Dark Age Aiolian Colonists appear to have returned to around the territories where their ancestors had previously resided. As the third wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists, we see that Kleos and Malaos, from the *genos* of Agamemnon, landed in Kyme in Southern Aiolis and these colonists extended their influence in areas including the cities of Larisa, Neonteikhos, Temnos, Smyrna, possibly Notion and Mount Sipylos as well.¹⁴ Agememnon, the legendary king of Mykenai and the leader of Greek Confederacy in the expedition against Troy, appears to have descended from Pelops, the son of Tantalos.¹⁵ As shall be explained below, Tantalos and his son Pelops are said to have ruled in and around Mount Sipylos (Sipil or Manisa Dağı) in Southern Aiolis during the second half of the 14th century BC, but later they were forced to flee to Peloponnesos in Greece, where Pelops established the dynasty of Pelopidai.

¹⁴ See Demir 2001, 123-4.

¹⁵ For the table of the geneology of the leaders of Aiolian colonisation, see Demir 2001, 137. The Geneology of the Tantalidai or Pelopidai in general, that is, the succession being Tantalos, Pelops, Atreos, Agamemnon, Orestes is shown in various ancient sources. Homeros, *Ilias*, 2.105 ff; *Odysseia*, 1.22, 25; Pindaros, *Nemean Odes*, 8.5; Aiskhylos, *Agamemnon*, 875; Sophokles, *Elektra*, 690; Euripides, *Andromache*, 880; *Helene*, 386; *Elektra*, 325, 335, 570, 880, 1090; *Iphigenia He En Aulisi*, 465, 615, 1115; *Iphigenia He En Taurois*, 1 ff; 769, 1360. *Orestes*, 10, 365, 920; 1435; *Troiades*, 710; Herodotos, 1.67.2; 7.159.1; Aristophanes, *Batrachoi* (Frogs), 1206; Isokrates, *Helen*, 10.67; Diodoros, 15.66.2; Pausanias, 2.18.5-7; 5.13.2; 5.13.8; 8.5.4; Apollodoros, *Epitome*, 2.10; B.2.4.6; Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae ad M. Vinicium Consulem Libri Duo*, 1.1.3; Plutarkhos, *Theseos*, 3.1; Commentary on the Heroides of Ovidius' poem 8, *commline* 122. Pausanias (5.25.10) also mentions an inscription on which it is written that "To Zeus these images were dedicated by the Akhaians, Descendants of Pelops the godlike scion of Tantalos." It should be noted that the names of Tantalos, Thyestes and Orestes, as well as a derivative from Atreos, have been recognised on the Pylos tablets of the 13th century Mykenaian World. This shows that the names of Greek legends may have been in use in Mykenaian times. See Webster 1964, 121-122; Chadwick 1976, 66-67. Therefore, all these may possibly suggest that the pedigree of Tantalos was already existent in the 13th century BC and may possibly not have been invented later. Even if it was invented, this could not exclude the possibility that each of the figures and the incidents they represent were real and interacted with each other. It should also be stated Asiatic words were found in the Linear B tablets. This would show that a verbal communication between the Greek and the Hittite world was possible and the Eastern stories entered the Mykenaian repertoire. Webster 1964, 2; Cline 1994, 69.

One of the heroic myths which is linked to divine presence through a descent from the gods is the one about Tantalos and his family who were the alleged ancestors of the leaders of Aiolian Colonisation. Despite the divine mythical aspects of Tantalos¹⁶ and his acceptance as the son of Zeus by Aiskhylos and Euripides,¹⁷ some other more prevalent sources suggest that he was a great hero in the eyes of Greeks. Homeros appears to be testifying to this. Although mentioning his suffering in the nether world, he does not say that Tantalos was a God.¹⁸ In works of Platon, it is stated that Tantalos was one of the kings or potentates who was punished everlastingly in the nether world and Pelops is stated as not the son of a God, but as the son of a mortal Tantalos.¹⁹ Nikolaos of Damaskos (1st century BC, *FGrH* 90 F 10, lines 10-18) claims that he was the son of Tmolos, the husband of Omphalos²⁰ whose father Jardanos is said to have been the enemy of Kamblitas, the legendary king of the Atyade dynasty of Lydia.²¹ In a much later period, the Ionian Greeks, who knew the geography of

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

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

¹⁸ Homeros, *Odysseia*, 11.582 ff.

¹⁹ *Gorgias*, 525d; *Hippias Meizon*, 293b.

²⁰ Athenaios, 636a. At his death Tmolus bequeaths to her the government of Lydia. Apollodoros, B.2.6.2. Pausanias (2.22.4), on the other hand, states that Tantalos' mother was Pluto.

²¹ Nikolaos of Damaskos, *FGrH* 90 F 28.

Lydia, seem to have accepted the oak-chapleted Tmolos his father, since Tmolos is connected to Lydian geography as the name of mountain.²²

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

Pausanias (5.13.7) reports that Tantalos and his son Pelops “*once dwelt in my country there have remained signs right down to the present day. There is a lake called after Tantalos and a famous grave, and on a peak of Mount Sipylos there is a throne of Pelops beyond the sanctuary of Plastene the Mother. If you cross the river Hermos you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnos[an Aiolian city] made of a living myrtle-tree. It is a tradition among us that it was dedicated by Pelops when he was propitiating the goddess and asking for Hippodameia to be his bride.*” In a previous passage (2.22.3), he additionally states that “*...the grave of him [Tantalos] who legend says was son of Zeus and Pluto—it is worth seeing—is on Mount Sipylos. I know because I saw it.*” Pausanias (1.21.3) also says that he himself saw the rock of Niobe, the daughter of Tantalos, when he “*had gone up to Mount Sipylos. When you are near it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away you will think you see a woman in tears, with head*

²² Tantalos' father Tmolos gave his name to a gold-producing mountain near Sardis, running east and west through the centre of Lydia, and dividing the plain of the Hermos on the north from that of the Caystros on the south. Herodotos, 1.84; 1.93; 5.100; Strabon, 12.3.27; 13.1.23; 13.3.2; 13.4.5-7, 12; 14.1.15, 45. Similarly, the names of Hittite kings, Tuthaliya and Arnuwanda were also the names of mountains which the Hittites saw as sacred. Akurgal 1998, 120. There was also a city around Mount Sipylos, named as Tmolos. See below n.30.

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

bowed down.”According to legend, Niobe had turned into stone and this stone had shed tears even in summer.²⁴ In other site, Pausanias (3.22.4) also reports that Broteas, the ugly son of Tantalos, had carved the first image of the Mother of gods (Great Mother Sculpture) on the rock called Koddinos and still visited by Magnesians in his time.²⁵ Moreover, he knew in his time the cordax, a dance which had been performed by the followers of Pelops and still peculiar to the dwellers around Mount Sipylos.²⁶

Since born in the neighbourhood of Mount Sipylos, Pausanias could be accepted as a reliable source. Having examined and eliminated the Yamanlar sites,²⁷ if one had the opportunity to make a survey, he could see that in Mount Sipylos everything falls into place just as Pausanias had described it.²⁸ If climbed the mountain, one could reach a crag with a carved ‘throne’, where Tantalos’ son Pelops is said to have sat to view his kingdom (Fig.1). On another cliff face is a magnificent Late Bronze Age earliest carving of the Mother Goddess, locally known as ‘Kybele’(Fig.2, it dates to about the 14th -13th centuries BC). This figure, carved into the rock of Mount Sipylos above the road about 7 km east of Manisa, had been called with different names in the history, but eventually it was given the

²⁴ Pausanias, 8.2.5-7; Apollodoros, B.3.5.6. In the *Ilias* (24.612 ff) Homeros says that Niobe “stands among the crags in the untrodden hills of Sipylos, where people say the Nymphs, when they have been dancing on the banks of Akhelois, lay themselves down to sleep. There Niobe, in marble, broods on the desolation that the gods dealt out to her.”

²⁵ Cf. Apollodoros, E.2.2; Ovidius, *Ibis*, 517.

²⁶ Pausanias, 6.22.1.

²⁷ Being misled by one classical source (see below n.34), which links the establishment of Smyrna to Tantalos, it is proposed that the grave of Tantalos is in Bayraklı. G.E. Bean who did researches for 27 years in Anatolia, states that The Smyrna School supports that the tomb of Tantalos, the throne of Pelops and the holly place of Meter Plastene are in Yamanlar Mountain. The founder of Smyrna School is Texier, who came to Smyrna in 1835. The circled tomb, which is at the top of a hill behind Bayraklı, attracted Texier’s attention. He called this “the tomb of Tantalos”. However, Bean says that he himself did excavations in Adatepe with Rüstem Duyar, who was the head of Izmir Museum, in 1945. The result was that it was a cistern and all complex was the surrounding fortress. Thus the theory of Smyrna School was proved to be wrong. On the other hand, Manisa School had proposed that the three places were at east of Manisa on Mount Sipylos. The places of these three sites were in fact found on Mount Sipylos, just Pausanias had described them. See Bean 2001, 36-41.

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

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

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

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

³⁰ Strabon, 1.3.17. Aristotle also knows about this natural disaster. In his *Meteorologika* (2.8), he writes that the Sipylus region was destroyed by an earthquake which was caused not by exceedingly-

Pausanias omits to tell us is supplied by the Roman encyclopaedist Plinius (writing about 75 AD), in a discussing passage concerning the settlements in the interior of Asia Minor that ‘no longer exist’ due to the natural disasters. While reporting the subject of the collapse of mountains, as Mount Sipylos was of volcanic origin and its trembling often caused rifts, he tells (2.93) that this previously “very celebrated city” on Mount Sipylos, shattered by an earthquake and drowned under a lake, was used to be called Tantalus, in other words the city of Tantalos. In a later passage (5.31) he says that Tantalus was the capital of Maeonia (the old name for Lydia), “situated where there is now the marsh named Sala”³¹ and Tantalus took the name of Sipylos in a later period.³² Ruling from the city of Tantalus, Tantalos is said to have opened mines in the Sipylos region³³ and expanded his rule over the Yamanlar mountain by founding Smyrna and its ancient harbour, Naulokhon.³⁴

strong winds but by a throbbing of the earth. Pausanias (10.31.12; Cf. Platon, *Kratylos* 395d-e) also refers to all the pains (quoting Homeros himself in this respect) and the terror of stone (probably an earthquake) that Tantalos endured. In other words, Tantalos was punished by having a rock dangle over his head, proverbial for Arkhilochos (600’s BC). Elsewhere Tantalos has to support a mountain (Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 36). The earthquakes damaged and destroyed many cities in Lydia. It was seen that whole houses were swallowed up by the earth. In Philadelphia in the Katakekaumene the walls used to crack every day, and its inhabitants took necessary measures while building their houses. Apamia at the boundary of Lydia and Phrygia was destroyed around 130 BC, and king Mithridates Euergetes gave 100 talents to restore it. Tralles, north of Meandros, was damaged during the principate of Augustus. Augustus gave money to the inhabitants to rebuild their city. Strabon, 1.3.17; 12.8.7, 18. Tacitus (*Annales*, 2.47) states that in 17 AD the earthquake destroyed twelve famous cities along the banks of Hermos, which were restored by Tiberius. Magnesia on the Hermos, Tmolos and Mostis were among these cities situated around Mount Sipylos.

³¹ In Homeros (*Odyseia*, 11.582), it is also implied that this lake, which later seems to have taken his name, dried up at the time of Tantalos and there was also strong wind on Mount Sipylos.

³² Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, 2.93. Plinius also states that Sipylos disappeared and Arkhaiopolis took its place. Arkhaiopolis also perished, and was replaced by Kolpe and afterwards the city of Libade was established over Kolpe. This implies that there often happened earthquakes in this region.

³³ Strabon (14.5.28) states that “...the wealth of Tantalos and the Pelopidai arose from the mines round Phrygia and Sipylos...”. Cf. Pindaros, *Olympian Odes*, 1.38. For the fame of the wealth of Tantalos, also see Platon, *Euthyphron*, 11e.

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

The story of Tantalos' dwelling place as well as his son, Pelops's migration to Greece and its reason is fully told with more realistic colors and confirmed by Nikolaos of Damaskos (1st century BC), who presumably relying on Xanthos the Lydian (5th century BC) writes that

Tantalos, the son of Tmolos, after whom the Lydian mountain, Tmolos, was named, was defeated by the king of the Phrygians, The Trojan Ilos. Tantalos decided to leave his native land and settle in Peloponnesos. When he was forced to stay in Lydia because of his old age, he sent to Peloponnesos his son, Pelops, with an army. At last Pelops set out from Sipylos and arriving with his sister Niobe and great sources, he gave her sister Niobe to Amphion of Thebai. Then he went to the region of Pisa in Peloponnesos.³⁵

In view of Nikolaos's account, it appears that Ilos the Trojan, who was ruling in Troy, had gone into conflict with the Tantalidai and eventually Tantalidai were forced to leave their territory, possibly in the last quarter of the fourteenth century BC.³⁶ Pausanias probably used the same source as Nikolaos of Damaskos when he (2.22.3) says "...no constraint came upon him [*Tantalos*] to flee from Sipylos, such as afterwards forced Pelops to run away when *Ilos the Phrygian* launched an army against him...". This war may possibly have reflected the truth.³⁷ It is possible that the rule

³⁵ Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker = *FGrH* 90 F 10, lines 11-18. "... Τάνταλος ό Τμώλου, αφού το όρος ό Τμώλος εν Λυδίαι καλεϊται, πόλεμον έχων προς Ιλον τον Τρῶα Φρυγῶν βασιλέα, ηττηθεις μάχηι εκείπει την χώραν μέλλων δε εις Πελοπόννησον εξοικίζεσθαι, αντος μεν υπο γήρωσ εν λυδίαι έμεινεν, τον υιον δε Πέλοπα συν στρατῶι έπεμψεν εις την γην. Ο δε ερηι αφίκετο <υπο> πολλῶι πλούτῶι την αδελφην Νιόβην αγων, όρμηθεις το τελευταίν εκ Σιπύλου, ταύτην μεν εδωκεν Αμφίονι τῶι Θηβαίῶι, αντος δε τής Πελοποννήσου ηλθεν εις Ηίσαν, ...". For the study concerning the emigration of Tantalos and his son Pelops during the Bronze Age, see Tulunay 1998.

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

³⁷ As also mentioned by Eusebios, it appears that Tantalos ruled in Phrygia and was possibly at odds with Ilos the Trojan, the king of Phrygians. Some evidence may also possibly imply that there happened to be a power-struggle over the control on regions between the Hermos river and the surroundings of Troy. Strabon (12.8.21) thinks that "*Aiskhylos, in his Niobe, confounds things that are different; for example, Niobe says that she will be mindful of the house of Tantalos, those who have an altar of their paternal Zeus on the Idaean hill* [Aiskhylos, fr. 162.2 (Nauck 1964)]; and again, *Sipylos in the Idaean land* [Aiskhylos, fr. 163 (Nauck 1964)]; and *Tantalos says, I sow furrows that extend a ten days' journey, Berekyntian land, where is the site of Adrasteia, and where both Mount Ida and the whole of the Erekhtheian plain resound with the bleatings and*

of Tantalos, the king of Mount Siplyos region, had been weakened due to the above-mentioned natural causes such as earthquake and became open to a foreign invasion by Ilos the Trojan.

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

bellowings of flocks [Aiskhylos, fr. 158.2 (Nauck 1964)]". It is possible that Aiskhylos did not confuse the house of Tantalos, as he probably knew that Tantalos and his kinsmen's influence extended in an area as far as the Berekyntian land around Mount Ida. Tantalos may have held influence over Lesbos as well. Stephanos of Byzantion recorded that there was a Mount Tantalos in Lesbos. Pelops on his way to Peloponnesos is said to have stopped on the island of Lesbos. A certain Killos, born around Lesbos was Pelops' charioteer in his last days. Pelops lamented bitterly over his death and honoured him with funeral rites, including his cremation, and a mound for his tomb was built up. This place became sacred and in the neighbourhood, the temple of Apollon was attributed to his name and a city, named Killa, was established. "...γενομένω δε αντῶ περι Λέσβον, Κίλλος ὁ ηνίοχος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· ὃς καὶ καθ' ὑπνον επιστας τῷ Πέλοπι σφόδρα ὀδνηρῶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχοντι, ἀπωδύρετό τε τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπώλειαν, καὶ περι κηδείας ἤξιον διόπερ ἀναστας, ἐξερυπάοου τὸ εἶδωλον διὰ πυρρός· εἶθ' οὕτως ἔθαψε τὴν τέφραν, ἐφρανώς τοῦ κίλλου· ἥριον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγείρας, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἡρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐδειματο ἴερον, κιλλαῖον Ἀπολλωνος προσαγορεύσας, διὰ τὸ αἰφνιδίως τὸν κίλλον ἀποθανῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν κτίσας, κιλλαν κέκληκεν...". Theopompos (IV B.C), *FHG* I.frag., 339. What we additionally learn from Strabon (13.1.62-63) is the following; the cities of Khrysa and Killa had lied in the territory of Adramyttion and in Strabon's day, there was still a place near Thebai called Killa and in this city there was a temple of the Killiaian Apollon. According to Daës of Kolonai, the temple of the Killiaian Apollon was first founded in Kolonai (a city around Baba Bay) by the Dark Age Aiolian colonists who sailed from Greece. There was a tomb of Killos in the neighborhood of the temple of the Killiaian Apollo near Adramyttion Thebai and he is said to have been the charioteer of Pelops and to have ruled over this region, that is around the Mount Ida and the Plain of Thebai including the modern city of Edremit in Mysia.

³⁸ Strabon (12.8.7) states that some of the historians call the Trojans Phrygians; in this case Phrygians seems to have come to Troy before the Trojan War as contrary to some ancient authors. On this issue, Strabon (14.5.29) makes the following comments: "*Xanthos the Lydian says that it was after the Trojan War that the Phrygians came from Europe and the left-hand side of the Pontos, and that Skamandros led them from the Berekyntes and Askania, but Apollodoros adds to this the statement that Homeros refers to this Askania that is mentioned by Xanthos: And Phorkys and godlike Askanius led the Phrygians from afar, from Askania. However, if this is so, the migration must have taken place later than the Trojan War, whereas the allied force mentioned by the poet (Homeros) came from the opposite mainland, from the Berekyntes and Askania. Who, then, were the Phrygians, who were then encamped along the banks of the*

The problem with regard to both Nikolaos' and Pausanias' (2.22.3) above quoted texts is that if a Phrygian king named Ilos defeated Tantalos and his son, Pelops, this would contradict with other important sources which call the Tantalidai Phrygian as well. This is because of the fact that if one accepted that Tantalidai were Phrygian, it would be difficult to explain that they were defeated by another king of the Phrygians. Herodotos calls Pelops as "*Pelops the Phrygian*".⁴⁰ In Sophokles' (496-406 BC) *Ajax* (1290), Teuker is made to say that "*Are you not aware of the fact that your*

Sangarios, when Priamos says, for I too, being an ally, was numbered among these? And how could Priamos have sent for Phrygians from the Berekyntes, with whom he had no compact, and yet leave uninvited those who lived on his borders and to whom he had formerly been ally?" Yet Strabon (10.3.22) states that some ancient writers "*use the term Phrygia for the Troas because, after Troy was sacked, the Phrygians whose territory bordered on the Troas, got the mastery over it.*" It appears that Phrygians had already settled along the banks of Sangarios during the Trojan War. How come if these Phrygians were the allies of Trojans and defeated at the war, they managed to occupy the Troas after the war. It should be taken into account that, as shall be explained below, the term "Phrygian" is a general term invented in a later period and so there were various Phrygian tribes entered into Asia Minor at different times. Eusebios (83 F 53 b-i) reports that a certain Mida ruled in Phrygia in around 1310/9 BC. This Mida is accepted as the first Midas of Phrygia, which would imply that Phrygians had already started to rule in Asia Minor in the second half of 14th century BC. For the sources, see Bossert 1941, 159.

³⁹ This Ilos was not the son of Dardanos, who died childless, but was the son of Tros. Apollodoros, B.3.12.2. In fact Troy is considered to be a Phrygian city (Apollodoros, 8.3.12.2-3); for this Ilos the second went to Phrygia finding games held there by the king. As a prize for having been victorious in wrestling, the king gave him a cow and bade him find a city wherever the animal should lie down. When she was come to the hill of the Phrygian Ate, she lay down; there Ilos the second built a city and called it Ilion (Troy). According to Parian Marble, this occurred in a period right before 1326 B.C. See Bickerman 1968, 87-89. This legend of the foundation of Ilion by Ilos is repeated by Tzetzes, *Scholiast on Lykophron*, 29. Homeros (*Ilias* 20.215 ff.) tells us that the foundation of Dardania on Mount Ida preceded the foundation of Ilion in the plain. Apollodoros (8.3.12.3) also states that this Ilos begat Laomedon and "*...according to some his [Laedomon's] wife was Placia, daughter of Otreos...*" Otreos was a chief of Phrygia, who reigned all over Phrygia rich in fortresses. *Homerou Hymnoi*, 5.110, 5.145 [To Aphrodite]. He encamped along the banks of Sangarios and assisted by Priamos in an invasion of the Amazons. Homeros, *Ilias*, 3.180 ff. During the reign of Priamos, the Phrygians were living by the waters of Sangarios (Homeros, *Ilias*, 16.712) and they were Trojan allies and were led by Ascanios the Third. Another leader of the Phrygians was Asius the first who served in the same company as Helenos the first and Deiphobos the first; and Phorkys the first was also counted as a leader of the Phrygians during the Trojan War. Homeros, *Ilias*, 2.860; 10.431; Apollodoros, E.3.34. Apollodoros (E.3.7) also mentions Phrygian prisoner taken by Odysseos. Pindaros (*Nemean Odes*, 3.55) mentions Lykians, Phrygians and Dardanians in the war. Strabon (12.3.24) states that "*the Amazons would not fight on Priamos' side because of the fact that he had fought against them as an ally of the Phrygians, against the Amazons...*". Thus many Phrygians are reported to have defended Troy against the Akhaian invaders led by Agamemnon.

⁴⁰ Herodotos, 7.8C.1; 7.11.4.

father's father Pelops long ago was a barbarian, a Phrygian?" In another play of Sophokles, Niobe, the daughter of Tantalos is given the role of a Phrygian, who had had a connection with Mount Sipylos, the legendary seat of Tantalos, father of Pelops.⁴¹ In Euripides' *Orestes* (1435, 1500) and in *Bakkhylides' Odes* (8,125), Orestes is clearly called as "*Phrygian Orestes*" from the old hearth of Pelops. Pherekydes of Athens, a fifth century Athenian writer, states that Sipylos was a Phrygian polis.⁴² On the other hand, not only the Tantalidai but also the Trojans during the Trojan War are mentioned as Phrygians in the tragic plays of Athens. Throughout Euripides's plays, Ilion (Troy) is made Phrygians' capital in Phrygian territory and the Trojan War was presented between Hellas and the Phrygians.⁴³

Thus the Trojan may really have been from a Phrygian origin, as explained above (notes 38 and 39). However, it should also be taken into consideration that in geographical terms 'Phrygia' or 'Lydia' and in race 'Phrygians' or 'Lydians' appear to have been used as a general term by later authors to denote the race and the region of barbarians from Asia Minor.⁴⁴ According to Strabon (12.8.7), the reason why the tragic writers call Trojans as Phrygians derives from Homeros. Homeros held the allies of Trojans

⁴¹ *Antigone*, 823-4.

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

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

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

from the Asian mainland, including Karians and Lykians in the same category and called all of them as Trojans, just as he called all the Greeks in this war under a single name, Akhaians or Dananeans. Therefore, as also accepted by modern authors,⁴⁵ it appears that from a racial point of view, later Greek tragic writers similarly preferred to call the people from the Asia Minor, either they were Trojans or Lykians, as Phrygians in a sense that they wished to emphasize their non-Greekness as barbarians and this identification of Trojans as Phrygians was made in a later period to barbarize them.

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

⁴⁵ Hall 1989, 38-39; Burnyeat and *et al.* 1994, 104-106. Hall sates (38-39) that Homeros did not recognize this and the first step of naming the Trojans as Phrygians was first seen in one of Alkaios' fragment (fr. 42.15), but Phrygianization of Troy took place in the 5th century BC and Aiskhylos (Aiskhylos, fr. 446) himself was responsible for this.

⁴⁶ Herodotos, 7.11.4.

⁴⁷ The Athenian orator Isokrates (*Helen*, 10.67; *Panathenaikos*, 12.79) clearly states that just as Danaos, an exile from Egypt, occupied Argos, Kadmos of Sidon became king of Thebai and the Karians colonized the islands in former times, Pelops, the son of Tantalos, was one of these "*barbarians*", who became master of all the Peloponnesos. Platon (*Menexenos*, 245d) similarly states that Pelops or Kadmos, or Aigyptos or Danaos, and numerous others of the kind are naturally "*barbarians*", though nominally Greeks; but his people are pure Greeks and not a barbarian blend.

was called after him.⁴⁸ Strabon (7.7.1) also expresses his view that “*Yet one might say that in the ancient times the whole of Greece could be said to have been a settlement of barbarians, if one reasons from the traditions themselves: Pelops brought over peoples from Phrygia [Asia Minor] to the Peloponnesos that received its name from him; and Danaos from Egypt; whereas the Dryopes, the Kaucones, the Pelasgi, the Leleges, and other such peoples, apportioned among themselves the parts that are inside the isthmus and also the parts outside, for Attika was once held by the Thracians who came with Eumolpos, Daulis in Phokis by Tereos, Kadmeia by the Phoenikians who came with Kadmos, and Boiotia itself by the Aones and Temmikes and Hyantes.*” The Roman historian Tacitus points out that “*The resources of the Lydians were yet further augmented by the immigration of nations into that part of Greece [Peloponnesus] which afterwards took its name from Pelops.*”⁴⁹

All these sources point out that there is a strong tradition which calls Tantalos and Pelops as Phrygian or in a few sources Lydian (barbarian), originally from Asia Minor.⁵⁰ It appears that Pelops was forced to withdraw when Ilos the Trojan launched an army against him. Pelops with his large army and great wealth emigrated to Greece and wanted to participate in ruling Pisa by marrying the daughter of Oinomaos, the king of this city. Contrary to a few mythical aspects of some other traditions,⁵¹ Nikolaos of

⁴⁸ Thukydides, 1.9.2.

⁴⁹ *Annales*, 4.55.

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

⁵¹ In stories told by some ancient writers the king Oinomaos was very much in love with his own daughter Hippodamia. He devised a race system in order to get rid of his daughter’s suitors. None of the suitors had been able to win this race, so they were killed. However, Pelops, with the cunning help of Myrtilos, the charioteer of Oinomaos, who because expected to rule over half of the kingdom or because, as some say, he was himself in love with Princess Hippodamia, won the race in which Oinomaos was killed. After the race, Pelops refused to give Myrtilos his promised reward, Hippodamia and killed him by casting into the sea. In these traditions, Pelops is not attributed with any godly nature apart from the fact that Poseidon gave him a winged chariot whose axles were not wet even when it ran through the sea and by this chariot he won the race against Oinomaos. For other sources on the subject see Pindaros, *Olympian Odes*, 1.25 ff, 55, 70, 114 ff; Sophokles, *Elektra*, 504; Euripides, *Iphigenia He En Taurois*, 1; Diodoros, 4.9.1; Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautika*, 1.752; Strabon, 7.7.1; Plutarkhos, *Moralia* (Greek and Roman Parallel Stories), 33; Pausanias, 2.5.7, 2.6.5, 2.15.1, 2.26.2, 2.30.8; 5.1.6 ff; 5.13.4;

Damaskos (*FGrH* 90 F 10, 17-38) tells the story of Pelops's migration quite reasonably:

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

As quoted above, Thukydides also confirms Nikolaos of Damaskos that Pelops carried with him a vast wealth to a needy country, which helped to attract people to his side and so he met a great success. It, on the other hand, appears that before taking Pisa,⁵² Pelops first landed in Boiotia. Strabon (8.4.4) mentions that "... *Pelops, after he had given his sister Niobe in marriage to Amphion, founded Leuktron, Kharadra, and Thalami now called Boeoti, bringing with him certain colonists from Boiotia.*" As mentioned above, Nikolaos of Damaskos agrees with Strabon as to the marriage of Niobe with Amphion.⁵³ The couple were blessed with many children - six sons and six daughters (or in other accounts as many as 10 of each).⁵⁴ It is possible that owing to the marriage relation with Thebai

6.22.8; Apollodoros, E.1.2; 2.2-5; 2.9-10; Apollodoros, B.2.4.4-6, 2.5.1, 3.5.5, 3.12.7, 3.15.7; Scholiast in Pindaros, *Nemean Odes*, 10.114; Ovidius, *Metamorphosus*, 6.404; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 14, 82-85; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 18.27.

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

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

⁵⁴ Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 12.36.

in Boiotia, Pelops was invited to take refuge with Thebians and gradually kept on strengthening his position in these territories. Later on some people from Boiotia⁵⁵ and Akhaia⁵⁶ as well joined in his forces and as a result of this he seems to have managed to take over the rule in Pisa.

According to traditions, the kingdom of Pelops was a flourishing one and when he held the games in Olympia he surpassed in splendour all of his predecessors. Pelops is said to have been the strongest of the kings in Peloponnesos, in part because of his wealth, but also because he gave many daughters in marriage to men of power and rank, and appointed many of his sons among the cities as rulers.⁵⁷ Yet above all the descendants of Pelops infiltrated, through marriage, the royal house of Mykenai and eventually took power in the city. The supposed son of Pelops, Atreos became king of Mykenai and appears to have continued to rule an extensive kingdom during the first half of the 13th century BC until his son Agamemnon succeeded to the throne.⁵⁸

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

⁵⁶ Strabon (8.5.5) states that “*For instance, they say that the Akhaians of Phthiotis came down with Pelops into the Peloponnesos, took up their abode in Lakonia, and so far excelled in bravery that the Peloponnesos, which now for many ages had been called Argos, came to be called Akhaian Argos, and the name was applied not only in a general way to the Peloponnesos...*”

⁵⁷ Plutarkhos, *Theseos*, 3.1.

⁵⁸ According to traditions, Mykenai was first ruled by its founder Perseos the first. In a later period, the throne of Mykenai, instead of being in possession of the Perseidai, came gradually under the rule of the Pelopidai (descendants of Pelops), for Sthenelos the third (Perseos’s son) married Pelops’ daughter Nikippe, and when he seized Mykenai he also entrusted to Atreos and Thyestes the city of Midia, which is northeast of Argos. Sthenelos the third was succeeded by Eurystheos. When Eurystheos left Mykenai in order to attack the Heraklides, he committed the government to Atreos, and after Eurystheos’ death the Mykenaians received, not surprisingly, an oracle which bade them choose one among the Pelopidai for their king. In the matter of ruling Mykenai, Atreos was challenged by his own brother Thyestes. Atreos lost the throne of Mykenai when his wife betrayed him with Thyestes. However, Zeus sent Hermes to instruct Atreos to make a new agreement with Thyestes by which Atreos should be king if the sun should go backwards. When Thyestes agreed to this impossibility, the sun set in the east; for nothing is impossible to the gods (The whole story about the sun is just thought to have been a result of an eclipse; and since there is often an eclipse at hand they might like to refer to the one that took place in 1281 BC, in which the sun is said to have appeared already darkened over the horizon.). So Atreos got the sign of the sun going backward and ousted his brother Thyestes from the kingdom of Mykenai. He murdered the children of Thyestes and served them up to him at a banquet. Thyestes’ son Aigisthos,

I assume it seems possible to bring forward the striking parallels between these Greek legends about Pelops and his flight and the Hittite texts concerning the political developments in Western Anatolian Countries during the relevant periods. The flight of Pelops from Mount Siplyos resembles that of Uhhaziti from Apasa (Ephesos) during the reign of Mursili II (1321-1295 BC). In Detailed Annals of Mursili II (*KUB XIV 15 I, 23-26*), a passage records that the kingdom of Arzawa, ruled by Uhhaziti and the city of Millawanda, now identified as Miletos (this city could have been part of Ahhiyawa) sided with Ahhiyawa in a rebellious collaboration against the Hittites.⁵⁹ As probably the part of the Arzawan Confederacy, the Seha River Land also appears to have collaborated with Uhhaziti against the Hittites.⁶⁰ It appears that Mursili II succeeded in suppressing this rebellion and Uhhaziti did not offer any resistance against him. He fled across the sea “to the islands” and took refuge in Ahhiyawa and after the death of Uhhaziti “in the sea”, Mursili II returned.⁶¹ When the equation of Ahhiyawa-Mykenaians Greeks (Homeros’ Akhaiwoi) is

who was not involved in the mass murder, killed Atreos and restored the kingdom to Thyestes. Atreos was buried in Mykenai, along with the treasures that he and his children stored in underground chambers. Thyestes was driven away by Agamemnon and Menelaos who had escaped Thyestes’ wrath and came back later when they were grown. With the help of Tyndaros, king of Sparta, they expelled Thyestes, as each had married a daughter of Tyndaros (Agamemnon = Klytemnestra; Menelaos = Helen). Agamemnon became king of Mykenai; Menelaos, that of Sparta. Agamemnon became the leader of the Greek forces in the war against the Trojans. For the ancient sources on this subject, see Euripides, *Iphigenia He En Taurois*, 3; *Orestes*, 11; Herodotos, 1.67; 4.103; 7.159; Thukydidēs, 1.9.2-3; Strabon, 1.2.15; Pausanias, 2.4.2, 2.15.4, 2.16.3-6, 2.18.1-2, 2.22.3; 2.29.4; 5.8.2; 6.20.7; 7.24.2; 9.40.11; Apollodoros, *Epitome*. passim; Apollodoros, B.2.4.4-6, 5.3; 3.2.1; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, 3.27.68; Ovidius, *Artis Amatoriae*, 1.327; Ovidius, *Tristia*, 2.391; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 85-88, 258; Statius, *Thebais*, 4.306.

⁵⁹ For translation, see Sommer 1932, 309; Bryce 1989b, 299. Bryce (1989b, 302) points out that a fragmentary text (Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy = *KUB XXXI 29*, line 6) indicates that Ahhiyawa had land on the Anatolian mainland. In a letter from a Hittite king to the king of Ahhiyawa, dated to the reign of Arnuwanda I/II, there are references to the islands belonged to the king of Ahhiyawa (*KUB XXVI 91*, obverse, lines 5’-7’). For translation see Sommer 1932, 268.

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

⁶¹ Hawkins 1998, 14.

accepted,⁶² it is natural that as a powerful and equal seafaring state, Mykenaian Greeks had taken an active step in political, military as well as in commercial terms⁶³ and involved on the western coast of Asia Minor.

⁶² The identification of Ahhiyawa, whom the Hittites were in contact from the early fourteenth to the late thirteenth century, with Mykenaian Greeks is one of the longest running controversies among scholars. By basing his arguments on the resemblances of names between the Akhaians and the Ahhiyawans, Forrer (1924a, 1-22; 1924b, 113-118) is the first to take Ahhiyawa to denote the Mykenaian Greek empire of the 14th and 13th centuries BC, with its capital at Mykenai and its eastern outpost in the south of Anatolia. His suggestions, which were also supported by some other scholars, met with a determined opposition from Sommer (1932), who claimed that the equation of the names is a philological impossibility and the Hittite texts does not actually indicate that Ahhiyawa is outside Anatolia. Ahhiyawa he regarded as an Anatolian state, having nothing to do with Akhaia or with the Mykenaians. Also see Sommers' later discussion 1937, 169-297; Steiner 1964, 365-392; Hooker 1976, 128-131. Other candidates including Thrace and southern shore of Propontos has also been put forward. Macqueen 1968, 169-185; 1986, 163 n.31; Mellaart 1968, 187-202; Hoddinott 1981, Chapter 3. In a recent study by Mountjoy (1998), Rhodos (which had been proposed previously by Page 1959, Chapter 1) and the surrounding islands are suggested, though he does not dismiss the possibility of the mainland Greece. The Ahhiyawa must be either the whole or some part of Mykenaian territory, that is, referring to the land of Mykenaians. This has over the years been strongly and persuasively argued. Stubbings 1951, 110 ff; Webster 1958, 10; Garstang-Gurney 1959, 95-97, 111-113; Huxley 1960, 15 ff; Gurney 1961, 46 ff; Desborough 1964, 218 ff; Houwink ten Cate 1973, 161; Güterboch 1983, 133-138; 1984, 114-122; 1986, 33-44; Wood 1985, 69-209; Schachermeyr 1986; Bryce 1989a, 1-21; Cline 1994, 69; Hawkins 1998, 30-31. One should admit that the evidence is at present insufficient to offer a definite proof for either case of the Ahhiyawa/Mykenaian equation. So in this case, one is obliged to follow his own pattern and reinterpret the narrative accordingly and in a way that it would make sense. In the discussions below, although it could not be accepted on a certain basis, it will be considered that Ahhiyawa of the Hittite texts between 15th and 13th centuries BC is a reference to the mainland or homeland of Mykenaian Greeks and though it is possible that any of the mainland cities could have been pre-eminent in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, it is likely that Mykenai or Argos in Peloponnesos was the seat of a king whom Hittite diplomatic texts called as "Great King", who can only be a ruler on the rank of Ateos or Agamemnon. In other words, the arguments of the scholars who, in view of the combination of documentary and archaeological evidence, propose that Ahhiyawa was a Mykenaian Greek kingdom, equal in rank to the Great King of Hatti and, by implication, to those of Egypt and Babylonia shall be followed in this paper.

⁶³ Not only the textual evidence but also the archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates that there were well-established connections between the Aegean and Western Anatolia. On the Anatolian coast the sites with the strongest Mykenaian contacts so far known are Troy, Menemen-Panazetepe, Klazomenai-Limantepe, Ephesos, Miletos with its cemetery at Değirmenetepe, Iasos, Müsgebi and in Lesbos are Thermi and Antissa. Stubbings 1951, 110 ff; Desborough, 1964, 158-165; French 1978, 165-170; Mee 1978, 121-156; Mellink 1983, 138-141; Cline 1994, 68-74; Mountjoy 1998, 33-67. It appears that in the cities of Southern Aioliis, including Pitane (Çandarlı), Elaia (Kazık Bağları), Myrina, Kyme, Phokaia, Larisa (Buruncuk), Menemen-Panazetepe, Smyrna (Bayraklı) as well as on the banks of Hermos, Mykenaian pottery and materials were found. Özgünel 1983, 697-743; 1987, 535-547; 1996. As far as the archaeological finds show, Menemen-Panazetepe appears to have played a significant role for the spread of Mykenaian

During the period of this general revolt in the west against Mursili II, the people of the dukedom of Tantalos may also have gone into conflict with the country of Trojans, possibly mentioned as Wilusa in the Hittite texts and the permanent allies of Hittites.⁶⁴ As a result of their defeat, Tantalidai decided to settle first in Boiotia and then in the district of Elis in Peloponnesos, where they were to establish their new dynasty, as told above, the Pelopidai, by conquering the whole of Peloponnesos and possibly head the new Ahhiyawan state.

activities in Southern Aiolis. A tomb group from Menemen-Panaztepe, acquired by Manisa Museum from an antiquities's dealer provides a good illustration of the hybrid nature (Mykenaian and Local Anatolian) of the Interface. Ersoy 1988, 55-82. The materials from other excavated tholos type-graves continue to accumulate and the number of these type of graves appears to be dominant. All of these put forward that there happened to be Mykenaian activity and trade, if not a colony ruled by a Mykenaian aristocratic class, in the area. The recent excavations are still carried out by Prof.Dr.Armağan Erkanal and awaits publication. Panaztepe appears to be strategically in a key position and at the centre from where the Mykenaian traders must have spread into other areas within and outside Southern Aiolis and have had a contact with the natives. It is not far from Smyrna and Mount Sipylos where Tantalos and his people are said to have lived. It is highly possible that there may be some other Mykenaian sites, including Gerenköy-Panayırtepe, Kumtepe or Sakaltepe, which has not been excavated yet. See Meric 1989, 199.

⁶⁴ It is possible to say that the country of Trojans was called Wilusa in Hittite texts. In a Hittite text, now believed to come from the time of Tudhaliya I/II (ca.1390-1370 BC, discussed in Garstang-Gurney 1959, 105-109), a victory of this king over "Land of Assuwa" is recorded and 22 enemy countries that seem to have made up the Land of Assuwa are also listed in a previous paragraph. The last two names in the alliance are recorded as Wilusiya and Tarusia. These two places are assumed to be the northernmost component of the Assuwan Confederacy. Although the relation of Wilusa to Wilusiya (which also could be combined with Ilios) and to Taruisa remains unclear, it is a striking coincidence that these two places appear together in roughly the same place where the legend of Troy takes place. It should also be noted that in Homeros' Ilias, Troy has two different names, Troy (frequently appears to mean the city) and Ilios (which is often the country like Wilusa). Therefore, the possibility that Troy was within the kingdom of Wilusa is accepted by some writers. Güterboch (1986, 41, 44) points out that, although a definite proof is not possible, the location of Wilusa in the Troas seems to be the most likely one and though could not be claimed with any certainty, the name Wilusa can be identified with Ilios when a number of morphological and phonetic changes are admitted. Also see Singer 1985, 187. In extracts from the Treaty of Muwatalli II with Alaksandus of Wilusa (ca.1280, translated in Garstang-Gurney, 1959, 102-103), it is recorded (17) that Wilusa was an Arzawan state like Arzawa, Mira and Hapalla. What we learn from the the content of Alexsandus treaty is that since the time of Labarnas in the 17th century, though Arzawa was in continous enmity towards the Hittites, Wilusa managed to remain as a seperate political entity from the western states in the south and an Arzawan states by racial affinity and remained loyal to the Hittites throughout the reigns of Tudhaliyas I and II, Suppiluliuma I, and Mursili II. See Güterboch 1986, 36-7 and Mellink 1986, 96-97.

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

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

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

⁶⁷ Güterboch 1983, 137.

⁶⁸ Bryce 1985, 16.

⁶⁹ Bryce 1985, 16.

⁷⁰ Mountjoy 1998, 48.

Piyamaradu may actually have first begun to make raids into the Seha River Land. In Manapa-Tarhunda letter (*KUB XIX.5*: 3-4, translated in Garstang and Gurney, 1959, 95), a letter of protest written to the Hittite king and dated possibly to the reign of Muwatalli II, there also occur references to Piyamaradu, Atpa, Lazpa and Wilusa. According to this letter, Piyamaradu humiliates the vassal king of the Hittites, Manapa-Tarhunda, the ruler of Seha River Land, by appointing Atpa, the ruler of Millawanda (Miletos) over him and persuades all the men of Manapa-Tarhunda to side with him against the Hittite king. It is seen that Seha River Land would again rebel against the Hittites under the leadership of Tarhunaradu, who had nothing to do with the family of Manapa-Tarhunda, possibly a claimant to the throne and supported not only by Piyamaradu but also possibly by the direct involvement of the king of Ahhiyawa.⁷¹

In view of the Manapa-Tarhunda Letter, mentioned above, Piyamaradu attacked Lazpa as well. Arguing from the resemblances of names, it is assumed that the island of Lazpa, as mentioned so in the Hittite texts, could possibly be identified with Lesbos. Lazpa is first recorded in a Hittite text, dated ca.1330, corresponding to the reign of Mursili II. According to this text (*KUB V*, 6), when this king was very sick, an embassy was sent to Ahhiyawa and to Lazpa, which brought the god (=cult-idol?) of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa, among other items, to help heal the king.⁷² Although it is not clearly stated, Lazpa and Ahhiyawa appear to have been evaluated by the Hittites in the same diplomatic category, which might

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

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

also imply a long-going political and cultural connection between these two places. If Lazpa is accepted as Lesbos, some Ahhiyawans may have previously lived in this island possibly from the second half of 14th century BC, as it is possible that Ahhiyawans may represent Achaians, mainly the Peloponnesian Greeks, settled on different parts of the Mykenaian world. With a great navy at their disposal, they may more actively have involved in the political affairs of Lesbos from this time onwards. As mentioned above, it appears that some islands off the western coast of Anatolia had belonged to Ahhiyawa (see above n.59). During Mursili II's suppression of revolts as discussed above, the people of Lesbos may have been forced to accept the rule of Hittites, but when the opportunity arose, they immediately inclined to ally with Piyamaradu. Therefore, it appears that in the early years of the 13th century, the island of Lesbos was again absorbed within the newly created kingdom of western Anatolian states, brought about by Piyamaradu and also supported by the new kingdom of Ahhiyawa under the new rule of the descendants of Pelops.

Having found a great support from the local population in the Seha River Land and in Lesbos, as seen from the Tawagalawa letter, Piyamaradu seems to have extended his raids to the north as far as Wilusa (the country of Trojans). In Manapa-Tarhunda letter, there is also a hint concerning an attack over Wilusa in which Piyamaradu may have taken part possibly by taking the support of Ahhiyawa (Akhaian forces, that is possibly the royal house of Pelops) in spite of the fact that there was a Hittite support for Wilusa, as guaranteed in Alaksandus treaty.⁷³ Moreover, in a uncertain restoration proposed by Sommer in his translation of the Tawagalawa letter it is suggested that at some stage prior to the events which are the main topic of the letter in the matter of Wilusa, Ahhiyawa king and the Hittite king had been at enmity with each other over Wilusa (probably contemporary with the activities of Piyamaradu in this region) and they

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

(presumably Hattusili III, lower chronology 1264-1239 BC, but the name of Ahhiyawa king is not known) now decided to settle this issue.⁷⁴

Actually these attacks coincide with the last phase of Troy VIh, which came to an end through a catastrophe, an earthquake, but the possibility of a hostile action around 1280 BC could not be ruled out.⁷⁵ If one accepts that Troy, within the kingdom of Wilusa, was destroyed as a result of a hostile action around ca.1280, one would wonder if this incident could be the basis of Homeric tale, as Homeros even remembers the name of the king of Wilusa (Alaksandus/Alexandros as another name of Paris called in ancient sources).⁷⁶ However, on the grounds of the traditional dating of this incident, generally dated to the second half and even the last quarter of the 13th century (1230-1180 BC),⁷⁷ Piyamaradu's attack on the part of Wilusa territory may possibly not be connected with the Trojan War, told by Homeros. Even if one accepts that Piyamaradu with the support of Ahhiyawa (Mykenaian Greeks) had destroyed Troy around 1280 BC, it appears that after the destruction, Troy recovered with the help of the Hittite troops.

To sum it up, despite some mythical aspects, it should not be dismissed that Tantalos and his son Pelops may have been real personalities, who had lived in a real geographic place, that is around Mount Sipylus with an influence over the territories in Southern Aiolis. If there really had been a war between a ruler of Troy and the Tantalidai, as a result of which the Tantalidai had to flee to Greece, it will not be odd to assume that as a head of the new Ahhiyawan state, the Pelopidai continued to involve in the political affairs of Western Anatolia against the Hittites and that from the pedigree of Tantalos, Agamemnon, now much more stronger, may have came back to Asia by leading the largest contingent in the confederate army in order take his family's revenge against the Trojans. This connection with Homeros' Trojan War is also reported by Pausanias as following

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

⁷⁵ Korfman 1986, 25-26.

⁷⁶ Wood (1985, 207) makes this suggestion, but the date he gives for the attack of Akhaian troops is the late 1260's, much later than the destruction of Troy VIh around 1280 BC.

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

that “*when the war of the Greeks against Troy was prolonged, the sooth-sayers prophesied to them that they would not take the city until they had fetched the bow and arrows of Herakles and a bone of Pelops*”. The bone of Pelops was taken to Troy and afterwards shipwrecked.⁷⁸ As the third wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists, it is seen that the descendants of Agamemnon, Kleos and Malaos prefers to settle in territories near Mount Sipylos where their ancestors Tantalos and Pelops are previously said to have resided.

Mysia and Troas

It is also plausible that Dark Age Aiolian colonists must have known about the regions, where they went to settle, due to their previous deeds in and around these lands during the Trojan War. Within this context, it should be taken into consideration that in a war between the Athenians and the Mytilenians of Lesbos which started possibly not later than 600 BC and broke out again during reign of Peisistratidai, the Athenians evidently developed a claim to Sigeon which was rooted in the myth of Trojan War. Herodotos (5.94.2) mentions that “*the Athenians argued that the Aiolians had no better right to the district of Troy than they temselves or the rest of the Hellenes who helped Menelaos to revenge the rape of Helen*”. Indeed it seems that the Mytilenians had based their own claim upon the myth of Trojan War: Strabon (13.1.38.1) states that Arkhaianax of Mytilene tok stones from Troy to build a wall and occupied Sigeon by claiming that he had a right that went back to the Trojan War. Diogenes Laertios (3 CE, *Philosophoi Biol*, 1.74.1) points out that they fought each other for the territory of Akhilles. There is a passage in Aiskhylos’ *Eumenides* (395 ff) which shows that the Athenians were still claiming their right to Sigeon in the middle of the 5th century at the time of Athenian Empire, when it remained fashionable to find mythical excuses to occupy the land of others. When Athena first enters the scene to settle the dispute between Orestes and the Erinyes by referring it to the Athenian jury, she says :

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

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

In Homeros an Athenian called Menestheos is said to have fought at Troy.⁷⁹ According to a tradition that is later than Homeros, but was well established before the time of Aiskhylos, Demophon and Akamas, the sons of the great legendary Athenian hero, Theseos, took part in the campaign. As a result of this, the Akhaians, after they had utterly destroyed Troy, are said to have been granted some land in the Troas. So, the universal recognition of Athena's rights in the Troas, and therefore those of Athens, is said to go back to the Trojan war. In the passage, 'γην καταΦθαντουμεν' literally means "taking to myself by first occupancy." As is implied in the play Athena⁸⁰ had first occupied it after the Trojan war and had been living there and holding it as a possession of the Athenians until the presentation of the play around the middle of the fifth century.

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

⁷⁹ *Ilias*, 2.552; 4.327; 12.331; 12.373; 13.195; 13.690; 15.331.

⁸⁰ There was a temple of Athena in Sigeon as indicated by Herodotos (5.94-95).

Akhaians (the general name used by Homeros for the Greeks) were more widely distributed and formed the greater part of the forces of Agamemnon in the Trojan War. It is seen that Agamemnon and his army not knowing the course to steer for Troy, they put in to Mysia and plundered the Meian plain, supposing it to be Troy. Yet Telephos, the king of the Mysians, and seeing the country pillaged, he armed the Mysians, chased the Greeks in a crowd to the ships, and killed many, among them Thersandros, the king of Thebes, who had made a stand. Meanwhile, Akhilles managed to wound Telephos.⁸¹ Thukydides (1.11.1) states that when the confederation army had problems with supplies, they turned to the agriculture of Khersonesos and piracy in the surrounding territories. So, during the long period of Trojan war, Greeks appear to have lingered around the waters of Troas. During this period, Agamemnon's forces under the command of Akhilles, son of Thetis and Peleos, whose wedding eventually led to the Trojan War, raided Lesbos and Phokaia, then Kolophon, and Smyrna, and Klazomenai, and Kyme; and afterwards Aegialos and Tenos, the so-called Hundred Cities; then, in order, Adramytion and Side; then Endion, and Linaeon, and Kolonos. He also took Hypoplakian Thebai and Lyrnessos, and further Antandros, and many other cities.⁸² Near the bay of Lekton, there were the sacrificing places (sanctuaries) of twelve gods established by Agamemnon.⁸³ The islands of Lemnos, Tenedos and Lesbos also seem to have been visited by the forces of Agamemnon, on which some Mainland Greeks (Akhaians- possibly Ahhiyawans) had possibly settled in a an earlier period, as explained in the first section.⁸⁴

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

⁸² Homeros, *Ilias*, 9.129-130, 9.271, 9.664; 20.92; *Cf. Odysseia*, 4.342; 17.133; for details especially see Apollodoros, E.3.32-3.

⁸³ Strabon, 13.1.49. Pausanias (1.35.4; 8.12.9) mentions that the Aiolians had settled in Ilion, possibly after the war.

⁸⁴ In Homeros, Menelaos speaks that Lesbos was a one-walled city and in this city Odysseos had wrestled with a certain Philomeleides and defeated him with a might and upon this all the Akhaians had rejoiced. So, it appears to be a port of call on the homeward journey. *Odysseia*, 3.169; 17.130-135. Lemnians made a special present to Agamemnon of choice wine before they

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

By virtue of these earlier activities of Greek forces especially in and around the Troas during the Trojan War, especially the first wave of Dark Age Aiolian colonists, led by Tisamenos' eldest son Kometes may have intended to settle within the territories of Troas in accordance with the reply of Pythian oracle. Yet they first decided to go to Mysia, just as the Greek forces did during the Trojan War, but a small group of people followed Kometes in this expedition. They seem to have landed in the Baba Bay and settled in the city of Kolonai, further inland, whereabouts Killa, the chair-oteer of Pelops, the ancestor of Kometes, used to have ruled and died afterwards and even a city had been established in his name (See above n.37). In accordance with the demands of the oracle, they had the cults of their gods to enliven in these territories by establishing a temple for Apollon in Kolonai. Later on, the second wave of the Aiolian colonists, led by Penthilos and after him by his son Ekhelas and grandson Gras, had advanced through Hellespontos to Kyzikos in the southern shore of Propontos. Penthilos

traded with the army at Troy. Agamemnon's army paid for its Lemnian wine by the spoils of war, bronze, iron, hides, oxen and slaves. Homeros, *Ilias*, 7.467 ff; 21.40-41, 21.79-80; 21.102. Agamemnon is also said to have made marriages during the Trojan War. Khryses, said to have lived in the island of Ziminthe (possibly Tenedos) as the priest of Apollo, is the same priest who, in the last year of the Trojan War, asked the Akhaians to set free his daughter Khryseis, 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 Apollon, who, hearing the prayers of Khryses the third had sent a plague which decimated the Akhaian army. Some say that the priest's daughter was pregnant when she was set free and that later she gave birth to a boy Khryses the fourth, who was the son of Agamemnon. For the story see Homeros, *Ilias*, 1.8-52; 1.100, 1.111, 1.143, 1.182, 1.310, 1.369, 1.390, 1.428-437; Euripides, *Iphigenia He En Taurois*.passim.

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

possibly died in Thrace and Ekhelas with his colonists may have settled in Perinthos on the northern shore of Propontos. At this point, Ekhelas' youngest son Gras seperated from him and advanced to the river Granikos (Biga Çayı). Having equipped himself better, he felt strong enough to attack the island of Lesbos and prevailed over the island this time. So, it appears that the first wave of Aiolian colonists moved into Mysia from the start and the second wave hanged around the shores of Troas before they finally occupied Lesbos, as they possibly had had the previous knowledge of these places, especially from the time of Trojan War.

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